

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

THE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF
HULL IN THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY

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by

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BERRY, BRITANNIA, BRITISH-QUEEN, M^r STANDIDGE, THE OWNERS, 1760.



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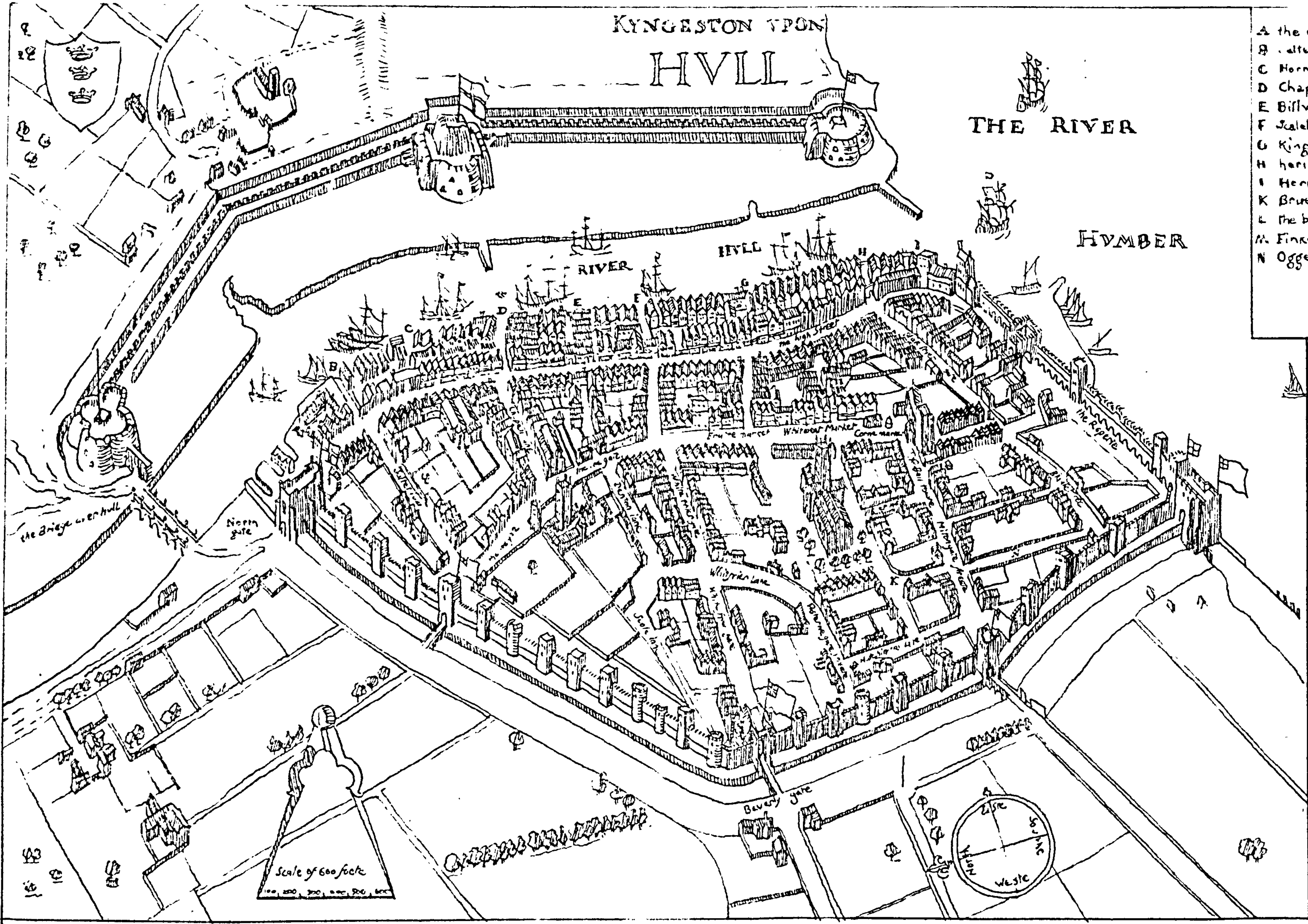
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ABBREVIATIONS

B.B.	Bench Books
B.M.	British Museum
Econ. Hist. Rev.	Economic History Review
Eng. Hist. Rev.	English History Review
Gent.	Gent's HISTORY OF...HULL, 1735
G.H.MSS.	Guild Hall Manuscripts
Hadley.	Hadley's HISTORY OF...HULL, 1788
Hist.Mss.Comm.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
H.C.L.B., C-H.	Hull Customs Letter Books, Commissioners to Hull.
H.C.L.B., H-C.	Hull Customs Letter Books, Hull to Commissioners.
H.C.R.L.	Hull Central Reference Library
H.D.C.Comm. Tr.	Hull Dock Co. Commissioners Trans- actions.
H.D.C.L.B.	Hull Dock Co. Letter Books
H.D.C. Tr.	Hull Dock Co. Transactions
P.R.O.	Public Records Office
Sheahan.	Sheahan's HISTORY OF...HULL, 1864
Tickell.	Tickell's HISTORY OF...HULL, 1798
W.H.MSS.	Wilberforce House Manuscripts





KINGSTON-VPON-HVLL, 1640.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HULL

1. THE TOWN AND ITS PEOPLE

(i) The Town:

The port of Kingston-upon-Hull is situated in a commanding position on the northern shore of the river Humber, about twenty miles from Spurn Head, where the Humber joins the North Sea. As its name suggests, the town stood on the west bank of the small river Hull, which provided it with a natural, sheltered harbour safe from the fury of the open sea; but at the same time the deep water channel of the Humber flowed along the coast by the side of the town, in Hull Roads, so that shipping could reach the port in perfect safety.

The Humber itself is not a river at all, but a tidal estuary which is the meeting place of three major rivers, the Ouse, Don and Trent, which, together with their tributaries, drain a vast area of central and eastern England. In the days when water transport was the only means of moving large loads freely the Humber was thus the nerve centre of three of the greatest lines of communication, and it took on an importance completely out of keeping with its immediate hinterland, which to the north and south was entirely agricultural.

In medieval times there had been at least four important

ports in the Humber; Barton and Hedon which are no longer of any importance, Grimsby, which became a great fishing port in the last century, and Hull.

The fortunes of all of them had been founded on the great medieval wool trade, and all of them declined when the wool produced in their immediate hinterlands began to be absorbed by the English cloth making industry. But Hull survived as a centre for merchant adventurers engaged in the cloth trade, and then for merchants engaged in the Baltic timber and iron trades, until it eventually entered upon a great period of expansion which made it one of the three or four principal English ports.

Why Hull should have grown as it did is a puzzle to many people. Its geographical position was no better than that of Grimsby or Hedon; at the beginning of our period Defoe thought that the latter "threatens Hull, that it will in time grow up to be a great place, for it indeed increases daily."¹ Nor was Hull situated in a particularly happy position so far as the new inland trading areas were concerned. Gainsborough, Stockwith, Bawtry and Selby were all nearer to the rising industrial and agricultural areas, and all of them were capable of receiving ocean-going ships. Why, then did Hull, rather than any other place, capture the growing trade of the eastern Midlands and Yorkshire?

The answer to this question is really quite simple. In the first place, although there were several inland "ports", such as Gainsborough and Bawtry, they each served only one river; for the

easy collection and distribution of cargoes from and to the various areas of eastern England a port was necessary on the estuary of the Humber. In the second place, since Hull was the only port of consequence on the Humber it naturally dominated trade through the estuary. Hull had a good natural harbour, and at the beginning of our period it was already firmly established as a link between the hinterland and the Baltic; its merchants and pilots had gained great experience in the Baltic, and Hull already had the nucleus of a great trading fleet. But Hull's success cannot be explained simply in terms of experience - despite the fact that trade breeds trade - or position. The third and most important reason why Hull was able to dominate the new industrial areas was its status as a legal port. Because of its medieval importance, Hull had been appointed the central Customs receiving port for the Humber area, roughly from Scarborough in the north to Theddlethorpe (Lincs) in the south. All ships entering or leaving this area had to be checked through the Customs House at Hull or at one of the member-ports, and since Hull was the only legal check point within the mouth of the Humber - Grimsby had long since ceased to receive and discharge ships - all goods passing to or from the hinterland via the Humber had to go through Hull. All attempts to establish a legal port further inland - especially at Gainsborough - failed because of the opposition of the Customs service. "We are humbly of opinion," wrote the Hull Customs officers to the Commissioners (in reply to a petition

in 1772), "that to set out a Port at the Town of Gainsborough would not be of any advantage or Productive of any good consequence to the Honest fair Traders in the several Counties mentioned in the Petition ((Lincs, Notts, Leicester, Derby, Warwick, and Stafford)), that it would be a heavy Expence to the Revenue, An Encouragement to Evil disposed persons to carry on a Clandestine Trade by facilitating the Execution thereof; and therefore Effects most Pernicious to the Revenue are to be apprehended from it....."² So far as the Customs officers were concerned Hull was ideally situated. It was near enough to the mouth of the estuary to prevent merchants by-passing the Customs House, and it was at a narrow enough part of the river to prevent ships slipping past unnoticed, as they could have done had the checkpoint been at Grimsby. It was, in the words of Defoe, "at the mouth of the river Hull, where it falls into the Humber, and where the Humber opens into the German Ocean....."³

The town itself was very small, a fact which impressed most travellers who visited it, expecting, no doubt, to find a much larger place; "...in proportion to the dimensions of it," wrote a somewhat surprised Defoe,⁴ "I believe there is more business done in Hull than in any Town of its bigness in Europe." It was, he said, "exceeding close built, and should a fire ever be its fate, it might suffer deeply on that account; 'tis extraordinary populous, even to an inconvenience, having really no room to extend itself by buildings." Thus, in the eighteenth century Hull was

much the same as it had been a couple of centuries before; more intensively built over, perhaps, but still the same shape and size. For, completely encircled as they were by walls on the north and west, and by water on the south and east, the inhabitants were faced with a psychological as well as a physical barrier to expansion. Outside the walls they were outside the town, and they enjoyed none of the benefits described later in this chapter. To the north of Hull was the parish of Sculcoates which, although it developed into a suburb of Hull in the second half of the century, remained a part of the County of York, and was subject to what little local government prevailed there. There was also a little development westwards out of Beverley Gates and Myton Gates, but on the whole the people preferred to crowd within the walls.

The town was indeed tiny, smaller even than the "Old Town" is to-day, for Humber Street marks what used to be the southern limits of the town, Nelson Street having been built, as its name suggests, during the Napoleonic war. In the south the old sea wall ran westwards from the river Hull to Hessele Gates, a distance of roughly 1,000 feet; from there the walls ran northwards for 800 feet to Myton Gates, and a further 930 feet to Beverley Gates, which stood approximately at the junction of Whitefriargate and the modern City Square. From Beverley Gates the walls continued eastwards through the middle of the present Queen's Gardens to the river Hull a distance of 2,100 feet. Thus, including the 3,000 feet of water front along the river Hull, the perimeter

of the town was no more than 7,830 feet.⁵ A brisk walk from the Humber to the North walls, or from Myton Gates to the river Hull would take about five minutes, such was the compactness of the town.

The small size of the town had several advantages which were apparent in the day-to-day administration. In the first place the Bench were encouraged to make a good job of administering the local government by the fact that the rich and poor rubbed shoulders within the walls; what affected the poor affected the rich, and vice versa. In the second place, public administration was made relatively easy by the fact that the Bench could keep an eye on the whole of the area which they controlled, and small patrols of constables were able to control the population more easily than if it had been spread out over a wider area. "The town is not large," wrote a visitor, H. Hare, in 1717, "but very populous and yet as quiet and free from any noise hurry or disturbance as any country village."⁶

How many inhabitants were required to make a town "very populous", neither Defoe, Hare, nor anyone else undertook to discover, but one may hazard a guess that at the beginning of the century the population was roughly five or six thousand. No one was particularly concerned with counting heads in the eighteenth century, and so we have no accurate information until 1792, when a "Society of Gentlemen for Literary Information" opened their

proceedings with a census of the town. They discovered that there were exactly 22,286 people living in Hull and Sculcoates, that they were divided among 5,256 families, and, moreover, that females outnumbered males by 11,713 to 10,573. It was also estimated that, if the birth rate had remained constant, the population ought to have been 13,000 in 1767 and 16,000 in 1777, but these figures may be too large, since the increasing population was not drawn entirely from local births.⁷ An ever-increasing population was, of course, one of the features of Hull - as of so many other towns - in the eighteenth century. It was estimated that a fifty per cent increase took place between 1710 and 1742, but the greatest increase took place in the last quarter of the century, stimulated by the great growth of trade and the beginnings of Hull industries, and the 1801 census showed a population of 29,516.⁸

The Hull death rate, unlike that of most other towns, was ~~actually~~ lower than the birth rate; the average number of births for the years 1789-92 was 752, while the average number of burials was only 662. Births were thus 1 in $30\frac{1}{2}$ of the population, and deaths 1 in $33\frac{1}{2}$, compared with Manchester with a death rate of 1 in 28, Liverpool with 1 in 27, and London with 1 in 21. Hull, proclaimed Tickell, with justifiable pride, was one of the healthiest towns in England, the low death rate being no doubt due to the absence of large scale factory and mining industries, the maintenance of fairly sanitary conditions and the surplus of women.

But Hull was still clearly dependent upon the country for any significant growth in its population, for the natural increase in population was insufficient for a town as large as Hull; in the years 1789-92, for instance, the natural increase (i.e. ^{births} ~~burials~~ minus ^{burials} ~~births~~) was only 360, less than one-sixtieth of the population. Moreover, it does not appear to have been usual for all Hull families to have large numbers of children. Distressed families in need of public assistance towards the end of the century very rarely exceeded two children,⁹ and in the winter of 1788/9 1,700 families which received aid contained only 6,000 members, an average of only $3\frac{1}{2}$ people per family.¹⁰

The fact that Hull had a surplus of women is probably exceptional, especially as the industries of the town would be expected to attract male labour rather than families. There were, in fact, few opportunities for females to find employment, except in shops and in "service". Thus the reasons for the surplus of women would seem to be: the high death rate among males who were employed in hazardous occupations; good conditions of employment for those women who managed to find a job; the heavy demand for girls to act as female servants in the very many wealthy households to be found in the port; and the large number of "Sailors' Women" and prostitutes which were - and are - to be found in every port.

Where the immigrant population came from is not recorded, for no one in the eighteenth century was at all interested unless

the question of a legal settlement was raised. In the last decade of the century the places to which paupers were sent were scattered all over England, and this may indicate the power of the town to draw on the surplus population not only of the immediate countryside, but also of the whole of the country. Enclosures in Yorkshire no doubt supplied Hull with a source of willing labour, especially when the estates of Hull merchants were concerned, but the principal source was no doubt the east coast ports, especially Whitby, Scarborough, Bridlington and Grimsby; for instance, there were enough freemen of Grimsby resident in Hull to repay a visit by parliamentary candidates during elections,¹¹

(ii) Social Life:

For the Merchant class as a whole the eighteenth century was an era of gracious living. The austere facades of their town houses, in High Street and later in the new streets to the north of the dock, concealed a beauty and elegance of interior design which has not, perhaps, been surpassed to this day. In the high, white panelled reception rooms the mistress of the house received her guests for tea, the master talked business over a bottle of the finest port, and the young people danced away the night in the mellow light of the finest spermaceti candles while their elders gambled in the latest card game, argued about the war in America, or about the abolition of the Slave trade. Around

1
3

				Number
100		581	1,892	Lasts (Nearest)
18,880	66,661			Bushels.
1,900	6,095			cwt.
44,579	226,206			lb.
244,431	437,920			lb.
-	-			cwt.
-	12,400			lb.

Finned Plates	27,450	170,450	59,850	-
Tar	96	229	80	45
Linseed	-	-	1,902	2,856
Madder	583	587	532	-
Smalts	-	4,879	391	-
Potash	-	110,598	21,848	12,084
Shumack	-	759	35	-
Arsenic	-	-	-	-

A blank space in the table denotes incomplete records, especially for 1796 and 1798. A dash denotes 'nil', or only negligible import.

Figures for 1702-1783 from Port Books; 1796 and 1798 from Hull Corporation records, Port Dues Box.

1783
6
36
56
11
7
58
35
10
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
33

	1789	1790	1796	1802	1803	1804
	22	16	7	28	41	55
	38	37	39	83	114	41
	0	0	0	12	11	3
	106	109	134	92	152	34
			31	24	37	27
	6	15	15	41	56	29
	65	82	81	153	136	110
	30	35	74	116	19	6
	61	66	3	73	32	42
	16	15	0	0	0	0
	46	39	0	11	11	3
	3	4	5	11	17	8
	6	14	3	11	20	12
	1	6	3	0	0	0
	0	0	0	4	5	2
	0	0	0	8	4	8
	11	16	0	27	32	19
	411	454	395	694	687	399

1758	1783	1796	1798	MEASURE
221	23	-	-	Hundred Ells
182	1,260	122	4,387	Do.
				Do.
5,943	5,408			Do.
	1,914			Do.
				Do.
				Do.
19,905	45,734	39,396		Cwt.
4,910	26,974	54,671	54,196	Cwt.
1,002,723	3,590,745			lb.
839,274	1,842,882			lb.
51,798				lb.
-	13,264			lb.
	1,826	8,739	11,837	cwt.
	409,604			lb.
2,805	3,224	4,530		Hundreds.
1,135	6,928	14,813		Loads.
294	774			Hundreds.
95	-			Hundreds.
134	211			Hundreds.
1,050	863			Hundreds.
31				Hundreds.
				Number.
9	66			Do.
44	4			Do.
35	37			Do.
6,058	7,879	6,920	7,736	Tons.
429	796			Tons.
				cwt.
				cwt.
254	99			cwt.

themselves the merchant families gathered the symbols of their wealth; their silver, some of it made by local silversmiths, their furniture, brought from London or from Holland and France, their pieces of sculpture brought from Italy, their continental and English books, and their paintings, often by the best English artists.

A slight change took place in the Hull social circle during the eighteenth century, perhaps as a result of the development of better road transport conditions. At the beginning of the century the merchants all appear to have been living in Hull, but towards the middle of the century the more opulent ones began to vie with each other for the possession of delectable country houses and estates scattered along all the roads out of Hull. To these houses the merchants and their families repaired when the smell of whale oil and boiling sugar became overpowering during the summer months, and some of them even began to live in the country all the time, travelling into Hull only when necessary for business - or pleasure. One of the first recorded road accidents occurred when Alderman William Mowld was killed at West Ella, when his chaise overturned on the way home.¹² Quite early in the century the senior branch of the Sykes had acquired their Sledmere estates, and soon afterwards the Maisters established themselves at Winestead, although they continued to reside more or less permanently in Hull or London until late in the century. In the second half of the century, and especially the last quarter, any important event

would find the roads thronged with carriages bringing the Halls and Beans from Hessle; Joseph Robinson Pease from Hesslewood; Sir Henry Etherington, Robert Broadley, and Samuel Hall from North Ferriby; John Porter from Swanland; Benjamin Blaydes, John Banks, Benjamin Blaydes Thompson from Melton; William Williamson from Melton Hill; William Kirkby, Nicholas Sykes, Thomas Haworth and Robert Coupland Pease from Kirk Ella; Joseph Sykes from West Ella; John Boyes, John Voase and Mr. Corthine (sometime Collector of Customs) from Anlaby; George Knowsley, William Travis, Richard Moxon, Samuel Watson, Mr. Beatniffe (sometime Recorder of Hull) and Thomas Thompson (Banker) from Cottingham, to mention but a few.¹³

Hull "society" life was of the kind which is often described as "brilliant". "Hull" wrote Wilberforce of the town in the seventies and eighties "was then one of the gayest places out of London. The Theatre, balls, large supper and card parties were the delight of the principal merchants and their families."¹⁴ The same was also true earlier in the century. The richer merchants were devoting more of their time to social activities and leaving their business in the hands of clerks and junior partners. Nor were the younger members of merchant families any more tied to the counting house than their elders. They spent their time hunting, gambling and flirting, as well as learning the details of their future business. Some indication of the life of the younger merchants is to be found in a letter

sent by one of them Nathaniel Maister, who was later to control the family business, to Thomas Broadley. "Dear Broadley", he wrote, on 24th January, 1724/5:¹⁵

" I design'd you an Epistle sooner, but onley heard the other day of yr being got up, from my frd Rooksby who went over to Barton yesterday wth his hounds to take a weeks diversion there (.) I design to make him a visit some time this week and hunt a day or two wth him (.) but hold I almost think myself upon ye Scent already and am running away wth it. I ought Sr to have congratulated you upon yr safe arrivall in London and made some fine speeches, as I hope you met wth nothing but a great deal of diversion upon ye Road and such stuff but dear Broadley as you know formality is my aversion so I am sure you will excuse me.. I find you have heard ye most remarkable ps of News we have had in town since you went, about mt frd Johnny being asked at Church, it has put some of us into no small panick Least wee shd be married without our knowledge, tis whisperd one of Ryle's daughters was the Author but how far true I cant tell. Poor Pat Mason is fallen ill of ye Small Pox our dayly prayers are put up for her recovery, she dont seem to apprehend a deal of danger, Miss Mia Collings being perfectly recovered of 'em. Next week Shaw and me and a third person if such wee can find go over to Croomb to hunt (?) I wish wth all my Soul wee could have had yr Company with us for wee propose to ourselves a great deal of Pleasure (.)

"Since you went", he continued, "Garratt's is almost quiet deserted (.) I have listed mySelf into a grave Whisk Club at ye Coffeeho wch has turnd to pretty good acct in the 3 first nights I cleared about 7 Spankers and since have kept pretty much upon a par wth 'em (.) Bob's affair is likely to terminate shortly in Matrimony a house being hired and wedding Cloths sent for that perhaps you will find him another man wn you come home. Miss Bet Mason desires if you have occasion to send anything down shortly you will let Miss Jenny Bennet know. She has got some patterns to send her, if you shd see her yrSelf I desire you will give my Service in a particular manner (.) if at any time you shd happen to meet wth a girl in ye Coffeeho yt Sells Silk Purses do me ye favour to purchase one wch I desire may be Sent wth my Pigtail as also a Collar for my Dog Jolly, upon wch pray Let my name be engraven. I hope you will excuse the trouble of these trifling Commissions and believe me on all occations, etc."

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Days, or even weeks, in the country, hunting and shooting and attending race meetings, or simply viewing his estates or those of his friends, were thus regarded as a normal part of a merchant's life. Thomas Thompson, for instance, based his views on the value of cows to cottagers on observations made on several occasions when he rode round the Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire estates of his senior partner, Lord Carrington.¹⁶ The delights of the country, strongly impressed as they were on young Maister, in fact formed only a minor part of the social life of the greater merchants. Maister's more immediate diversions were his gambling club, his acquaintances in Hull, and the local gossip. But far more spectacular entertainments were to be had in town, in the endless round of parties and dinners. Official Corporation dinners were sumptuous affairs, regularly given to celebrate national - and sometimes local - events, the coming of the Judges, the election of Aldermen - in which case the new Aldermen were expected to provide the "Feast" - and any other possible excuse. Trinity House also gave dinners to celebrate special occasions, and so also did the Dock Company, after 1774, especially on the Anniversaries of the granting of the Royal Lands to the company, when everyone of consequence, and all the local officers, were entertained.

Unofficial, but no less formal occasions, were the meetings of the Hull Assembly, which was no doubt modelled on, and influenced by, the brilliant York Assembly which had such an important influence on Yorkshire social life, particularly between 1730 and

1780. The Hull Assembly was held in rooms built for the purpose in Dagger Lane in 1750 by Andrew Parrot, John Porter, and a company of shareholders, and leased in the first instance to Joseph Page, the builder, who presumably arranged Balls and charged for the hire of the room, or for admission.¹⁷ Within these walls there regularly gathered the most important and influential people in Hull and, unlike the Corporation dinners, the Assemblies welcomed the ladies. "The Hull Assembly", wrote John Stephenson to Walter Spencer-Stanhope before he came to Hull to canvas for the 1784 by-election, "is composed of a set of partial proud people." Stanhope was apparently expected to go to the Assembly, but he received detailed instructions in advance. He was to "figure" with a Mrs. Durrington, but, warned Stephenson, "you must not be particular to her or anyone, but be all things to all the women. The Miss Horners, Miss Staniforth and many others some friend must make you acquainted with, must by no means be overlooked - Miss Pool among the rest. I need not say more than that you throw this into the fire."¹⁸ Needless to say, Stephenson's judgement on his friends and their proud and jealous daughters can still be seen among Stanhope's papers, but one expects the prospective candidate gave diplomatic attention to all who made up the Assembly.

It is not often that we know what went on at these festive occasions, except in so far as they are characterised in Jane Austen's novels of a later period. Fortunately there is a

contemporary record of one Assembly which must have ranked, in Hull, as the Ball of the century, and we can do no better than quote the Hull Packet's account of it, as both the Historians Hadley (1788) and Tickell (1798) have done.¹⁹

"That the ladies might also participate in the commemoration of this illustrious event", read the account of the centenary celebrations of the 1688 revolution,

"a ball was given at the assembly rooms on the following night; at which near three hundred of the principal inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood were present. The dresses of the ladies were universally decorated with ribbons, and trimmings of orange and blue, agreeably diversified according to the taste of the fair wearers, and while characteristic of the occasion, did not offend the eye with too much uniformity. In the disposition of the two favorite colours, they exhibited a great variety of elegant ornaments, illustrative of their happy invention and creative fancy. The effect was enchanting:- such an assemblage of beauty and brilliancy had never before shone forth in those rooms. The same fashion was adopted by the gentlemen. They all wore orange cockades and had universally some part of their dress of the same colour.

When several minuets had been danced, on a signal given, the doors of the Card-room were thrown open, and displayed a spectacle equally novel, brilliant, and attractive. On the centre of a set of tables, were placed a most superb, ornamental Portico and Colonnade, extending near twelve feet in length, and of proportional height. The centre resembled a triumphal arch, surmounted with a refulgent dome: under which, on an elevated pedestal, was a groupe of figures of the most beautiful sculpture, that represented two nymphs finding cupid asleep, and attempting to steal his arrows. The Colonnade on each side of the Portico was decorated with images, and richly ornamented with medallions of the most exquisite cast. From the entablature were suspended light wreaths of artificial flowers in varied festoons; and on its extremities, above, were perched two golden pheasants, of the richest variegated plumage, supporting with their beaks the ends of the wreaths.

This fairy pile, composed of the most transparent and delicate materials, was decorated with a profusion of beautiful devices sparkling with gold and party coloured foil, and illuminated with numerous wax tapers. The symmetry, splendour, and brilliancy of the whole, like the descriptive stores of Arabian authors, filled the minds of the spectators with the delightful reveries of enchantment.

The tables in the card room were covered with a desert of confectionary of every sort; and, upon two side-boards, was placed a most plentiful cold collation, with jellies, wines of various sorts, lemonade, orgeat, and capillaire.

When the curiosity in examining the elegant superstructure had partly subsided, the country dances began in three different sets, and continued with unremitting gaiety to a late hour; yet the succession of exercise to refreshment, and refreshment to exercise, dissipated all languor and ennui, and gave such a zest to hilarity, that numbers were left at four o'clock in the morning enjoying the united pleasures of the enlivening dance, and elegant festivity. At the conclusion of the ball, a chorus song, suitable to the occasion, was sung by several gentlemen, accompanied by a full band of music, and received with great applause. The company retired with every appearance of satisfaction from the entertainments of night, concluding the celebration of this remarkable festival with mirth, vivacity, and harmony."

The amount of attention paid to the clothing of both women and men is characteristic of eighteenth century Hull, for fine clothes were - contrary to what is usually written about merchant society - an essential to the opulent merchants. The men, no less than the women, kept themselves informed of the latest fashions in London, often buying their clothes there, while the ladies, in the last decade of the century, were occasionally treated to a fashion plate in the "Olla Podrida" column of the Hull Advertiser.²⁰ The people of Hull thus had very decided

opinions on how their betters should dress, and Stanhope received yet another word of caution in 1784: "... let me recommend it to you to have a laced coat on", wrote his agent, James Smith: "Your numerous friends the Cobblers, Shipwrights etc - Do not think a man a Gentleman unless he is well dressed."²¹ Impressive clothes were, indeed, of great value, as Mr. Levi, the Hull silversmith found; when he married a Miss Brown of Rawby (Lincs) in 1784 Strother noted in his journal that "Some time ago the girl was almost craz'd for him attracted by his fine cloaths...."²² Brides and voters seem to have had an equal interest in the wealth needed to purchase good clothes.

Finally, one entertainment which was not strictly reserved for the rich was the Theatre, although it was the rich, of course, who kept it going. The Theatre Royal in Finkle Street was built by special license (9Geo. III, c17, 1768) in 1770 and leased for 99 years to Tate Wilkinson, the Manager and Patentee. In it Wilkinson gathered some of the best actors of the day including Kemble and Mrs. Siddons, to play all the usual popular eighteenth century plays. Performances usually started at a quarter past six in the evenings, and there were almost always two plays, as can be seen in the Advertisements contained in the Hull Papers. The price of the seats gives some indication of the type of people frequenting the Theatre, for they ranged from three shillings in the Boxes to one shilling in the Upper Gallery. A large number of the inhabitants would not be able to afford this, even had they

wished to go.

The Theatre Royal was not, however, the first Theatre in Hull, despite the fact that the licence implies that it was.²³ There had been a theatre of some sort - disguised as a musical entertainment and apparently unlicensed - for many years and Wilkinson himself had been the manager of a theatre in Lowgate which the Rev. Robert Rutherford used as a chapel for some time, after his break with the Salthouse Lane Baptists, in 1771.²⁴ When the first organised theatre was opened is unknown, but travelling actors and stage performers were certainly to be found in Hull in the middle of the century. Among the burials in St. Mary's, for instance, were the infant children of John Wignell, "Tragical Comedian" (December, 1748), Lambertus Vandersluys, "Stage Dancer" (November, 1749) and Henry Watson, who rejoiced in the professional title of "Pyrobolist vel Ignis Fatuus".²⁵

Thus, with their beautiful town and country houses, their carriages and servants, their books and pictures, clubs and theatre, their proud assemblies and, not least, their proud women-folk, the merchants were justified in claiming, as they did in the Directory, the title of Gentlemen. For gentility, as a wise Elizabethan once pointed out, is but ancient riches,²⁶ and many of the Hull merchant fortunes went back a long way into history. Even those merchants who were new-comers found themselves in a society with which they had more or less to conform,

and consequently there was among the merchants none of the brutishness which, we are constantly being told, was to be found among the new industrial class of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

Moreover, the merchants gave their sons an education befitting a Gentleman. As was customary in Hull, children normally attended the Grammar School which, despite its name "Free", was the preserve of the richer families. Here the junior Sykes, Wilberforces, Thompsons and the rest learned their dead languages and dusty history from very able masters; from John Clarke, who wrote essays on education and on study, made literal translations of several classical authors and free translations of Suetonius and Sallust; from Mr. Theron who was a fellow of Trinity College Cambridge; and from Joseph Milner who produced religious books such as "Gibbon's Account of Christianity considered; together with Strictures of Hume's dialogues concerning Natural Religion" (1781), the first two volumes of the "History of the Church of Christ", and several tracts.²⁷

There is some indication, however, that the classical emphasis of education was not altogether welcome to the more materialistically minded merchants, a fact which Tickell, a clergyman writing at the end of the century was quick to seize upon - and condemn. "Grammatical and classical merit", he wrote,²⁸

"are not, indeed, so highly esteemed as they once were. The age we live in is rather fond of making experiments, than of profiting by the experience of past times. Had an appeal to experience its due force upon men's minds, the utility of this sort of knowledge might be safely

rested thereon. Till men, however, can point out some better method of employing youth in practice, the old grammatical and classical mode will deserve the preference to all mere theories. It is the philosophy of children; it teaches them to reason on the easiest subjects, the use and connexion of words, and gives perhaps the best exercise of the young understanding. If it be asked, what is its use in after life? it should be considered what is meant by use. If the idea be entirely mercantile, the benefit of grammar is not so evident. But how absurd to measure everything by money! the improvement of the mind, and the most solid feast of the understanding are ends surely worthy the attention of rational beings."

From the Grammar School the sons of the wealthier merchants went on to Pocklington, or some other Public School, and from there to Cambridge, while others finished their education on the continent. Alderman John Wray, for instance spent five years abroad,²⁹ and Benjamin Thompson, the son of Benjamin Blaydes Thompson, had been sent to Germany at the age of fifteen and while there had become strongly influenced by Kotzebue. After carrying on a timber business in Nottingham for some time (probably as a subsidiary of the Hull firm) he eventually turned professional writer, and produced many plays for the London stage.

Not all merchants' sons followed in their father's footsteps. Having been given a gentleman's education, some of them virtually retired from trade, like George Crowle and Henry Maister, both of whom acted as Members of Parliament for Hull, while the best example was undoubtedly Wilberforce, who, despite his merchant background, was able to mix freely with the greatest in the land. Some sons chose a career in the navy or army, like Commodore

Edward Thompson, who became known as "Rhyming Thompson" because of his passion for poetry, and yet another Thompson, George Perronet, became a General. But on the whole the army and navy were not attractive as permanent careers, although the younger merchants were only too eager to form and captain volunteer bodies during the 1745 crisis, and Henry Maister, with nothing very much to do, loved to play at soldiers with the East Riding Militia, and always called himself "Colonel", as did his nephew Arthur, who had even less to do with his time and more money. William Hammond's son chose a diplomatic career, was Hartley's secretary in Paris in 1783, and later became the first British ambassador to the United States of America.³⁰

Other merchants' sons chose an academic career, like Professor De la Pryme of Cambridge, and others concentrated on medicine or surgery. Dr. Ralph Darling (1728-98) was a surgeon, an Alderman, and twice Mayor of Hull, and he also had the distinction of being something of a poet, turning the New Testament into verse. Another surgeon, Dr. William Watson Bolton, was one of the principal whaler owners in Hull, and probably in the whole of England.

What has been said so far about social life and education applies only to the members of the principal families - about five hundred people at the end of the century, and less at earlier times. But what of the bulk of the population; under what conditions did they live, and what did they do with themselves in their spare time ?

It would be wrong to give the impression that the population of Hull consisted of a few hundred members of the merchants' and shipowners', brokers' and bankers' families, and many thousands of poverty-stricken slum dwellers. A glance at the Poll Books, or at the Directories is enough to show that there were many people - small merchants, master mariners, independent craftsmen, silversmiths, brewers, millors, clerks, Customs officers and the like - who, although they cannot be classed with the richer merchants, were nevertheless comfortably situated with at least £60 per annum, and sometimes much more.

Many of the Hull middle class lived in the best streets in the town, especially towards the end of the century. But their houses and their clothes were good rather than grand, lacking the finery of the richer merchants. They kept their servants, but not so many, they had to make do with a Hackney instead of a private carriage, and with prints instead of paintings. They were not so capable of accumulating libraries, but they were certainly fond of reading. Indeed, Strother, the only Hull man whose Journal has survived, was rather contemptuous of those who devoured books in order to be in fashion: "This Gentleman", he said of a friend, (who had leant him a book!) "is a subscriber to the Circulating Library and like several who frequent that Repository, go, and take a book which they read like Parrots. Ask them a few days after they have done

with the book a question relative to the Book they lately read and the only Answer you will receive is Oh! its a clever book; or its nothing but Nonsense but I am sure I forget the Subject now its impossible to retain all one reads."³¹

Strother's companions and class were not, on the whole, brilliant, for they had never had the opportunity to develop their intellects. But they were sharp witted, and used to thinking for themselves, often - in the case of masters - when their decision might weigh the scales between life and death for themselves and their crew. It was probably among this group of men that the supporters of the short-lived intellectual societies were to be found, although not, of course, exclusively. The young Strother, trying hard to break into the world of the great merchants, but not quite managing it, was full of the activities of his debating society - called the 'Sentimental Society' perhaps after Lawrence Stern's Society of the twenties and thirties - which met every week, in 1784, to discuss 'Philosophical problems', such as financial corruption in the government, Pitt's failure to fulfil his promise of parliamentary reform, and his failure to "inspect the East India affairs which are well known to be most notoriously Villanous in their actions abroad." Apparently such societies did not always discuss politics, for the Sentimental Society had a special rule that there should be no obscene talk.³² Strother's society eventually died out, as did all the intellectual societies. "There never was a Society of this kind subsisted long in Hull owing" he

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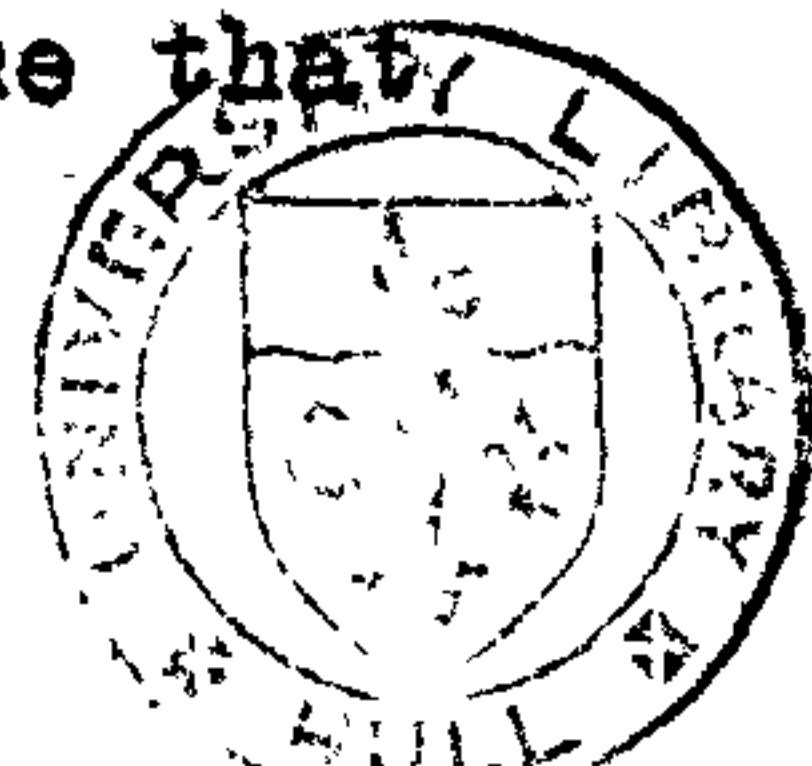
thought, "either to the Great love of money or to the ignorance of some of the members which made the more sensible part think it not worth their while spending their time where no improvement is to be had."³³ Those who were not so concerned as Strother about "Philosophy" probably passed the evenings quite pleasantly arguing in the Clubs, Coffee Houses, News Rooms and Billiard Halls,³⁴ or simply relaxing at the Theatre.

The education of the tradesman class was, of course, far inferior to that of the merchant class, but it was still reasonably good. Some of the boys would no doubt go to the Grammar School, and others to the innumerable private schools which were springing up - usually, however, for girls - in the second half of the century. Some even tasted the joys of Dotheboys Halls, from which at least one irate parent withdrew his son because of a truly Dickensian atmosphere there.³⁵ For the promising boy, a university education was not impossible, whatever his social background; the Corporation awarded two Exhibitions - Bury's³⁶ and Ferris's³⁷ - to poor scholars, and the former could also be used to pay for schooling if the friends of a bright boy could not send him to a good school. But even without going to the University, some boys managed to pick up an astonishing amount of learning. Strother, for instance, did exercises in his journal in Hebrew, Greek, Shorthand, Latin and French - he was able to translate bits of La Fontaine - and he also worked on specifically commercial exercises, such as Bills

of Lading, forms of Insurance and the other documents needed by the merchant.

At the bottom of the Hull social scale were the common seamen, the various labourers, and the factory hands, ranging from whaling seamen, who were probably the highest paid members of this class, to the lowest paid mariners on the Customs Sloop whose basic salary was £15 per annum in the middle of the century. Casual workers on land would ~~receive~~ receive even less than this, but it is doubtful if wages in general were poor, since there was a shortage of labour in Hull throughout the century. Care must, therefore, be taken not to over-emphasise the lowliness of the poor; there was no great body of depressed and badly paid factory workers lacking alternative employment, and living conditions were never as bad as might be supposed.

The poorer classes lived mainly to the south and west of the town, South End being the most unhealthy and unattractive part of Hull. The houses and tenements were closely packed, but it is unlikely that they were grossly overcrowded. When figures become available, after the great growth in population towards the end of the century, there were 4,649 houses for a total population of 29,516, so that the average number of inhabitants was only just over 6 per house, and at the same time the average number of families was only 1.6 per house. Since the largest single households were those of the rich - who might have a dozen or more servants - it is reasonable to assume that



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conditions, even among the lowest paid workers, were on the whole never as bad as in some of the larger industrial towns, or in some of the older corporate towns such as York, where old property was rapidly becoming decaying slums.

There were, of course, cases of hardship and even of abject poverty. Old people who could not obtain a pension, and the sick and injured, were especially hard pressed; and if a man was injured or killed, his family would be reduced virtually to beggary before they might receive aid from the rates. What, one wonders, was the lot of the man to whom Smiths & Thompson's gave five shillings when his "house" was "blown down",³⁹ or of the many people who committed suicide? What of Judith Grant,⁴⁰ transported for stealing linen, and what of Eleanor Fielding, who, "tried on suspicion of murdering her bastard child, was acquitted, sold herself for a slave, and went with them", rather than face life in Hull?⁴¹

Hardship came to the many as a result of international turmoil, an exceptionally hard winter, or both. A long trade recession due to war, especially if the press gang was active, would produce a crop of empty houses in the better streets as people moved into poorer quality houses or lodgings which they could afford, and wives and children often resorted to the workhouse until the husband could find a home or return from the war. (See Chapter 5, iv) In the difficult winter of 1788/9, for instance, about 1,700 families received assistance, having

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been found to exist almost without fire or food; they contained some 6,000 people, over one quarter of the total population of Hull. Significantly, perhaps, these people are not said to have lacked shelter. Those who were not so sorely pressed had recourse to the money-lenders and to the pawnshops, which were always busy during the winter months. In 1741, for instance, a woman was brought before the magistrates for charging a farthing a week interest on a loan of four shillings, which worked out at 20% more than the legal maximum interest of 5%. However, the lender, a Mrs. Woods, argued that the borrower was aware of the conditions, and so she was dismissed. Apparently Mrs. Woods had a profitable business and an easy way round the law; but the interesting thing about this case is the attempt of the Bench to protect those it considered to be exploited.⁴² The same is true of pawnbroking, a trade which was booming towards the end of the century, probably in response to a real need for credit during the periods when wages were not being paid, although the system was open to abuses. In February 1790 the Bench endeavoured to act against those pawnbrokers who were a menace to society by directing the Members of Parliament to obtain a government regulation of the trade.⁴³ Finally, without losing their homes or their freedom the hard pressed could claim on the charity which was always forthcoming in times of trouble.

Nor were the lower classes entirely without education

during our period. In the first quarter of the century the only public school in Hull was the Free Grammar School, which was not free, although the Master's salary was paid by the Corporation. The Master received at least £1 per annum, and probably more, from each of his pupils, "and of all strangers for their children, as much as he and they should agree for."⁴⁴ But the ideal of free education for poor children was not lost in Hull. In 1734 the Vicar, William Mason, established the "Vicar's School", "in commemoration of the blessings of the revolution", and tuition appears to have been entirely free, the school being supported by an annual charity sermon supplemented by the Corporation.⁴⁵ Pupils were nominated by the Vicar and provided with books, pens and paper, and the only conditions were "That they attend divine service twice every Sunday at Trinity Church, and in the evening be all catechised", and "That the parents of the children live orderly lives, attend divine worship, and give their children good examples at home." The sixty boys were eligible for nomination when they reached the age of eight years, and they attended the school for three years. As was the custom of the time, education was highly concentrated. Pupils attended for only three years, but during that time they were in school from seven o'clock in the morning to five o'clock in the evening (with one hour allowed for lunch) and from eight o'clock to four o'clock in the winter. Nor is there any record of school holidays.

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The Grammar School and Vicar's school were mainly concerned with classical education. A more practical venture was the Marine School established by Trinity House in 1786.⁴⁶ The 36 pupils - 2 nominated by each of the 12 Elder Brethren and six Assistants - were taught writing, arithmetic and navigation, and they were each given one sailor-type uniform, two pairs of shoes and two hats per annum. Tuition was free, but it was given on the express understanding that boys should enter the merchant service at the end of their three years in the school. There was, in fact, an annual Feast - a kind of open day - held on March 25th, "that they may the more easily find masters to get to sea, being about the time of ships going on their first voyages."

Consideration was not given solely to the education of poor boys. In 1753 Coggan's Charity School for 20 poor girls (more if funds allowed) was opened by one of the town's Aldermen.⁴⁷ The object was to give free instruction in reading, knitting, sewing, washing, tending to linen, and general housework. After three years in the School the girls were to be put to service; if they behaved themselves for seven years, then they were each to receive £6 on their marriage. Towards the end of the century there were also three Spinning Schools, each for 34 girls who were clothed and educated, again to fit them for service.

Apart from the schools already mentioned there were several attempts to establish semi-religious schools. The

Methodists had some sort of school functioning in the 'sixties, for John Wesley wrote to tell them that, because of the unavoidable damage, school should not be taught in the Manor Alley Chapel.⁴⁸ The Nonconformist ministers may also have had schools, but they do not appear to have established Sunday Schools.⁴⁹

The first record of interest in Sunday Schools comes in 1786, when the Committee for Spinning Schools decided to open eight Sunday Schools in various parts of the town. They were a failure; only four were opened in the first place, and mention was made of only one when the committee presented its report in 1788.⁵⁰

A few stray letters,⁵¹ couched in appalling grammar, indicate that the rudiments of education were beginning to influence even the lowest members of the community, and it is not surprising to find those who did not regard this as a good thing. The Historian Hadley⁽¹⁷⁸⁸⁾ was among them. "The working poor," he wrote, "are by far the most numerous class of people, and when kept in due subordination, they compose the riches of the nation. But there is a degree of ignorance necessary to keep them so, and to make them either useful to others or happy in themselves."⁵² Fortunately for the future of Hull, Hadley's views on education were not widely held among the governing class.

The entertainments of the poor were, of course, more mundane than those of their richer neighbours, but they were none the less an essential part of the life of the town, for the men of Hull, unlike most workers in the countryside or in industrial towns,

had a considerable amount of free time. Seamen, then as now, alternated between long sea-voyages and long periods at home. While the ship was in port there was little for a seaman to do if he was not required to load or unload part of the cargo. This was especially true in the winter months, when ships were laid up because of the freezing of the Baltic waters, and the period of "resting" could be as long as two or three months if an alternative job could not be found in the meantime.

Those who were not seamen, but who were connected with the sea, were also engaged in work which was mostly seasonal. Staith and dock labourers, coopers, ship-repairers, etc., worked only when ships were ready for them, workers in the Greenland houses only when blubber was available, brewers only when hops were ready, and so on. At any time in the winter months there might be as many as a thousand men roaming around the town, trying to find something to pass the time away.

While the upper and middle classes had their hunting and shooting, their dinners, assemblies, coffee houses and clubs, the lower classes had to make do with the cock-pits, the public houses and the Dram shops (the former selling ale and the latter spirits). The number of licensed premises ⁵³ during the eighteenth century was large, rising from 103 in 1740⁵⁴ (119 a year later) to 187 in 1794. The public~~h~~ houses, as distinct from the gin-shops, were probably the commonest meeting places for the majority of the male population, the places where a man could be reasonably sure of finding his friends. They were also used for meetings of

the various societies - usually Benevolent Societies - and for meetings of groups of particular workmen. The shipwrights, for instance, were apparently a fairly compact group, used to meeting together, as when those employed by Blaydes, Bine & Walton, Nicholas Walton and Barnes met together to pledge their support for their favourite for the 1784 by-election, Walter Spencer-Stanhope.⁵⁵

The Dram shops were less convivial. For one thing the drink was stronger, and took less time to act; people could drop in for a "quick one", or lose themselves with the least possible delay. "Several of the poor people came into his shop", wrote Strother of Storm's Dram shop, "as I stood at a little distance from the door yesterday night, call'd for a Dram which they paid for and drank of immediately and that is the manner in which his trade runs."⁵⁶

The public houses could provide the facilities which the poor needed for discussions and arguments; they could also be extremely rowdy. Disorderly public houses were often a source of worry to the constables, and Dram shops could be even worse. Hadley records that in 1742 "one Joseph Berry, a bricklayer, went to Robert Mowburn's, a dram shop in Page's entry about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and was carried home dead about six, very much bruised, but as there was no proof of any one abusing him, therefore the jury brought in verdict, accidental death."⁵⁷ One wonders if the jury were told the truth, and if Berry really had been "abused". The fact was that there was very little the

common seamen could do except visit the public houses or Dram shops or lounge about, "left at leisure to exercise their dissolute manners on the inoffensive passenger in the public streets," with the result that, while the merchants entertained themselves in the peaceful atmosphere of their social gatherings, their employes were fighting in the streets; and since many of the sailors, particularly the foreigners, were armed, the results were often unpleasant, as when an English soldier lost four fingers in an encounter with Russian sailors "as he was standing on the foot pavement leading from the Humber Bank in this town."⁵⁸

Apart from the social life of the public houses - which in any case concerned mainly the adult men - the chief entertainments of the poorer people were to be found in the public events which regularly took place.

One such annual event was Hull Fair, still a fair for livestock, but also including the pleasures of the "fairground". Strother thought enough of it to try his hand at a rather painful verse:⁵⁹

"Here Lads and Lasses all together stare,
 Pleased with the thoughts of Kingston Fair;
 Then shew their Teeth in distorting their chins
 And gaping wide with all ludicrous grins.
 Some fallal'd out in gaudy ribbands shew
 Whilst having by their sides a Country beau
 Whose head hangs forwards shews just come from plough
 Silk handkerchief around his neck to shine
 Green Strings on Leather Breeches, Lord how fine.
 Crook'd stick in hand or perhaps a staff,
 Which leaning on he grins the Idiot's laugh.
 These ruddy country dames, Complexion fair
 Caused by good exercise of wholesome air,

Or something better being free from care;
 Who handsome Corps and little else display
 Are sauntering up and down to spend the day
 Thus careless idling all the time away."

Elections were also recurring excuses for general - and often rowdy - festivity, ~~usually~~ at the expense of the candidates, and the elections probably caused as much excitement among the lower classes as York races did among those who could afford the time and money to attend them. Less laudable was the excitement caused by public punishments, such as ducking⁶⁰ and whipping, while it must have been a dreadful thing to be put in the Pillory to face drunken and callous loungers; the constables always had to turn out in force when a man was punished in this way, and one wonders why the Corporation did not find a cheaper punishment. An even worse method of working off surplus energy was to riot at the expense of the Methodists, the Quakers or the Catholics, but such riots were extremely rare.

Finally, entertainment was to be found in special events, such as the elaborate and spectacular opening of the First Hull Dock, and the Centenary celebrations for the 1688 Revolution. The 1788 celebrations were undoubtedly the event of the century. For several days the whole population was in a state of great excitement. When the Members of Parliament (Thornton and Stanhope) arrived they "were met at some distance from the Town by a great number of the inhabitants, and were drawn in their

carriages through the principle streets to the noble and beautiful equestrian Statue of our Great Deliverer, where they were saluted by reiterated acclamations of joy, that contributed to raise the Burst of Loyalty which showed itself the following day." On Wednesday November 5th, the entire population turned out to watch or take part in the many orange bedecked processions which thronged the streets all day. The Marine School entertained the public by singing "God save the King, Rule Britannia, and several other Constitutional songs; in choruses of which they were joined by thousands of the spectators." The celebrations were, in fact, summed up by one of the gentlemen of the town who composed a verse on the

occasion: ⁶¹

"...The service o'er; in solemn pace, and slow,
 The Grand Procession moves - the French Horns blow -
 Whilst various Instruments in concert play,
 And every Tongue proclaims the Welcome Day.
 And thrice it moves around the STATUE fair,
 And thrice a volly thunders in the air!
 Ten thousand hats at once are whirl'd on high,
 And loud Huzzas pierce the sky!
 Full from the fort the thund'ring Cannons roar!
 Whilst ECHO spoke the Joy from shore to shore.
 Pass we the hours the Multitudes employ
 In hospitable rites, and social Joy.

As Night descended, sparkling Rockets fly,
 Blaze thro the Void, and beautifully die.
 Then, (following close the well-digested plan)
 A Grand illumination straight began - - -
 Gay splendid lights th'immagination seize,
 Here curious Emblems, there Transparencies;
 Myriads of Lamps their vivid pow'rs display,
 Glitter afar, and cause a doubtful Day!
 Thro' all the Day, its sacred Honours bright,
 Thro' all the dangerous Glories of the Night,
 No noisy clamour did the Bliss annoy,
 Nor accident disturb the General Joy;

But REASON did the Great Occasion crown,
And Harmony preserv'd thro' all the Town.
Hail KINGSTON, hail! the Jubilee is past!
Yet THY fair Fame thro' ages long shall last...."

(iii) Religion:

No account of the social life of Hull during our period would be complete without some consideration of the religious atmosphere in the town, for religion was the most important single influence on the lives of its inhabitants.

According to the stratification of the forms of religious expression, Hull was predominantly a "low church" town, a fact which accounted both for the strong opposition to Roman Catholicism and the easy acceptance of "Evangelicals" and Protestant Dissenters which made Hull one of the great centres of Methodism in the nineteenth century.

The opposition to Roman Catholicism was not due entirely to religious differences. "When we reflect on the miseries which these (sic) nation endured", said the "Humble Address of the Mayor and Burgesses" ⁶² on the outbreak of the 1745 rebellion,

"when last under the Government of a Popish head, and the eminent danger to which our religion, laws, liberty and property, were then exposed, and on the other hand, consider the peace and security, in which we have enjoyed all those invaluable blessings ever since the accession of your august House to the throne of these kingdoms. We cannot but think that any attempt against your Majesty, in favour of a person, bred up at the fountain head of tyranny, superstition, and persecution, must be opposed,

with the greatest spirit and resolution, of all your Majesty's protestant subjects, and become as vain and fruitless as they are desperate"

Roman Catholicism had no prospect of success in Hull so long as it was associated with tyranny, for in the eighteenth century political and religious institutions were inextricably interwoven. The attempted repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, in 1790, brought forth a howl of indignation from the "Friends to the Church of England, for the East Riding of Yorkshire and the town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull", but once again the reasons for the hostility would not today be classed as religious. "It was the decided and unanimous opinion of the meeting," they asserted, "That the Gentlemen ~~(~~of the meeting~~)~~ had with wisdom, established such a system of religion, as was best calculated to promote the peace, safety, and happiness of its subjects."⁶³

There were, of course, a few Catholics in Hull. Two of the thirteen Aldermen - William Skinner and William Hayes - refused to take the oath to William III, and they and fifteen other people were classed as "disaffected persons". Catholics were not persecuted in the eighteenth century, but attempts were made to stop them from imbibing fresh inspiration from the "fountain head of tyranny". One of them, John Elleker of Anlaby, was ordered to produce his son in court at the Quarter Sessions, in 1703, because he was "suspected to have conveyed (him) to some seminary or Popish School, beyond the seas, to

be brought up in the Romish religion, contrary to the laws of this realm." Elleker did not come, and a warrant was issued for his arrest, but what eventually happened is not known.⁶⁴ Roman Catholicism continued to survive, and a chapel existed in Postern Gate in the 'seventies, if not before, and a Catholic priest, a Mr. Howard, was resident in Hull in 1780, when an angry mob, inspired by the Gordon riots, partially demolished the chapel. Howard sold it to the Jews, twenty or thirty of whom thereupon used it as a Synagogue, and built another chapel in Leadenhall Square (off the west side of Lowgate); it was, says Tickell, "but thinly attended".⁶⁵

Protestant Dissenters, on the other hand, were very numerous. The oldest congregations were two bodies of Puritans dating back to Civil War period. They had played an influential part in the life of Hull during the disturbances in the second half of the century, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century they settled down to a period of respectable and prosperous tranquillity in their homes in Bowl Alley Lane and Dagger Lane. Respectability, in the eighteenth century meaning of the word, was probably the keynote of the dissenting bodies. They had ceased to be evangelical and were concentrating on consolidating their position; "The 'Old Dissent'", wrote W. Whitaker in his study of Puritanism in Hull, "tended to be a little enclosed lake, not touched by the tidal wave that was now driving the world to a new experience of life and religion."⁶⁶

Both the churches were, however, being strongly influenced by doctrinal issues which changed their character in the middle of the century. The Presbyterian Bowl Alley Lane church came under the influence of "Socinianism" - leading to Unitarianism - which was spreading throughout the neighbourhood in the second quarter of the century. The Reverends John Harris of Beverley, John Angier of Swanland, Benjamin Clegg of Cottingham and (?) Ellis of South Cave were all men leaning towards or openly embracing Unitarianism, and all of them frequented the Bowl Alley Lane chapel and in fact administered baptism to children there.⁶⁷ Thus it is not surprising that the Reverend John Beverley's ordination service in July 1758 should have been conducted by Unitarians,⁶⁸ and that Bowl Alley Lane chapel became the seed-ground of Unitarianism in Hull. In the first quarter of the century, when figures are available, the congregation numbered roughly five hundred "hearers" and apparently there were three ministers practicing at the same time.⁶⁹ Throughout the century the members included many of the most influential people in Hull, and Hadley, who disliked Dissenters, was forced to admit at the end of the century that the congregation in Bowl Alley Lane was "the genteelst in the town."⁷⁰ Ralph Peacock, who was one of the principal merchants and a member of Trinity House, was a trustee of the chapel, and so, at a slightly later date (1744) was Alderman Benjamin Blaydes, a member of the greatest ship-building family in Hull. Joseph Pease, the first Hull banker,

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may have been a trustee, and his grandson, Joseph Robinson Pease, was also a member, as was the man whose statue still stands in front of his Infirmary - Doctor John Alderson.⁷¹

The chapel seems to have been a centre of social and intellectual, as well as religious, life. A Library had been given at the beginning of the century, and this was the scene of social gatherings, as, for instance, when 2s. 6d. was spent on "wine at library thanksg." after the Peace of Paris, and on other occasions money was spent on tobacco, cork screws, punch ladles, lemon strainers, and "waiters", all for the library.⁷²

The second of the old Puritan churches, that in Dagger Lane, was a Congregational church at the beginning of the century, but it was turning to Presbyterianism at the same time as Bowl Alley Lane was turning to Unitarianism. The beginning of the pastorate of the Reverend John Burnett (1767-82) marks the beginning of official Presbyterianism in Dagger Lane, and also the secession of eleven members, including Daniel Tong who later became one of the great whaler owners, who built a new chapel in Blanket Row in 1769. Their first minister, George Lambert, was a young student from Heckmondwike Academy, which was having a great influence at this time on Nonconformity in Yorkshire. From exceedingly humble beginnings the new church went on from strength to strength, no doubt because of Lambert's great personality; in 1773 a couple of galleries had to be

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added, and nine years later a new, bigger, church was built in Fish Street where, according to Tickell, more children were baptised than in the other Non-conformist churches.⁷³

There were several other Non-conformist bodies at the beginning of the century, but little is known about them. Jonathan Beilby whose family played a great part in civic life - he was Chamberlain in 1701, Mayor in 1719 and 1739 - had a house licensed for occasional Independent worship in 1705, and several others were licensed between 1712 and 1717, one of them for Baptists.⁷⁴ The Baptists were, however, slow to establish themselves, and it was not until 1735 that a Meeting House was opened in "King Henry's Tower" in Manor Alley. The congregation soon grew larger, however, and in 1757 they moved to a larger chapel in Salthouse Lane, which in turn became too small and had to be enlarged in 1790 to contain a congregation which now numbered about four hundred, of whom one hundred and twenty were communicants.⁷⁵ The Baptists, like the Independents and Presbyterians were going through a period of doctrinal ferment in the middle of the century, and in 1769 their minister, Rutherford, was dismissed. He took his faithful followers with him and, after sheltering for some time in the old theatre, moved into a new chapel in Dagger Lane. Rutherford's doctrine must have differed considerably from that of his old church, for the new body appears

to have been associated with Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, a body of Calvinistic-Anglicans who owed their origin mainly to the preaching of George Whitfield. They used part of the normal Anglican ritual, and held no services during the times appointed for services in the local Anglican churches. The congregation did, in fact, consist partly of dissenters and partly of Anglicans, and one of the later ministers, a man called Harris, actually received episcopal ordination and entered the Anglican church.⁷⁶

Between them the Non-conformists, including the Quakers (of whom there were twenty or thirty families), the Catholics and the Jews (who also numbered twenty or thirty families), probably accounted for between one thousand and one thousand five hundred people. The remainder of the population were, in so far as they were anything, Anglicans and Methodists. They went to Holy Trinity or St. Mary's - called Low Church because it stood in Low Gate - as a matter of course, following the example of the Mayor and Corporation - who appointed the vicar of Holy Trinity - who on special occasions went to the parish church complete with ceremonial mace and sword. The Church of England was part of the established order of things, and the great majority of people accepted it without reservation, perhaps because, unlike the people in many other parishes, they were very well served by the local clergy. There was always a close link between the clergy and the more influential members of the community, since the vicar of Holy Trinity was appointed

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by the Corporation, and the vicar of St. Mary's by one of the greatest merchant families - the Thorntons, who were evangelical in outlook, at least in the second half of the century. Joseph Milner was busy spreading the evangelical doctrines which had so much influence on Wilberforce and also, perhaps, on the Thorntons, in his capacity as Master of the Grammar School (after 1767) and Lecturer of Holy Trinity (after 1768). Thus one of the men principally responsible for spreading orthodox doctrine in the second half of the century was one who thought that Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion" was one of the best books ever written. Thomas Clarke, who was appointed vicar of Holy Trinity in 1783, on the recommendation of Wilberforce, his brother-in-law, was also an Evangelical, who on at least one occasion invited Wesley to preach in the parish church, when he told him that "he never saw the Church so full before." He was, like all the Hull clergy, Anglican and Non-conformist alike, an Anti-slaver, and his sermon "On the injustice of the Slave Trade" was published in 1792.

The Anglicans, no less than the Non-conformists, were greatly strengthened by the rapidly growing population of Hull, and by the last quarter of the century it was generally admitted that the two churches were insufficient to meet the needs of the town. Fashionable suburbs were springing up to the north of

the old town, and so a fashionable church, St. John's was built to cater for them. It stood on the south side of the present City Square, roughly where the Faxon's Art Gallery now stands. Initially St. John's was built at the sole expense of yet another Evangelical, the Reverend Thomas Dykes, a fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, but the sale of pews brought in over £3,500 towards the cost. With individual pews averaging £17. 15s. 6^d. there can be little doubting which section of the community was expected to benefit from the new church.⁷⁷

In the eighteenth century Methodism was still - at least in theory - a movement within the Anglican Church. It was brought to Hull in 1746, soon after its inception, by the Blow family of Grimsby who ran - and still run - a small coastal packet service between Hull and Grimsby.⁷⁸ For many years the society was a small struggling one, but at least the town was prepared for Wesley's first visit in 1752, and opposition to him was far less than in most other places.⁷⁹ Wesley recorded that on this occasion his hearers were a "large multitude, rich and poor, horse and foot, with several coaches". During his next visit, in 1759, Wesley again noted that his congregation was a "fine" one, "so for once the rich have the Gospel preached".⁸⁰ Despite the fact that Methodism was fairly popular, the people who met together to discuss their personal faith managed with a room in an old tower that had once been part of the De la Pole palace, until, 1771, when Hull became a Circuit town with three

"ministers", and a proper chapel was built, "pro bono publico" as the inscription on the wall asserted. By 1786 this chapel had become too small, and a new one was built in George Yard, and yet another was erected in Scott Street in 1793. By 1794 some 1,280 people owed their allegiance to the Hull Circuit,⁸¹ which was already showing signs of the very great developments which took place in the nineteenth century, and already by the end of the century Hull had provided two Presidents of the Methodist Conference, Alexander Mather (stationed in Hull 1791-3) in 1792 and Joseph Benson (stationed in Hull 1786-88, 1797-9) in 1798.

Although chapels were erected, and people called themselves Methodists, there was no intentional secession from the Anglican church, and Hull Methodists continued to regard themselves as members of the established church at least until the end of the century. When some Methodists were beginning to press for a break with the parent body the Methodists of Hull issued a circular, dated 14th May, 1791, in which they prophesied that if once Methodism seceded from the Church of England it would "dwindle away into a dry, dull, separate party".⁸² They advocated that the sacraments should continue to be administered only by ordained clergymen, and that only episcopally ordained ministers should be recognised. It was still regarded as the duty of the Methodist Lay preachers and the chapels to bring the heathen within the folds of the Anglican Church.

Methodism, like the Dissenting churches, soon began to

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attract the most influential inhabitants of Hull, and in the last quarter of the century could claim people like Joseph Gee, merchant and shipowner, William Ompier the wharfinger, Thomas Thompson the merchant and banker, who became the first Methodist to enter Parliament, and the Terry family of merchants, shipowners and brokers. It was on the lawn of Terry's house at Newland that the Radical General George Perronet Thompson (Thomas Thompson's son) first heard Wesley preach; he was so young at the time (?1786) that he was allowed to "wander away from the preaching, and botanise in the environs".⁸² Some idea of the wealth of the Methodist community can be gained from the cost of George Yard Chapel, which Sheahan puts at £4,000 - £5,000.⁸⁴

One of the most noticeable and interesting things about religion in Hull in the eighteenth century was the cordial relations which existed between the various denominations. The bitterness, hatred and persecution which is often to be found elsewhere in England was almost totally absent in Hull, where a strong feeling of religious unity had been encouraged by the troubles of the seventeenth century. There was, in fact, little difference between orthodoxy and dissent, the present differences having been created chiefly during the nineteenth century. As late as 1816 coming to Hull was, for Lambert's successor at Fish Street, "like joining an informal Evangelical Alliance".⁸⁵ At the very beginning of our period, in 1698, a Society for the Reformation of Manners in Kingston-upon-Hull was formed by members of the various denominations

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who resolved "to lay aside ye thought of our differences as to opinion in matters of religion", and the qualification for membership was to be that a person should be "sound in the main".⁸⁶

The Puritan spirit which had been so strong in earlier times still survived in this society, which continued to prosecute people before the magistrates (several of whom were members) for such heinous crimes as "Swearing one oath", for which a shilling fine was imposed, and one enterprising informer prosecuted an unfortunate victim for "Swearing and Cursing a hundred times". The Society gradually disappeared, but the respect for "sound in the main" continued, and has always been a feature of the religious life of Hull. The eighteenth century ministers were on the best of terms, visiting each other, loosing members to each other, preaching funeral sermons for each other and mourning each other; "I have lost another beloved friend today," wrote the Reverend George Lambert, "in the death of Mr. King, of Low Church".⁸⁷ Lambert seems to have been on the friendliest terms with all the Hull clergy. On 2nd May, 1782 he records that "Mr. Barker of Low Church called," and on 25th December, 1782 that he "heard Mr. Barker at Low Church. It was a good sermon, well introduced".⁸⁸ It was in Lambert's Church that Joseph Milner was converted by students belonging to Lady Huntingdon's Welsh College (Trevecka),⁸⁹ and it is not surprising that Lambert should have stayed with the Thorntons when he visited London, and that he should have been driven round Blackheath in Wilberforce's carriage.⁹⁰

There was, then, a free mixing of religious denominations in every section of society. There appears to have been no social difference between the orthodox and dissenting bodies, and the common people no doubt followed the lead of their betters. Dissenters could not very well be persecuted when they were numerous and influential; when the first Hull banker was a Unitarian, the greatest Hull banker a Methodist; when two of the great Aldermanic families - the Beilbies ^{and} Rogers - were Independents and another - the Blaydes - Unitarians; when the men who appointed the vicar of Low church - the Thorntons - were also to be found contributing towards the cost of building the Fish Street Chapel in 1782;⁹¹ when one of Hull's most respected "characters", Sir Samuel Standidge, built the Independent chapel at Thorgunbald, where he lived;⁹² and when the Governor of Hull in the middle of the century, Sir George Savile, was one of the most important Unitarians in England.⁹³ In many of the towns and parishes of England Dissenters, and later Methodists, suffered because they belonged to the lower class and had little influence over local government; Nonconformity in Hull was a tower of strength for exactly the opposite reason.

Hull - or to give it its proper title, the county of the town or borough of Kingston-upon-Hull¹ - was governed by a Mayor, a Recorder appointed by the government, and a Common Council - Bench - of twelve Aldermen whose duty it was to be "from time to time assistant and helpful to the Mayor".²

The Mayor, who was originally appointed in 1331 with the granting of the Borough in fee farm by Edward III, was the man principally responsible for the administration of the town, being the Chairman of the Bench of Aldermen and the senior Magistrate. He was elected annually from among the thirteen Aldermen on the day following the feast of St. Michael. In strict theory the charter stated that "the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses.... assembled, shall elect or nominate one of the Aldermen of the town... to be Mayor... for the year following...,"³ but in practice the Aldermen chose two candidates - a choice often simplified by the custom that the most recently elected Alderman should become Mayor at the first vacancy after his election as Alderman - and the Burgesses had to choose one of them. The election for the year 1773, for example, illustrates this practice:

"This day came on the Election of officers for this Corporation for ye ensuing year and after the Act of Parliament for preventing Bribery and Corruption in electing members to serve in Parliament had been openly read The Right Worshipful Benjamin Blaydes Esq Mayor according to custom acquainted the Burgesses that the Lights for Mayor ~~was~~ Aldermen Bell and Alderman Mace upon which Alderman Mace was duly Elected Mayor

for the ensuing year by a Great Majority of the voices of the Burgesses present and was so declared by Mr. Mayor for the time being." 4.

The Aldermen were chosen from among the Burgesses in the same way, here again two nominees - Lights - being presented to the Burgesses by the Bench. Alderman Daniel Hoare, who resigned when he went bankrupt in 1712, represented the view with which the Burgesses' participation in elections was held, by writing to the Bench: "I desire your worships will please to elect another Alderman in my room".⁵ Naturally the Burgesses did not always take kindly to the nominees of the Bench, but there was little they could do about it. In 1741, writes Hadley:⁶

"At the election of the Mayor, Sheriff, and Chamberlains, this year, after they were all regularly chosen, the Burgesses would not disperse, but stood crowding round the place, tho' they had been often asked if any wanted to vote. The books being shut, some persons dissatisfied with the election, cried out HAVE YOU ALL POLLED? an answer was made NO, and they demanded a fresh poll; which being denied as illegal, a riot ensued, and they threatened to pull down the Hall, and abused and hissed the Aldermen, but the Constables having secured seven or eight of the ringleaders, and carried them to prison, the rest were dismayed, and those who were taken were kept in confinement and fined."

Hull was, then a corrupt borough. The Burgesses were virtually compelled to elect as their governors the nominees of their governors, who were thus a self-perpetuating body rather than the elected representatives which they were supposed to be; and the unrepresentative nature of the Bench was carried even further by the fact that there were a growing number of people who were not Burgesses. But

extreme care must be exercised in talking about corruption and its effects, for in the eighteenth century there was no alternative. Anyone could become a Burgess, by paternity, apprenticeship or purchase,⁷ and similarly anyone could, given the necessary qualifications, become an Alderman. The qualifications were, simply, that the person concerned should have "made good", and that his influence in the town and knowledge of its affairs should be sufficient to merit formal recognition. For this reason Aldermen were almost always merchants, and the fact that many generations of the same family are to be found in the lists of Corporation officers is due not to their ability to fake elections but to their ability to keep in the first rank of commercial houses. They began their journey to the Mayoralty as Chamberlains, two of whom were chosen every year "from the body of the younger tradesmen, who appear to be rising in the world, and fit to fill the said office."⁸ Next they became Sheriff and, if they had proved their ability, they then became Alderman and Mayor, like Joseph Sykes, who was Chamberlain in 1751, Sheriff in 1754 and Mayor in 1761 (and 1777).

The truth is, that membership of the Bench was regarded by many as a necessary burden rather than a desirable sinecure, and the contemporary Tickell judges the Mayoralty "an office more honourable than lucrative, and attended with a great deal of trouble."⁹ Many men refused to become Aldermen, preferring to pay the £300 fine - or part of it - rather than tie themselves to a never ending series of meetings from which they could not

absent themselves without due cause,¹⁰ and several of the great merchants refused even to become Burgesses. In 1724 three of the most promising young men in Hull, Nathaniel Maister, Richard Sykes and Samuel Mowld, declined to take up their freedoms and in consequence were ordered to pay Water Bailiff Dues to the Corporation,¹¹ and some years later two of the greatest merchant houses, Horners and Broadleys, were prosecuted for the same reason.¹²

Those men who did take on the onerous task of running the town did so because they considered it their duty. They may have spoken and acted as the representatives of the commercial community, but in the eighteenth century the commercial community WAS Hull. Nothing else mattered, and in so far as they acted for the benefit of the merchants the Bench indirectly benefitted the population which depended on the merchants for its livelihood. Not for nothing did the Dock Company, which was soon to experience for itself the attacks made by the Bench on behalf of the town, call the Aldermen "ye official Parents of the Town".¹³

The actual day-to-day administration of the town was carried out by means of orders and bye-laws made at sessions of the Bench, to which the Charter had given "...full power and authority to... make, from time to time...so many and such reasonable laws...as, according to their wise discretions, shall be seen by them to be... necessary, for the good rule and government of the Burgesses, artificers, and inhabitants of the town..."¹⁴ Moreover, the

bye-laws were to be enforced by "...reasonable pains, penalties, and punishments, by imprisonment of body or by fines and amerciaments..." Although they were thus able to enforce their wishes on the town - or, rather, on those inhabitants who neglected their duty to their neighbours - the Bench gave some at least of their bye-laws the force of national law by incorporating them in general Acts of Parliament, dealing with innumerable aspects of local government. The first of these was introduced in 1755 (28 George II, c27) and covered many of the bye-laws made during the first half of the century. It was amended in 1761 (2 George III, c70) and again in 1763 (4 George III, c74), and it was more or less superseded by the great general Act of 1783, which regulated everything from the building of a new gaol to the breadth of party walls. The bye-laws and Acts did not, of course, apply to Sulcoates, which was "improved" by a special private Act in 1801 (41 George III, c30) which was, however, chiefly the work of the more important Hull merchants.¹⁵

The great merchants and shipowners were also the dominant influence in Parliamentary politics. Parliamentary representation was a far more important thing for a commercial centre than for any other type of constituency, for trade was the only subject upon which Parliament was continually legislating in a way which deeply affected local conditions; and even broader issues, such as international relations, often had a greater affect on Hull

than on the neighbouring constituencies of Hedon, Beverley, Scarborough, York or Grimsby. It is therefore not surprising to find that the Members for Hull were all closely associated with the merchant community there. During the first half of the century they were usually drawn from the great merchant families, and included Alderman Sir William St. Quentin (1695-1724), Alderman William Maister (1700-1716), Alderman Nathaniel Rogers (1716-27), George Crowle (1724-47), Henry Maister (1732-41), and Richard Crowle (1754-57), while in the second half of the century they tended to be men with national as well as local connexions, such as William Wilberforce (1780-84) and Samuel Thornton (1784).

Whatever their political affiliations in Parliament, the main responsibility of the Members was to the Bench, which embodied the sentiments and aspirations of the merchant community, and their main duty was representing that community in Parliament. One only has to glance through the older histories to realise the vast amount of written communications which were sent up to the Members to be presented to the King, to Parliament or to one or other of the government departments. Petitions objecting to various aspects of the government's legislation and praying for relief or for changes in the law, Bills for improvements to the town and port of Hull, and innumerable loyal addresses all went through their hands, and they were also expected to furnish the Bench with detailed accounts of everything which happened in London which was in any way likely to affect Hull. Even after the Reform

Act the Corporation continued to write to Members as if they were their agents at Westminster.

The political atmosphere in Hull was influenced to a great extent by the same factors which determined the religious atmosphere. Indeed, "Low Church" religion was itself partly responsible for the political temper of the town. The seventeenth century had been the most troubled period in the history of Hull, with the Puritanical ^{burghesses} staunchly supporting the Parliamentary cause in the Civil War - even when the surrounding country was Royalist - and the Protestant cause during the reign of James II. In 1688 Sir William Hickman and John Ramsden were elected by the Burgesses of Hull in defiance of the expressed wish of the King (transmitted through Lord Langdale, the Governor), and consequently the town had been placed under a rather brutal martial law which lasted until the Bench ordered a revolt on 3rd December, 1688, later celebrated as "Town-taking Day".¹⁶

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Hull was therefore an almost hysterical supporter of William III and the Glorious Revolution, and the Hanoverian dynasty was later welcomed as the divine deliverance from the loathsome Stuarts. Throughout the century Hull was passionately loyal to the King and "constitution", irrespective of the "party" in power, although the Whigs, needless to say, were exceedingly popular. The Marquis of Rockingham was the High Steward of Hull from ¹⁷⁶⁶ 1762, when the office - which was purely honorary - was revived as a complement to him, until his death in 1782.

Members of Parliament were selected as individuals rather than as members of particular political groups, especially in the first half of the century, but it was expected that they should be in general agreement with the political outlook of the majority of the inhabitants, who were, of course, influenced by the great merchants.

The political expressions of the Members were closely watched, in case they should not represent the political outlook of the Bench and principal inhabitants. One member, David Hartley (1774-80, 1782-4), had the temerity to differ publicly from the Corporation over the American war, which he condemned and they, for a short time, supported; as a result he lost his seat at the next election, but his action was later forgiven, and he was once more Member for Hull in 1783, when he concluded the Peace treaty of Paris.¹⁷

The parliamentary electorate consisted of the same people as the borough electorate, namely the freemen of the town, each of whom had two votes, one for each of the two members representing the town. No attempt was made by the Bench to control the number of electors (except in the periods immediately preceding elections, when the admittance of new freemen was temporarily suspended)¹⁸ but the Bench and the principal merchants wielded a great power based on influence and connexion, and prospective candidates relied on their support if they had no influence of their own. In the first instance a candidate might offer his services directly to the Bench, as did Sir Henry Houghton for the by-election of 1724.¹⁹

In this case the Bench agreed to "accept and encourage" his offer rather than that of a local merchant, George Crowle, but, despite the Bench's opposition, Crowle won the day because of his personal influence with the electorate, a fact which shows that the town was not quite so corrupt as might be imagined.

It was essential for a candidate to have the support of a powerful group of merchants, if not of the Bench, for the free Burgesses usually ranged themselves behind the great merchants. During the 1784 by-election caused by the resignation of Wilberforce, Walter Spencer Stanhope's agent wrote to tell him that "The lower class of Burgesses who had entered into a written contract to support any Gentleman Mr. H. Broadley or the Sykes should set up in opposition to you are now deserting the Party every day".²⁰ Rockingham's Whigs certainly left the details of winning an election to the local men of substance. On one occasion Rockingham informed a prospective candidate who asked for his support that he was bound "to take no steps whatever in relation to Candidates at Hull, but entirely to make it my object to be guided by the Inclination of many respectable and considerable persons in Hull, who are and have been our kind and valuable friends."²¹

The support of the Burgesses was gained in a variety of ways, but the chief of them was undoubtedly purchase. When the 1784 election was over, and financial matters were being cleared up, one unfortunate voter wrote to Stanhope, the successful candidate:

"I take this Earley Opertuenety to Enfurn you mr Smith Gives his Complements to you and should be Glad for A

horder from you to pay Me the Same as the rest of the free Burgises he havin Not My Name in the Books at Hull..."

Apparently he had given his promise at Stanhope's London house before returning to Hull after living in Lond. "I told you", he said, "I should be Down at Hull My wife being Verely badley and is Now Ded Since I came to Hull."²² There is no record that he was ever paid, and ten months later John Stephenson, one of Stanhope's most important friends, had cause to complain that "Entre Nous, your Agent loves money too well, and is much too long in settling Election Matters."²³

Another way of gaining support was to distribute government favours. In Hull this meant mainly jobs in the Customs, which were usually applied for around election times. One such application, forwarded to Stanhope by his supporters William Thompson and Company, bore the cryptic comment: "Poor, he has several of his relations who are Burgesses". Other favours included various petitions to government departments. One, by Elizabeth Smart, supported by Henry Etherington, John Stephenson, Thomas Wood and William Osbourne, was for the release of her son, who was now serving in the army in Ireland. On 19th May, 1784 Stephenson wrote to Stanhope hoping that it could be arranged, and on 23rd May Lord Harrington wrote to Stanhope from Ireland saying that the man had been released and was on his way home. Stephenson probably thought that his action in pestering Stanhope required a word of explanation, for he added the note: "I wish the poor Woman's Petition may meet with Success -

I know her not, but it has always been customary to Sign every petition that has presented to the Candidate or Member who are my friends that no offence may be taken to them." In this respect the poor were not the only ones seeking rewards for their services. Stephenson himself was constantly pressing Stanhope to find a government job - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] for his nephew Mace, who in the meantime was touring his customers as a commercial traveller.

A third type of influence was the political recommendation of inland merchants. Stanhope and his agent between them wrote to every inland merchant who had even the remotest connexion with Hull. Walmsleys of Rochdale were persuaded to recommend Stanhope to Bells, Williamsons and Wm. Thompson & Sons in Hull, and Joseph Walker & Son of Rotherham sent their best wishes and added: "Please to write to Mr. Richard Fishwick and Mr Archer Ward, both of Newcastle on Tyne, and mention my name. I think they have votes for Hull."²⁴

Politically Hull was a corrupt borough. Burgesses were paid for their votes or bribed in some other way; and they loved it. Never where they more disgusted than when there was an undisputed election, for the election gave excitement as well as money to the poor. Hadley, writing shortly after Stanhope had withdrawn from the 1790 election, leaving only two candidates in the field, said:²⁵

"Never perhaps did the clouds of disappointment, more suddenly and universally prevail to obscure the sunshine of approaching joy, than on this occasion. The desertion

of Mr Stanhope, was in every mouth; the plump jocund risibility, that an hour before enlightened all countenances, was gradually drawn down into a longitudinal dejection, which pervaded every face, even the friends of opposition, shrunk with the consciousness of their own approaching unimportance, sensible that their consequence was then (for want of a protracted canvass) sunk to nought, and that nothing could restore it but a THIRD MAN; the cry of which resounded in all parts, while scoured through the streets of HULL the disappointed crowds; and a Bell was sent forth to the adjacent towns, to ring out an invitation to a third CANDIDATE FOR HULL."

Hadley was probably exaggerating slightly, and we may take comfort in the fact that as the people of Hull were quite aware of the bribery it was not as bad as we sometimes think. There is, indeed, a sharp contrast between theory and practice. While the methods of election may have been corrupt - although less corrupt than in other places - the people elected really did represent Hull. We may doubt the legality of Henry Maister's gift of bushels of corn to all the Burgesses who would vote for him,²⁶ but we can never doubt his ability to represent the true interests of the port, and indirectly the people, of Hull; the same might be said of most of his successors in the eighteenth century.

(1) The Administration of the town.

The Mayor and Aldermen were responsible for all matters relating to the streets and public places of Hull, and they exercised considerable care in overseeing the physical development of the town. As early as January 1732 they ordered "that Publick Notices be given, that no person do presume to erect any building in the highways or streets of this town, without first acquainting the Mayor for the time being therewith, and having obtained his consent thereto."¹ Control over the development of the main streets was facilitated by the fact that the Corporation and Trinity House both held large amounts of property in the town, and that much of the building in the eighteenth century was done by one man, Joseph Page. The Bench, Page, and one or other of the principal merchants were able to plan the building of whole rows of houses and the making of streets on their property. In 1772, for instance, there is record of a disagreement between the Bench, Page and a Thomas Hudson, "...relating to the Agreement concerning the Houses at the West End of the High Church and the new Street to be made there."² When, towards the end of the century, it was proposed to make extensive improvements to the southern portion of the town, the Bench acquired powers of compulsory purchase. By a special act of Parliament they were empowered to treat for property for demolition; if the owners refused to sell, the value of the property

was to be assessed by a jury and the costs of the action deducted from the awarded price, the property passing to the Corporation. As a result of this act the southern end of the Market place was demolished and Queen Street built from the Market place to the Humber bank,³ ~~which~~ ^{the foreshore} Shortly afterwards ^{was} moved ^{southwards} from Humber Street to its present position, Nelson Street, by the simple method of dumping there the soil removed when the docks were built.³

The main streets of the town were paved ~~with~~, or cobbled, with footpaths at the sides. Paving and maintaining the public staiths - i.e. the lanes between High Street and the river - was the responsibility of the Bench, but the other streets were the financial responsibility of the inhabitants. Although the Bench could at any time order streets to be paved or repaired, as it was continually doing, it was expected that the occupiers would provide the workmen's wages if the bench provided the materials. As it was not always easy to compel people to pay at their assessed rate (a fixed amount per square yard to the middle of the road), the Corporation was legally entitled to demand payment of wages by the 1755 Act of Parliament.⁴ Use was made of this power when it was ordered "that in future all the Publick Streets within this town be forthwith paved under the directions of Mr. Chandler".⁵ Three months later (1784) a general naming of the Streets was ordered;⁶ the Dock Company had named those being constructed on their land to the north of the dock in 1781.⁷

With regard to the maintenance of the road surfaces, a curiously modern order was made in the 1755 act; if pavements were taken up "for the laying or mending of any water pipes therein, or for making or repairing any drains or sewers under the same, or other purposes, such pavements shall be new laid, and made good." (s. 19)

Some kind of street lighting was introduced into Hull soon after the beginning of the century. In 1713 the Member of Parliament, Sir William St Quentin, was desired to "procure at London, such number of convenient lights, to be set up and maintained within this town, as might be most useful and beneficial to the inhabitants thereof."⁸ But nothing further is heard about lighting until the 1755 Act stated that "...many of the principal inhabitants...do propose to set up and maintain lamps against their own houses..." (s. 29) These lamps were to be the property of the people erecting them, and they remained private property until the Act of 1762. By this Act the Bench became responsible for street lighting, and they were empowered to levy a rate not exceeding one shilling and six pence in the pound on the value of the property. When the new Streets were opened by the Dock Company in the period following 1780, the Company became responsible for lighting them, and for this service they took an annual levy from all the purchasers of building lots, and so the majority of the public streets had lighting maintained by rates of one sort or another.

The cleansing of the Streets was originally the responsibility

of the inhabitants, each of whom dealt with his own frontage to the middle of the road. But this arrangement was clearly unsatisfactory and the 1755 Act enabled the Corporation to appoint "Scavengers" to clean dirty streets, and to demand payment from negligent occupiers. Many of the inhabitants probably preferred this course, which at least had the advantage of uniformity, and the next Corporation Act provided that Scavengers should be permanently employed by the Corporation after August 1764, and that they should be supported out of a rate.

The Corporation was itself responsible for cleansing "all the grates and grate heads, and frames thereof and all the common sewers arched, under the pavements in the said town". The disposal of sewage, which was one of the most important factors determining Public Health, was by means of these bricked-in common sewers, but unfortunately little is known about them or their origin. Underground sewers and drains, with gratings in the streets, certainly existed before the middle of the century, probably long before, and they were provided in most if not all the newer streets. Towards the end of the century the insertion of sewers preceded the building of streets, as it does in modern towns. The Dock Company for example, built a sewer four and a half feet deep when it sold building plots on surplus dock land.⁹

After a brief spell of direct Corporation control the Bench apparently considered that responsibility for lighting and cleansing the streets was too much for them, for by a new Act

these things were vested in the Churchwardens instead of the Bench. A general rate was still to be levied, but the amount was to be determined by an Assessor, serving from August to August, elected by every occupier of property valued at £3 per annum. From one to three Assessors might be elected for each ward in the new town, and their duties were set out in Section 12 of the Act:

"And be it further enacted, by the aforesaid authority, That the Assessor or assessors for the said several wards, to be chosen and appointed as aforesaid shall respectively provide and take care that the Streets, squares.....(etc) ...within their respective wards be from time to time lighted swept and cleansed in manner as aforesaid, and shall and may respectively apply and dispose of the money which shall be raised by the rates."

Having paved, cleansed and illuminated the streets, the Bench naturally did not want them cluttered up with traders and their vehicles. As early as 1716 the Bench endeavoured to check irregularity in the market, in 1722 they regulated the parking of carts and coaches and in the 'thirties they considered the heads of a bill for, among other things, "better regulating of carriages and labourers and porters wages....."¹⁰ But it was not until the general Act of 1755 that their regulations reached the Statute Book.

The 1755 Act stated that "whereas the streets and lanes of the said town are, in general, very narrow, and frequently obstructed by carts, waggons, trucks and other wheel carriages, standing or remaining in the same longer than is necessary; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no cart, waggon, truck or other wheel carriage, with or without horses or other cattle, shall be permitted to remain in any of the public streets, squares, lanes or passages in the said town, longer than is or shall be necessary for loading or unloading the same respectively;

and that no hackney coach

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shall be permitted to stand, or remain in any of the said public streets, squares, lanes or passages, unless whilst in waiting for any person or persons, who hath or have sent for or hired the same..." (s 27)

Finally, the Bench capped their parking regulations with one about speeding with a goods waggon, "faster than a foot pace, to the annoyance of the inhabitants or others being in, or passing along the said streets...."

Further regulations became law by the general Act of 1783.

After July 1783 it became illegal for a coach to ply for hire unless the owner possessed a licence from the Mayor (to be renewed annually), and for a coach or sedan chair to ply for hire without "some mark or figure" plainly visible on the door. Moreover, in the General Quarter Sessions, the Mayor and Bench were empowered to fix and publish "the fares and prices which shall from time to time be paid and payable to hackney coachmen, chairmen, carters, carmen and porters, plying, working and labouring for hire..." (ss29-42)

Having endeavoured to regulate moving nuisances the Bench also acted against static ones. Porticoes were not to project more than twenty-two inches into the street, and business signs were to be removed or made flat against the wall. No stalls larger than seven feet by nine feet were to project from the fronts of shops, and no wheeled stall or any other source of danger was to remain in the streets after dark unless it was clearly lighted. No manure or other rubbish was to be left or dropped in the streets to the annoyance of passers by, and water was to be conveyed down

the sides of houses by pipes, not shot out on to the pavement by spouts. (ss 47-49)

Finally, there were certain regulations about activity in the streets. No person might trade on a Sunday, set up a butcher's block, slaughter animals or drive them through the streets without proper attendants. No one was to pollute the water supply in any way, and no one was to light bonfires of "let off, or throw, any squib, serpent, rocket, cracker, or other fire-work whatsoever."

One of the chief difficulties facing the Corporation was the provision of an adequate water supply, which was doubly important because of the shipping frequenting the port. The part of the river Hull adjacent to the town is tidal, containing seawater, and it was therefore useless, although an attempt was made to take water from the river above the North walls as late as 1733, when Aldermen Cogan and Wilberforce were ordered by the Bench "to view the ground nigh the Stone chair near the river Hull, proper for laying a Calcey for taking water out of the river for the use of the Charterhouse..."¹¹

The streams passing through the town were also polluted. Those in the moats had long ago been found to be "not so sweet as they should have been", and in 1616, according to Gent:¹²

"This occasioned the Magistrates to make an application to Richard Sharpleigh..., William Maltby..., and John Cayer..., three famous artists and engineers; Who coming to view the place, found practically what they intended; and therefore took a Piece of Ground, for one hundred years.... On this they erected Water-works; They had the liberty also, to lay Pipes in the Streets... All this ... to be at their own expence; since the Inhabitants were Yearly to allow a

profitable Compensation for the Water."

The Water works were erected "to the unspeakable satisfaction of the whole town", but little is known of their subsequent history. In 1700 they were owned by a company of thirty-two shares, eleven of which were offered for sale by Timothy and Mary Johnson in August of that year. The Corporation were determined to buy these shares at all costs, and after negotiations over the price to be paid, which the Bench considered to be too high at £350, a final agreement was reached on November 11th, 1700, the money to purchase being borrowed from Alderman Philip Wilkinson.¹³

The works were leased to a manager by the Company, for on November 15th, 1701, it was recorded in the Bench Books that "This day Mr. Carlton ((the Manager)) paid £9. 15s. 7½d. for ½ yrs rent due Mayday last for the Waterhouse and works being 11/32 parts belonging to the Mayor and Burgesses."¹⁴ But the effective control seems to have passed to the Corporation, who on August 19th, 1736, ordered the laying of new water pipes in Silver Street, Scale Lane and High Street in a resolution of the Bench meeting, and the Corporation official was responsible for levying the water rate: "Ordered that Mr. Monckton ((the Town Clerk)) do once more make a demand of the several persons that owe Water Rent their respective Water rents, and that he cutt off the Strings of such persons as refuse to pay."¹⁵ (*Strings were water pipes*)

The Corporation bought the remaining shares in the Company in 1765, when they secured the fifteen belonging to Alderman

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Wilberforce (for about £3,050) and the remainder belonging to a
Mr. Robinson.¹⁶ Thereafter the works were governed by a Committee
of the Bench, although they were leased to a Manager, Mr. Mayson
Wright, on October 31st, 1773.¹⁷ In return for the right to levy
the water rate, he paid an annual rent for the works to the Bench.¹⁸

Mayson Wright marked the beginning of his management by
installing a steam engine, erected by Hendley of York in 1773 or
1774, to take the place of the horses which had previously provided
the power to the pumps in the works. Hendley's engine was, however,
either not satisfactory or not sufficient, for a second engine,
by Boulton and Watt, was erected in 1779, when new pipes were laid
in the "exterior" streets of the town. The Corporation, as owners
of the works, contributed £400 to the cost of this extension, which
brought water twice a week to the suburbs.¹⁹ Pipes were also laid
in the dock, when it was completed, c.1780 for the more convenient
supply of shipping.

Closely allied to the provision of running water was the
emergence of a fire service, which must be one of the first
municipal fire services in England.

Fire was the one great fear which haunted Hull merchants,
living as they did in a compact group along the river, with their
highly inflammable warehouses adjacent to each other and to their
private houses. A serious fire usually meant damage to a large
amount of property, and the Maisters were not the only merchants

who had to blow up one of their warehouses to prevent a blaze from spreading.²⁰ It is therefore understandable that fire fighting should be regarded as one of the responsibilities of the Corporation.

The fight against fires took two forms. In the first place the Bench was continuously issuing orders aimed at preventing fires, especially on ships in the Haven, and this example was later followed by the Dock Company in the Dock. The type of lanterns used on ships was strictly supervised - the Customs officers being forced to submit theirs for inspection, to the Dock Company - and there was a continuous ban on fires and the heating of pitch on board ships.²¹

In the second place the Bench actively engaged in fire fighting. At least as early as 1715, ~~and probably before~~ the Corporation owned Fire engines.²² In that year a "Water Engine" was imported from Amsterdam at a cost of £75. 14s. 11d., and two more were brought from London at the same time.²³ They seem to have been kept in a public place (usually in the Ropery) or in the charge of some of the Aldermen, and there are many references in the Bench Books to the repair and maintenance of the engines. There is no record of a permanent staff in the first half of the century,²⁴ although ~~there was~~ there was certainly a group of trained men in the middle of the century, for on May 14th, 1762, the Corporation paid out £1. 17s. 6d. "By the Engine men @ a Fire at the Goerge",²⁵ and in the 1792 Directory there is a list of the "Fire Engine Company", containing fifteen names, ~~and~~

~~_____~~

Although the Bench performed many of the functions of modern local government, it should be noted that they did not do so without a certain amount of reluctance. The age of Municipal enterprise was, in fact, only just beginning, and the Bench seem to have been unable to make up their minds whether or not to take on new responsibilities. At one time we find them acquiring new powers or making far-reaching plans - such as those for the building of the first dock - and at other times they delegate their powers and abandon their plans. The reason for this is the clash which occurred between new needs and old methods in local government. On the one hand the Bench were forced to assume control over the planning, repairing, cleansing and lighting of the streets, the provision of water, and the relief of the Poor, in order to secure uniformity and orderly development; but on the other hand they had no system of administration capable of organising and directing the daily routine of the town. The Bench could, for instance, order a rate to be levied, but ~~they had no means of collecting it.~~ A paid local government service was still a thing of the future, and so the Bench were compelled to delegate their powers to elected parish or ward officials or to voluntary bodies, such as the Guardians for the Poor, which were created for particular purposes. Similarly, the Bench secured control of the Water works early in the eighteenth century, but they placed them in the hands of a semi-independent manager who levied the authorised rate and paid a rent to the Bench because the Bench themselves could not

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superintend the works or collect the rates. The Bench do not seem to have considered the possibility of EMPLOYING a Manager and giving him a salary; the time was not yet ripe for Corporation employees.

Nowhere is the Bench's vacillation more obvious than in their attitude to the building of the first dock, and nowhere did their vacillation have more disastrous effects. After arranging all the details of the first dock, and having fought many years for it, the Bench suddenly decided to give up the whole idea of Corporation docks, like those at Liverpool, and a private Dock Company was formed. In other words, the Bench were rapidly contracting the extent of their administrative work in the middle of the century and concentrating almost entirely on legislative work, the only kind for which they were suited, in view of their growing financial problems. There was, of course, no general rate in the eighteenth century which covered all aspects of local government. With the exception of rates for particular purposes, such as Poor relief, or street lighting, the Bench had no income levied directly from the inhabitants, and it was expected to "live off its own", like the monarchy of old.²⁶

The chief source of Corporation income was the various duties which they were empowered to levy. The chief of these was the Port Dues levied "from the time of the contrary of which the memory of man does not exist" on all goods landed within the port of Hull.²⁷ Over the years, however, the dues had come to be levied only on

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"Unfreemen of this town", and consequently their value was in no way related to the value of the trade of the port. The threat of a claim for Port Dues was, in fact, occasionally used to compel reluctant merchants to take up their freedom, as when the Bench prosecuted the firm of John & Simon Horner, one of the most important in Hull, for the recovery of duties on iron, hemp, flax and deals, they being "Unfreemen" and therefore not entitled to exemption.²⁸ On the other hand, the Corporation also prosecuted freemen who "Coloured" the goods of "Unfreemen". On 7th December, 1784 it was "Ordered that a case be drawn relative to the Water Bailiff's Dues and to Mr. Joshua Haworth entering goods in his name which are supposed to belong to other persons in order to save the dues..."²⁹ The total Port - or Water Bailiff - dues rose fairly rapidly in the second half of the century - having averaged less than £200 per annum between 1730 and 1750 - until they reached an average of £990 for the years 1785-9 and £1,290 for the years 1790-4.³⁰ The Corporation was also entitled to some other dues, but none of them were of great value. The Woolhouse dues, for instance, were rarely worth more than £50 per annum in the eighteenth century, and they appear to have ceased altogether after 1758. For a few years in the forties there is a record of a corn toll, worth between £60 and £80 per annum, and in the last quarter of the century there is a record of a toll on coal, known as the "Coal Skep", which was collected by the Sword Bearer and was worth approximately £30 per annum. Finally there were the market tolls

7d
and the toll for ships and sloops going through the North Bridge.

A second source of income was the Corporation's property, which was scattered all over the town and included all kinds of houses. Even Aldermen were to be found among the tenants of eighteenth century "council" houses, Alderman Perrott paying £44 per annum for his in the forties.³¹ The Corporation maintained the houses, but they were careful to see that any appreciation in their value should be immediately reflected in the rent: on 12th January, 1748 "Alderman Wilberforce is desired to settle with Mr. Sm. Walter what additional rent he shall pay for alterations and repairs done to his house and Alderman Wilberforce is desired not to agree to take less than 1s. 6d. p. ap for every 20s. Expended upon that Acct."³² With the expenses of government growing rapidly in the second half of the century, the Bench began raising rents and disposing of property. Rents were apparently fixed at the General Quarter Sessions, for after the Bench warned the Customs officials that the rent of the Customs House (which the Corporation owned) would be raised from £36 to £60 per annum, the Collector informed the Commissioners of Customs that "..... yesterday being the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for this Town and County, I waited upon the Mayor and Aldermen to treat with them in relation to the Custom House etc at this port."³³ This "Rent Tribunal" apparently rejected the Collector's claim. Later in the century, in order to make sure that rents were promptly paid, and to facilitate the sale of property, the Bench "Ordered that all Corporation tenants give Bonds to quit their tenements

at 6 months notice if necessary".³⁴ There is no clear indication of the value of Corporation property in the eighteenth century, but it must have been several hundreds of pounds per annum.³⁵

A third source of income was fines levied by the Bench. The largest of these were undoubtedly the fines for the rejection of the offices, several of Aldermen, Sheriffs or Chamberlains, when nominated by the Bench. It should be noted in favour of the Corporation, however, that they did not use the fine for offices in an extortionate way, and references to fines are rare in the Corporation records. At the very beginning of the century there was a cause célèbre, in which Hull's greatest merchant William Crowle, was prosecuted for recovery of the £300 fine because his business would take him abroad and he would not therefore accept the office of Alderman.³⁶ The Judge, Sir Littleton Powis, supported the Bench's argument, but advised a compromise which cut down the fine to £100; thereafter fines were almost always reduced to a more realistic figure, and were occasionally excused altogether. A steadier source of fine income was for Freedoms, which could be purchased for sums varying from a few pounds for a common seaman to a hundred pounds or more for a merchant, (large fines for merchants being justified because they became exempt from Water Bailiff dues) and the Bench also had a more or less steady income from fines for criminal and other offences, ranging from the £10 fine on Richard Terry when one of his ships damaged the North Bridge (repair costs amounted to only £6. 5s. 6d.)³⁷ to the £10 fine on one Newlove "for keeping a Bawdy house".³⁸

The normal income of the Corporation was not sufficient to cover its expenditure towards the end of the century, when the Bench spent a great deal of money in its fight for a dock and later for an extension of the dock. Sporadic sales of property had begun, but on the whole the Bench preferred to borrow money on the security of dues and rents. After 1780 bonds were issued for sums, ranging from £200 to £1,500, borrowed from private individuals and also from the semi-public bodies such as the Charity Hall and the Benevolent Societies.³⁹ On occasions the Bench even paid off one bond with money secured under another.⁴⁰ The Corporation also branched out into Annuities, which were becoming popular towards the end of the century. On 5th January, 1785, for example, the Common Seal was affixed to a bond "for securing the payment of an Annuity of £62. 10s. to John Johnson of Kingston-upon-Hull Landwaiter and Ann his wife during their joint lives and to the survivor during his or her natural life payable quarterly in consideration of £500 paid by the said John Johnson into the hands of the Treasurer..."⁴¹, and in March of that year the Mayor was empowered to contract Annuities "on behalf of the Corporation agreeable to Price's Calculations not exceeding the amount or the value of £1,000" without consulting the Bench.⁴²

The Bench managed to struggle along with their income from dues, rents, fines and loans throughout the eighteenth century, but their position was far from secure. The work of governing the town was rapidly becoming too much for the Bench, and nowhere

is this more clearly seen than in their inability to raise money directly from the inhabitants for government in general. Adequate government, with an efficient government service, was possible only with the introduction of the general rate, and the reluctance of the Bench to embark upon new ventures is due in part to their lack of funds; this made them willing to set up semi-independent bodies with power to raise particular rates, and to abdicate their intention of building a dock in favour of a private company - the most costly mistake which the Corporation has ever made.

(ii) The Poor:

Like all local authorities in the eighteenth century, the Hull Bench was very concerned about those members of the community who could not fend for themselves.

As an expanding trading town, offering fairly good wages, and always holding out the prospect of untold wealth for an energetic - and lucky - young man, Hull was naturally a centre of attraction for agricultural labourers and for seamen from decayed ports like Grimsby. An increased population swelled by newcomers was necessary to carry on the expanding trade of the port; but unfortunately it meant an increase in the number of paupers in times of recession.

One method employed by the Corporation to reduce the number of paupers was the nationally accepted one of restricting the entry of newcomers likely to become chargeable on the town, and who would probably be the first to lose their jobs - if they ever had one - in time of trouble. As early as 1718 the Constables had been

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instructed to seek out and report all strangers who might become chargeable,⁴³ and in November 1730 the Bench went further and ordered that no such people should be admitted as sub-tenants in Corporation houses.⁴⁴ For the next forty years surprisingly little is heard about paupers, but they apparently began to increase rapidly in number towards the end of the century, and the Bench was forced to take drastic action against them. Two men, Joel Smith and Richard Grasby, were employed to apprehend Vagrants, who were often whipped and in most cases sent out of town to the place of their legal settlement.⁴⁵ In the period 1st January, 1794 to 25th December, 1795, when there is a complete list of evictions, no less than 166 families were sent out of town to 74 places stretched throughout England and Scotland, ranging from Edinburgh in the north to Plymouth in the south. The paupers seem to have been mainly women and children; "Jane Wilson & Child, ret'd to Grimsby, July 31, 1793", cost the Corporation One shilling, the usual amount paid for vagrants. One is left to wonder if Jane Wilson was the unfortunate widow of a man who had sought work in Hull - often a seaman from another port - and died without obtaining a settlement, or an unlucky prostitute. Some women were loath to go. Mary Nipper and her two children were sent to Scotland on 14th October, 1794, and a charge of Two shillings was entered against her name; but again on 7th November they are recorded as being sent out of town, although this time the Corporation only paid out One shilling and Six pence. Seamen not usually domiciled in Hull, but stranded there for one reason or

another, came in the same category, and discharged naval seamen were often put ashore and left to find their own way home with the help of the local authorities; on 13th September, 1794, for instance, discharged seamen were sent to Wisbech, London (2), Yorksford, and Yarmouth (2).

Some vagrants were not fortunate enough to be sent out of town; their last memorial was the record of Corporation expenditure on a jury on an unknown body.

Those paupers who had a legal settlement in Hull were more fortunate. As long ago as 1697-8 it had been decided that "the poor in the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull do daily multiply, and through idleness or want of employment and sufficient authority to compel them thereto, become indigent and disorderly..."⁴⁶ It was therefore enacted that "from 1st June, 1698, there shall be a corporation consisting of the Mayor, recorder, and aldermen and 24 other persons to be elected by the inhabitants, paying 2d per week poor rates." A sum not exceeding £2,000 was to be raised for building a workhouse and an annual sum, not exceeding that raised for the last three years, was to be levied by taxation of every inhabitant and on all land, houses, stocks and estates in Hull and Myton, in equal proportions according to respective values.

There was a continuous increase in the number of resident paupers throughout the eighteenth century. In 1709 another Act, 8 Anne 24, stated that as the annual assessment authorised by 9/10 William III, 47 was not sufficient, a further assessment

was to be made, not exceeding £130 per annum (after 1st May, 1710). The next Act, 15 George II, c 10 (1742), showed clearly that the pauper population was increasing as the normal population did. It stated: "That, by reason of the great increase in the number of inhabitants in the said Town since the making of the said recited act, (which is computed to be about one half more than it was then, and is yet increasing) the poor is become so numerous that the sums raised, with the revenues and other incomes of the said corporation, are not sufficient for the maintenance of the said poor", and it enacted that after 1st May, 1742 the Corporation may raise up to £650. In 1755 a fourth Act, 28 George II, c27, raised the maximum to £1,000, but also made provision that in future the sum to be raised should be fixed by the Corporation. It seems fairly certain that in this Act the Corporation were providing for the future rather than the present, for from 1749 to 1755 the annual rate levied was £546, whereas the legal maximum was £650. (See Table /). Although the rate did rise to £975 in 1755, it did not exceed the maximum until 1758, when it soared up to £1,300; but it dropped again in 1763 to £988 and again in 1766 and 1767, when it stood at £702.

The amount of pauperism - especially temporary pauperism - increased very rapidly in Hull after 1773. The population of Hull - unlike that of many of the older towns such as York - doubled in the last quarter of the century, for a greatly increased labour force was necessary to cope with the ever-increasing volume of trade passing through the port. But at the same time

the wars of the period resulted in serious fluctuations in trade which created a special local problem of serious fluctuating unemployment. Embargoes and convoys completely upset the usual routine of trade, and the activities of the Press-gangs no doubt resulted in some of the poorest families losing their bread-winner at a time when bread was tending to increase in price. The rapid price rise in the last two decades of the century was, in fact, one of the greatest factors determining the extent of pauperism, and the administration of the Poor Law demanded increasing rates, despite the efforts of the Bench to send out of town everyone who was not legally settled or usually employed there. The rates levied rose from £1,144 in 1773 to £3,276 on the eve of the French Revolutionary wars. The actual affect of wars on the amount of pauperism - and consequently the required amount of poor rate - can be clearly seen throughout the century; in 1740, for instance, the poor rates jumped £208, £325 in 1758, and £5,044 between 1793 and 1798.

Thus, at the end of the century the poor were costing more than £1 per annum for every family resident in Hull, basing this estimate on the number of families given by Thomas Thompson - 5,256 - in 1792 and the census of 1801, which gave the number of families as 6,979.

Table 1 : POOR RATE ASSESSMENTS, 1729-98; Total of money raised, noting only those Years in which the Rate changed.⁴⁷

1728	£ 416	1767	£ 702	1785	£ 2080
1729	442	1768	728	1786	2288
1742	650	1769	832	1787	2652
1743	643/10s.	1772	988	1788	3275
1745	650	1773	1144	1791	2457
1749	546	1778	1248	1793	3276
1755	975	1779	1404	1794	4095
1758	1300	1780	1456	1795	5616
1763	988	1781	1664	1797	6760
1766	832	1783	1976	1798	8320

The Hull Workhouse - or Charity Hall, as it was often called - was not a place of punishment to which able bodied men were sent because they could not find work and the Corporation regarded them as lazy. It was more or less a refuge for old people over sixty and children under fourteen, with the able bodied or families only accommodated in emergencies.⁴⁸

Children were often admitted to the workhouse when their parents could not - or would not - support them, either because of illness or because of a large family. Thus George Buntofe, aged thirteen, and his sister, Ann, aged four, were admitted on 28th March, 1728 and left when "His father took him" and "Her mother took her" on 26th April, 1730. Sometimes the children were in the workhouse for only a short time. Mary, Thomas and Grace Fox, aged eleven, eight and six, were admitted in April 1728 and left

in July 1728, when "Their parents took them home without leave of anybody." Occasionally a mother and children were admitted, probably pending the husband's return from a long sea-voyage. Ann Green and her two children aged six and four, who were admitted in June 1748, left a year later when "Her Husband took them out." Another family, Elizabeth Daniel (27) and her two children (aged five years and six months) were admitted in December 1751 and discharged in August 1752; but in June 1755 the children "Left at the gate by their mother ((were)) ordered to be taken in." They were discharged again in April 1756.

Single women, probably sailor's women or ordinary prostitutes, were often accommodated, and many women came into the House to have their babies. Ann Baily, for instance, arrived on 3rd February, 1756; on 16th March her daughter Elizabeth was born, and they both left on 31st May. Ann Baily and Elizabeth returned to the workhouse in October 1757 and stayed until March 1758, perhaps to see them over a hard winter, or perhaps to have another baby. The young men who were admitted were special cases. Some came in for a few months in the winter, probably to recuperate from an illness, or because they had not saved enough to see them over the winter months when ships were laid up; others were definitely ill on admission. One wretched inmate admitted on 3rd February, 1734, Samuel Walker, was probably mentally deranged and locked up, for on 25th February, 1734 and again on 21st May, 1735 he is recorded as having "Broke Out", a term which was

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applied only to him. William Nickels, aged 24, was perhaps more fortunate; he was admitted on 2nd June and died on 9th June, 1741.

The number of people maintained by the Charity Hall was large. In 1792 there were 276 inmates and about a thousand people receiving outdoor relief.⁴⁹ The poor spent some time spinning wool and picking oakum, but most of their time was spent looking after the House itself, for the inhabitants were expected to do everything that they could for themselves. "The Children", says Tickell:⁵⁰

"are taught to read in the house, by the persons qualified to instruct them. At stated times on the week days, prayers are read to all who are able to attend, and on Sundays they all attend divine service in trinity church, forenoon and afternoon. The internal affairs of the house are conducted with the greatest regularity; provisions are more plentiful, and of a better quality than in most other poor houses, and care taken that no article is wasted.... The bed cloathes are frequently well aired, all the beds taken down once every year; in every room all is neat, and shews the attention of those who superintend the affairs of this house; so that it may be justly affirmed, the poor here live as comfortably as those in any other house of the like description wheresoever."

Next door to the Charity Hall was the House of Correction, which fitted the usually accepted idea of what a Workhouse was. Vagrants were sent there pending their removal to their home towns, and so were the constant offenders who would not work even when given the opportunity. Occasionally it was used quite definitely as a punishment, as when in March 1701 the Bench ordered "That (-) Aundall having had a Second Bastard child be sent to the House of Correction."⁵¹ The Bench was willing to

support Bastards, but it strongly objected to more than one per mother. The House of Correction was, needless to say, a much more unpleasant place to live in than the Charity Hall, so much so that several prominent citizens were a little disturbed by the conditions in the House at the end of the century.

Charity Hall was the official home for the poor of Hull, but there were also several "hospitals" for old people which had been founded by private benefactors. The largest and oldest of these was the Charter House, originally founded as part of a Carthusian Monastery by Sir Michael de la Pole in 1384. It had a large income from endowed land in and around Hull - £249 in 1716, £422 in 1752 and £850 in 1794 - but unfortunately, the fullest possible use was not made of this income.⁵² In 1752, when the income was a little over £400 there were only thirty people in the House receiving 1s. 4d. each per week. The Master, John Clarke wished to use the surplus to raise his own salary from £20 to £50 and to raise the weekly allowance to 2s., but the Bench who controlled the House, as they did all the Hull charities, wished to increase the number of inmates by as many as the income would allow, giving each person only 1s. 6d. per week. Neither side would give in and it took a law suit lasting eleven years and costing the House £1,053 to decide that there should be thirty inmates each receiving 3s. per week and that the Master should have £100 per annum. However, the income of the House was increasing rapidly in the

last quarter of the century, and Clarke's successor, John Bourne, rebuilt the House in 1780 to accommodate forty-four inmates who were now allowed 3s. 6d. per week.

Other smaller "hospitals" included Gregg's, founded in 1414-6, and maintaining twelve women; Harrisons, founded in 1548 for ten women; Weaver's, (unendowed until the middle of the century, but of early foundation) for six women; Ratcliff's, founded in 1570, for four women; Gee's founded in 1600, for ten women; Lister's, founded in 1641 for six men and six women; and Watson's, founded c. 1700, for fourteen people, with six more rooms added by William Watson in 1721 to be in the presentation of Trinity House. Between them these private charities were thus able to maintain anything up to seventy-four old people, mostly widows.

"Decayed" seamen and their widows and children were the special concern of Trinity House. Since 1457 they had had a House for the relief of pensioners belonging to the guild, and in the first half of the century the usual number accommodated was twenty-eight.⁵³ The present building in Trinity House Lane was erected in 1753 "for the reception and comfort of decayed seamen who have been admitted younger brethren of that fraternity; but principally at present, and for many years past, for the widows of such seamen after they have attained the age of 50 years."⁵⁴ The new building had rooms for thirty-two pensioners⁵⁵ - extended in 1787 - but

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outdoor relief was far more important than the alms-houses attached to the Trinity House itself. According to Tickell,⁵⁶ over £650 was spent on outdoor relief in the year 1745, but unfortunately it is not known if this amount was representative. A considerable amount was no doubt paid annually to the Guardians of the Poor, for in 1728:

"Trinity House entered into an agreement with the Governor and Guardians of the New Workhouse, that an allowance should be paid on the part of the Trinity House to the Governor and Guardians of the said New Workhouse towards the maintenance of such poor Seamen, their Widows or Children (who have legal settlement in the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull) as should apply to the Governor and Guardians of the said Workhouse for admittance into the same

Viz:-

For every elderly person	12d.
" " child under 8	9d.
" " " over 8	6d. per week."

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Unfortunately Trinity House decided to stop paying money to the Workhouse, probably in 1771 or 1772, and the authorities thereupon refused to admit an old seaman called James Moody, no doubt as a test case. A legal action declared his right to be admitted, but Trinity House gave in and agreed to resume payments to the Workhouse.

Besides its great income from land, donations, and dues levied on ships, Trinity House also collected subscriptions from seamen. As early as 1640 they had been authorised "not only... to collect and gather of the seamen, belonging to the port and members of the said Trinity House of Hull, from time to time, all such moneys as they are to pay, according to his Majesty's proclamation, but likewise to distribute the said monies so

collected, to the poor, maimed and shipwrecked seamen, their widows and children, belonging to the port and members of the said Trinity House of Hull, according to their discretion;"⁵⁸ and after 1747 the Seamen's sixpences levied in Hull were used, at least partly, for relief work in the port.⁵⁹ "This guild", wrote Tickell, "is in possession of another very considerable fund arising from the monthly allowance of sixpence, which every seaman, sailing from the port of Hull, is obliged to pay out of his wages; and from this fund a great number of decayed seamen, their widows, and children, who otherwise would have no claim on the guild, obtain a comfortable relief."⁶⁰ In 1781 Trinity House opened a "Merchant Seamen's Hospital" in Whitefriar Gate "for the reception of seamen and their wives, under an act called the Sixpenny Act, which is for the relief and support of maimed and disabled seamen, and the widows and children of such as shall be killed or drowned in the merchant service."⁶¹

The official bodies responsible for poor relief were concerned principally with the aged, children and paupers, except in time of trade recessions when general outdoor relief was given. There were, however, many men who were not paupers, but who suffered from temporary difficulties, caused by illness or by the expenses of a burial, which might have reduced them to pauperism if they had received no aid. To guard against the disastrous effects of even a brief illness, men joined together to form Friendly Societies. In return for a monthly subscription the members were guaranteed

aid in case of illness or death, and so ordinary working men were able to survive their difficulties without becoming a burden on the rates, and without losing their self-respect.

The first Friendly Society of which there is record was founded in 1726,⁶² and a second, a Sailor's Society was founded four years later.⁶³ There is, however, no information about the activities or membership of these Societies, and little is heard of self-help until the last quarter of the century when there was a great increase in the number of Societies. A Marine Society, probably the old Sailor's Society was still functioning in 1776, for in that year the Bench refused to make a subscription to it, although they wasted their money on a "Society for the Recovery of Drowned Persons".⁶⁴ A Second Friendly Society had been founded five years earlier, and the Ropers' Friendly Society a year later, but the great increase in the number of men attached to Societies began in 1782. The United Seamen's, Old Union, Old Amiable, and the Unanimous Societies followed each other in rapid succession, and by 1788 there were a dozen or more of them, and fifteen hundred members, with their banners and music, took part in the centenary celebrations of the "Glorious Revolution".⁶⁵ By 1796 there were at least twenty-eight Societies - some of them for females - with a total membership which could not have been much less than 2,500, one member for every two families resident in Hull; by 1803 there were about forty Societies, and in 1810 the number had increased still further, to seventy-two.⁶⁶

Friendly Societies were regarded with favour by all sections of the community. Merchants and bankers subscribed to them, and many of them became quite rich having anything between one hundred and fifty and two hundred members. In 1795 the Unanimous and the Provident Societies were both able to lend the Corporation £300 (at 5%),⁶⁷ and in the following year the Old Amicable Society lent the Corporation £200 and the Benevolent Society lent them £260.⁶⁸ With so much money at their disposal they undoubtedly were in a position to save many families from destitution if the need arose, and we may assume that between a third and a half of the families in Hull were protected in this way at the end of the century.

TABLE 2 : HULL FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

<u>Founded</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Founded</u>	<u>Members</u>	
1726	Friendly	1792	Diligent	31
1730	Seamen's	1792	Duchess of York	43
1771	Second Friendly	1792	Princess Royal or	
1777	Ropers' Friendly		Female fortunate	60
1782	United Seamen's	1793	Duke of York	80
1782	Old Union	1793	Loving Brotherly	24
1783	Old Amiable	c.1794	Benevolent	-
1783	Unanimous	c.1794	Brotherly	-
1787	Concord	c.1794	Union	-
1787	Good Intent	1793-1803	Royal Friendly	-
1788	Fortunate	-	Social	-
1788	Jubilee	-	Revolution	-
1788	Prince of Wales	-	Benevolent Female	-
1788	Agreeable	-	Queen Charlotte	-
1788	Constitutional	-	New Sisterly	-
1789	British Constit'l	-	United	-
	& Tradesman's	-	King George III	-
1789	Provident	-	Curriers	-
1789	Good Agreement	-	Industrious	-
1790	True Friendship	-	Old Seamen's	-
1791	Duko of Clarence or	-	Poor Friends'	-
	Young Men's Loyal	-	Widows Friends'	-
1791	Sisterly Union			
1791	Generous Friends			

A far greater problem than the treatment of the poor, was the treatment of those who were both poor and sick. For those who could pay for attention, Hull probably had more than its share of Doctors, several of them acting as surgeons on whaling ships for part of the year;⁶⁹ but those who could not afford treatment - and sickness and poverty often went together - were thrown on the mercy of their betters.

In the early part of the century the sick were most probably treated in the workhouse, but facilities there were not good. The only alternative to private treatment seems to have been a Hospital for sick and wounded Seamen which was functioning in the late 'fifties; who owned it, and what eventually became of it, is not known.⁷⁰

Hull's first important Hospital was opened on 26th September, 1782 as a result of a private subscription among many of the leading inhabitants, led by Benjamin Blaydes Thompson, Philip Green and Benjamin Pead. The building was capable of admitting seventy in-patients. "This excellent establishment", wrote Tickell,⁷¹

"is conducted on principles the most liberal and humane; extending its useful charity for the relief of the sick and lame poor, to all proper objects without distinction; not only to those within the town and county of the town of Hull; but to such as disease and poverty may induce to apply for relief, from whatever county they may come, if their cases be found to be such as fall within the nature and design of the institution; provided they can obtain the recommendation of a trustee. Such recommendation, however, in cases of sudden accident is not required; and for such accidents, and other cases admitting no delay, a proper number of beds are always kept in reserve."

People who resided in Hull could be recommended by any of the Benefactors who had given more than ten guineas, or by any person subscribing more than two guineas per annum, and those townships outside Hull which subscribed three guineas annually to the hospital could recommend one in-patient and two out-patients at any one time.

The average number of in-patients treated at the Hospital was about 160 per annum, and the number of out-patients was slightly higher, about 180 per annum; not many perhaps, but good for the time, especially as it was all free. Moreover, the number of cures was considerable. Of the 3,536 patients treated up to the close of the year 1792, 2,319 had been cured and 601 "greatly relieved". The subscribers might be justifiably proud of their achievement.

(iii) Law and Order:

One of the most difficult tasks facing any local authority in the eighteenth century was the maintenance of law and order. Beneath its veneer of tranquillity Hanoverian England was actually the scene of manifold disorders caused by the economic, religious and political movements taking place towards the end of the century, before the development of an adequate police system.

There were, of course, many places where law and order was maintained amid social and economic change, and Hull was one of them. No one pretended that a growing sea port should be free

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from disturbances, but Hull did not have the great problems created in the second half of the century by the growth of the factory system.⁷² There were few disturbances in Hull over food prices, the main cause of discontent in the eighteenth century, although in August 1795 there was "great dissatisfaction and an inclination for tumult" caused by the increase in the price of flour from two shillings to three shillings per stone, and in May 1796 there were further "riots" demanding a fixed price for flour, butter, and other foodstuffs.⁷³ The popular disturbances - usually not very serious - which did take place were over less mundane things. In 1741 some of the Burgesses, displeased with the results of the election for that year, "threatened to pull down the Hall and abused and hissed the Aldermen", but the situation never got out of hand, for "Constables having secured seven or eight of the ringleaders and carried them to prison, the rest were dismayed, and those who were taken, were kept in confinement and fined."⁷⁴ The Bench also acted firmly in suppressing violence against Methodists in the 'fifties, and against Quakers, and others who would not join in celebrations, in the 'seventies.⁷⁵ But only on one occasion does force appear to have been necessary. In 1780 the Bench gave twenty guineas to the Suffolk militia, which happened to be nearby, and three guineas to the citadel troops, "for the immediate and effectual assistance they gave the civil power, in suppressing certain riots..."⁷⁶ These "riots" were again religious, and resulted in the partial demolition of the

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Roman Catholic Chapel in Postern Gate, "when the riots in London, and other parts of the nation, excited by Lord George Gordon, spread such a general alarm."⁷⁷

On the whole then, Hull was a reasonably quiet town. "When we reflect," wrote Hadley,⁷⁸

that during the evening of the winter months, the streets are crowded with boys, intended for the sea-service, who spend their time in the open violation of decency, good order and morality - That there are often fifteen hundred seamen and boys, who arrive from the whale fishery, and that often double that number of unemployed sailors, are left at leisure to exercise their dissolute manners on the inoffensive passenger in the public streets - We cannot sufficiently applaud the effort to prevent the increase of such dissoluteness.....

Though to the honour of this Town, it may be said, that there are fewer disturbances, than in any other seaport, where such a number of seamen are constantly resorting; yet it is impossible to assimilate such a number of spirits, as must annually be collected here, when unemployed by their avocation, uncivilised by education, or unrestrained by discipline. The consequence of which is, that they are either at variance with each other, or encroaching on the quiet of their neighbours; their excesses generally heightened by the spirit of intoxication, all equally detrimental to the peace and welfare of the Town."

Public disturbances may have been few, but Hull still had its share - perhaps more than its share - of malefactors, who perpetrated crimes ranging from highway robbery⁷⁹ to murder, and from cursing the King⁸⁰ to infanticide. Robberies were no doubt common, though rarely punished, and not even the gaol was safe, for in 1736 the Sheriff was warned by the Bench that in future he and his successors would be held responsible for "all locks, keys, bolts, and lead, belonging to the Gaol, that should be broke, stolen or taken away; as a quantity of lead had been lately taken from

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the covering thereof."⁸¹

The force used to maintain law and order consisted of a Chief constable and twelve ordinary constables — two for each of the six wards — who acted on the instructions of the Mayor or Bench of Aldermen. They apprehended vagrants, arrested criminals and disorderly people, and turned out whenever there was likely to be trouble. In August 1762 the Corporation paid £3. 3s. 6d. to "the Constables for various attendances, Searching Bawdy Houses and going round the Town on Rejoicing Nights".⁸² As Hull had a surprising number of excuses for "rejoicing" the constables must have been kept very busy. Occasionally, when there was a spectacle to attract the whole town, the constables were supplemented by "Specials"; "extra constables when a man was Pillor'd" cost the Bench £4. 0s. 6d. in March 1784, and for even bigger assemblies the numbers were increased considerably. Elections were especially troublesome times, for everyone had a couple of guineas or so, and as much as he could drink; "48 Constables attending 2 Nights in the Streets during the Election of Members of Parliament" cost thirteen guineas in September 1780. But the constables did not keep up a regular patrol of the town, and the only permanent force was the small body of soldiers who formed the Garrison. The Guard House had originally been built in the Market Place, next to the Gaol, but it was later (1791) rebuilt on Garrison land by the Corporation. The new guard house was provided "with a room appropriated to the

use of confining disorderly persons apprehended in the night, till they can conveniently be brought before a civil magistrate, to account for their acting in an improper manner." "It is the wish of many," continued Tickell, "who are well affected to the security and police of the town, that a regular guard may be kept there, particularly at night, to which the inhabitants may apply on any emergency."⁸³ But whether or not such a guard was ever established is not known.

The operation of the criminal law in the eighteenth century was mainly the concern of the magistrates, which meant in the case of Hull, the Mayor and Aldermen.⁸⁴ Undoubtedly one of the reasons for the comparative leniency of the Bench was the fact that they were elected and not appointed. For they were, however faulty the election system, the representatives of the town, and at no time were the people of Hull subjected to the whims of squires and "parsons". The Bench may have been lenient, returning fines if culprits were poor, even to the rogue who cursed the King; but they were also firm, and expected that their authority and the order of the town should be respected. "By a proper exertion of the Magisterial power, the honour of the civil authority was vindicated," writes Hadley, "in the commission of the Lieutenant of the Berwick man of war to the House of Correction, for abusing one of the Bench with ill language",⁸⁵ during a visit of his ship in 1743. Two years earlier in March 1741, the Commander of the Diligence Tender, Edward Gascoign, made threats against some

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inhabitants, and Aldermen, when he came to press in Hull, and the Mayor, William Wilberforce, not only bound him over to the next Assizes, but also reported him to the Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle.⁸⁶ There is little wonder that Press Gangs always trod warily in Hull.

Besides the General Quarter Sessions, Hull also had a Sheriff's court, held twice a year, as in any other county. Similarly Hull had its own Assizes, a fact which had its disadvantages as well as its advantages, for although the Assize was supposed to be held when requested by the Mayor, in fact it had come to be held only once every seven years until 1745, when the Bench managed to persuade the Judges to come every three years.⁸⁷ The position was still not very good, and in 1779 an attempt was made by a large number of inhabitants to have local actions tried at York Assizes as well as at Hull,⁸⁸ but nothing came of this proposal, or of one made in 1780 that Hull should have an annual Assize.⁸⁹

Local civil actions were tried in a special Mayor and Sheriff's court known as the Court of Venire or Pleas, of which the Recorder was the permanent Judge, sitting with the Mayor and Sheriff for the time being.⁹⁰ The "Attornies and advocates" practicing before the court were all appointed by the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen. For the first three-quarters of the century three attornies had been enough, but with the great increase in the amount of civil litigation four more were added in the

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'seventies. Yet another court was that for the recovery of small debts (under forty shillings), established in 1761 and held before three of the Commissioners (Mayor, Aldermen and thirty Inhabitants) for the Act establishing it.⁹¹

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NOTES - CHAPTER I

1. THE TOWN AND ITS PEOPLE

(1) The Town

1. DEFOE, "A Tour through England and Wales", Everyman Edition, Vol. II, p.245.
 2. Hull Customs Letter Books, Hull-Commissioners, March 1772.
 3. Defoe, Vol. II, p.243.
 4. *ibid.*, pp.242, 244.
 5. Figures by Wooller, the engineer, *op.cit.* Hadley p.684
 6. Odd Letter in B.M., LANDSOWNEMSS. 891, f140. 23rd December, 1717.
 7. Information about population is contained in Tickell, pp.854-6.
 8. Census Reports, *op.cit.* HULL ADVERTISER, 28th March, 1801.
 9. Workhouse Admittance Book, G.H.MSS.
 10. *op.cit.* Hadley p.425.
 11. Such a visit is mentioned in a letter from William Hammond, the Hull shipowner, to Rockingham, 14th November, 1767. Sheffield Cent. Ref. Library, WWM, F49(a), first letter.
- (ii) Social Life:
12. Hadley p.321.
 13. Tickell pp.897-893.
 14. *op.cit.*, R. Coupland, "WILBERFORCE", ~~p.33~~ London, 1945, p.33.
 15. Letter kindly loaned to me by Mrs. D. Harrison-Broadley, Tickton, Yorks.
 16. J.L. & B. Hammond, THE VILLAGE LABOURER, Guild Edition, Vol.I, pp.152-3.
 17. Information from a Share transfer MS in the possession of Mrs. D. Harrison-Broadley. This Assembly should not be confused with the Public Assembly above the old Grammar School, which was used by the Corporation for its various public functions (See Hadley p.308).

- 18. Sheffield Cent. Ref. Library, WSS 1784.
- 19. HULL PACKET, 11th November, 1788; Tickell pp.642-4; Hadley pp. 387-8.
- 20. See, for example, the HULL ADVERTISER for 10th February, 1798.
- 21. Sheffield, ~~WSS 1784~~ central Ref. Library, MS, WSS 1784.
- 22. Strother's Journal, 9th August, 1784. B.M. Egerton 2479
- 23. The Licence repealed (for Hull and York) the Act forbidding players to wander about and treating them as Vagrants. See Woolley, HULL STATUTES, p.197.
- 24. Hadley, p.695.
- 25. Burials noted in E. Ingram, OUR LADY OF HULL, passim.
- 26. Burghley's precept to his son, Robert Cecil: "Gentility is nothing else but ancient riches". ~~ibid.~~, A.L. Rouse, THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH, p.279. Reprint Soc. edition.
- 27. A brief history of the Grammar School is contained in Tickell, pp. 825-31.
- 28. *ibid*, p.829, note.
- 29. Details of the academic careers of Wray, Thompson, etc., are contained in Charles Frost, AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, HULL, 5th November, 1830. The Address deals with Hull authors.
- 30. Details of Hammond's career from DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.
- 31. Strother, f.9:17th August, 1784.
- 32. *ibid*. f.6.
- 33. *ibid*. f.17.
- 34. Among those who petitioned for a place in the Customs House during the 1784 Parliamentary election was "Peter Dawson, Late Marker to Mr. Clarkson's Billiard Table". Sheffield Cent. Ref. Library, WSS 1784/5. To encourage serious talk in the Coffee Houses, the Society for the Reformation of Manners, which functioned at the beginning of the century, sought permission to extend their sphere of influence by having books "ffastened in ye Coffee House". ~~ibid.~~ See W. Whitaker, BOWL ALLEY LANE CHAPEL, p.90.
- 35. Stray Letter in W.H.MSS.
- 36. Established in 1627 by the will of Thomas Bury, a scrivener.
- 37. Established in 1630 by Alderman Thomas Ferris (Mayor in 1620) See Hadley, p.757-8.

- 38. When fire destroyed their house in 1743 The Maister household consisted of five Maisters and six house servants, and there may also have been several outdoor servants. Hadley p.324.
- 39. SMITH & THOMPSON LEDGERS, Petty Cash Acct., 21st June, 1791.
- 40. Hadley p.327.
- 41. The reference to a "slave" here may mean that the woman entered into some kind of voluntary agreement with a Transport Contractor, and worked side by side with Transported criminals who had not been acquitted. Hadley p.327.
- 42. Hadley p.320.
- 43. G.H.MSS, L.1387(66), 6th February, 1790.
- 44. Tickell p.828.
- 45. Tickell p.832.
- 46. Tickell p.833.
- 47. Tickell p.833.
- 48. Frank Baker, A CHARGE TO KEEP, p.166. London, 1947.
- 49. Fish Street Congregational Chapel, for instance, had a school and a schoolmaster in the early 'eighties, if not before, but it is not clear what kind of school it was. See C. E. Darwent, THE STORY OF FISH STREET CHURCH, ~~1859~~ Hull, 1899, p.159.
- 50. The early Sunday Schools were an inter-denominational enterprise, as might be expected in Hull (See later, p46). Lambert, the Congregational Minister, recorded in his diary, 23rd October, 1786, that he "went to the Hall ((Charity Hall)) to the committee for the Sunday Schools". ibid.
- 51. See, for e.g., p 57 .
- 52. Hadley p.380.
- 53. All premises selling intoxicating liquor were licensed at Licensing Sessions of the Bench, and a tax was levied for the Poor.
- 54. Hadley p.315.
- 55. Sheffield Cent. Ref. Lib., WSS 1784.
- 56. Strother's Journal, 15th November; ff.49-50.
- 57. Hadley p.322.
- 58. HULL PACKET, 2nd February, 1795.
- 59. Strother's Journal, 11th October, 1784; f41.

60. There is no evidence that ducking ever took place, but in 1731 the Town's Husband was ordered to provide a "Cucking Stool" at South End "for the benefit of scolds and unquiet women". Hadley p.306.
61. HULL PACKET, 11th November, 1788.

(iii) Religion:

62. op.cit. Hadley p.324-5, Tickell, p.609.
63. Hadley pp.429-31.
64. Hadley p.296.
65. Tickell p.824.
66. W. Whitaker, BOWL ALLEY LANE CHAPEL, ~~1910~~ London 1910, p.104.
67. *ibid.*, p.112.
68. *ibid.*, pp.110-1.
69. *ibid.*, p.95.
70. Hadley p.801.
71. List of members are to be found in Whitaker, pp.100-1, 108-9, 130.
72. *ibid.*, p.127-8.
73. The Dagger Lane chapel is dealt with fully in C. E. Darwont, THE STORY OF FISH STREET CHURCH, HULL, (Hull, 1899).
74. Licenses noted in Whitaker, p.104.
75. Tickell pp.820-1.
76. *ibid.*, p.823.
77. *ibid.*, p.814.
78. W. H. Thompson, EARLY CHAPTERS IN HULL METHODISM, 1746-1800, (Hull, 1895), pp.14-15.
79. A mob which threw stones at the house in which he was staying was not considered to merit action by the Bench. It was eventually cleared by only two constables. It should be noticed that there is no record of physical violence ever being used against Hull Methodists.
80. Thompson, p.21.
81. *ibid.*, p.68.
82. *ibid.*, p.65.
83. *ibid.*, pp.36-7.

- 84. Sheahan, p.424.
- 85. Darwent, p.108.
- 86. Whitaker, pp.87-90.
- 87. Darwent, p.107.
- 88. *ibid.*, p.31.
- 89. *ibid.*, pp.206-7.
- 90. *ibid.*, p.34. This does not, of course, mean that differences did not exist between the various denominations, or that the Nonconformists' dissent was only political. The Anglican Church in Hull may have been in better form than the Anglican Church elsewhere, but there were still things to which Nonconformists objected, particularly the method of confirmation, which did not fit in very well with the Evangelical doctrine of salvation. On 24th June, 1801 Lambert attended a Confirmation in Holy Trinity, and recorded his dejected thoughts in his diary: "Many were asked no questions", he wrote, "others have been confirmed twice the same day; some have offered their tickets to another; many young men come from the country I saw with common prostitutes; some were drunk. I have read over the prayer-book service, and if I had not been a Dissenter I should have been one that night. Yet the bishop tells them they have been regenerated, and assures them of God's favour." p.108.
- 91. *ibid.*, p.118.
- 92. *ibid.*, p.139.
- 93. Whitaker, p.120.

2. THE RULERS OF THE TOWN

- 1. Hull has not been part of the county of York since 1440, when the town was created "a county by themselves, and not parcel of the county of York." By the charter of 1446/7 (25 Henry VI) the county was extended to include Hessle, North Ferriby, Swanland, West Ella, Kirkella, Tranby, Willarby, "Wolfreton", Anlaby "and all the site of the priory of Hautenpris". See J. R. Boyle, CHARTERS & LETTERS PATENT GRANTED TO KINGSTON-UPON-HULL, p.55. As a relic of the old county status Hull still has a Sheriff.
 The effective charter governing Hull in the eighteenth century was that of 13 Charles II (3rd December, 1661). It was surrendered in 1684 in reply to the Quo Warranto writs and replaced by 1 James II (10th July, 1685), later revised as 4 James II (15th September, 1688). After the revolution the original 1661 charter was reissued.

2. Charter 13. Charles II, Boyle p.156.
3. *ibid.*, p.160.
4. 30th September, 1772. B.B.ix,421.
5. *op.cit.* Hadley p.300.
6. Hadley p.320.
7. The original charter said simply that "the men of the same town shall be free burgesses". Boyle p.2.
8. Tickell p.667.
9. *ibid.*, p.668.
10. There was a fine of five shillings for every absence from a meeting of the Bench, but there is no record that it was ever collected.
11. B.B.viii,789.
12. In 1774. B.B.ix,432.
13. HULL DOCK COMPANY LETTER BOOK (A) 24th November, 1774.
14. Boyle p.156-7.
15. The Acts are to be found in W. Woolley, STATUTES RELATING TO... KINGSTON-upon-HULL, pp. 77-108 and 199-236.
16. The troubles of the seventeenth century are recorded in detail in Hadley pp.256f. and Tickell pp.570f.
17. The Town Clerk's letter repudiating Hartley's Address to the Corporation, entitled "Letters on the American War", was published in several newspapers on 22nd December, 1779. See Hadley p.350.
18. An order to this effect was made 2nd April, 1741. B.B.viii,911.
19. Hadley p.304. A copy of the Poll Book for 23rd January, 1724 is to be found in B.M. LANSDOWNE 891, f182. The MS is, of course, dated January 1723.
20. Sheffield Cent. Ref. Library, WSS 1784.
21. Reference in a letter from Rockingham to William Weddell, another (successful) candidate in the 1767 election. Sheff. Cent. Ref. Lib. WWM 49, 8th December, 1767.
22. Francis Arey, Sailmaker, to W. Spencer Stanhope, 7th July, 1784
~~MS~~ Sheffield, WSS 1784.
23. Sheffield, WSS 1785, 22nd May, 1785.
24. Walker to W. Spencer Stanhope, Sheff. WSS 16th April, 1784.
25. Hadley p.491.
26. *op.cit.* Hadley p.315.

3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(i) The Administration of the town;

- 1. B.B.viii, 778.
- 2. October 1772. B.B.ix, 421.
- 3. Market Place Act (41 George III, c65).
- 4. It is not clear to what extent this act gave the Corporation new powers, for the by-laws had the force of law even before they were put into the general Act.
- 5. 3rd April, 1784. B.B.ix, 614.
- 6. B.B.ix, 619.
- 7. H.D.C.L.B., 3rd October, 1781.
- 8. op.cit. Hadley p.300.
- 9. H.D.C. Transactions, 29th November, 1782.
- 10. Hadley pp. 302, 304, 306.
- 11. John Cook, HISTORY OF GOD'S HOUSE OF HULL, COMMONLY CALLED THE CHARTERHOUSE, p.209. Hull, 1862
- 12. Gent, HISTORY OF...KINGSTON-upon-HULL, ¹⁷³⁵ pp.130-1. This was not the first Water works on record. Hull always had - and still has - difficulty in obtaining water, mainly because of the distance, in the past, from high ground and good springs. Water could only be obtained through the other nearby townships and disputes continued in the Middle Ages until the Mayor requested the intervention of the first Pope John XXIII, in 1413. (See Hadley pp50f. and Tickell pp.83f.) Thirty four years later the Mayor and Burgesses were empowered to erect the first waterworks to draw from springs within the county "by subterraneous leaden pipes and other necessary and suitable engines whatsoever". Charter 25 Henry VI, 1446/7, Boyle p.59.
- 13. B.B.viii, 465-6.
- 14. B.B.viii, 486.
- 15. 18th November, 1736. B.B.viii, 827. A year earlier the Bench had directed the Town's Husband to write to London "to some person skilled in water-works, to know what he would have to come to Hull to view the Waterworks here, in order to improve them." op.cit. Hadley p.307. The pipes laid in 1736 were made of wood instead of lead. B.B.ix, 820.
- 16. B.B.ix, 358.
- 17. B.B.ix, 361, 429.

- 18. This rent was not always forthcoming, and in 1782 he was threatened with prosecution. B.B.ix,570.
- 19. Hadley p.482. In the last quarter of the century Hull was supplied with water in the same way as the modern town, "by preparing a sufficient reservoir for their fresh water upon the top of a high tower, and conveying it to that elevation by the force of a steam engine", the inhabitants, "...without the trouble and expence of bringing it in boats from Barton, as formerly, are now abundantly supplied on all occasions with that necessary article of life, through proper pipes, pure and unadulterated, at their own doors or in their own kitchens, and at a much more moderate expence." Tickell p.659.
- 20. In August 1731 Henry Maister was fined for the office of Alderman; but in March 1732 he pleaded hardship, "representing the great loss by the late fire which happened in the High Street in this town in a considerable parcel of corn withall the Blowing up the House in which the same then was in favour and for the preservation of the neighbourhood for which he had not received any consideration." B.B.viii,767.
- 21. H.D.C. Transactions, 19th October, 1779.
- 22. In 1705 such of the Aldermen as had correspondents in London were asked to enquire at what price "an engine for playing water up to the highest house might be had". In 1706 Alderman Mowld was ordered to write to Holland and London for a fire engine costing about £20.
- 23. Corporation Cash Book, G.H.MSS. *See under date.*
- 24. In 1736 a Mr. Buttery was given his freedom "for the indifatigable pains he took in working the water engine, when the fire happened at Mr. Walker's house, in the Market Place, and in the High Street to encourage others to be active on such unhappy occasions". Hadley p.308.
- 25. Corporation Cash Book.
- 26. The special rates were, in fact, collected and used by bodies to which the Bench delegated its powers: e.g. the Guardians of the Poor, the Manager of the Water Works.
- 27. See the Charter, Boyle p.188.
- 28. Corporation Cash Book, 1774.
- 29. B.B.ix,625. Water Bailiff Dues were finally abolished on 21st March, 1853.
- 30. Corp. Cash. Bk., passim.
- 31. May, 1742, B.D.ix,6.

- 32. 12th January, 1748/9, B.B.ix, 128.
- 33. H.C.L.B., H-C., 22nd April, 1757.
- 34. 16th April, 1782. B.B.ix, 568.
- 35. The Corporation income from rents was £4,000 per annum at the time of the Municipal Reform Act.
- 36. 18th July, 1700. B.B.viii, 465f.
- 37. Corp. Cash Bk. 24th October and 11th November, 1780.
- 38. Corp. Cash Bk. May, 1762.
- 39. Some of these loans were for very long periods. £300 borrowed from the Provident Brotherhood and £300 from the Unanimous Society in 1795 (B.B.x, 233) were not cancelled until 1823. G.H.MSS Box 115, 41 (A).
- 40. See letter from Codd (Town Clerk) to Alderman Bramston, Treasurer to the Corporation, 1782. G.H.MSS Box 115, 41 (A).
- 41. B.B.ix, 627.
- 42. B.B.ix, 630.

(ii) The Poor:

- 43. Hadley p.303.
- 44. B.B.viii, 763.
- 45. Expenditure on Vagrants is recorded in the Corp. Cash Book. The Bench also took action against those people who shielded Vagrants. In January, 1789 John Wressel, William Newton and John Newton were each fined £25 for a "Fraud relative to a Person's settlement". B.B.ix, 16th January 1789. £30 of the fine was given to the Workhouse, on 27th March, 1789.
- 46. First Hull Poor Law Act, 1697-8. 9-10 William III, c.47.
- 47. Table taken from Thomas Thompson, CONSIDERATIONS ON THE POOR RATES... IN KINGSTON-UPON-HULL, Hull, 1799.
- 48. The information which follows, concerning the Workhouse, is taken from the Admittance and Discharge Book, 1729-56, G.H.MSS.
- 49. According to Tickell p.776.
- 50. Tickell op.cit. p.777.
- 51. B.B.viii, 479.
- 52. Details of the Charterhouse are contained in both Hadley and Tickell, as well as Cook's History of the Charterhouse.
- 53. Details of Trinity House's charities contained in Hadley and Tickell, the latter's account being the best.

54. Tickell p.736.
55. Hadley p.821.
56. Tickell p.733.
57. G.H.MSS, D936 (B).
58. Duke of Northumberland to Trinity House, 22nd April, 1640. op.cit. Tickell pp.714-5.
59. See R. Davis, SEAMEN'S SIXPENCES: AN INDEX OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY, 1697-1828, *Economica*, November, 1956, pp.329-30.
60. Tickell p.734.
61. Hadley p.756.
62. Hadley p.305.
63. Gent p.196.
64. B.B.ix,457.
65. Hadley p.384.
66. There is a list of societies flourishing in 1796 in Tickell pp.853-4. The figures for 1803 and 1810 are contained in Battle's Directories. In the 1813 edition seventy-nine societies were listed.
67. B.B.x,233.
68. B.B.x,262,265.
69. In 1792 Hull had at least nineteen "Surgeons". There was apparently some kind of Medical School in Hull in the middle of the century, for in 1746, Hadley records ~~that~~: "A man was found dead, in the moat opposite Salthouse-land, his head was cut off, put into his belly, and corded up close in a mat. About three weeks after, his legs and bowels were found near the same place, packed up after the same manner. The populace were very outrageous on this occasion; for though it was generally accounted a murder, there were some suspicions of the truth, that it was a medical RESURECTION by the faculty. The man was a French prisoner who had died in prison, and was taken up for dissection, but kept till useless, and the gentlemen undertakers not chusing to risque a burial, disposed of their subject, as related above". The moat was, incidentally, still used as a water supply by some people. *Hadley p 328.*
70. The only known reference to this hospital occurs in a letter from Sir George Savile to the Marquis of Rockingham (17th November, 1759) informing him that "The Hospital for sick and wounded Seamen not being near full we shall now make use of spare rooms and beds for our sick. It is a private property and we hire what we want as the Surgeon for sick and wounded does what he has occasion for..." *Sheff. Cent. Ref. Lib., WVM F49 (a).*

	1717	1728	1737	1758	1768	1783	1796
lland							
Amsterdam	14	11	15	11	13	6	1
Rotterdam	15	48	17	12	8	2	2
Middleburgh	-	2	4	2	3	-	-
landers							
Bruges	3	3	2	-	-	-	-
Ostend	1	3	1	-	-	16	-
rance							
Bordeaux	-	-	6	-	1	1	1
Harfleur	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Rochelle	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Rouen	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Dunkirk	-	-	-	-	4	-	1
rtugal							
Oporto	9	7	10	4	9	-	2
Lisbon	-	3	1	1	5	-	1
ain							
Cadix	1	1	3	-	1	-	3
Malaga	1	2	11	2	2	-	-
Barcelona	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Bilbao & Seville	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
aly							
Ancona	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Leghorn	-	-	1	-	1	-	3
merica							
Newfoundland	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
Philadelphia	-	1	-	-	3	-	-
"New England"	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
N ^o . Carolina	-	-	1	5	9	-	-
S ^o . Carolina	-	-	1	2	1	-	-
Virginia	-	-	-	7	4	-	-
Barnadoes	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Jamaica	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

	1717	1728	1737	1758	1768	1783
landers						
Bruges	10	3	6	-	2	-
Ostend	2	1	-	-	4	5
rance						
Total	6	-	6	-	4	-
ortugal						
Oporto	5	4	4	5	5	-
Lisbon	-	4	22	1	6	2
pain						
Cadiz	-	-	11	-	6	-
Malaga	-	-	5	-	-	1
taly						
Leghorn	-	2	9	3	3	1
Venice	-	-	-	1	-	-
merica						
Philadelphia	1	-	-	-	1	-
Carolina	-	-	-	1	3	-
Virginia	-	-	-	3	2	-
Barbadoes	-	-	1	-	1	-
Jamaica	-	-	-	2	1	-

71. Tickell pp.778f.

(iii) Law and Order:

- 72. The main problems were, briefly, i) Inadequate food and fuel supplies; ii) Bad working conditions, especially for women and children, and low pay; iii) Lack of a social background into which uprooted people might be assimilated. The position in Hull became rapidly worse after the Napoleonic War, when the greatest period of expansion began.
- 73. YORK COURANT, 10th August, 1795 and 2nd March, 1796.
- 74. Hadley p.320.
- 75. Hadley p.350.
- 76. Hadley p.358.
- 77. Tickell p.825, Hadley p.804.
- 78. Hadley p.424. The effort referred to here was the school opened by Trinity House in 1786. The school did not have a very chastening affect on its pupils, for many are the references to boys playing truant or "vagabonding about the streets". See REGISTERS, Trinity House School.
- 79. Hadley p.306. The culprits, Charles Smith and William Comins, were committed to gaol until the next Sessions and the Mayor was ordered to pay for their subsistence. (1729).
- 80. The punishment for this offence was a £20 fine, and imprisonment until paid, but it was excused before the next Sessions. (1725)
- 81. Hadley p.307.
- 82. Payments to Constables are from Corporation Cash Book.
- 83. Tickell p.632, note.
- 84. The Mayor and Aldermen were appointed Justices by charter 18 Henry VI (1), but even before that date the Mayor had been responsible for law and order. See charter 5 Edward III, Boyle pp.15-18.
- 85. Hadley p.323.
- 86. *ibid.*, pp.317f.
- 87. *ibid.*, p.358.
- 88. *ibid.*, pp.475f.
- 89. Tickell p.626, Hadley pp.356-8.
- 90. See Tickell p.689.
- 91. *ibid.*, p.691.

CHAPTER II

INLAND AND COASTAL TRADE

1. INLAND TRADE

The growth and prosperity of Hull in the eighteenth century was inseparably linked with the development of the vast hinterland drained by the rivers which flowed into the Humber. At the beginning of the century Hull was already well supplied with exportable goods produced by the industries of that hinterland, and raw materials formed a large part of the port's imports. But industry, and consequently the trade of Hull, was not progressing rapidly; large scale production was impossible, not only because techniques were primitive, but also because there was no great increase in the demand for goods and because bulky goods could not be easily transported.

The eighteenth century, especially the second half, saw a rapid increase in demand, both at home and abroad (with the development of the eastern Baltic, especially St Petersburg), and also the improvement in water transport which made possible the expansion of land-locked industries. The "opening up" of central England was thus of vital importance to the merchants of Hull as well as the industrialists; improved inland communications by water were, as the Bench said in support of the Fazely Canal in 1782, "...a means of extending Trade and Commerce between the said Port of Hull, and the Northern Kingdoms of Europe...",¹ and it is appropriate, before discussing the foreign and

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coasting trade of Hull, to consider briefly the regions and industries upon which those trades were ultimately dependent.

(i) Yorkshire cloth

The chief source of goods exported from Hull in the eighteenth century was undoubtedly the Yorkshire Woollen Cloth Industry, and it was a very rare ship that left Hull without at least a few packs of cloth on board. The industry was mainly centred on the trading towns of Halifax, Huddersfield and Wakefield on or near the river Calder, and Skipton Bradford and, most important of all, Leeds, on or near the river Aire. To this area were supplied the dyes, oil, tallow, logwood and other materials used in the cloth industry, and also large and growing quantities of raw wool brought coastwise to Hull. On

6 July 1789 the Collector of Customs at Hull informed the Commissioners:²

"The Wool brought to this port is very considerable it being consigned to persons residing at Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax and other principal Woollen Manufacturing Towns to which the River Humber has navigable connexions and is delivered from the Vessels which bring the same coastwise into smaller Vessels provided for the purpose in the presence of the Coastwaiter Inwards who attends the delivery thereof after which the same is taken to the place of its consignment without being put on shore untill its arrival there."

It was mainly for the benefit of the woollen industry that the Aire and Calder Navigation was constructed, in the early years of the century, to Wakefield and Leeds, and extended to Halifax in 1740 and to Sowerby Bridge (to take in an important kersey area) in 1758-60. But the Navigation was also useful for the transportation of iron to the

forges around Leeds, and of foodstuffs, for which Leeds and Wakefield were rapidly becoming distribution centres. Coal was also finding its way to Hull in increasing quantities. One of the chief advantages of the Aire and Calder was probably the low cost of transporting goods to Hull; from Huddersfield to Hull the cost was 1s.6d per hundredweight, and from Wakefield the cost was only 1s.0d.³

Some idea of the spectacular growth of the cloth industry, and consequently the amount of goods passing through Hull, may be gained from the number of pieces of cloth produced in the West Riding alone for the period 1732-1821:⁴

Years	Broads	Narrows	Total Pieces
1732-41	387,486	193,159	580,645
1742-51	557,212	679,092	1,236,304
1752-61	529,229	726,114	1,255,339
1762-71	749,653	797,169	1,546,822
1772-81	1,063,268	956,704	2,009,972
1782-91	1,507,097	1,261,104	1,768,200
1792-01	2,370,073	1,570,154	3,940,227
(1802-11)	2,817,807	1,526,204	4,344,011)
(1812-21)	3,169,686	1,325,056	4,521,742)

(ii) Lancashire cloth

The eighteenth century saw a great development in the Lancashire, as well as the Yorkshire, cloth industry. The manufacture of printed checks and cottons grew steadily, though relatively slowly, during the first three quarters of the century, but a great and rapid expansion began with the application of machinery by Arkwright and others in the

seventies. Development was particularly noticeable in the fustian (cotton velvet) trade and, whereas the checks and "cottons" were sent mainly to the colonies, cotton velvets found their greatest market - to the joy of the Hull merchants - in Europe.⁵ The increasing value of Manchester cloths going to the continent can be seen in the following figures for the period 1775-80:⁶

1775	£74,683	1778	117,447
1776	86,384	1779	207,626
1777	110,185	1780	159,565

Thus, the export of Manchester cloth through Hull was already important by the time the French Wars began, and it tended to increase after the opening of hostilities. Hull became, according to Manchester petitioners for a convoy from Hull to Hamburgh in 1795, the "...Key through which our manufactures can alone find a passage... ((to)) ... Germany, Switzerland and Italy."⁷

The raw cotton, flax and linen yarn used in the industry were not, of course, produced in England. The linen yarn came principally from Europe and Ireland, while the cotton came from the eastern Mediterranean, the Bahamas and America. It should be noticed that Hull played a greater part than Liverpool in the importation of linen yarn, and perhaps, for some time, in the cotton trade as well. Speaking of the latter, Wadsworth and Mann reckoned that "the imports into Hull were much greater than those into Liverpool, but until the bumper year of 1787 they were insignificant in comparison with the quantity coming to London".⁸

In goods going to and coming from the continent, Hull had an obvious advantage over Liverpool, and even in the coastal trade the route from Manchester to London was either via Warrington and Liverpool or by road to Wakefield, Doncaster or Rotherham and then by the Navigations to Hull,⁹ and some goods even went by road to Willington Ferry and down the Trent. There was, however, every incentive, towards the end of the century, for merchants to import and export through Liverpool wherever possible; freight from Manchester to Liverpool along the Bridgewater canal cost 7s.2d. per ton (10s.6d. for cloth), while from Manchester to Hull via the Aire & Calder Canal the cost 50s. was per ton.¹⁰

(iii) Sheffield Iron

Another important industry influencing the development of Hull was the iron industry of the Sheffield-Rotherham area, which produced all kinds of knives, scissors, razors, files and edged tools, iron stoves, grates, rails, sad irons, vases, and "digesters" - the original pressure cookers.¹¹ Hull was the principal port for the exportation of this hardware, although Liverpool was catching up at the end of the century with the development of the American market.¹² The Hull merchants are said to have financed the exportation of goods, and "...they regularly gave long credits to the Sheffield manufacturers, and thus shared the capitalistic responsibilities of the trade."¹³

Hull was also responsible for the importation of the great quantity of foreign iron (and only very rarely steel) which was required in Sheffield.

In the first half of the century goods were carried to and from Sheffield by way of the Trent and Idle to Bawtry and then by land for the remaining 20 miles.¹⁴ In 1751, however, the navigation of the river Don was finished to Tinsley, three miles from Sheffield, despite the opposition of Bawtry and Gainsborough.¹⁵ The value of the Navigation to the iron and steel industry is illustrated in Samuel Walker's Diary: "And though S. Walker, the year before, thought himself so well settled, begun to see ye disadvantages of being so far from ye navigable river, and with a deal of trouble prevailed to have a beginning at Masborough, near Rotherham, where we built a casting-house...."¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the original proposals for the navigation of the river Don (1704) were supported by London cormerchants (and by the town of Barnsley) because it would mean the cheaper transport of corn from the Doncaster area to Hull.¹⁷

(iv) The Trent, Derbyshire lead and Nottingham stockings.

With the exception of the Yorkshire rivers Aire, Calder and Don, all the inland navigations feeding and fed by Hull drained into the great river Trent, which ran for nearly 200 miles through the counties of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire. Into it flowed the Fossdike from Lincoln, the Idle from Retford, the Dove and Derwent from Derbyshire, the Scar from Leicester, as well as the Tame from Tamworth and the Sowe from Stafford. Before ever canals were made, goods were travelling to and from the riverside towns, Stockwith (Bawtry), Gainsborough, Nottingham and Burton. Bawtry

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particularly was important before it was ruined in the canal era when Chesterfield was linked direct to Stockwith. Bawtry was, in the words of Defoe, "...the centre of all the exportation of this part of the country, especially for heavy goods, which they bring down hither from all the adjacent countries..."¹⁸

Stockwith, and to a less extent Bawtry, were able to receive sea-going ships,¹⁹ but beyond Gainsborough, goods could only be carried by barges drawing a couple of feet of water or less. Gainsborough was thus a great transshipment centre, maintaining the link between Hull and the shallower reaches of the river. Beyond Gainsborough was Nottingham, aided by the Nottingham Canal of 1789, and Derby, which was connected with the Trent by the Derwent Canal in 1721. The Derby coalfield area was tapped by the Erewash Canal (1777-9) and Grantham was connected to the Trent by a Canal to West Bridgeford in 1793. Finally, the area influenced by the Trent to the South was extended by the Soar Navigation (1766) which ran to Loughborough, and a canal which extended this to Leicester in 1791-7. The most important town on the upper part of the Trent was Burton. Besides being an important brewing town it was the last point on the river which was easily navigable, and it became a trading town with a market to the west.

The most important industries served by the main stretch of the river were the Derbyshire Lead and the Nottinghamshire-Derbyshire Frame Knitting Industries. Lead, which was one of the chief exports from Hull in the early part of the century, was produced at Castleton, and in the area around Chesterfield, which was the main centre for exportation through Bawtry and Stockwith, and later through the

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Chesterfield Canal, which reduced freight charges by four-fifths.²⁰

The Lead was almost always disposed of in Hull. John Barker, head of an important firm with concessions in Yorkshire and Derbyshire (Grassington, Knaresborough, Skipton, Winster, Edensor, Castleton and probably other places), told one of his managers: "...it will also be right to send ye lead off as soon as it is smelted and get it down to Hull with all imaginable expedition, when it is there we can either keep it or dispose of it as appears most for our interest."²¹ It is interesting to notice - because it is the only trade for which this type of evidence is available - that the state of the industry was determined to a great extent by the demand for lead in Hull and, ultimately, in London or abroad.²² But when lead did not sell easily, or for a reasonable price, production did not cease altogether.

Barker & Co. sometimes sent lead to Hull during a slump and allowed it to accumulate in the hands of their agent, "...that it may be ready when a demand comes, and that the accounts may be made up and the workmen etc. paid what is due to them."²³

The second industry within easy reach of the Trent was the Hosiery industry, based on Derby - where the Lombe brothers set up their silk-mill in 1719 - and Nottingham, and stretching southwards to Leicester, which also made felt hats. Needless to say, worsted stockings for men, women and children, were very popular in the Baltic.

(v) Birmingham hardware.

The river Trent also served the land-locked area to the west and south west which contained the Birmingham light metal industries. At

the beginning of the century Birmingham changed from the manufacture of "rude" goods to the manufacture of locks, buttons, buckles, trinkets, candlesticks, guns and other iron and brass goods which, according to the advertisements which appeared in Aris's Gazette, were usually shipped out through Hull, often to London. In the 'nineties, however, the relatively small European trade seriously declined in favour of the more important American market.²⁴

Liverpool took Hull's place as the port for exportation, although it had no other advantages over Hull: they were roughly the same distance from Birmingham, and freight rates were the same - 30s. per ton to both.²⁵

The raw iron used in Birmingham had originally come from Staffordshire, but the quantity produced there had long since ceased to be sufficient, and Swedish iron was imported via the Trent. "...Their trades...", said the Birmingham petitioners in favour of the Derwent Navigation (finished to Derby, 1721), "...do chiefly consist in Steel and Iron and other ponderous commodities and the charges of land carriage is so great that it is a discouragement to these trades which by this navigation will be improved and the said charge lessened."²⁶ It was usual, however, for goods to and from Birmingham to travel via Burton-on-Trent. "My father", declared William Whitehouse, "bought the foreign bars at Burton-upon-Trent before the Birmingham Canal was built and brought them by land carriage to Birmingham".²⁷ When it was built, the Birmingham Canal (1769) met the Coventry-Trent Canal near Tamworth and the Trent-Severn Canal at Wolverhampton; goods took about fourteen days to travel to Hull, and the cost was 1s.6d per cwt. If went the old way, via Burton, the cost was 2s. per cwt.

(vi) The Potteries

The last industrial region which was of importance to Hull, although to a far less extent than any of the others, was the light metal and pottery region of Staffordshire. Clay and flints had to be imported - the former usually through Liverpool and the latter usually through Hull - and a certain amount of pottery was exported, although not much before the opening of the canals. "The villages of Burslem, Stoke, Hanley Green, Lane-delf and Lane-end...", wrote a pamphleteer (probably connected with Wedgwood) in support of the Liverpool-Hull Canal in 1765, "...are employed in the manufacturing of various kinds of stone and earthen wares, which are carried, at a great expense, to all parts of the kingdom, and exported to our islands and colonies in America, to almost every part of Europe; but the ware which is sent to Hull is now carried by land upwards of thirty miles, to Willington; and that for Liverpool twenty miles, to Winsford."²⁸ The development of the industry was greatly aided by the Grand Trunk Canal, begun in 1766 and finished in 1777, which ran from Preston Brook on the Bridgewater Canal to Shardlow on the Trent, and passed through the Potteries.²⁹

(vii) General trade

So far mention has been made of goods sent to or from the major industries served by Hull; but there were a large number of miscellaneous goods coming from or going to a variety of places. The collection of food to be sent to London was one important general trade, and another was one of the greatest of all Hull trades, the importation of timber. Timber, for buildings, containers, props and many other things, was demanded in very large quantities, and was sent to all the regions

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which were accessible by water. Fortunately two letter books belonging to an important timber firm - Wray & Hollingsworth's - have survived, and from these we can gain some idea of the extent of the firm's business area.³⁰ They sent deals, logs, staves and other goods, to customers in Leeds, Huddersfield, Barnsley, Sheffield, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Loughborough, and Birmingham, where they had about two dozen customers and one agency - Wm Suffolk. The timber was used, among other things, for the intensive building which took place under the stimulus of the industrial revolution; plaster laths were sent to Keighley, and scaffolding poles to Leeds; a Customer in Nottingham was described as an "Architect",³¹ and another in Ripon was graced with the title "Chimney Doctor".³² The most notable of their customers, Sir Richard Arkwright of Cromford, may have used his timber to build machines, or to extend his factory.³³

The effect of the industrial revolution is also found in another way. J. Jackson of Stafford sent an order for "Raven Ducks" to be sent by water, and added "I would have them pretty good therefore will leave it to you to send such as you think most suitable for Waggoners Tracks as I principally sell them to Taylors for that purpose...."³⁴

Wray & Hollingsworth were also interested in iron, mainly as a side line, and mainly "Old Iron". This they sent, together with small quantities of Russian iron ("Tswordishoff's") to Kirkstall Forge (Butlers & Beecroft) and Maude, Dade & Co. of Leeds, to Wednesbury Forge (Short, Willetts & Co) to West Bromwich Forge, to James Cam of Sheffield, Gelsthorpe & Wright in Nottingham, Beach, Warwick & Leonard in Birmingham (Weeford Mill) and ? Blessard of Bradford.³⁵

The ramifications of their business were great, and they are probably typical of a hundred other firms dealing with a dozen other commodities. The map showing the residences of Wray & Hollingsworth's customers could, if the evidence was available, be filled out to show a vast network of business connexions between Hull and every part of central England, from Ripon to Loughborough and from Chester to Grimsby.

No mention has so far been made of the immediate hinterland to the north and south of Hull, for the simple reason that this area played a very minor role in the trade of modern Hull. Both Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire were entirely agricultural, and there were no centres of population demanding or producing goods on a large scale. The river Humber made communications with Lincolnshire very difficult, and little more than market produce was brought over in the ferries from Barton; Grimsby became an important source of wool in the second half of the century, but this was carried up to Leeds by small coasters which by-passed Hull. East Yorkshire was a source of foodstuffs, especially corn, and many Hull merchants had close contact with factors, or their own estates, like Mark Kirby of Sledmere and Hull; but the bulk of the foodstuffs sent to London and the continent came not from East Yorkshire, but from the inland regions with which Hull traded.

Finally, some idea of the relative importance of the various inland areas may be gained from the Register of Ships in the Inland Navigation, c.1800. (Appendix 3). Thirty-six ships - keels and lighters of about 40-50 tons, employing a couple of men - were engaged in the trade with the Sheffield region, and a further ten went as far as Doncaster. The Yorkshire Cloth region employed the most ships; seventy-five went to Leeds, forty-three to Wakefield, eleven to Halifax, two to Bradford

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and two to Huddersfield, as well many to other towns, chiefly Selby (17) and Thorne (25). Along the Trent thirty-nine sailed to Gainsborough, and five to Stockwith. There is unfortunately no mention of the canal boats which took goods along the shallower navigations above Gainsborough and across England to Lancashire and Staffordshire.

2. THE COASTAL TRADE

(1) Introduction.

The coastal trade is a difficult subject to deal with, from the point of view of the local historian. On the one hand we have the Customs records, which credit Hull with a high share in the coastal trade, and on the other hand we have, paradoxically, the fact that the town of Hull itself played very little part in that trade. The reason for this is, quite simply, that a great deal of trade passed through Hull without the Hull merchant community being actively interested in it. For, although the term "Coastal trade" implies trade between ports along the coast of England, in fact trade was more often than not between London on the one hand and Gainsborough, Selby or one of the other inland towns, on the other. In very many shipments Hull was concerned only because of the legal requirement that all goods passing along the Humber should be registered at the Customs House there.

This fact is verified by an analysis of the organisation of the coastal trade. The persons in whose names the vast majority of Port Book entries appear were NOT Hull merchants, who had no control over the coastal trade as they had over the overseas trade. Orders for goods obtainable in London, Sheffield, Manchester, or any other English town, were made by direct communication between the places concerned, as is clear from Defoe's description of the people frequenting the Leeds cloth market: "Another sort of buyers", he wrote, "are those who buy

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to send to London; either by Commissions from London, or they give commissions to factors and warehousekeepers in London to sell for them..."¹ Woollen cloths were not, it would seem, the concern of Hull merchants, despite their great interest in them for the overseas trade. The same is true of other commodities, especially lead. We can easily trace lead shipments in the first quarter of the century, and it appears that the great majority of them were accounted for by inland merchants, particularly the two firms of Wigfall and Leadbetter of Stockwith and Gainsborough; moreover, they usually made their shipments in vessels belonging to Stockwith and Gainsborough, and at no time did they have much contact with Hull. Similarly, towards the end of the century, orders for ironmongery were usually received in Sheffield by post, even when a traveller was employed; Newton Chambers, for instance, always despatched their goods direct to London or the outports without the participation of Hull merchants. The same is true of the principal imports, such as wool. "The wool brought to this port", wrote the Hull Customs officers to the Commissioners, in July 1789, "is very considerable it being consigned to persons residing at Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax and other principal Woollen Manufacturing Towns to which the River Humber has navigable connexions and is delivered from the Vessels which bring the same Coastwise into smaller Vessels provided for the purpose in the presence of the Coastwaiter Inwards who attends the delivery thereof after which the same is taken to the place of its

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consignment without being put on shore until its arrival there." ²

This letter more or less sums up Hull's position as a great TRANS-SHIPMENT centre, rather like a modern railway junction. Goods passing along the inland waterways often came to Hull for trans-shipment by a wharfing firm like Holdens & Co. into larger sea-going vessels, and cargoes in coastal ships were likewise transferred to river craft.

"Messrs. Philip Walker & Co.", read an advertisement in ARIS'S GAZETTE on 18th December 1775,

"hereby acquaint all Merchants Manufacturers and Traders, that have done them the Favour to encourage their Ships trading between Hull and Yarmouth; and to all Wharfingers and others whom it may concern, That with the Approbation of their friends in Norwich, Norfolk and Suffolk, they have appointed Mr George Holden Shipper and Wharfinger to be their Agent in Hull, (in the room of Mr Jms Church deceased) to take care of Goods sent to be shipped there, and to pay the Charges thereon."

The smaller coasters, however, could sail directly to the inland ports; in the period 10 October 1789-90, for example, 395 Coasters went up to Selby, 196 to Gainsborough, 72 to Thorne, 45 to York and 15 to Stockwith; a total of 723 ships in 12 months.³ We know from several sources that these coasters often entered and left the Humber without calling at Hull for more than a routine check. The Hull Committee of Trade had cause to complain in the eighties that ships sailing from Selby to Yarmouth, having by-passed Hull, were proceeding to the continent and thus avoiding Customs duties;⁴ but the main reason for their complaint was that the inland merchants, not content with by-passing Hull in the coastal trade, were now trying to do so in the overseas trade as well.

No one who studies the statistics of the Coastal trade can fail to be impressed by its tremendous volume. During the first half of the century the tonnage of coasters "belonging" to Hull was approximately equal to that of foreign-going ships (See Shipping, Table 27) and the total tonnage of repeated voyages was actually greatest in the coastal trade. Fortunately we have comparative figures for a few years shortly after the middle of the century, and from these we can gain some idea of the difference between the volume of the two trades. For four of the seven years 1766-72, the coastal tonnage inwards was greater than the corresponding tonnage in the overseas trade, and for the remaining three years the position was reversed. More noticeable, however, is the great difference between the volume of shipping clearing outwards in the coastal and overseas trades; in 1766 the former stood at 36,062 tons, but the latter was only 16,610 tons, and in 1772 the figures were 48,084 tons and 18,361 tons respectively.⁵

Table 3 : FOREIGN-GOING AND COASTAL TONNAGES, INWARDS AND OUTWARDS, 1766-72 inclusive.

INWARDS			OUTWARDS		
DATE	Coasters	Foreign	DATE	Coasters	Foreign
1766	39,438 tons	31,750 tons	1766	36,062 tons	16,610 tons
1767	37,091	42,006	1767	37,798	16,267
1768	38,921	40,790	1768	40,902	17,207
1769	41,300	40,631	1769	44,239	18,191
1770	42,867	46,475	1770	40,634	19,797
1771	46,766	43,991	1771	40,424	18,675
1772	47,162	45,434	1772	48,084	18,361

The increase in tonnage that can be observed in the above table continued with gathering momentum during the last quarter of the century, when both branches of Hull's trade greatly expanded. The tonnage of coasters inwards almost trebled between 1771 and 1791, to stand at 123,523 tons, and the tonnage outwards more than doubled, to 92,829 tons. The overseas and coastal trades both increased at approximately the same rate, and so maintained their relative position: the tonnages inwards were still approximately equal, and the coastal tonnage outwards was still roughly double the overseas tonnage.

Table 4: FOREIGN-GOING & COASTAL TONNAGES, INWARDS & OUTWARDS,
1789-1791, inclusive.⁶

	INWARDS				DATE	OUTWARDS			
	COASTERS		FOREIGN			COASTERS		FOREIGN	
	No.	TONS	No.	TONS		No.	TONS	No.	TONS
1789	1200	101,103	455	89,019	1789	1232	102,587	293	51,335
1790	1334	100,156	494	95,962	1790	1299	104,746	302	51,060
1791	1459	123,523	591	115,019	1791	1122	92,829	316	53,042

Hull played a great part in the national coastal trade because of its geographical position, which made it the natural link between the industrial Midlands and the metropolis. Comparative trading figures are not available for most of our period, but those for the years 1789-91 give some indication of the relative position of Hull so far as the volume of trade was concerned. Hull was certainly one of the greatest ports importing goods coastwise, having the largest tonnage inwards (among the outports) in 1791, the second largest in 1789, and the third largest in 1790. Hull was also a very important port so far as exports coastwise were concerned, but here it was completely overshadowed by Newcastle and Sunderland, with their huge coal trade.

Table 5: COASTAL TONNAGE ENTERING & LEAVING THE MAJOR PORTS, 1789-91⁶

PORT	INWARDS			OUTWARDS		
	1789	1790	1791	1789	1790	1791
Bristol	90,862	95,669	102,545	66,597	66,680	67,900
HULL	101,103	100,156	123,523	102,587	104,746	92,829
Liverpool	89,242	111,910	119,839	82,310	100,670	129,493
Newcastle	118,205	120,338	114,905	909,138	783,438	760,475
Sunderland	32,933	24,591	43,921	524,864	512,577	517,096
London	757,080	1,019,700	1,011,200	341,210	1,003,200	1,010,241

Within the coastal trade itself there were three separate divisions, which were only slightly connected with each other. In the first place there was the northern trade, centred on Newcastle and Sunderland and concerned, in the first instance, mainly with coal; secondly there was the general trade with the remaining outports, especially those situated in the wool and corn producing districts of East Anglia; and finally there was the trade with London mainly in foodstuffs and colonial produce which was primarily responsible for the expansion of the coastal trade after 1775.

(ii) The Newcastle Coal Trade

The coal trade was the greatest in volume, though not in value, of all the English coasting trades. Coal from the northern fields was used all along the east coast, and especially in London; and Hull, like the other east coast ports, was receiving large quantities at the beginning of the century. In 1728, for instance, roughly 5,500 chalders were imported from Newcastle, Sunderland and Blyth Book.⁷ But Hull served an area which possessed very rich deposits of good coal awaiting exploitation, and consequently the importation of Newcastle coal did not increase as the industries of the hinterland developed. On the contrary, Hull itself began to receive coal down the Aire and Calder navigation from the Wakefield and Leeds areas at least as early as Defoe's Tour, and supplies from Newcastle dwindled until the importation was only 1,062 chalders in 1787 and 1,401 chalders in 1788.⁸ A few years later Tickell assessed the amount of coal coming along the Aire and Calder "for the use of the town" at 30,000 tons.⁹ Hull was clearly not dependent on the coastal trade for coal.

The decline of the coal trade is reflected in the declining number of ships entering from Newcastle and Sunderland. In the period Midsummer 1703-4 there were 122 ships; in 1728 there were 245, and 226 in 1737, but by 1758 the number was down to 110 and it sank even lower towards the end of the century. XXXXXXXXXX Moreover, those ships which did arrive from the north carried other things besides coal, which by the middle of the century had been replaced as the principal article in this branch of the coastal trade by other commodities which were in great demand in Hull and the hinterland. Raw hides, for instance, were being imported in considerable quantities as early as the 'twenties, and

~~products~~, as also were bones and horns and some tallow. Other commodities were starch and salt, especially the latter, for which the ^{Shildes} ~~Shildes~~ area was the chief source. Finally, Hull obtained some manufactured goods such as steel (only in small quantities), iron pots and pans and glass. Newcastle and Sunderland were the main source of imported glass, and both window glass and bottles arrived in increasing quantities as the century progressed, until it might be said that the most important imports from the north were glass and salt.

The number of ships arriving from the Tyne and Tees was declining steadily, but the reverse is true of ships bound for the north. At the beginning of the century the number of ships clearing in freight for the four ports Newcastle, Sunderland, Stockton and Blyth Nook had been very small indeed compared with the number arriving in Hull. In the period Midsummer 1703-4 they amounted to only 35 ships altogether, and only 9 cleared outwards in 1728. Before long, however, the number of ships clearing was equal to the number entering, and by 1758 the numbers were 168 and 112 respectively.

The rise in the number of ships bound for the Tyne and Tees corresponds to the increase in the quantity of metal and specialised wooden goods destined mainly for the coal-mining industry. In 1728 the total quantity of English timber - mainly oak - shipped from Hull was about 125 tons, plus 16 tons and 800 waggon rails and 200 oak sleepers. Thirty years later, however, the hinterland of Hull had become an important source of English timber for use in shipbuilding, mining and railway construction, and in the second half year of 1758 goods exported coastwise included some 272 tons of oak, ash and beech,

rails, 970 tons of oak, ash, beech and elm timber, 2 bundles of shafts (which Harwood's Dictionary, 1782, describes as supports) and 17 tons of "Cribwood", used for lining the sides of mine shafts.

The trade in iron goods likewise had relatively small beginning, although ironmongery was always an important constituent of the cargoes sent to the Tyne. In the first half of 1702, for example, no less than 360 waggon wheels were sent up to run on the rails also provided through Hull, and growing quantities of ironmongery - shovels and other implements used in mining together with the usual miscellaneous ironmongery and small quantities of English rolled and slit iron - were despatched from the forges and workshops of Sheffield.

The remaining goods sent to Newcastle and Sunderland were unimportant miscellaneous goods from the Baltic and the hinterland; small quantities of linen, wine, tobacco and other things which never became important because they could easily be obtained elsewhere. The only thing worth mentioning, in fact, was paint, of which Hull was one of the earliest producers.

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(iii) The East Anglian and General Coasting Trade

The second division in the Coastal trade is by no means so clearly marked as the first, for there was a certain amount of overlapping with the other divisions; but it may be roughly summed up as trade, principally in foodstuffs and locally produced raw materials, with all the English ports except the coal ports and London.

At one time or another practically every British port traded with Hull, but there were regions with which trade never became firmly established. In the first place, the west coast never became important in the Hull coastal trade because it was easier for inland merchants to trade directly with the west coast than to obtain and despatch goods via the long coastal route through the Channel and the tedious inland journey along the Trent or Don Navigations. Secondly, the south coast never became important because it was completely overshadowed by London, which drew to itself the trade of south eastern England.

Hull's coastal trade was thus confined more or less to the east coast of England and Scotland, and was concentrated particularly on those East Anglian ports which were concerned in the shipment of wool. The hinterland of Hull had long since ceased to produce the huge quantity of wool demanded by the Yorkshire woollen cloth industry, and throughout our period the quantity imported from English sources was very great, rising from 11,823 cwt. in 1728 to 27,806 cwt. in 1737, (an average of 29,439 cwt. in the seven years 1748-54),¹⁰ and 41,831 cwt. in 1782. Unfortunately we are unable to follow the trend in the very important period at the end of the century because no wool statistics are known to exist. All we can do is surmise that the coastwise

importation of wool continued unabated, and was probably still increasing in quantity.

It is probable that the coastwise importation of wool was quite small at the beginning of the century, for only 21 ships altogether arrived from the six principal East Anglian ports in the year Midsummer 1703-4. By 1728 the number had, as we might expect, increased considerably, to 145. But, important as were the shipments from this source, East Anglia was already beginning to lose its predominance in the wool trade. In Lincolnshire, Grimsby was sending ever increasing quantities of wool to Hull (5 shipments in 1703-4, 22 in 1758 and 43 in 1781) as the wool producing region around Louth was encouraged by the building of a canal in the 'sixties. By 1782, in fact, Grimsby was the most important single outport sending wool to Hull, with a total of roughly 9,500 cwt. more than Yarmouth and Lynn combined. There were, of course, other ports which sent occasional shipments to Hull, including Berwick and Kirkwall, Whitby, Boston, Southwold, and Cowes, but the most important development in the wool trade was the tremendous growth in the amount arriving from London, which by the middle of the century, and probably, earlier, was the principal source of wool arriving in Hull. Whether it came to London down the Thames, or via the coastal trade from the south coast is not clear, but we may stress that the wool was not imported foreign produce like most goods arriving from London, because it was always expressly described as "British raw wool".

Table 6 : SOURCES OF WOOL IMPORTED COASTWISE THROUGH HULL, 1782.¹¹

London	18,894 cwt.	Aldborough	271 cwt.
Grimsby	9,456	Berwick	284
Yarmouth	4,124	Whitby	181
Lynn	2,846	Southwold	41
Ipswich	1,665	Cowes	353
Colchester	1,988	Kirkwall	185
Wells	1,371	Boston	172

A second important although fluctuating trade with East Anglia was that in grain. Hull was not primarily an importer of corn, however, and the corn trade fluctuated according to the whims of nature. Thus, at one time Hull might be importing corn, especially from Lynn and Yarmouth, as in 1728, when 16,808 quarters were imported, 1732 when 5,509 quarters were imported, or 1735 when 6,113 quarters came from Lynn alone.¹² But more often Hull would be exporting corn in very large quantities, both coastwise and to the continent (see under London). Occasionally there might be importation AND exportation going on in the same year, if not actually at the same time.

A part from wool and corn, the principal commodities coming from the East Anglian ports consisted of a fairly steady supply of British grown rapeseed and linseed, especially from Wisbech, for use in the Hull seed-crushing industry, and beans and malt. From Yarmouth came quantities of herrings and large quantities of flints, principally for use in the pottery industry; from Lynn came starch, Fuller's Earth, small quantities of kelp, and large quantities of apples, while from Wisbech came several hundred tons of English oak timber each year, at least towards the end of the century. Finally, there was also a small

amount of foreign produce, especially French goods, but also some Baltic commodities, which no doubt had been unable to find room in ships bound direct for Hull.

The goods which were sent to the East Anglian ports were of the general kind exported to almost all the places with which Hull traded, coming as they did from the industries of Sheffield, Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester and Stoke. It should be noted, however, that the woollen cloths which figured so prominently in the overseas trade played a less important part in the coastal trade. Some woollen cloths found their way to East Anglia, but the most important export there was undoubtedly ironmongery. Large quantities of nails were to be found in almost every ship bound for Yarmouth, and scythes, flay knives, iron weights, plough breasts and iron pipes, together with large numbers of iron stoves went to Lynn, Yarmouth and Wells. Details of many shipments of miscellaneous ironmongery have survived among the papers of the Sheffield firm of Newton, Chambers & Co.;¹³ one cargo which they despatched to Lynn on 15 July 1799 consisted of "2 Arched stoves, 4 full Pantheon stoves, 1 Pyramid stove, 3 Mortars & Pestles, Sad irons and 1 Digester". The unwrought metal was also sent to East Anglia, especially to Lynn, which received about half of the 432½ tons which were exported coastwise in 1731-2.¹⁴ In the coastal lead trade East Anglia played a far less important part; Yarmouth, for instance, received only about 100 Fodders out of a total export (coastwise) of roughly 1,760 Fodders in 1731-2.¹⁴

The only other commodities which deserve mention were cattle oaks, which throughout the century helped those who were interested in cattle

breeding; cheese, from Cheshire and Staffordshire, which went principally to Wells, and Manchester wares which, although comparatively insignificant, nevertheless increased in quantity as the century progressed.

Apart from East Anglia, specialising mainly in wool and grain, the general coastal trade may be further subdivided into the Scottish and the Yorkshire trades, neither of which were of great importance to Hull.

The trade with Scotland involved only a few ships towards the end of the century, and often cargoes from several different ports would arrive in the same ship. The chief commodity imported was not the golden spirit - only 2,264 gallons of which was imported in the ten years July 1788-99¹⁵ but kelp, a processed form of seaweed which came from Kirkwall, Thornaway, Leith and Aberdeen, to feed the growing Hull soap-making industry. Other goods included vitriol - which Hull was exporting to the continent in large quantities in the second half of the century - from Prestonpans, tobacco (occasionally) from Barrowstroness, Edinburgh linen from Leith, and occasional supplies of Scottish linen-yarn from Leith and Montrose. Finally, there were goods from the Carron Works, imported by a company specialising in Carron ironmongery, and small quantities of Mediterranean goods, particularly French fruits, from Leith, Montrose and Dunbar. There was no trade worth mentioning TO the Scottish ports.

The Yorkshire ports served no special hinterland, for Hull could be reached fairly easily by land and water from most of the East Riding, ? the Ouse being navigable to Stamford Bridge and the Hull to Beverley. Trade between Hull and the Yorkshire ports was therefore negligible, with the exception of the trade with Whitby. Whitby was one of the

greatest English shipbuilding ports, and as a result the commodities required by the industry itself - ropes, rigging, sails, and kindred articles - were constantly passing from Hull to Whitby and vice versa. Undoubtedly the most interesting feature of this trade was the shipment to Whitby of English timber, which was still being used in the shipbuilding industry, despite the growing use of Baltic substitutes for other things. Coastal timber had, of course, been exhausted long before the Eighteenth century, so that the only remaining timber fit for ship-building - the main use to which oak was put - lay far inland; hence the importance (in this respect) of the navigations, which allowed timber from the Selby region to come down the Ouse, and timber from the Midlands to come down the Trent. Indeed the easy access to oak timber was one of the reasons for canal building put forward by the supporters of both the Liverpool - Hull Canal and the Chesterfield - Gainsborough Canal, and timber from the hinterland of Hull was one of great importance to the national shipbuilding industry. Fisher, writing of timber in his "Hearts of Oak", published in 1763, said:¹⁶ "The numerous ports of North Yarmouth, Hull, Scarborough, Stockton, Whitby, Sunderland, Newcastle and all the North Coast of Scotland, are supplied chiefly, I am informed, from the Humber and Trent." He could easily have extended this list by including Bridlington, Harwich, London, and in wartime, the Royal dockyards at Chatham.¹⁷

The import trade with the Yorkshire ports was even smaller than the export trade, for the only goods arriving in Hull were small quantities of foreign produce and whale oil from Whitby, small quantities of corn from Bridlington, and fish from Bridlington and Flamborough.

(iv) Trade with London

Trade with the ports hitherto mentioned shrinks into insignificance when compared with the great and growing trade with London, which completely dominated the coastal trade of Hull. It may be said without much fear of exaggeration that Hull imported from the outports only those goods (coal, wool, corn, etc.) which were produced in the ports themselves or in their immediate hinterland. Miscellaneous goods collected from various places and forwarded as part of an organised entrepôt trade may be ignored as being of no consequence. The reverse is true of the trade with London, which consisted of a huge and bewildering variety of miscellaneous goods gathered from all corners of the earth.

It was because of this last fact that the London trade was of such great importance to Hull and its hinterland. For we have already seen that Hull had no trading relations with either the East or West Indies, and that trade with certain areas of southern Europe, and America, was almost negligible until well towards the end of the century. This does not mean that non-Baltic goods did not pass through Hull. On the contrary, Hull was a very important gateway for "colonial" and Indian produce which went all over Yorkshire and the eastern Midlands; it was obtained not from the country of its origin, but from London via the coastal trade. Hull never developed its own transatlantic and Indian trade, despite the obvious demand for goods from those trades, for a number of reasons. In the first place, it was impossible to break into the monopoly established by the East India Company. Secondly, Hull

merchants had no great financial or trading connexions with the West Indies, and, since they would not take part in the Slave trade, they were unable to take an active part in the importation of West Indian or American goods. From this it will be gathered that there existed in Hull no adequate merchandising organisation capable of carrying on extensive trade with non-European areas, and we can hardly escape the conclusion that Hull merchants were generally not interested in trading outside the Baltic and the North Sea.

We cannot emphasize too strongly that Hull was dependent upon London in one of the most important branches of eighteenth century trade, and that the hinterland was supplied with American and oriental produce not by Hull merchants, but by London merchants, who had direct contact with their customers in the inland towns. This deficiency in Hull had not been rectified by the end of our period.

Goods imported into Hull from London thus fall into two groups; those imported from the Indies, from the continent, and from other English outports; and those produced in or near London itself. The first group consists, of course, principally of sugar and tobacco, both of which were imported into Hull in very large quantities, the former to feed Hull's important refining industry before being shipped inland. Other transatlantic, and some East Indian goods arrived, as one might expect, but one branch of the entrepôt trade which is quite unexpected was that in goods from the areas with which Hull already had a thriving trade. It is not easy to explain why it was found necessary to obtain sherry, oranges, German linen, whalebone, and many other similar things from London. Perhaps, since many Baltic and other European merchant

Houses had agencies in London, goods were sent there to be distributed by the agents; perhaps masters brought in unconsigned goods in order to fill empty space in their ships; or perhaps merchants found it easier to find room in ships bound for London than in ships bound for Hull.¹⁸ Whatever the reason, practically every ship arriving from London carried European as well as colonial produce.

In emphasizing the position of London as an entrepôt we must not overlook the fact that it was also of great importance for the shipment of English goods produced in the capital itself or in the Home Counties. As we have observed already, London was the principal source of raw wool imported through Hull, supplying almost 20,000 cwts per annum by the end of the century. Another bulky commodity, which can easily be overlooked, was flint, of which about a thousand tons per annum came from London for the potteries of Staffordshire. Yet another interesting feature of the London trade was the shipment of goods which were frankly luxurious, as opposed to the older luxuries (sugar, rum etc.) which were fast becoming necessities; goods which reflected the cultural standing of the richer members of society both in Hull and in the hinterland, ranging from wigs to paper dress patterns, from books to harpsicords, from fire engines to furniture, from wallpaper to brass fenders. They include, in short, every conceivable article produced in London at the behest of a civilised society which was gradually spreading its fashion throughout the provinces.¹⁹

Some idea of the great variety of goods in the London trade can be gained from this entry of a typical cargo in the 1728 Port Book :

"In the OWNER'S GOODWILL, Wm Brown from London ((October 31, 1728))

10 hhds Molas; 12 hhds 20 brls 10 1/2-brls 10 boxes 1 loaf
 Sugar; 1 brl Rice; 11 brls Raysins; 1 hhd Candy;
 1 butt Currants; 9 casks qt 652 Gall Eng. Spirits;
 1 1/2-hhd Vinegr; 33 brls Soap; 5 trusses 2 boxes qt 1516
 Ell Germ. Linnen; 3127 Ells Russia; 10 ps Callico;
 40 yards other Linnen; 11 Table cloths; 3 bolts Eng. Duck;
 1 truss buckrams; 8 1/2 brls 7 hhds 2 casks qt 1553 lb Tobacco
 & 47 1/4 cwts. 8 lb Do.; 5 dz Playing cards; 1 box Blew;
 1 truss Malebone; 1 cask Epsomsalt; 2 casks 2 boxes Apothr.;
 1 hhd 1 cask flowr; 2 bags Shumack; 1 hhd Redwood;
 1 hhd Madder; 1 Mohogany table; 1 pool paper-hangings;
 1 box 1 pool Math; Instruments; 1 bundle Mill boards;
 1 basket Earthenware; 1 hhd Copperas; 1 brl Potashes;
 2 bags Shumack; 1 case qt 1 looking glass; 1 basket 1 pool
 drapery; 14 chairs; 6 hhd Turtentine; 1 hamper Fr. Olaret;
 1 chest Lemons; 6 sacks Pease; 1 bundle Trees; 50 qtrs Rye."

The above list could be expanded to include; Canary wine, spades
 (early in the century), haberdashery of many sorts, "Upholstery",
 "Scotch Linen", figs, nuts, oil, anchovies, ginger and gingerbread,
 treacle, garden seeds, hops, saltpetre, lampblack, mercury, perfume,
 "Oilmansware", brass-wire, coaldust, cotton, crocus, leather, Fuller's
 earth, chocolate, coffee, cocoa, snuff, and even hemp.

Cargoes sent to London consisted of foodstuffs, metal goods and
 miscellaneous goods, more or less in order of importance.

The hinterland of Hull was one of the richest and most extensive
 agricultural areas on which the capital depended for the support of its
 population. All the main grain crops were produced for the London
 market, but the chief of them was undoubtedly oats. As early as 1683-4
 Hull had sent at least 12,000 quarters to London, and this had risen to
 23,000 quarters for the first half of 1702 alone. Oat production
 continued to rise, and for the seven years 1780-86, inclusive, the
 average exportation was no less than 84,600 per annum, the largest
 single total being 114,545 quarters in 1782.²⁰

The other grain crops never increased to the same extent as oats, but they were still of great importance. The exportation of wheat, which was the prime grain, stood at roughly 23,500 quarters in the year Midsummer 1703-4 and 17,492 quarters (average) for the years 1780-86. The exportation of wheat was, however, subject to very great fluctuations according to harvests; in 1728 the total exportation was only 630 quarters, less than the total imported from East Anglia; the total for 1781 was 37,640 quarters, but that for 1786 was only 6,056 quarters. The remaining grain consisted of fairly large quantities of barley, rye and malt.

The most important foodstuffs other than corn were beans, peas, butter and cheese. Butter particularly was important; in the first half of the century the quantity going to London was between 20,000 and 30,000 firkins per annum, and the total probably increased in the second half of the century. Cheshire cheese was also important, although there was no apparent increase in quantity in the first thirty years of the century; the total exported was 648 tons in Midsummer 1703-4, 648 tons in 1728 and 846 tons in 1732 (the total coastal exportation in that year being 1,471 tons and 1,521 cheeses, the remainder going to Wells, Newcastle and Lynn).²¹ Finally, there was a very large quantity of ham, bacon, pork and eggs, which unfortunately cannot be assessed because of the variety of containers used, small quantities of potatoes and honey, and, very surprisingly, liquorice.

The second group of goods sent to London was dominated, at least in volume, by lead from the rich deposits of Derbyshire and Yorkshire.

The total amount sent to London in the year Midsummer 1703-4 was about 3,700 fadders, but there is reason to believe that the quantity of lead exported was actually declining. Certainly it was down to about 2,000 fadders in 1728, and 1,600 fadders in 1732. Red and white lead, on the other hand, were increasing considerably in quantity. Indeed, in the coastal trade, as in the overseas trade, it is probable that the decline in the exportation of raw lead was directly linked with the increased exportation of prepared and milled lead. By the 'twenties, at least, both white and red lead paint was being exported to London, Newcastle, and some of the East Anglian ports.

Other metal goods included a few hundred tons of English iron, and probably more in the second half of the century; a few dozen tons of nails, and very small quantities of English steel. But the chief trade, was, of course, in Sheffield and Birmingham ironmongery; every conceivable metal article, from cannons to buttons, anvils to pots and pans, stoves to waggon wheels are to be found among the entries in the Port Books.

The miscellaneous goods included local products such as tallow and spermaceti candles, paint, rape oil and linseed oil, luxuries such as crab claws, rabbits, and many thousands of rabbit skins for robes, and generally useful things such as goose quills (for pens), beeswax, yellow ochre and woad, plaster, "flox", bedding and hair. The Northern cloths, which we might have expected to find are, in fact, relatively unimportant, although one interesting feature of the London trade was the increasing number of cloths from Manchester. At the beginning of the century there were none, but numbers increased slowly until there were a few bales of Manchester goods in almost every shipment. Yet another product of the

hinterland passing through Hull was earthenware, together with pantiles and bricks; the quantity of earthenware alone numbered many hundreds of thousands of pieces annually, but once again no accurate assessment can be made because of the variety of containers. Finally, there some natural products, such as freestone, ^csythstones and mill-stones, and English timber, several hundred tons of which were sent to London annually, together with prepared waggon rails.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

1. INLAND TRADE

- 1. B.B.ix,580. December 1782
- 2. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 6 July 1789
- 3. Advertisement, HULL ADVERTISER, 30 September 1797
- 4. T.Allen, YORKSHIRE, Volume IV^{p.338}. Figures are also quoted ~~in~~ in T.S. Ashton, AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1964 Appendix, Tables XI,XII.
- 5. A.P.Wadsworth & J.de L.Mann, THE COTTON TRADE & INDUSTRIAL LANCASHIRE, 1600-1780.^{Manchester 1931} See chapters iv, vii.
- 6. *ibid.*, p.169.
- 7. Proceedings of the Manchester Commercial Society, 3 February 1795, *op.cit.* A.Redford, MANCHESTER MERCHANTS & FOREIGN TRADE, 1794-1858, p.32.
- 8. Wadsworth & Mann, p.190.
- 9. *ibid.*, p.221.
- 10. Cost via Liverpool from Ashton, p.88; via Hull from HULL ADVERTISER 30 September 1797. It is interesting to note that on the return journey from Hull to Manchester, freight was 10s. per ton less than in the other direction, ~~because~~ because of the lower value of ^{bulky} goods sent inland from Hull.
- 11. "Digesters" - iron pots with screw lids and safety valves, usually 3 - 16 quarts - were made by Newton Chambers of Chapeltown.

12. Peter C. Garlick, THE SHEFFIELD CUTLERY AND ALLIED TRADES AND THEIR MARKETS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Sheffield, 1951, Sheffield Central Ref. Library No. 33991. See especially Chapter 5(x), p. 176f. for Hull, Liverpool and the American trade.
13. G. I. H. Lloyd, THE CUTLERY TRADES, p. 329.
14. *ibid.*, p. 334.
15. The navigation stopped at Tinsley a) because it was outside the Duke of Norfolk's estate, b) because the river rose 55 feet between there and Sheffield. For the canal and Sheffield, see G. G. Hopkinson, THE DEVELOPMENT OF INLAND NAVIGATION IN SOUTH YORKS. AND NORTH DERBYSHIRE, 1697-1850, Hunter Soc., VII, v, 229-251.
16. A. H. John, THE WALKER FAMILY, 1741-1893, p. 2.
17. Journal of the House of Commons, XIV, 462-7; *op. cit.* T. S. Willan, RIVER NAVIGATION IN ENGLAND, 1600-1750, p. 137.
18. Defoe, TOUR, II, p. 181.
19. In the first quarter of the century there were ships engaged in the coastal trade (mainly carrying lead to London), which were registered at Stockwith and Bawtry, but these soon disappeared as the century progressed.
20. The most important shareholders in the Chesterfield Canal Company were North Derbyshire lead merchants and mine owners.
21. BARKER MSS, Sheffield Cent. Ref. Library, BAGSHAWE 494, John Barker to Jacob Bailey, 29 May 1791.

- 22. *ibid.*, Barker to ?Duchess of Devonshire?, 1 August 1789.
- 23. *ibid.*, Barker to Bailey, 15 July 1789.
- 24. Minutes of Evidence against the Orders in Council, Journal of the House of Commons, April 1812, ATTWOOD'S Evidence, p.3 of copy in Birmingham Central Ref. Library.
- 25. Freight rates from Ashton, p.89 and from Advertisement in ARIS'S GAZETTE, 28 March 1774, copy in Birmingham Cent. Ref. Library.
- 26. House of Commons Journal, X, p.410.
- 27. *op.cit.*, Ashton, IRON & STEEL IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, p.245.
- 28. A VIEW OF THE ADVANTAGES OF INLAND NAVIGATION BETWEEN THE PORTS OF LIVERPOOL & HULL, 1765, B.Museum B.504, pp.28-9. (*Anonymous*)
- 29. The canal actually started at Runcorn.
- 30. WRAY & HOLLINGSWORTH LETTER BOOKS, 1791-5, Hull Cent. Ref. Library, L.12869.
- 31. *ibid.*, 20 January 1795.
- 32. *ibid.*, 6 January 1795.
- 33. *ibid.*, 19 May 1791
- 34. *ibid.*, 2 November 1791.
- 35. Examples of letters from these firms (there is no index) are :
 14/9/91, 12/3/95, 24/11/91, 3/12/91, 12/3/95, 17/5/91, 5/5/91,
 and 18/5/91 respectively.

2. THE COASTAL TRADE

- 1. Defoe, TOUR, Vol.ii, p.207.

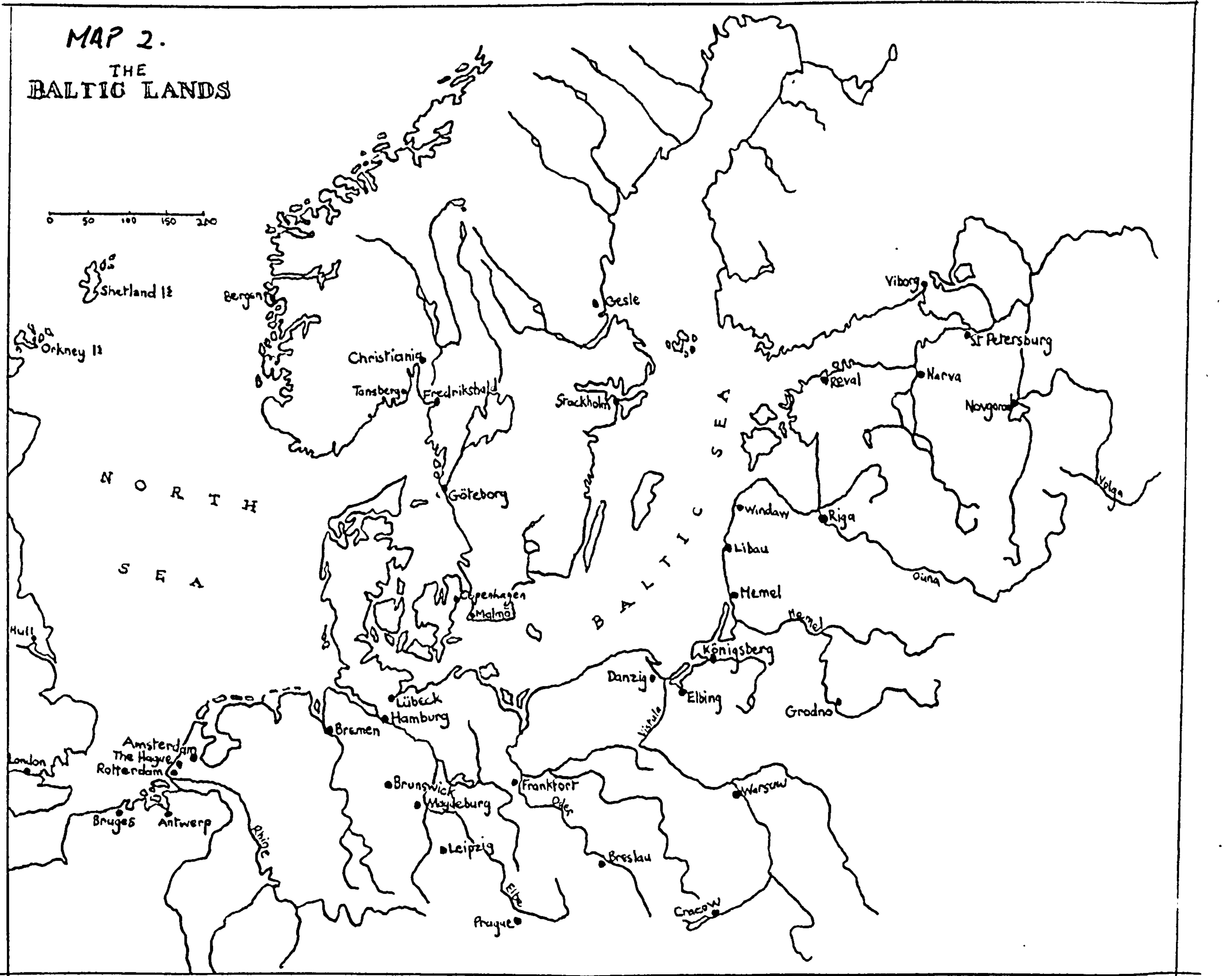
2. H.O.L.B., H-O., July 1789.
3. H.C.L.B., H-C., 22 November 1790.
4. G.H.MSS., MINUTES OF COMMITTEE FOR TRADE.
5. Figures from G.H.MSS., PORT DUES BOX, Loose paper.
6. Figures from P.R.O., Cust.17/11F.
7. The general trade figures quoted in this chapter are taken from the ^{Hull} Port Books, passim, and no further reference will be made to this source. For reference to the Port Book Numbers for particular years quoted, see Appendix.
8. H.C.L.B., H-C., 27 July 1789.
9. Tickell p.872.
10. B.B.ix,239.
11. Abstracted from the 1782 Port Book.
12. T.S.Willan, THE ENGLISH COASTING TRADE, 1600-1750, p.80.
13. Newton Chambers & Co.'s archives, kindly shown to me by R.C.Burgin, Esq.
14. Willan, p.71-2
15. H.C.L.B., H-C., 18 July 1799
16. R.Fisher, HEARTS OF OAK, (1763) p.38.
17. Hull imported a small quantity of timber from Wisbech, and this may have been sent on to Whitby as well as used in the Hull shipbuilding yards.
18. It should be remembered that although Hull was principally concerned with trade with the Baltic, London's trade with that area was far greater than Hull's.

19. The Grimstons were among those obtaining their elegant trappings by water from London, not always, it might be observed, in mint condition. "Yesterday", wrote one wharfinger from London, "a man came to acquaint me that one of your Boxes which had been put into a Warehouse in order for shipping, last Tuesday noon, on removing it Yesterday it made a noise like Broken Glass, which on my sending down proved true enough being Counsellor John's ((John Grimston)) Pisture the Glass of which is broken all to pieces." Ingram, LEAVES FROM A FAMILY TREE, p.50.

20. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 1786.

21. Willan, p.89.

MAP 2.
THE
BALTIC LANDS



CHAPTER THREE

THE OVERSEAS TRADE

1. The Import Trade, 1700-1750.

As we have seen, the chief demand of the hinterland was for raw materials such as iron, timber and those vegetable products which were used in the cloth industry. These were, with few exceptions, obtainable from the Baltic and from northern Europe, and it was natural that Hull merchants should be concerned with that area to the virtual exclusion of all others. We may, perhaps, further narrow down the area from which Hull drew its imports: the Dutch trade was important; the Russian trade was growing; but the most noticeable feature of Hull's import trade in the first half of the century was undoubtedly the overwhelming preponderance of the Scandinavian trade.

Norway was the chief supplier of rough sawn timber such as deals (pieces of timber up to 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide x 7"-11" x 8'-20'), battens (small deals) and single and doubleuffers (poles 6.4"-7" x 20'-40') used in building and mining, and masts and spars used in shipbuilding.¹ But the peak output of timber under existing conditions had apparently been reached by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and merchants were forced to compete for cargoes in some years. As early as 1719 one factor was bewailing the situation:

"Really there is not a port in the whole kingdom where the stock is answerable to the demand, so that we fear many

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ships will at least go back in their ballast, and we think that those do as well, nay better, than those that waits a month or two, who will at last be obliged to take any trash, and at most extravagant rates, en fine we cannot describe to you how bad it is, but 2 really we pity those that must experience it..."

Thus, with the total importation of timber from all sources increasing, from 1,488⁰ deals in 1702 to 2,804⁰ in 1758, Norway actually declined in relative importance as a source of imports; in 1717 thirty-three ships entered Hull from there, but in 1758, with twice as many deals being imported, only twenty-eight ships entered inwards. It should be noticed however, that this number was lower than usual.³ (See Table 12 for a list of goods imported; Table 11 for ships arriving from individual countries and Table 12 for ships arriving from individual ports)

From Sweden there came, in the words of Joshua Gee, "...near two thirds of the iron wrought up or consumed in the kingdom..."⁴ high grade iron which, because it was easily obtainable and malleable, supplemented home produced iron and fed the Sheffield, Birmingham and Leeds iron works until the Cort process made possible the more general use of English ores in the eighties. Thus, at least in its early stages, the industrial revolution was dependent on the trade with Sweden.

The amount of iron imported in 1702 was 2,356 tons, and this probably represents the normal amount for peace time. The effect of the Northern Wars can easily be seen in the amount imported in 1717, 353 tons, but the figure was back to 2,481 tons in 1728. Thereafter there was a slow growth to 3,964 tons in

1737, and a rapid growth to 6,058 tons in 1758; although by the last date imports were no longer exclusively from Sweden.

The importance of iron imports can be seen in the number of ships devoted to this trade in peace time; although only three came to Hull in 1717, thirty-two came in 1728, forty-nine in 1737, and forty-seven in 1758, when ships from Sweden ~~made up~~ ^{made up} a quarter of the total number of ships entering the port.⁵ The importance of Sweden can also be seen in the fact that several merchants considered it worth their while to maintain branches of their firms in Scandinavia, and some Hull firms built up a very great business on the basis of Swedish Iron. Sykes and Company who were one of the most important firms in Hull, imported over a thousand tons of iron between June and December 1747 in their own ships, apart from what they may have imported in shared cargoes.⁶

Sweden was also a source of pitch and tar, as were most of the countries of the north Baltic. But the total imported was, unexpectedly, never very great. In 1702 1,156 barrels were imported, 2,752 in 1717, and 960 in 1737. In the middle of the century tar and pitch are conspicuous by their absence from the trade with Europe, and come exclusively from America, no doubt because of the government bounty on Plantation Tar (2 Geo II, c35, s3).⁷ While the trade lasted it was mainly in tar and pitch from Stockholm, Bergen, and probably also from Viborg. The trade was

in all probability dominated by a few important firms, such as the Maisters, Mowlds and Broadleys; Maisters, for example, sold no less than 800 barrels of pitch and 500 barrels of tar in 1714.⁸

Several hundred miles, and a week or two's sailing to the east of Stockholm lay Sweden's immediate neighbour, Russia. With tremendous trading potential, Russia was nevertheless virtually landlocked, with no sea-ports except St. Petersburg, founded in 1703, but of little importance as a trading centre for a quarter of a century or more; only two ships arrived in Hull from there in 1717, and the number was still not above a dozen in 1758.

The Northern War marked not only the end of Sweden as a great political power, but also the acquisition by Russia, in 1720, of the Swedish provinces in the Eastern Baltic which had previously barred her approach to the sea. In the first half of the century, at least so far as Hull was concerned, St. Petersburg and its hinterland was of less importance than the new provinces of Carelia (with the port of Viborg), Ingria, Esthonia (with the port of Narva) and Livonia (with the port of Riga). These areas were all reasonably well developed (St. Petersburg was not) and the ports were outlets for the goods from the forests, mines and fields of the adjacent territory and also for Poland and Russia; Riga, for example, lay at the mouth of the Polish river Dina, on which stood Vitebsk, half way between Memel and Moscow. But because they were more developed than St. Petersburg, Riga and

Narva did not advance at the same rate as the new capital, which drew on hitherto untapped supplies of raw materials. Riga sent nine ships to Hull in 1717, twenty in 1737, but only eleven in 1758, while Narva sent eleven in 1737 and only four in 1758.

The trade with the only important Polish port, Danzig, also showed no signs of progress, apart from the usual fluctuations which are to be expected. Apart from the year 1728, a corn import year when thirty-one ships arrived from Danzig, it is doubtful if the number ever exceeded a dozen a year. Similarly the Prussian ports did not send many more ships to Hull in the middle of the century than at the beginning.

Goods imported from Russia, Poland and Prussia fall into three main groups: timber, flax and hemp, and iron.

Although rough sawn timber was imported in large quantities into England, Hull took no part in this trade, concentrating almost entirely on deals at the beginning of the century. In 1717 only seventy-nine loads of timber were imported, seventeen loads in 1728, and twenty-five in 1737, and these may have come from Norway.⁹ When the demand for fir timber grew, in the 'forties, it was obtained not from Norway, but from the forests of the eastern Baltic. By 1758 the quantity of timber imported had reached 1,135 loads, and it continued to increase in the second half of the century. The eastern Baltic was also important as a source of special kinds of timber such as spars, masts, staves, palling boards, battens and ufers, although none of these

came in very large quantities. The number of battens, for example, rose from 187° in 1728 to 294° in 1758, while the number of pailing boards rose from 300° in 1728 to 451° in 1737 and declined again to 133° in 1758. These figures are small when compared with the thousands of hundreds of deals and loads of timber.

The second group of imports was based on the great flax and hemp growing industry which spread over all the countries of northern Europe, except England. From the flax and hemp plant was prepared a fibre which was the chief raw material used in the production of linen, canvas and rope, and it fed not only a great local industry but also the English linen industry. Flax and hemp arrived in Hull in three forms.

In the first place "raw" or "rough" hemp and "undressed" flax were imported in greatly increasing quantities. The amount of hemp arriving in Hull rose from 838 cwt. in 1702 to 18,132 cwt. in 1737, before declining during the Seven Years War to 4,910 cwt. in 1758, while flax rose at an even greater rate, from 1,679 cwt. in 1702 to 10,168 cwt. in 1717, 17,203 cwt. in 1728 and 29,758 cwt. in 1737, before declining, in common with hemp, to 19,905 cwt. in 1758.

Secondly, yarn, which had been prepared in the Baltic or in Germany and Holland, was imported as "Spruce Linen Yarn" from Prussia and Poland (especially Konigsburgh and Danzig) and "Haw Dutch Linen Yarn" which, despite its name, came mainly from

Hamburgh, but also from Amsterdam Rotterdam and Bremen. Raw Dutch Linen yarn was already coming in at the beginning of the century, 37,544 lb. being imported in 1702. By 1717 the amount had risen to 233,912 lb., and although there was a decline in 1728 the figure rose rapidly from 117,428 lb. in 1737 to 839,274 lb. in 1758. Spruce linen yarn, which began to come to England in the second decade of the century, rose at a phenomenal rate from 49,168 lb. in 1717 to 72,180 lb. in 1737 (after a decline in 1728) and 1,000,743 lb. in 1758.

Thirdly, finished cloth was imported in rapidly increasing quantities from Russia, Germany and Holland, but mainly from Russia. Altogether there were close on thirty different types of cloth imported by the middle of the century, but of these the only ones of consequence were narrow linen and spruce canvas.¹⁰ The quantity of narrow Holland linen was never very great, and by the middle of the century it was so small that the Customs officials ceased to count it by the hundred ells, which was the usual way. Narrow German linen became fairly common in the twenties and stood at c.400-500⁰ ells until the late fifties; but by far the most important of the linens was Narrow Russian (called Narrow Muscovy until the twenties) which increased from 17⁰ ells in 1717 and 121³/₄⁰ ells in 1728 to 1,352⁰ ells in 1750 (i.e. approximately 182,520 yards). Spruce Canvas was of no great moment at the beginning of the century, although it was the principal cloth imported in 1702, but 2,884⁰ ells arrived from the Baltic in 1717,

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and the total had risen to 8,485^o ells (over 1,127,000 yards) in 1750. Altogether the total canvas imported rose from 185^o ells in 1702 to 12,418^o ells in 1750, while the quantity of linens rose from 29^o ells in 1702 to 1,910^o ells in 1750.

There was also a by-product of the flax industry, linseed, which was imported into Hull; 237 quarters arrived in 1728, 3,535 in 1737, and 2,360 in 1758, mainly from Danzig. Other vegetable products included Juniper berries and Spruce Beer from Danzig, mats from Riga, and twine from various places; madder (yellow dye) was imported at the rate of c.500 cwt. per annum, and potash, pearl ash and weed ash (all potassium carbonate) came in fluctuating quantities from all places where vegetable matter could be burned; 110,598 lb. in 1717, 12,034 lb. in 1737, and 244,431 lb. in 1758.

The third important commodity from the Baltic was Russian iron, which began to supplement the supplies from Sweden in the thirties, although not more than about fifty tons was listed as Russian iron in 1737. But it was most probably the iron from Russia which sent up the total quantity imported in the middle of the century, for the amount coming from Russia soon equalled, if not exceeded, the amount from Sweden, as a result of the very important Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1734.

The significance of the trade with Russia, Prussia and Poland lies not in the quantity of goods imported or the number of ships arriving from there, but in the type of goods obtained

there; for with the intensification of the English industrial revolution it was these goods above all others which were demanded in Hull, and the changes which took place in Hull's import trade in the second half of the century were in answer to this demand.

Hull is usually thought of in connection with the Baltic trade, but in fact the chief area with which Hull traded in the first half of the century was Holland and Germany; that is, that part of Germany lying outside the Baltic. Not only was Holland the principal area to which exports were sent, as will be seen later; it was also the supplier of an infinite number of miscellaneous goods without which life in England would have been much drabber than it was.

Hanover and Holland had two advantages over other regions with which Hull traded. In the first place, although they were outside the Baltic, the ports of Hamburg and Bremen received goods from, and sent goods to, northern Germany, and this is no doubt why there was very little trade with ports in the Baltic to the west of Danzig; Hamburg stood on the same river (the Elbe) as Leipzig, which was one of the great German commercial centres. Similarly Holland, by virtue of its extensive Baltic carrying trade, had built up a trade in processed raw materials from the Baltic, especially manufactured wooden and intricate metal goods. In the second place Holland, and to a less extent

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Hanover, had an international entrepôt trade, and consequently Hull was able to obtain from near at hand not only the produce of Germany and Holland, but also goods from countries with which Hull had no direct trading links; anything, in fact, from whale bone to a nutmeg, the latter despite the Navigation Acts.

The bulkiest imports from Germany and Holland were no doubt the processed timber and manufactured wooden goods. From Hamburgh and Bremen came firkin-, pipe-, barrel-, and hogshead-staves, more, perhaps, than from any other region, and from both Germany and Holland came the wainscot boards which found their way into many of the richer houses of eastern England. Holland also produced large quantities of such things as oars, kits, tubs, scoops, stoops, shovels, spouts, pipes and laths, and intricate wooden articles such as chairs, spinning-wheels, laquered and plain tea-tables demanded by the latest fashion of tea-drinking, a coach or two, and at least a couple of fire engines, which the Corporation of Hull acquired for its fire-service in the first decade of the century. Paper of various kinds was usually obtained from Holland, and so was pasteboard, and large quantities of rags "suitable only for making paper"; other writing implements such as writing slates and tablets and quill pens were also imported, and so were printed books for the studious or religious, and toys for the young.

Another group of products were those manufactured from iron, steel or brass. Some metals were imported, including steel

and copper, but the quantities involved were only a few hundred-weights (the largest amount of steel imported being only 668 cwt. in 1728), except for "Old iron" which was imported in considerable quantities. It consisted of old hammer heads and other broken metal objects, chiefly military equipment. It is one of the forgotten facts of history that the widespread use of iron equipment in warfare produced a horde of scavengers who gleaned battlefields for bullets and shells, many of which eventually were melted down in Leeds or Sheffield. Maisters, for example, quite often imported broken bullets and shells and in June 1750 they had 789 bullets and 24 shells confiscated by the Customs officers because they were "capable of being made use of in a military way."¹¹ So much for the original metal. More important were the goods manufactured in Holland and Germany, including brass, "lattyn" and iron wire, "battry" (which may have been either brass and copper pots or small cannon), thousands of "melting pots for goldsmiths", chimney backs and other metal equipment for the kitchen. Tin-plates were imported in fairly large numbers - 27,540 in 1702, 170,450 in 1717 and 59,850 in 1728 - but this trade declined and finally ceased before the middle of the century with the development of the English tin-plate industry, and Hull began to export tin plate.

Cloth produced in Holland and Germany was of little importance compared with cloth from other areas, but Holland and Germany were the principal sources of many of the dyestuffs.

used in the finishing of English-made cloths. Smalts (powdered blue glass made from cobalt) increased from 4,879 lb. in 1717 to 44,579 lb. in 1758, and there were also small quantities of yellow ochre, arsenic, and other colours.

Finally, there were all kinds of drugs and spices from the Mediterranean and East Indies, whale oil, bone and fin, obtained from the Dutch whaling industry long before the English industry developed, and, no doubt partly to supplement the lightweight but valuable cargoes, dogstones, paving-stones and grave-stones.

Trade with France was insignificant, even when England and France were not at war with each other. No ships at all came to Hull in 1717, one in 1728, seven in 1737, and none again in 1758; moreover, six out of the seven which arrived in 1737 came from the wine port, Bordeaux. Clearly the only commodities produced in France which were valued in Hull were wine, corn and linseed, although some dried and fresh fruits such as prunes and apples, and a few other luxuries such as books and fine cloth were imported.

A few more ships, but never more than six, were engaged in the trade with Antwerp, Bruges and Ostend in the Austrian Netherlands, importing mainly spices and other goods brought to the Netherlands by the Ostend Company.

However, the trade with the Austrian Netherlands never developed, in the first place because of difficult political conditions, and secondly because everything which Flanders could

supply could be obtained more easily from Holland. Flanders and France between them supplied only 3.2% of the ships inwards in 1717 and 3.1% in 1728; the trade did not expand until the end of the century, and once again it was disrupted by war.

The only remaining European area from which Hull imported goods was the Iberian peninsula. From Portugal and Spain came most of the wine imported into Hull, in anything from half-a-dozen to a dozen ships a year. The total quantity of wine imported, from all sources, was between 200,000 and 300,000 gallons per annum in the first half of the century, and of this about two-thirds usually came from Portugal and Spain, mostly from Oporto and Lisbon. In 1717, for example, the total imported from Portugal was 171,075 gallons, while only 36,748 gallons came from Spain, and only 1,788 gallons from the Rhineland. (There were no ships from France in 1717). Twenty years later the total import had risen to approximately 300,000 gallons but in this year wines and spirits came from several other places. Of the 65 ships which entered Hull carrying wine (not necessarily their only cargo) twenty-three came from Lisbon and Oporto, and seventeen came from Malaga; of the rest five were from Hamburg, two from Rouen, seven from Rotterdam, and one each from Bordeaux, Dunkirk, Seville, Gibraltar, Genoa and St. Ubes.

Wine was not the only commodity imported from Portugal and Spain. From the former came all the cork used in Hull and re-exported to the eastern Baltic ports, and from the latter

came fruit - 400,000 oranges and lemons in 1717 and a quarter of a million in 1728, besides raisins and figs - olives, olive oil, nuts and anchovies. Both countries also sent dyes, including shumack (yellow dye, used in tanning) indigo and "orpiment" (arsenic trisulphide, a yellow dye).

The import trade with Portugal and Spain remained remarkably steady in the first half of the century, both in the number of ships arriving and in the amount of wine imported. With the exception of the year 1737, when fourteen ships came from Spain, only two or three came each year, while the numbers from Portugal fluctuated from five to twelve. Similarly the wine import remained steady; in 1717 171,075 gallons were imported from Portugal, and the average imported for the years 1753, 54 and 55 was 164,043 gallons.¹²

The American trade was quite distinct from that with Europe, not so much because different commodities were involved - often they were the same - but because the trade was dominated by a group of specialist merchants, the only ones in Hull who did specialise. Moreover, the long voyages involved, and the reluctance of the merchants as a whole to stray far from the Baltic, encouraged the coastal trade at the expense of direct trade with America, and so a ship from there was something of a novelty until well into the eighteenth century. Until about 1740 the number of ships employed in the trade was only two or

three a year, as it had been in the sixteen-eighties, but between 1740 and 1760 the trade began to develop, and in 1758 six ships sailed to America and fourteen arrived from there. Throughout the century, however, American trade employed only a tiny percentage of the total shipping of the port; 0.8% outwards in 1717 and 4.8% in 1758; 0.8% inwards in 1717, and 7.4% in 1758.

The export trade with America was of no importance in the first half of the century. In 1717 the total goods exported to Philadelphia, the only port with which Hull traded in that year, amounted to 20 Dozens, 25 Kerseys, 500 dozen pairs of Hose, 168 ells of German linen, 20 pieces of Norwich Stuff, 86 pairs of shoes and 23 chalders of coal. In return for this type of cargo came tobacco, rice, tar, pitch and turpentine.

The importation of tobacco, which was the most valuable article in the trade, did not begin regularly until about 1742, although odd shipments arrived occasionally - 42,615 lb. in 1702, for example. Starting with a small amount, 57,631 lb. in 1743, the quantity rose rapidly, to a quarter of a million pounds in 1746 and 859,256 lb. in 1748. For the period recorded in the Customs Letter Books ¹³ the amount of tobacco imported rose and fell in a wave motion which averages out at 432,451 lbs. per annum between Christmas 1742 and 1758. Not all the tobacco was consumed in Hull or the hinterland; of the 6,919,221 lb. imported between 1742 and 1758, no less than 2,300,491 lb. were exported to the Baltic countries.

TABLE: 7 IMPORTATION AND EXPORTATION OF TOBACCO,

Xmas 1738 - 58.¹³

	IN	OUT		IN	OUT
1738-42	nil	nil	1750-1	174,605 lb.	282,465 lb.
42-3	57,631 lb.	50,247 lb.	51-2	469,212	66,047
43-4	2,951	2,951	52-3	1,006,189	71,330
44-5	70,929	nil	53-4	669,446	297,863
45-6	257,356	92,908	54-5	861,795	186,811
46-7	444,392	322,976	55-6	453,572	5,695
47-8	859,256	581,312	56-7	262,525	nil
48-9	291,692	278,369	57-8	593,761	680
49-0	443,911	60,837			

At first sight the importation of pitch and tar from America is surprising; why should these bulky and relatively cheap things be brought from America when they could be obtained in Sweden? The answer is simply that the government granted a bounty on "Naval Stores" brought from America.¹⁴ In 1752 the local Customs officers told their superiors: "We...are informed that Plantation Tar is frequently made use of in the Manufacturing of British Pitch, especially when foreign Tar is scarce..."¹⁵ Apparently merchants in Hull made full use of this supply; in 1750 3,821 barrels were imported by one firm, Hamilton and Company, and 4,791 in 1751, principally from Hampton and Brunswick in North Carolina.¹⁶ The bounty on Naval Stores was worth considering; at least two merchants, William Welfitt and Peter

Hodgson, received £347. 11s. 0d. each for "bounty on naval stores per Virginia Packett" in February 1759; Welfitt received another £251 for bounty on goods per "Captain Cook", and Hodgson received another £152 on "Milnes".¹⁷

Other goods imported included rice - 1,000 cwt. in 1737 - from Charlestown, turpentine, small quantities of Plantation pig iron, staves, indigo, walnut plank from Virginia, and train oil. The trade in train oil was, as we shall see later, the origin of the Hull whaling industry, when the merchants who had been content to import train oil from Rhode Island began to send ships direct to the Greenland fishery.

2. The Import Trade, 1750-1800

In the second half of the century the Baltic was the chief concern of the Hull merchants, but there was a noticeable shift of emphasis from the western to the eastern Baltic with the developments in the timber and iron trades, and with the expansion of the trade in other raw materials obtainable from the eastern Baltic.

The timber trade remained one of the chief branches of Hull's trade. The quantity of deals imported rose only very slowly, however; there was but a small increase between 1758, when 2,804^c were imported, and 1783, when the total was 3,224^c.

The sharpest rise of the century took place in the last quarter, and by 1796 the total imported had reached 4,530⁰.¹⁸ The timber trade was dominated by Norway almost until the middle of the century, but the great expansion of trade after the Seven Years War left the Scandinavian countries untouched. Norway had reached the limit of her output, and it is most probable that only about half of the deals imported in the second half of the century came from there. In fact, at the very time when the quantity of deals was rising, the number of ships arriving in Hull from Norway was declining and Norway's place as the chief source of timber was taken by Russia and Prussia.

So far as Hull was concerned, the increasing demand for timber was met not by increasing the importation of deals, either from Norway or the Baltic, but by drawing on the relatively new "timber". The chief cargoes arriving from Russia and Prussia consisted not of deals but of "Timber", viz: rough sawn pieces of Fir measured by the load of fifty cubic feet. The importation of "timber" had been negligible during the first half of the century (although England as a whole imported large quantities from Norway), but a rapid increase began after 1750. Between 1758 and 1783 the amount imported rose from 1,135 to 6,928 loads, and by 1796 it had further increased to 14,813 loads, approximately three-quarters of a million cubic feet.

The principal ports from which timber was imported were now Memel, Riga, Narva and Archangel. The trade with the great

timber port of Memel, which was in Prussia, expanded at a greater rate than that with any other Baltic port, excluding St. Petersburg. In the first half of the century less than half-a-dozen ships annually arrived from there, but the number rose quite rapidly to twenty-two in 1768, thirty-two in 1783 and fifty-seven in 1796, an increase which coincides clearly with the growing volume of imported timber. The number of ships coming from the Russian ports of Riga and Narva, both important for timber, and also for flax and hemp and iron, did not increase, and in fact both places sent fewer ships to Hull in 1796 than in 1737. But the last quarter of the century saw the exploitation of new Russian forests, which exported their timber through the northern ports of Onega and Archangel and by 1796 the number of ships arriving from Archangel alone had reached fifteen.

The importation of iron, like that of deals, remained fairly steady during the second half of the century. Contrary to expectation, there was no great rise in volume towards the end of the century as there was in all other raw materials, doubtless due to the development of the English iron industry after the perfection of Cort's iron^{-making process,} which received its final government tests in the Royal dockyards in the period 1784-6, and which was found to possess all the qualities of Swedish iron "in a supereminent degree."¹⁹ Swedish iron was the best - and for many years the only - iron imported at Hull, but, as with Norwegian timber, it was gradually supplemented by

supplies from the Eastern Baltic when Scandinavian supplies could expand no further. Iron from Russia was certainly not very popular in the early part of the century, being regarded as very inferior stuff. In 1744 Nathaniel Maister informed his brother that their rival, Mowld, had "been offering Sam Lloyd ((the Sheffield ironmaster)) his iron and I am a little suspicious he will let him have his Russia iron cheap in order to induce him to give a better price for the Sweeds."²⁰ Russian iron was thus still regarded as something of a novelty, but serious trade in it began in the thirties, no doubt as a result of the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1734, and it was Russian iron which accounted for the rise in the total iron imported. Between 1737 and 1758 the quantity rose by 50% to 6,058 tons, but the number of ships coming from Sweden actually dropped slightly, from forty-nine to forty-seven. In the second half of the century Russian iron was common enough for it to be referred to simply as "iron", while supplies from Sweden were distinguished as "Swedish iron", the reverse of the procedure in the first half of the century. In the eighties and nineties it is probable that 70% of the total iron imported - 7,879 tons in 1783 - came from Russia, and iron such as "Tswordishoff's New Sable Iron" was quite popular in the hinterland in the nineties, to judge from Wray and Hollingsworth's Letter Books.²¹

Hull was thus one of the principal ports engaged in the iron trade, accounting for approximately one-seventh to one-sixth

of the total English importation of iron from all sources, in the eighties and nineties at least. Hull also played an important part in the total national trade in those vegetable products which were used in the English cloth industry. Large quantities of both flax and hemp had been imported in the first half of the century, usually from Riga or St. Petersburg, but the greatest expansion in the trade began after the Seven Years War. In 1758 the total flax imported amounted to 19,905 cwt. (lower than in 1737, because of the war!) but by 1783 it had risen to 45,734 cwt. approximately one quarter of the total English importation (c.150,000 cwt. in the eighties and nineties). The quantity of hemp imported increased more slowly, and was only 26,974 cwt. in 1783 (only c.8,000 cwt. more than in 1737) but between 1783 and 1796 the amount increased to 54,671 cwt. about one-tenth of the national total. Flax and hemp were also imported in the form of "tow", which was almost unheard of before the Seven Years War. In the last quarter of the century, however, the amount imported increased rapidly, from 1,826 cwt. in 1783 to 8,739 cwt. in 1796 and 11,837 cwt. in 1798.

"Undressed" flax and "rough" hemp came usually from Russia, but prepared yarn came almost exclusively from Prussia (Konigsburgh), Danzig and Germany (Hamburgh and Bremen). The importation of European yarn had already increased rapidly in the forties and fifties, so the rate of increase naturally slowed down in the second half of the century, but between 1758 and

1790 the total imported roughly trebled, Raw Dutch yarn from 839,274 lb. to 1,842,882 lb. and Spruce yarn from 1,002,723 lb. to 3,590,745 lb.

Hull, it should be noted, was the principal port engaged in this trade, importing more yarn than the rest of the English ports put together. Irish yarn was of far less importance than continental yarn, and consequently the chief supplies for the English linen and cotton industries came not, as is usually thought, from Ireland via Liverpool, but from Prussia via Hull. The average importation through Hull for the three years 1791-3, for instance, was 4,681,616 lb. which represents no less than 73% of the total national import from the continent, and 57% of the total from all sources, including Ireland and the Isle of Man.²²

TABLE 8 : SOURCES OF LINEN YARN, and PERCENTAGE
IMPORTED THROUGH HULL, 1791, 1792 and 1793.

	1791	1792	1793	
Prussia	3,685,448	4,316,963	3,659,190	lb.
W. Germany	2,486,124	2,149,321	2,456,767	
Ireland	2,214,593	1,744,067	2,028,916	
I.O.M.	19,202	16,586	13,543	
Misc.	1,266	1,542	2,036	
English Total	8,406,633	8,228,479	8,160,452	
HULL TOTAL	4,545,709	5,016,942	4,482,197	
Hull %	54	61	55	

Another product of the flax-growing industry of the Baltic

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was linseed, which was imported in increasing quantities to feed Hull's important seed-crushing industry, on which the infant paint-making industry was based. In the thirties the amount of linseed imported was very small (2,856 bushels in 1737) and most of it came from near at hand (Bordeaux and Ostend). By 1758, however, the importation had reached 18,880 bushels and the trade continued to expand until it reached 66,661 bushels in 1783.

Yet another product - albeit an indirect one - of the flax industry was manufactured linen cloth, which came mostly from Russia, but sometimes from central Europe, via the great rivers to the Baltic ports. One Danzig merchant who had dealings with the Hull merchant John Voase, once wrote to Hull about a sale he hoped to make for Voase "when the Gallician Jews bring their supplies of Linen..."²³ Gallicia is that part of Poland south and south-east of Cracow, three hundred miles due south of Danzig, but the cloth would probably be described in Hull as Russian or German. The trade in linen cloth is different from all the other major trades with this area in that it apparently declined after reaching a peak in the middle of the century, no doubt because of the growth of the British linen cloth industry which the yarn and flax trade supported. In 1754 the total amount of cloth and canvas imported was 15,213⁰ ells (that is, about 2,434,080 yards), but a catastrophic drop took place during the Seven Years War, and the total in 1764 was only 7,364⁰ ells. (See Table 9). Nor did the trade recover; cloth and canvas in

**Table 9: IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN LINENS, 1750-54 and 1762-66,
SHOWING THE TYPES OF LINENS AND THE DECLINE FOLLOWING THE WAR.**

	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1763	1764	1765	
Silesian Lawns	606	335	563	535	1,220	0	0	0	Pieces
Hessian Canvas	69	206	218	213	294	195	413	466	Hundred Ells
Buckrams	148	571	493	312	686	278	0	326	Pieces
Narrow German Linen	476	754	511	20	535	211	24	102	Hundred Ells
Broad Do.	44	68	15	27	28	9	10	12	Do.
Narrow Holland Linen	3,409	3,351	11,954	2,453	2,381	32	332	566	Ells
Holland Duck	38	4	3	28	6	6	11	11	Hundred Ells
German Oil Cloth	5	10	2	2	0	0	83	36	Do.
Spruce Canvas	8,486	3,743	5,121	8,483	12,651	4,917	6,268	6,999	Do.
Narrow East Country L.	16	1	219	18	0	0	0	72	Do.
Russia Drillings	3,727	177	302	848	245	144	157	222	Do.
Narrow Russian Linen	1,352	1,194	982	2,114	1,316	161	328	947	Do.
Broad Do.	23	134	17	97	45	70	20	38	Do.
Russia Napkining	25,611	0	23,943	8,643	0	362	52,577	0	Yards
Foreign Made Sails	1	1	2	4	4	12	5	13	Hundred Ells
Flanders Ticks	21	11	10	18	6	0	0	0	Pieces
Russian Sail Cloth	101	209	316	119	102	15	146	143	Hundred Ells
Dutch Barras	0	0	38	0	23	0	0	0	Do.
Broad Russian Diaper	0	15,515	58	216	3,563	579	2,250	0	Yards
Silesia Tabling	0	128	78	0	0	0	0	32	Yards
" Damask Napkining	0	85	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yards
Cambricks	0	50	48	80	346	0	0	0	Demi-pieces
Borlaps Linen	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	Hundred Ells
Broad East Country	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Do.
Russian Chequered Linen	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	Do.
Elbing Canvas	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	Bolts
Stript Narrow German Linen	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	Hundred Ells
Narrow Diaper Towelling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,425	Pieces.

1783 still amounted to only 8,605^o ells, and the figure available for 1798 gives 4,387^o ells, although it is possible that this includes only linen cloth, and not canvas.

There were a few other vegetable products imported from the Eastern Baltic in reasonable quantities, including Mats - used among other things to line ships - made in Russia from the bark of a tree; Spruce beer, a delicacy made in Prussia from the twigs of a tree; and berries from the Juniper tree used for making medicines and gin. There were also some animal products, including feathers for beds, hogs' bristles (8,108 lb. in 1798), and leather. At one time Hull had exported English leather, especially to Spain, but the trade had declined and finally ceased before the middle of the century, and the increasing home demand for leather for boots, belts and other things encouraged Hull to begin importing leather as soon as a country could be found with a surplus of animals. Russia was in this happy position, and consequently leather came from there in increasing quantities, reaching 6,983 backs in 1798. The other by-products of the slaughter-house - tallow and horns - were also imported from St. Petersburg, 2,611 owt. of the former in 1783, and hare and coney skins were imported at the rate of c.4,000 dozen skins annually in the second half of the century, to grace Aldermanic and other robes.

Finally, a commodity which came mainly from Prussia (Konigsburgh) and Danzig was potassium carbonate (potash, pearl

ash and weed-ash). The total fluctuated considerably during the first half of the century, but in the second half it increased in common with most dyestuffs and chemicals, from 232,619 lb. in 1758 to 437,920 lb. in 1783.

The tremendous growth in the volume of goods arriving from Russia and Prussia is reflected in the number of ships entering inwards at Hull. The total ships entering from Russia had been between thirty and forty in the middle of the century, but there was a rapid rise after the Seven Years War, until over a hundred ships annually entered in the early nineties, one hundred and sixty-six in 1796 and one hundred and eighty-nine in 1803. For at least the last twenty years of the century Hull was the principal outport in the Russian trade, second only to London, which in 1790 had approximately double the tonnage of ships entering Hull (from Russia).²⁵

The total entering from Prussia was lower at first, being between thirty and forty until the eighties, when it went up to sixty-eight in 1783 and eighty-two in 1790. In 1796 the number was still about eighty, but six years later it had passed the number from Russia (which declined temporarily) to stand at one hundred and fifty-three, although the inevitable decline followed during the war. Of all the Russian and Prussian ports, the one with which Hull was most strongly connected was St. Petersburg, the principal source of the flax, hemp and iron imported at Hull. In the fifties only about a

dozen ships annually came from St. Petersburg, but by 1768 the number had risen to twenty-eight, the largest for a single port. In 1783 only a few more - thirty-three - entered, but the rapid development of the trade in the nineties brought the total up to no less than one hundred and three, which was 23% of the total ships entering the port from all regions.

After Russia and Prussia, the most important area with which Hull traded in the second half of the century was Germany and Holland, for whereas Russia and Prussia had displaced Norway and Sweden as the chief source of raw materials, Germany and Holland remained the chief source of manufactured goods, dyestuffs and luxuries, as well as the principal market for exports from Hull.

The number of ships entering from Germany and Holland rose only very slowly. Those from Germany increased slightly in the late sixties, to stand at approximately ten per annum more than in the first half of the century, but thereafter they remained steady until they suddenly doubled in the nineties, to seventy-four in 1796. The number continued to rise, and was one hundred and sixteen in 1802, the year before the Napoleonic fury broke upon Germany and brought trade with Hamburgh and Bremen to a standstill. Shipping inwards from Holland remained roughly the same for the first three-quarters of the century at c. 30-40 per annum, and it was not until the late eighties that the number rose, to just over sixty in 1789, although it

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was brought down again in 1803 by war, to the more usual thirty to forty per annum.

Although the number of ships arriving from Holland and Germany increased, they did so as part of the general increase of trade which took place in the late eighteenth century, and they remained in exactly the same position in relation to the total import trade of Hull; ships coming from Holland and Germany accounted for 22% of the total ships arriving in Hull in both 1758 and 1790.

The goods imported were the same as during the first half of the century, although quantities were naturally increasing. Among the dyestuffs, for example, madder increased from 1,900 owt. in 1758 to 6,095 owt. in 1783, and smalts increased from a few thousand pounds in the first half of the century to 44,579 lb. in 1758 and 226,206 lb. in 1783. Other dyestuffs included potassium dioxide, arsenic trisulphide (orpiment), arsenic trioxide, and lampblack, and various drugs included "Saccharum Saturni" - lead acetate - which was probably the basis for the innumerable cures for the "Itch"; 31,620 lb. of it were imported in 1783.

Perhaps the most interesting of the imports from Holland and Germany was cotton wool. It was grown, of course, in the West Indies and Eastern Mediterranean, but Hull had only a tiny trade with these places and consequently obtained both Smyrna and West Indian cotton wool via the entrepôt trades

of Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Hamburg, despite the Navigation Acts. It is not known when the trade commenced, but in 1783 the amount imported was 409,604 lb. At this time Hull was importing half of the total English import from this source; in 1785, for instance, 2,113 bags arrived in Hull from Holland and Germany, compared with 1,800 imported by London and 4,382 by the whole country. In 1791 the import at Hull amounted to 3,739 bags of Smyrna wool and 174 bags of West Indian wool.²⁶

Germany and Holland were also sources of foodstuffs when these were required during bad harvest years in England, mostly towards the end of the century. In 1796, for example, 22,621 quarters of wheat and 8,386 quarters of rye were imported besides barley, beans and peas, and various quantities of beef, pork, bacon and butter.²⁷ Two years later imported groceries alone amounted to 10,568 cwt. and most of that probably came from Germany and Holland. Spirits also came in in large quantities. The amount of Geneva - Holland Gin - rose from c.1,089 gallons in 1764 to 99,498 gallons in 1798, and Rhenish - Hock - rose from c.1,591 gallons to c.52,176 gallons.²⁸ The craze for strong spirits was obviously felt in Hull as well as London!

The volume of imports from France, Flanders, Spain, Portugal and Italy was small when compared with that from the countries of Northern Europe.

A very few ships, not more than three or four a year,

came from Austrian Flanders, but there was little produced there to encourage trade. Moreover, the political conditions of the Austrian Netherlands were not conducive to trade. In 1784 Strother recorded in his Journal that a Captain Rosindale, "who during the last war commanded a Privateer of 20 guns, is now preparing a ship..., desiring to go and open the Scheldt to Antwerp which the Dutch and Emperor are nearly disputing about and it is expected the fort of Lillo will fire at him. Rosindale says he will hoist the English flag at every mast head and swagger by the fort, let them fire as fast as they will at him."²⁹ Captain Rosindale's action may have been more than mere bravado, for not long afterwards the number of ships increased, in common with those from other areas, to approximately fifteen in 1789-90. The goods imported were mainly corn, spices (from the Antwerp entrepôt trade) brandy and linseed.

It is not easy to discuss the trade with France, because the difficult political relations between England and France often made trade impossible. During the years of peace the import trade seems to have been similar to that with Flanders; the number of ships remained fairly steady, at approximately six per annum, forming, together with those from Flanders, only 3% of the total ships inwards in 1770. But during the eighties the import trade with France increased at a much greater rate than that with any of the other non-Baltic countries because of the facilities granted by the 1786 Eden Treaty, and in 1790

France sent thirty-nine ships to Hull, which, together with those from Flanders, accounted for 12% of the total ships inwards.

The trade consisted mostly of wine, linseed, dried and fresh fruit (especially prunes and apples), books and other similar goods, furniture and luxury objects and religious articles, such as the "Case containing a wooden painted image of a woman with a child in her arms (supposed) intended for the use of a Roman Catholic", which the Customs officials seized because it was not reported inwards.³⁰ The importation of religious objects was not unknown, although rosaries and crucifixes were often confiscated; the largest single shipment was boxes of bones and other relics which Professor Kemppler brought over from the English College of Liege when he fled from the fury of his co-religionists in 1793.

The number of ships arriving from Portugal remained steady, at about twelve per annum during the eighteenth century, although the amount of wine imported showed a slight increase between 1750 and 1780, mainly in the period 1762-4; the average duty paid on wines from all sources was £20,279 for the five years Christmas 1757-62, and £27,257 for the five years Christmas 1764-8.³¹ The average annual import of wine was c.650 tons (163,800 gallons) in the years 1753-5, and for the years 1777-81 it had risen to 1,011 tons (254,772 gallons).³²

Fewer ships came from Spain than from Portugal, and Spain

provided only a small proportion of the wine coming into Hull. Until the middle of the century only two or three ships a year entered from Spain, although there were, of course, exceptional years, such as 1737, and the average for the second half of the century was no more than about five per annum until a slight increase occurred at the end of our period; eleven ships arrived in 1802 and seventeen in 1803. Altogether the ships from both countries formed only 4% of the total ships inwards in 1758, and although they increased faster than trade in general after the Seven Years War, and consequently rose to 6%, by 1790 they were down to 4% again.

Apart from wine, imports included Portugese cork, which rose from 616 cwt. in 1737 to 1,500 cwt. in 1783, all kinds of dyestuffs such as shumack, cream of tartar, indigo, saphera, copperas (iron sulphate) and "antimonum crudens". Other goods included oranges and lemons, olive oil, barilla (3,454 cwt. in 1783), tarras, saltpetre, isinglass, and onion, clover and opium seeds.

Trade with Italy was really a new venture in the second half of the century, for previously only very occasional ships had come from there to Hull. Their cargoes consisted chiefly of mediterranean fruits, oil, lemon juice, liquorice, currants and other luxury foodstuffs, and the kind of objets d'art which were beginning to grace the homes of aristocrat and merchant alike. Typical of these imports were "some boxes belonging to Mr. Weddell"

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which "appear to contain only busts, statues and other curiosities in stone and marble" and which, by order of the Commissioners of Customs, were not to be opened in Hull because of the risk of damage, but accompanied to Mr. Waddell's house and examined there.³³ Building stone and marble was also imported; the dock, for instance, was strengthened with concrete made of crushed Pozzellan stone, which was brought from Civita Vecchia and Livorno.

The trade with Italy was certainly attractive enough for a special firm to be formed in 1793, known as the "Ships of Richard Terry and Company in the Italian trade".³⁴ Four merchants joined together and bought three ships, the Salerno, the Arno and the Neptune, at a cost of £5,565. But this may have been only a consolidation of existing interests, for the trade with Italy does not appear to have increased as a result of it, and those ships which went to the mediterranean were usually tramps, which took a cargo out and hoped to pick one up on the way home. The only non-Italian port sending ships to Hull seems to have been Zante, in Greece, which occasionally supplied small quantities of wool and currants, but which never became very important; although occasional shipments did come from Greece, none are recorded in the years for which shipping figures are available.

Serious trade with America was, as we saw earlier, only just beginning in the middle of the century; but the number of

ships arriving from there increased quickly enough for America to be more important, in the second half of the century, than any of the European countries south of Holland (See Table "). Once it had reach c.15 per annum, however, the number of ships did not rise further, and Hull was never able to break into the well established expanding trade between America and Liverpool. Not until the end of our period was there a noticeable rise in the number of ships, due to the war, to thirty-two in 1803, and that was followed by an immediate decline, to nineteen in 1804.

One of the reasons why the import trade did not expand greatly was that most of the goods obtained from the American ports were also obtained from the Baltic, and they were only brought over from America in the first place because there was a bounty on them. Typical cargoes in the seventies, as in the fifties, consisted of pitch, tar, turpentine and staves; the TWO BROTHERS, arriving in October 1775 carried 15 barrels of pitch, 774 of Common tar, 245 of Green tar, 239 of turpentine, 90 hundreds of barrel staves, 15 hun. of hogshead staves, 2,000 feet of pine plank and 70 lbs of beeswax.³⁵ With the other cargoes of which record has survived the position was the same, although some of them contained other things as well. Whale Oil, for instance, was regularly obtained from Rhode Island after c.1750: "In the CHARMING SALLY, B.B., Sm Standidge from Rhode Island, Christopher Scott Br., 40 tons of Train Oil caught by the natives of those parts and Imported by British."³⁶ This

particular trade declined, however after the oppressive Act of 1766, which placed a duty on American oil at the same time as the English whalers were receiving a bounty.³⁷ Another trade in which there was no prospect of rapid expansion was that in American "Plantation" pig iron, which was imported in small quantities by the American merchants.³⁸ Some of it was actually exported to Europe - Ten tons of "Maryland Iron", worth £300, was sent to Ostend in 1783 - but there was no chance of American iron competing with Swedish or Russian.

Thus in many respects the trade with America could not expand greatly. First the importation of whale oil ceased; then the Baltic became once more, after the removal of the bounties, the chief supplier of pitch and tar, which arrived from the ports of Norway and Sweden and also from Archangel in Russia and Uleaborg and Jacobstadt in Swedish Finland. But on the other hand, neither did the trade decline. Tobacco continued to be imported direct from America, and the quantity probably increased; in 1792 1293 hogsheads were imported (c.1,100,000 lb.) compared with the highest figure for the period 1742-58 which was 1047 hogsheads (1,006,189 lb.) in 1753.³⁹ In 1784 Benjamin Blaydes Thompson had written to W. Spencer-Stanhope, one of the Members of Parliament for Hull, asking that Hull should be included among the ports permitted to import tobacco "without advancing the old Subsidy", "as some American business is likely to be introduced into the Port of Hull".⁴⁰ American business certainly was

TABLE 10

GOODS IMPORTED	1702	1717	1728	1737
Narrow Holland Linen	29	341	517	424
Narrow Russian Linen	-	17	121	-
Spruce Canvas	99	2,399	4,482	943
Vittry Canvas	38	108	1,615	4,482
Hessian Canvas	-	14	-	-
Packing Canvas	48	4	-	-
Drilling	-	-	-	313
Flax	1,679	10,168	17,203	29,758
Hemp	838	3,435	5,601	18,132
Spruce Linen Yarn	-	49,168	8,344	72,180
Raw Dutch Linen Yarn	37,544	233,912	48,642	117,428
Inkle	-	2,065	807	850
Estridge Wool	-	13,664	2,156	3,812
Tow	-	-	-	-
Cotton Wool	-	-	-	-
Deals	1,498	1,070	1,634	2,433
Timber	-	79	17	25
Battins	-	-	187	215
Single Uffers	-	-	190	258
Pailing Boards	-	-	300	451
Staves	1,205	416	184	1,075
Handspokes	17	4	35	43
Spars	210	59	24	558
Masts (i) Great	-	2	7	14
(ii) Medium	-	12	35	35
(iii) Small	-	38	66	80
Iron	2,356	353	2,581	3,964
Old Iron	-	141	17	40
Battry	119	116	112	-
Steel	55	138	668	339
Copper	-	12	35	51

**Table II : SHIPS ENTERING INWARDS FROM INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES,
Sample Years, 1699-1804.**

From:	1699	1717	1728	1737	1758	(1766-1772)						
						66	67	68	69	70	71	72
Norway		33	37	40	28	42	40	38	43	33	27	34
Sweden		3	32	49	47	27	24	38	27	24	29	29
Finland		0	0	0	0	5	8	6	1	4	4	2
Russia	105	2	8	18	15	31	44	42	59	74	63	54
Livonia		9	11	20	11	19	22	19	23	21	23	10
Poland		4	31	8	11	9	20	18	14	11	17	14
Prussia		11	6	12	9	19	42	44	23	35	31	38
Germany		14	12	16	17	24	29	22	27	32	34	25
Holland	35	29	61	36	25	32	38	38	38	41	39	38
Flanders	0	4	6	3	0	5	3	4	4	2	3	6
France	6	0	1	7	0	7	5	5	4	9	4	3
Spain	10	2	3	14	2	13	6	5	5	4	5	2
Portugal		12	10	11	5	12	11	14	13	11	8	12
Italy	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	0	1	3	3	4
Greece	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ireland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
America	1	1	1	3	14	8	14	23	17	13	13	15
Misc.			5									
TOTAL	161	124	224	239	184	257	316	317	286			
						308	299	303				

**Table 12 : SHIPS ARRIVING FROM INDIVIDUAL PORTS,
SAMPLE YEARS, 1717-1796.**

	1717	1728	1737	1758	1768	1783	1796
Norway							
Bergen	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tonsberg	-	-	-	6	7	2	1
Fredrickshall	-	-	1	3	4	3	3
"Denmark"	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
"Norway"	30	37	39	19	2	1	3
Sweden							
Gottenburgh	3	20	27	18	9	6	4
Stockholm	-	12	18	14	11	6	2
Gessle	-	-	4	5	7	16	22
Christianstadt	-	-	-	1	6	6	2
Malmo	-	0	-	2	-	-	-
Moss	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
Uddevalla	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Sundsvaal	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Russia							
St Petersburg	2	2	7	11	28	33	106
Narva	-	6	11	4	9	12	8
Viborg	-	-	-	-	5	6	2
Archangel	1	-	-	-	-	2	15
Onega	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Riga	9	11	20	11	19	11	31
Poland							
Courland	-	-	-	-	2	1	1
Dansic	4c	31	8	11	16	6	15
Prussia							
Pillau	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Memel	4	3	2	-	22	32	57
Konigsburgh	7	3	10	9	22	34	14
Elbing	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Stolpe	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Stettin	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
Germany							
Rostock	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Altona	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Oldenburgh	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hamburgh	5	7	11	13	14	14	53
Bremen	9	5	5	4	8	3	15
Embden	-	-	-	-	-	18	46

re-introduced after the war, but ships arriving from there were only a negligible part of the total trade of Hull; in 1790 only 3.5% of the total ships arriving in Hull came from America, compared with 23.7% from Russia.

3. The Export Trade, 1700-50.

The export trade was totally different from the import trade, firstly because it was much smaller in physical volume, though not in value; secondly because the goods involved in the trades were, almost without exception, different (there was only a tiny entrepot trade); and thirdly because, whereas goods imported came more or less from specific areas (Swedish iron, Russian hemp, Portugese wine, etc), particular types of exports did not go to particular countries. With few exceptions all the goods exported from Hull went to all the countries with which Hull traded, and the entries in the Port Books Outwards are monotonously regular, irrespective of the countries concerned.

The growing disparity between the volume of imports and exports - as shown by the tonnage of shipping entering and leaving the port - is most noticeable, but is easily explained. The Baltic countries as a whole were of paramount importance as the producers of raw materials, but in the first half of the

century they were not sufficiently advanced to form expanding markets for English manufactured goods. Moreover, imports were of cheap and bulky raw materials, while exports consisted of smaller and more valuable things. Moreover, it is doubtful if ships clearing outwards at the beginning of the century were loaded to capacity, so that an increase in volume would not be immediately reflected in the tonnage of ships sailing.

The countries which were the chief sources of imports were not necessarily the chief markets for exports. Norway and Sweden, for example, predominated in the import trade in the first half of the century, sending most of the timber and iron (and tar) received in Hull. But there was no great market in Scandinavia for goods produced in Hull. Admittedly Norway and Sweden did import some English cloths, leather goods, lead, bricks, and some luxuries, and in 1728 approximately one-third of all the ships clearing from Hull went to Scandinavia, but the trade was declining rapidly in volume and after the middle of the century it was of no importance whatsoever. Why the export trade with Norway and Sweden almost ceased is unfortunately not clear, but it is possible that there is a connection between the decline in the trade and the ending of the permanent Hull factories in Scandinavia in the middle of the century; certainly some of the cargoes sent to Norway and Sweden by the Maisters, for instance, had been addressed to their own factors there. (See Table 18 for goods exports; Table 19 for ships clearing for

individual countries; and Table 20 for ships clearing for individual ports)

If the export trade with the northern Baltic declined, the reverse is true of the eastern and south-eastern Baltic. The number of ships sailing to Russia, Poland and Prussia increased as those sailing to Norway and Sweden decreased, mainly because of the rise of the new capital, St. Petersburg, which provided an ever-increasing supply of raw materials, and demanded an ever-increasing supply of woollen and iron goods. The number of ships clearing for Russia doubled in the second quarter of the century, until in 1758 they amounted to one-fifth of all the ships leaving Hull in freight. Those sailing to the southern Baltic were fewer in number than those going to Russia, but they carried the same type of goods, which were distributed far into the hinterland of northern Germany and Poland.

Further westwards was Denmark, a complete blank so far as imports are concerned; apparently nothing was produced in Denmark which was valued in Hull. But there was a small - and declining - export trade, chiefly to Elsinore, which received six ships from Hull in 1728, four in 1737 and one in 1758. The cargoes most probably consisted of odds-and-ends, like one sent by the Maisters in 1718., which consisted of 50 pigs and 200 pieces of lead, 302 backs of leather, 230 dozen calf-skins, 4 packs of hats, 116 quarters of rye and 103 quarters of Barley, and 12 firkins of butter.⁴¹ Trade with Denmark ceased in the

fifties, except during war-time.

Thus the general pattern of trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic was one of a large volume of relatively low-valued imports, and a small volume of relatively high valued exports. The trade with Germany and Holland, on the other hand, stands out in marked contrast to this. The most obvious difference was in the volume of shipping. Except for the year 1728, when an abnormally large number of ships arrived from Rotterdam (48), the number of ships engaged in the export trade to Germany and Holland always exceeded the number engaged in the import trade. Another point is that the trade in both directions was in valuable finished products. Holland had no raw materials, and Germany had only staves and, later, yarn; consequently both countries were principally suppliers of processed materials. Trade with Holland and Germany was thus the most valuable in which Hull was engaged, and a large proportion of all the goods exported from Hull, especially cloths, hose, hats, and lead, found their way to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hamburgh and Bremen, and through these ports to the hinterland of Germany via the Rhine, and the great fairs of Frankfurt-on-Main, Frankfurt-on-Oder, and Leipzig. It is also possible that goods sent to Holland and Germany were re-exported to the Baltic countries or to areas with which Hull had no direct trade; this was certainly happening in the second half of the century, and it would help

to explain why so many cloths were sent to Holland.

The export trade to the remaining countries of Europe was as nothing compared with that to Holland. Trade with France and Spain was hampered not only by the poor economic condition of those countries, but also by the almost continual succession of wars. At the best of times not more than half-a-dozen ships went to France each year, and Spain and Portugal between them received about the same number. At the beginning of the century Spain and Portugal were the chief market for exported leather, and also received important shipments of lead and some Kerseys. But it was not until the second half of the century that southern Europe began to receive fairly large shipments of goods.

The export trade did not expand greatly during the first half of the century, chiefly because there was no progress in the woollen cloth trade, the main branch of Hull's trade. The exportation of woollen cloths had been expanding rapidly in the last quarter of the seventeenth century (see Table /3), and in 1700 27,335 dozens, 53,868 kerseys and 16,376 bayes were exported. Two years later the number of dozens had risen to 45,833 and that of bayes to 46,487, while the number of kerseys had risen at a phenomenal rate, to a peak of 108,267. The static nature of the trade after 1702 was due to changes taking place in the trade in particular cloths. In 1702 kerseys were the principal cloth leaving Hull, but, although dozens and bayes continued to increase

in number (after a decline in 1717 and 1728), the kersey trade began a steady decline. By 1737 dozens had reached 76,157 and bayes 52,221, but kerseys now numbered only 37,083, and twenty years later they numbered 33,378.

Thus, in the interval between the decline of the kersey trade and the full flowering of the dozens trade there was a period of waiting, which lasted until the general expansion of trade in the second half of the century. Of the other types of cloth exported, such as cottons, cotton velvets, shalloons, plains, serges and stuffs, the only ones which were of importance in the first half of the century were plains, shalloons and stuffs, and all of them were of interest rather as heralds of things to come than as actual articles of trade.

Plains, for instance began with 4 in 1717, but had reached no more than 3,105 twenty years later; shalloons provided the largest numbers, reaching 18,400 in 1758.

<u>Table: 13</u>	<u>CLOTHS EXPORTED.</u> ⁴²			
	1672	1682	1700	1702
Dozens	17,057	27,656	27,335	45,833
Kerseys	19,245	34,399	53,868	108,267
Bayes	4,030	12,221	16,376	46,487
	1717	1728	1737	1758
Dozens	28,990	40,022	76,157	69,728
Kerseys	68,474	40,297	37,083	33,378
Bayes	31,114	22,076	52,221	44,040

The trade in woollen hose, like that in cloths, was increasing in the latter part of the seventeenth century, reaching 4,448 dozen pairs in 1702, and the trade continued to grow (allowing for 1728, which was a bad year for exports) until it had reached 47,850 in 1737; there appears to have been a decline in the fifties and sixties, but the trade later recovered.

There were, of course, several other small items exported. Some corn (see below) and leather was exported at the beginning of the century, but apart from the newer types of cloth, the only commodities in which there was a noticeable increase during the first half of the century were lead, ironmongery, earthenware, linseed cakes and ale. The exportation of linseed cakes was a side line of the Hull seed-crushing industry, and it grew as the industry grew, from 145,700 in 1717 to 407,000 in 1737. There was a similar increase in the amount of ale - from Burton - which was exported; in 1728 the total was 3,338 gallons, but by 1737 it had risen to 14,533 gallons. Pottery also increased although not so much in value. Earthenware, which was usually of extremely low value, began to be exported in the thirties, when a few thousand pieces left Hull each year, and by the fifties the number was about half a million pieces annually. Bricks, too, were exported in large and fluctuating numbers, but with both earthenware and bricks large numbers mean little, for single shipments could be anything up to 60,000, and more as the century progressed.

For the trade in lead and ironmongery the twenties and thirties mark a quickening of activity. Lead and lead shot, which had fluctuated around 2,000 tons per annum, rose to 2,731 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons in 1737, and by 1758 it had reached 3,347 tons, while the very important red lead, which had risen from 1,848 cwts. in 1717 to 11,623 cwt. in 1728 and 19,158 cwt. in 1737, rose further to 24,322 cwt. in 1758. The exportation of white lead also began in the thirties.

The greatest increase of all, as might be expected, was in manufactured iron goods. The amount exported early in the century was negligible. In 1702 not much more than a ton was exported, and fifteen years later the total was only 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons. By 1728, however, 89 tons of ironmongery were exported, and with the growth of the Sheffield iron industry the amount rose rapidly to 203 tons in 1737 and 903 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons in 1758; ten years later exports had reached 2,266 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons, over ten times as much as in 1737.

The only commodity which did not fit into the general pattern of trade was corn, which was both imported and exported, depending on the vicissitudes of Nature. There were no general trends which can be observed, no increase in quantity or change in direction; corn was simply moved from fortunate regions to less fortunate regions in as large a quantity as harvests would allow.

Hull, like everywhere else, had its times of scarcity. The Hull historian, Gent, recorded that in 1727:⁴³

"Even Beans were sold, in the West Riding at 40 shillings a quarter; and Corn would have been miserably dear, had not his Majesty, in Commiseration to his poorer Subjects been so gracious, as to take off the Duty of Foreign Grain: Hereupon, in our Distress, we were supply'd with ship loads, from Italy, Flanders, Poland, and other distant parts, to the unspeakable Comfort of many house keepers...."

But on the whole, at least in the first half of the century, Hull was an exporter of grain, which was obtained from the Vale of York and from the area around Doncaster. The chief places to which it was sent in the early part of the century were Hamburg, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Lisbon, but later in the century it also went to Bremen, Leghorn and Oporto. The quantity, of course, fluctuated wildly:

Table 14 : EXPORTATION OF CORN.

	1702	1717	1728	1737	1758
Wheat	10,123	977	-	-	-
Barley	1,745	539	-	23,080	-
Rye	2,005	30	-	-	-
Malt	2,705	1,214	4	834	-

The corn trade was not always a happy one for the Hull merchant. It was considerably more complex than other trades, and a whole series of letters have survived in which Nathaniel Maister bewailed the conditions in the trade, to his brother Henry. In

the first place corn was not produced in any particular place, but had to be purchased through a factor or from a big landowner; then there was the not inconsiderable difficulty of getting it to Hull; then storing it until it was needed - remembering that it deteriorated unless carefully looked after - and finally arranging for its shipment in such a manner as to keep it away from salt water.⁴⁴ In the second place the fluctuations in price made long term ordering virtually impossible. In one of his letters Nathaniel Maister spoke of his difficulties in collecting cargoes together:⁴⁵

"It comes in prodigious slowly tho' I have given two or three of the Factors permission to go along with the market price I don't find they buy any, I have got about 70 quarters since my last advice that the whole of what we have bought is about 5,500(.) if the price was one fixt it would come in plentiful enough as there are great quantities yet in the country(.) I am afraid two or three people here have sold Bears which makes them push at any price to get up their quantity(.) 27s. is given for trifling parcels at Beverley, the farmers at Doncaster and in that part ask 11s. and 12s. a load."

When he finally had his corn in Hull, Nathaniel wished he had never bought the stuff, for in April 1738 most of the merchants had corn going fusty in their warehouses. "I want to be quit of it", he wrote, "and so do the people in whose chambers it lays."⁴⁶ They were disposing of it at about 28s. a quarter, but no one would buy it when it would not show a profit on the London market (viz. at c.24s. per quarter).⁴⁷ Corn could, then, be more trouble than it was worth; but it was a trade upon which many lives

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depended.

4. The Export Trade, 1750-1800.

In the second half of the century, more even than in the first half, there was no distinction between the types of goods sent to the various countries with which Hull traded. There appears to have been only one exception, to prove the rule: kerseys were now (viz. in the eighties at least) only exported to Spain and the Mediterranean. Apart from kerseys everything was sent everywhere, and the chief difference between the trade with various countries was one of quantity rather than quality;

~~the simplest~~ the simplest way of comparing trade with the different regions is to count the number of ships sailing to each.

The declining trade to Norway and Sweden continued on its downward path in the second half of the century, and those countries played only a negligible part in the total export trade of Hull; in both 1790 and 1802 only four ships sailed there.⁴⁸

But the decline of Norway and Sweden was offset, as in the import trade, by an increase in the importance of the eastern Baltic. In 1717 and 1728 Russia, Poland and Prussia between them received about 12% of the ships clearing outwards from Hull, but

by 1758 their share had risen to 32%, a slightly inflated figure due to the war.

The number of ships bound for Russia had roughly doubled in the first expansion of the export trade in the late forties, from nine in 1737 to twenty-six in 1758, but thereafter it remained fairly steady, with a slight decline in the sixties, until it rose again in the eighties to about 50 per annum. Of these a large proportion were destined for the rapidly expanding port of St. Peterburgh - 82% in 1768 - but the percentage declined as ships began to go to such ports as Archangel and Onega in the eighties, and only 60% of the Russian-bound ships went to St. Peterburgh in 1783.

There was virtually no change in the volume of trade with Poland, although there may have been a slight rise in the middle of the century. Poland - or rather, the port of Danzic - was, incidentally, a distribution centre for manufactured goods, and it was the only Baltic country for which the number of ships engaged in the import trade did not greatly exceed those in the export trade; the number inwards and outwards, at least in 1737 and 1790, was roughly the same. The number sailing to Prussia, on the other hand, increased rapidly in the sixties, from four in 1758 to sixteen in 1766, and although it remained steady for a time it had reached forty-two in 1783, before falling again to nineteen in 1789 and twenty in 1790.

The Baltic countries were far less important in the

export trade than in the import trade, for Germany and Holland maintained their position as the chief market for manufactured goods throughout the century. In 1717, 53% of the ships clearing outwards from Hull went to Germany and Holland (14% and 39% respectively), 47% in 1758 and 52% in 1802, although there had been a slight decline in the sixties and seventies when Russia, Poland and Prussia between them received a few more ships than Germany and Holland. The rise of the trade with Hamburgh was, indeed, the most noticeable movement in the second half of the century, for between 1790 and 1802 the number of ships sailing to Germany (i.e. Hamburgh and Bremen) rose from forty-five to one hundred and four, 31% of the total ships clearing, compared with 21% bound for Holland and 14% for Russia. Hamburgh was undoubtedly the most important single Port to which goods were sent from Hull during the French Revolutionary Wars at the end of the century.

The importance of Holland and Germany lies not only in their ability to consume goods themselves, but also in their trade with the hinterland of Germany and their entrepot trade, by which goods were sent to places with which Hull had no direct trade, or with which trade had been temporarily suspended. In 1780, for instance, the Hull convoy Committee requested a convoy to escort ships across the North Sea "Loaded with British Manufactures to a very large amount....part of these cargoes were intended for the Frankfurt Easter Fair, Others to be sent

(9)

by Neutral ships now loading at Hamburgh for Fairs in Italy...⁴⁹

The increasing trade with Hamburgh helps to explain the otherwise bewildering rise in the number of ships bound for Denmark and Norway in 1803 and 1804. Until the end of the century only one or two ships annually had sailed to the Norwegian part of the kingdom, but in 1803 the number going to Denmark (rather than Norway) rose suddenly to thirty-six, and in 1804 it was eighty-one. Similarly the number of ships bound for Prussia rose from twelve in 1802 to eighty-two in 1804. But those shipping figures do not mean a revived trade with Norway or an increasing trade with Prussia; they followed the invasion of Hanover (May 1803) and the seizure of Cuxhaven by the French, which reduced and finally halted trade with Hamburgh. The result was that ships went either to Denmark or to Prussia, where goods were redirected to Hamburgh. No doubt Denmark was always a convenient entrepot centre for goods to and from French held territory in time of war.

Another interesting change towards the end of the century was the rise in the volume of exports bound for France probably as a result of the 1786 Eden Treaty. In the first half of the century not more than half a dozen ships annually had sailed there, during the few years of peace, and in the sixties the number was even lower. But by 1790 it had risen rapidly to no less than forty. These ships were, it should be noted, only very small, and their number may be used only to indicate the

growth of French trade, NOT to compare France with other countries; for although they represent 16% of the total sailings from Hull, they accounted for only 7% of the total tonnage. In any case there was an almost immediate decline because of the war, and only half a dozen ships sailed to France again in 1802.

There was hardly any change in the remaining areas during the second half of the century, although the figures were all higher than those for 1758. The number of ships going to Flander in 1789 was the same as it had been in 1717, and only slightly more than in the sixties. Those going to Spain and Portugal also remained roughly the same throughout most of the century, although they doubled between 1790 and 1802; those going to Italy rose very slightly between 1770 and 1790, and those going to America were the same in 1789 and 1790 as they had been in 1768 and 1769, although here again there was a rise between 1790 and 1802, when nineteen ships sailed to America.

Hull never became an important centre for the exportation of goods to America, principally because the manufacturers of the Midlands gravitated towards Liverpool, which was well established in this field. What trade there was was mainly due to Sheffield ironmongery and Leeds cloth, chiefly the latter. For the Leeds merchants Hull was the only outlet to America until the end of the century; in 1770 it was recorded in the LEEDS' INTELLIGENCER that "The account of the inhabitants of New York having agreed to the importation of goods from England, was received here by our

American merchants with great pleasure; since when, great quantities of cloth have been sent to HULL, in order to be shipt for the above place."⁵⁰ The INTELLIGENCER, and the LEEDS MERCURY, also carried many advertisements of ships "laid on" for America, but at least one of them implies that trade was not sufficiently brisk for there to be competition for freight: "The Good Brigg CORNELIA, Captain William Harvey for New York. For Freight or Passage apply to Joseph Pease & Son at Hull; or Messrs. Samuel & Emanuel Elam, at Leeds. She will wait till the latter end of July, if timely notice is given that she is likely to get loaded...."⁵¹

The second half of the century saw a tremendous expansion in the volume of goods exported which is out of all proportion to the increase in the number of ships engaged in the export trade. One of the reasons for the difference between the slow growth in the number of ships, and the more rapid growth in the volume of goods is undoubtedly the fact that cargoes in the second half of the century were much bigger than in the first half of the century. Ships were in many cases packed tight with goods, whereas before they had often sailed half empty, and there is reason to believe that ships were increasing in size as the century progressed. Thus, in 1783, a typical cargo sent to Hamburgh by William Williamson, the biggest exporter in Hull, contained: 1,200 single dozens, 1,600 broad bayes, 130 shalloons,

4,000 cotton velvets (120,000 yards) which alone were worth £20,000, 30 tuns of ale, 600 cwt. of red lead, 180 cwt. of British "Roman Vitriol", 300 tons of ironmongery and 40,000 pieces of "Iron plates Tinned".

As might be expected, there was a great boom in the various branches of the cloth trade. The older types of woollen cloth continued to be important; the number of dozens continued to rise slowly until it stood at 163,710 in 1783, and the number of bayes began to expand fairly rapidly after 1758, and stood at 134,600 in 1783. But the decline in the kersey trade quickened, Spain and the Mediterranean now being the only market for them, by 1783 only 13,340 were exported, a sorry figure compared with the 108,267 exported in 1702.

The newer types of cloth, made by the West Yorkshire and the Lancashire Linen- "cotton" - Industry, increased at a phenomenal rate. The total number of "cotton velvets" exported in 1758 was only 20; ten years later the number had risen to 8,352 pieces, but they still played a totally insignificant part in the total cloth trade. By 1783, however, over a quarter of a million pieces of cotton velvet were exported, containing 6,832,240 yards. Anything up to 4,000 pieces were exported at a time, and they began to figure in practically every cargo leaving the port.

Of the other "new" cloths, plains, shalloons and stuffs, stuffs increased rapidly from 45 in 1758 to 50,485 in 1768, and

then remained about 50,000 for the rest of the century, standing at 57,877 in 1783; some silk and printed stuffs were also being exported in 1783, but they were relatively unimportant. Plains increased at a much slower rate, from 914 in 1758 to 1,880 in 1768 and only 15,520 in 1783, while the number of shalloons, after rising from 18,400 in 1758 to 28,956 in 1768, declined again to 17,810 in 1783.

Thus while maintaining the trade in the traditional types of cloth (except for kerseys), Hull also established, in the second half of the century, a great new trade which was, if anything, more valuable than the old one. Moreover, as the principal port serving the cotton, as well as the woollen, cloth industry, Hull gained greatly in prestige in the industrial revolution.

Table 15 : EXPORTATION OF CLOTHS, 1758, 1768 & 1783

TYPE	1758	1768	1783
Dozens	69,728	122,710	163,710
Kerseys	33,728	33,399	13,340
Bayes	44,040	70,232	134,600
Plains	914	1,880	15,520
Shalloons	18,400	28,956	17,810
Stuffs	45	50,485	57,877
Cotton Velvets	20	8,352	236,834

The quantity of woollen hose exported from Hull was gradually declining in the middle of the century, from 47,850 dozen pairs in 1737 to 9,680 dozen in 1768. By 1783, however, the trade had revived, and in that year the number had risen to 45,510 dozen pairs. But Hull merchants did not, in the second half of the century, concentrate on clothing only one end of the body: men's felt hats began to be exported in rapidly increasing quantities, until by 1783 the number had reached 23,200 dozen, valued at approximately £1,800 per thousand dozen. Yet another branch of the woollen trade was that in worsted garters, an entirely new product to pass through Hull. They must have been quite popular abroad, for 47,600 dozen gross were exported in 1783 - a gross of garters for every pair of stockings exported!

The most important branch of trade, after the cloth trade, was that in metals and metal goods.

Until the seventies the chief export in this field, by weight, was lead, which had for centuries been one of the principal articles exported from Hull. The trade in raw lead had, however, reached its peak by the middle of the century. Between 1737 and 1758 the amount exported rose from 2,731 tons to 3,347 tons, but by 1768 it had fallen to 3,244 tons and in 1783 it stood at only 2,074 tons. The decline in the lead trade was offset by the increasing quantity of red and white lead passing through Hull. The quantity of red lead exported in 1737, 1758 and 1768

was approximately 20,000 cwt. but by 1783 it had increased to 81,119 cwt. The quantity of white lead increased even more, from 735 cwt. in 1758 to 12,903 cwt. in 1783.

Lead may have been the chief export by weight, but the trade with the greatest potential was that in manufactured iron-ware, from the Sheffield and Birmingham industrial regions. From a very small quantity in the first half of the century ironmongery had risen to 903 tons in 1758 and 2,266 tons in 1768. Thereafter there was a slower growth, and the export was only 4,676 tons in 1783.

The exportation of English manufactured iron - "rolled iron" or iron plates - also began in the second half of the century and in 1783 the total quantity exported was 12,750 cwt. Another branch of the iron trade which developed in the second half of the century was that in tinned iron plates. None were exported during the first half of the century, but there is a record of 3,375 pieces passing through Hull in 1758. From such inauspicious beginnings the trade increased at a phenomenal rate, to half a million in 1768 and five and a half million in 1783.

Finally, there were three metal salts exported in reasonably large quantities; 12,520 cwt. of copper sulphate - "Roman Vitriol" - was exported in 1783, together with 649 cwt. of alum and 2,017½ cwt. of iron sulphate - "Copperas". There were also a few hundred tons of common salt, but this was of little importance.

One of the most rapidly expanding trades was that in

earthenware, and one can imagine why Wedgwood and others were so concerned with canals when it is realised just how much pottery was travelling to the ports by the end of the century. Between 1737 and 1758 the number of pieces of earthenware passing through Hull rose from 15,840 to 449,970. Ten years later the number was over one and a half million, and in 1783 it had reached the extremely large number (for the times) of 13,287,000 pieces. Where it all came from may never be known; certainly some of it came from potteries in Leeds, and the rest may have come from various small potteries in the east of England, as well as from Stoke. About half a million bricks were also exported, but this trade fluctuated considerably throughout the century.

The trade in corn was also important in the middle of the century, when exportation reached its peak, 34,269 quarters of wheat in 1761. (See Table 17) Immediately after that, however, the quantity of corn exported decreased considerably until it was only 3,754 quarters in 1766 and it was even lower in the seventies, when the importation of corn began, in bad years. In the last quarter of the century the trade in corn can be described either as a branch of the export trade or of the import trade, for it switched from one to the other depending on harvest conditions. On the whole the quantity of corn imported exceeded that exported in the recorded figures, and it

may be that this was the general thing in the last quarter of the century; in that year a total of 30,143 quarters arrived in Hull, and in 1783 the total was 28,158 quarters, while in the years between these two figures the total corn exported amounted to only 3,130 quarters ! The last large export recorded was over 31,000 quarters in 1792, but the war coupled with bad harvests, made the importation of corn absolutely essential, and only 582 quarters of wheat were exported in the years 1794-9.

It should be remembered that the corn trade was controlled not only by "normal" conditions, as illustrated in the Maister letters, but also by the government policy of protecting English farmers by preventing the free importation of low priced grain and granting bounties on exported grain.

Consequently, importation did not begin as soon as exportation ceased, or as soon as many of the poorer classes would have liked. Between 1780 and 1790, for example, the port was open for the importation of wheat at low duties only in the periods 16th January - 9th October 1783 and 30th April - 6th November 1789. Similarly the other grain crops were virtually prohibited for most of the time: 52

Table 16 : Periods when Importation at Low Duties was Permitted: 1780-89 inclusive.

Wheat		Rye	
16: 1:83	- 9:10:83	16: 1:83	- 17: 7:83
30: 4:89	- 6:10:89		-
Barley		Oats	
11:10:82	- 13: 1:85	16: 1:83	- 13: 1:85
6:10:85	- 12: 1:86	6:10:85	- 27: 4:86
13: 7:86	- 11: 1:87	13: 7:86	- 11: 1:87
	-	12: 7:87	- 10: 1:88

One of the reasons for the change from exportation to importation - apart from the starvation years when the corn laws were suspended (viz. 1709, 1740, 1757, 1767)⁵³ - was the change in the laws in 1773. Before that date the sliding scale of duties made importation difficult, and the 1689 Bounty act allowed 5s. per quarter for exported wheat (and correspondingly smaller amounts for cheaper corn) when the price fell below 48s. per quarter. The new corn law of 1773 represents a change in government policy to correspond with the change from a national corn surplus to a deficit. The emphasis was now to be on securing an adequate food supply from any source rather than on protecting English farmers. A new corn law, in 1791, reverted to the policy of protection, but it had no effect

Table 17: THE CORN TRADE, SAMPLE PERIODS 1759-99. 54.

	EXPORTS					IMPORTS				
	WHEAT	FLOUR	RYE	BARLEY	OATS	WHEAT	FLOUR	RYE	BARLEY	OATS
1759	10,258	194	1,895	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	24,065	532	3,451	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	34,269	126	8,184	2,983	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	10,716	160	3,806	11,745	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	3,120	298	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	10,259	-	272	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	1,626	162	359	26	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	3,754	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	10	-	-	-	62	4,842	50	5,034	19,483	734
76	248	41	30	-	-	-	-	-	1,269	48
77	540	-	5	5	5	90	-	-	-	202
78	90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	105
79	750	31	95	-	-	-	-	-	-	149
80	548	167	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	83
81	-	37	-	122	25	-	344	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	319	-	-	-	525	50
83	-	-	-	-	-	15,671	-	4,887	5,013	2,587
92	31,090	9,255	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
93	-	-	-	-	-	6,602	-	-	511	665
94	84	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
95	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
96	-	-	-	-	-	c. 22,600	-	c. 8,786	c. 1,655	c. 4,264
97	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
98	-	200	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
99	498	1,135	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-

because of bad harvests when it was suspended, and the position was so bad in the year 1796 that a bounty was granted on imported corn,⁵⁵ and over 37,00 quarters of various corn were brought from Konigsburgh, Danzig and mainly Hamburg. The close connection between the price of corn and the amount imported can be seen by comparing Table with the Corn Prices in Appendix : in the two bumper import years, 1775 and 1783 the price of corn was 48s. for at least some of the time, although in 1787 the price in Hull ceased to be the standard, for it was ordered by the Committee of Trade that "...the Importation and Exportation of Corn shall be regulated by the Average price in London."⁵⁶

The remaining trades were miscellaneous, and more interesting than important with the exception of the ale trade. Ale was to be found in practically every cargo leaving Hull, usually in quantities of between ten and twenty tuns (i.e. of 6 barrels). It was particularly valuable as a ballast cargo to fill space in ships partly loaded with very valuable but relatively light weight goods such as cotton velvets, and it had the added advantage of being in wide demand in the Baltic. Some of it apparently found its way into the hinterland of northern Europe, and there is one reference to sales to Galicia in Poland, over three hundred miles from Danzig. The quantity exported increased very rapidly in the second half of the

century; in 1758 the total exported had been only $57\frac{1}{2}$ tuns, but in 1783 no less than 4,953 tuns were exported, enough for approximately ten million pints.⁵⁷

Another miscellaneous trade which sprang up in the second half of the century was the exportation of horses, which began to expand immediately after the end of the war in 1763. By 1766 the number had risen to 129, and thereafter the average number was probably about 100 per annum;⁵⁸ in 1783 the number was 119, sent mainly to Germany and Holland.

Hull had also begun to export coaches by 1783, although in the first half of the century they had been imported. Exports in that year included two Coaches - one of them valued at £60, to Narva - 1 Post Charriot, 2 Post Chaises, and 3 Phaetons.

Finally there were various items which do not belong to any of the main groups of exports. They included - in 1783 - 43 lasts of pitch, 29,412 gross of corks, 85,000 "Lamperns" (~~river cels~~), a few hundredweights of glue and a few hundred tons of rud, a few tons of nails, 5,000 gross of tobacco pipes, 35 tons of whale oil, 525 quarters of rapeseed, 105,000 fruit trees and 20 hampers of flowering shrubs (to Lisbon), and 4 "Bird Organs".

Table 18: GOODS EXPORTED FROM HULL, SAMPLE YEARS, 1702-83.

GOODS EXPORTED	1702	1717	1728	1737	1758	1768	1783	
Dozens	45,833	28,990	40,022	76,157	69,728	122,710	163,710	pieces
Kerseys	108,267	68,474	40,297	37,083	33,378	33,399	13,340	"
Bayes	46,487	31,114	22,076	52,221	44,040	70,232	124,600	"
Serges	-	-	-	-	1,200	-	-	"
Plains	-	4	790	3,105	914	1,880	15,520	"
Shalloons	-	-	400	-	18,400	28,956	17,810	"
Stuffs	130	94	(1,339 ^{1b})	(8,057 ^{1b})	45	50,485	57,877	"
Silk Stuffs	-	-	-	(2,677 ^{1b})	-	-	712	"
Cotton Velvets	-	-	-	-	20	8,352	236,834	"
Hose	4,448	30,849	23,100	-	26,200	9,680	45,510	ds. pairs
Garters	-	-	-	-	-	200	-	ds. gross
Mens' Felt Hats	-	16	-	-	-	500	-	ds.
Lead	1,609	2,403	1,923	2,731	3,347	2,992	2,074	tons
Lead Shot	-	-	-	-	-	4,854	2,990	owt.
Red Lead	1,137	1,848	11,623	19,158	24,322	21,910	81,119	owt.
White Lead	-	-	-	1,120	735	-	12,903	owt.
Ironmongery	1	7	89	203	904	2,267	4,676	tons
Manufactured iron	-	-	-	-	-	2,877	12,750	owt.
Tinned Iron Plates	-	-	-	-	3,375	516,528	5,654,000	pieces
Vitriol	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,520	owt.
Copperas	-	-	-	-	3,100	-	2,018	owt.
Earthenware	-	-	-	15,850	449,970	1,624,700	13,287,000	pos.
Bricks	162,000	12,000	395,000	44,000	60,000	-	480,000	M:
Tobacco Pipes	3,941	-	130	667	1,610	-	-	gross
Ale	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,593	tuns
Wheat	10,123	977	-	-	-	-	-	qtrs.
Barley	1,745	539	-	22,080	-	-	-	qtrs.
Oye	2,005	30	-	-	-	-	-	qtrs.
Malt	2,705	1,214	4	834	-	-	-	qtrs.
Butter	785	2,283	-	-	-	-	-	firkins
Beans	327	700	-	-	-	-	-	qtrs.
Linseed Cakes	-	145,700	83,000	407,000	(52 tons)	-	-	M:
Rapeseed	1,401	-	350	150	-	-	-	qtrs.

**Table 9: SHIPS CLEARING OUTWARDS TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES,
SAMPLE YEARS, 1699-1804.**

To	1699	1717	1728	1737	1758	66	67	68	69	70	71	72
Norway		19	14	11	3	7	3	6	2	1	2	1
Sweden		0	25	4	7	5	3	5	5	5	8	5
Russia	60	12	14	9	26	22	25	28	32	32	36	27
Poland		2	7	7	10	10	13	14	12	7	9	13
Prussia		2	0	1	4	16	15	14	7	10	8	8
Germany	0	19	16	19	25	19	20	17	21	22	21	15
Holland	56	51	36	38	34	28	27	28	29	33	30	32
Flanders	0	12	4	6	0	6	8	6	6	6	10	6
France	8	6	0	6	0	5	6	2	4	4	0	1
Spain		0	0	16	0	12	6	6	3	4	3	4
Portugal	15	5	8	26	6	10	9	11	8	7	8	8
Italy	0	0	2	9	4	7	3	3	4	9	8	8
Ireland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
America	3	1	0	1	6	7	8	9	9	14	10	10
TOTAL	142	129	126	153	125	153	146	149	142	154	153	138

**Table 20: SHIPS CLEARING FOR INDIVIDUAL PORTS,
SAMPLE YEARS, 1717-1783.**

	1717	1728	1737	1758	1768	1783	1783	1789	1790	1802	1803	1804
Norway							1	1	1	3	36	81
Bergen	5	-	-	-	2	-	4	2	3	1	1	0
Fredrickshall	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Longsoud	1	-	-	-	-	-	50	48	49	46	46	47
Christiania	1	-	-	-	-	-	0	6	13	12	13	20
"Norway"	11	8	7	-	-	-	0	6	13	12	13	20
Copenhagen	1	-	-	1	-	-	42	19	20	17	61	82
Elsinore	-	6	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden							7	40	45	104	55	31
Gothenburgh	-	16	3	-	1	1	0	49	49	69	14	17
Stockholm	-	9	1	5	3	3	0	49	49	69	14	17
Malmo	-	-	-	1	-	-	0	12	13	0	0	0
Russia							0	12	13	0	0	0
St Petersburg	5	6	6	13	23	30	0	39	42	6	0	1
Narva	-	1	-	-	-	-	0	12	10	26	11	17
Viborg	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	12	10	26	11	17
Archangel	2	-	-	-	-	3	0	13	10	24	12	22
Onega	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	13	10	24	12	22
Reval	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	13	10	24	12	22
Riga	5	7	3	13	5	11	0	11	12	0	0	0
Poland							0	2	1	4	1	0
Danzic	2	7	7	10	13	1	0	2	1	4	1	0
Prussia							0	9	9	19	20	13
Memel	-	-	-	-	-	23	0	9	9	19	20	13
Konigsburgh	2	-	1	4	13	19	0	9	9	19	20	13
Germany							105	263	277	331	270	330
Lübeck	1	-	-	-	-	-	105	263	277	331	270	330
Hamburgh	8	8	13	18	17	4	105	263	277	331	270	330
Bremen	11	8	6	7	5	3	105	263	277	331	270	330
Holland												
Amsterdam	28	14	17	16	14	1						
Rotterdam	23	19	18	15	11	2						
Middleburgh	-	3	3	3	2	-						
Maastand	-	-	-	-	2	-						

5. General Development of Trade, 1700-1800.

Having discussed in detail the goods passing through Hull, and the individual countries with which the port traded, we may now consider the general development of trade, indicating the periods during which the greatest progress was made.

The expansion of the trade of Hull took place in three distinct phases following the three major wars (1739-48, 1756-63 and 1778-83). A rough idea of the changes in the volume of trade can be obtained from the tonnages of shipping entering and leaving the port.⁵⁹

Shipping entering inwards during the first thirty years of the century remained steady, at roughly 11,000 tons per annum and it was not until after 1730 that there was any sign of increasing activity. By 1737, however, shipping inwards had reached 19,000 tons, but further progress was halted by the war which began officially in 1739; shipping was reduced to 11,328 tons in 1744, and although it rose again at the end of the war, the few years of peace were not sufficient for it to rise much above 20,000 tons.

It was not until after 1763 that Hull entered the second period of expansion. Within two years of the end of the war the amount of shipping inwards had risen to over 30,000 tons, and by 1767 it was over 40,000 tons. For the next fifteen years it fluctuated between 40,000 and 52,000 tons, before finally being

reduced to 40,000 tons in 1779 by a fresh war.

The third period of expansion came immediately after the end of the American war, and the decade beginning in 1782 was the most momentous in the eighteenth century. By 1787 shipping inwards had risen to no less than 92,120 tons and in 1792 it stood at 135,000 tons, where it probably remained for the rest of the century before rising shortly after 1800 and declining catastrophically in 1808.⁶⁰

The tonnage of shipping engaged in the export trade did not develop at the same rate as that engaged in the import trade, remaining at approximately 8,000 - 9,000 tons during the whole of the first half of the century. Indeed, the tonnage outwards in the second decade was higher than at any other time before c.1750, when the first phase of the expansion of the export trade began. In 1751 the shipping outwards had risen to over 15,000 tons, only to be reduced almost immediately by the war, to a little over 12,000 in 1758.

There was no sudden increase following the Seven Years War as there was in the import trade. In 1765 the total shipping outwards was only 132 tons more than it had been in 1751, whereas shipping inwards had risen by over 11,000 tons in the same period. There was a slow growth in tonnage, to over 18,000 tons in 1769 and 23,000 tons in 1779, but the second period of expansion did not begin until after the American war. Between 1781 and 1787 both the import and export tonnages more than doubled, with the

result that shipping outwards rose suddenly, to 46,107 tons in 1787 and over 51,000 tons in the remaining years of the century.

The evidence of general trade movements contained in the tonnage figures is corroborated by the lists of goods imported and exported. All the principal goods imported - cloth, flax and hemp, yarn, timber and iron, - arrived in relatively small quantities in the first quarter of the century. There was, of course, some increase in the volume of goods, particularly of flax, but the most noticeable increase came in the thirties, when cloth, hemp and yarn trebled in quantity, flax doubled, and deals and iron rose more than 50%. In the second phase of expansion in the import trade, in the middle of the century, increases are particularly noticeable in the yarn, timber (as distinct from deals) and iron trades, while in the third phase of expansion flax, hemp, yarn, timber, tar and tow all figured prominently.

The increase in the volume of goods exported in the first half of the century is hardly noticeable. The number of woollen cloths exported appears to have been declining until the thirties, when Dozens and Bayes rose and Kerseys continued to decline, and the newer cloths, which were to become so important later, had not yet appeared on the scene in any great number. Lead (which, despite its large quantity, was of no great value) remained about the same, and ironmongery was still not of very great importance.

The first phase of the expansion of the export trade resulted from a revival of the woollen cloth trade coupled with the beginnings of the trade in Shalloons and Stuffs and, later, in Cotton Velvets. Red lead and white lead became important, and the growth in the quantity of ironmongery, tinned plates and earthenware is most noticeable. The rise in trade which took place between the sample years 1768 and 1783 is impressive. The older cloths continued to increase, but the most spectacular feature of the trade was the rise in the trade in Cotton Velvets, which probably became the most valuable branch of the export trade.

Table 22 : The Exportation of Cloths from Hull.

	<u>1672</u>	<u>1682</u>	<u>1700</u>	<u>1702</u>	<u>1717</u>
Dozens	17,057	27,656	27,335	45,833	28,990
Kerseys	19,245	34,399	53,868	108,267	68,474
Bayes	4,030	12,221	16,376	46,487	31,114
	<u>1728</u>	<u>1737</u>	<u>1758</u>	<u>1768</u>	<u>1783</u>
Dozens	40,022	76,157	69,728	122,710	163,710
Kerseys	40,297	37,083	33,378	33,399	13,340
Bayes	22,076	52,221	44,040	70,232	134,600
Plains			914	1,880	15,520
Shalloons			18,400	28,956	17,810
Stuffs			45	50,485	57,877
Cotton Velvots			20	8,352	236,834

Indeed cloth of one sort or another played such a predominant part in Hull's export trade that the cloth trade alone is sufficient to

account for the boom in the late eighteenth century.

One of the greatest difficulties in studying local history is keeping a sense of perspective when everything tends to be measured by a purely local standard. Unfortunately it is not easy to make an accurate comparison between Hull and the other major ports because there are no records of the value of trade passing through particular ports. It is usual to class ports according to the tonnage of shipping frequenting them, but such a classification is open to criticism. In the first place a comparison of tonnage alone over-emphasises the importance of those ports, such as Newcastle and Sunderland, which handled large quantities of coal, to the detriment of those ports which handled the valuable products of the growing industrial revolution. Secondly, there was often a confusion between foreign and coastal trade which complicates any attempt to compare foreign trade alone. For instance, goods destined for America from western England went direct from Liverpool or Bristol, whereas goods from eastern England went coastwise from Hull to London and then to America. Similarly there was confusion over the Irish trade, and Whitehaven had the double advantage, so far as tonnage figures are concerned, of shipping large quantities of coal to Ireland, which was still classed as foreign although it did not pay foreign duties. Whitehaven's huge export tonnage has led to the belief that it was second only to London as a port in the foreign trade,⁶² but in fact it had no industrial

hinterland and little foreign trade. Thirdly, the volume of shipping does not necessarily give an accurate account of the value or volume of trade. All ships except those in ballast were counted, but there is no guarantee that they were loaded to capacity. A few bottles of spirits would be enough to necessitate entry in the Customs ledgers, and it is probably this fact that accounts for Sunderland's huge import tonnage at the end of the century.

The tonnage figures contained in table 24 must therefore be used cautiously. It is clear from the table that Hull had the fourth largest tonnage in the import trade in the early part of the century, only Newcastle having less. By the middle of the century, however, Hull had reached third place with 23,598 tons, compared with Bristol's 30,433 tons and Liverpool's 31,713 tons, and in the third quarter of the century Hull passed Bristol to become the second largest port in 1790, if Sunderland's huge but dubious total is ignored. So far as the value of trade is concerned, Hull may have remained in third place, for the great value of Bristol's trade should not be overlooked. The records of Customs receipts, ^{inwards} for instance, show Bristol a long way ahead of Hull; for 1789 Liverpool paid £401,247, Bristol paid £358,413 and Hull paid only £145,877. The same figures for 1790 were £342,059, £309,982 and £127,702 respectively:

Table 23 : CUSTOMS RECEIPTS, MAJOR PORTS, 1789 & 1790.⁶³

	1789	Exports	1790	Exports
	Imports		Imports	
Liverpool	401,247	8,793	342,059	8,360
Bristol	358,413	8,525	309,982	8,830
Hull	145,877	8,078	127,702	7,792
Newcastle	29,545	32,921	36,670	36,902
Sunderland	3,795	31,089	4,597	36,665
Whitehaven	6,444	10,972	6,939	10,158
Yarmouth	17,531	11,456	16,612	7,593

It should be pointed out, however, that Customs receipts must be treated as cautiously as the tonnage figures. In the first place they cannot be used over a period of time because of the changes in duty, and, secondly, since duty was charged on some goods but not on others, the duty paid by a particular port depended on the type, as well as the value, of goods concerned. So great were the discrepancies in the export duties, from which most of Hull's exports were exempt, that Customs receipts on exports are useless as a guide to the relative position of the ports.

Nor are the tonnage figures of great value in assessing Hull's position in the export trade. The volume of Hull's export trade was indeed very small compared with that of the other major ports (5,780 tons in 1709 compared with Newcastle's 40,076 tons, and 51,060 tons in 1790 compared with Liverpool's 237,884 tons), but in the value of the trade Hull probably stood ahead of all

but Liverpool and Bristol. Whitehaven can be discounted because its trade consisted of shipping coal to Ireland, and Newcastle and Sunderland because they, too, were chiefly concerned with low value coal. Only Liverpool, Bristol and Hull were concerned in the large scale shipment of high valued cargoes.

Even the greatest of the outports were insignificant when compared with London, which completely dominated English Trade. As the capital city and financial centre, London had attracted to itself a large and wealthy population which thrived on trade and supported not only a great international trade, but also the coastal trade, which was centred partly on London's demand for coal and foodstuffs.

Shipping figures for London were obviously difficult to compile, and none exist until 1751, when the total tonnage inwards was 234,369 tons, ten times as much as Hull's, and twice as much as all the major outports put together. In the eighties, and no doubt before, London's tonnage inwards was roughly equal to all the outports, great and small, put together, London having 338,826 tons in 1781, and Outports 313,066 tons.⁶⁴ But with the development of the Outports in the eighties and nineties London lost its dominance of the import trade, and in 1790 the total inwards for London (553,722) was slightly less than that for the six major Outports (583,263) and only six times Hull's total (95,962).

London never dominated the export trade to the same extent

Table 24 : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MAJOR PORTS:
TONNAGES INWARDS AND OUTWARDS, 1709-90.⁶⁵

(i) Tonnage Inwards

Port	1709	1730	1751	1772	1790
Bristol	19,817	29,034	30,433	38,707	70,668
Liverpool	14,574	18,070	31,713	76,613	241,117
Whitehaven	9,945	15,147	10,765	33,000	34,838
Newcastle	7,757	14,441	21,705	21,472	35,364
Hull	8,090	12,440	23,598	44,419	95,962
Sunderland					105,314
London			234,369	382,348	553,722

(ii) Tonnage Outwards

Bristol	21,199	24,585	27,299	35,714	63,734
Liverpool	12,636	19,058	33,693	92,973	237,884
Whitehaven	24,644	45,213	113,155	193,416	230,562
Newcastle	40,076	46,337	57,852	73,409	96,620
Hull	5,780	8,168	15,794	18,361	51,060
Sunderland					102,393
London			173,843	246,509	322,895

	IN		OUT		Ships	IN		OUT	
	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons		Tons	Ships	Tons	
Bristol	14	1,154	14	949	48	5,041	30	3,192	
Hull	39	3,732	42	3,663	4	596	10	1,361	
Liverpool	54	6,291	51	5,687	21	2,215	19	2,034	
Newcastle	13	2,233	104	16,897	-	-	2	327	
Sunderland	111	16,644	34	5,229	2	310	-	-	
Whitehaven	1	158	-	-	2	126	2	181	
London	236	21,634	197	18,100	171	19,888	108	15,861	

	<u>Portugal</u>				Ships	<u>Italy</u>		Tons
	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons		Ships	Tons	
Bristol	23	2,639	21	3,170	12	1,236	7	971
Hull	14	2,509	10	1,777	6	1,275	12	2,421
Liverpool	68	7,308	44	4,881	22	2,694	20	2,542
Newcastle	3	504	13	2,119	1	88	1	159
Sunderland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whitehaven	3	400	1	66	-	-	-	-
London	166	23,493	89	14,140	92	13,510	35	5,071

	<u>Ireland</u>				Ships	<u>America</u>		Tons
	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons		Ships	Tons	
Bristol	198	12,258	169	10,385	39	7,300	30	5,112
Hull	4	410	1	84	13	2,775	6	1,301
Liverpool	1127	80,482	1037	69,351	120	21,565	117	21,646
Newcastle	1	156	-	-	3	831	-	-
Sunderland	1	81	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whitehaven	338	29,705	2153	224,934	7	1,283	3	488
London	209	22,558	250	27,403	119	25,700	96	21,094

	<u>West Indies</u>				Ships	<u>Misc.</u>		Tons
	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons		Ships	Tons	
Bristol	46	12,188	43	12,335	10	542	21	1,001
Hull	3	625	3	638	2	390	-	-
Liverpool	80	18,689	35	9,766	92	4,356	104	5,287
Newcastle	2	349	6	1,649	2	266	41	5,538
Sunderland	-	-	9	-	5	515	2	169
Whitehaven	2	468	3	646	-	-	-	-
London	183	52,174	121	37,307	51	7,218	54	9,306

**Table 25 : TOTAL ENTRIES AND CLEARANCES, AND DIRECTION OF TRADE:
HULL AND THE MAJOR PORTS, January 1790-1791.**

	INWARDS		OUTWARDS		INWARDS		OUTWARDS	
	Ships	Tonnage	Ships	Tonnage	Ships	Tonnage	Ships	Tonnage
			<u>Den'k & Norway</u>				<u>Sweden</u>	
Bristol	19	4,473	18	4,227	5	820		
Hull	16	1,593	1	346	37	8,585	3	836
Liverpool	29	5,330	70	13,352	8	714	6	665
Newcastle	67	5,556	193	33,405	18	2,077	21	2,871
Sunderland	14	1,156	15	2,103	3	284	5	564
Whitehaven	-	-	2	338	-	-	1	60
London	206	58,832	102	23,255	77	14,503	32	4,978
			<u>Russia</u>				<u>Poland</u>	
Bristol	16	3,297	8	2,368	7	2,245	2	542
Hull	109	30,163	49	11,409	15	2,238	13	1,836
Liverpool	81	22,328	57	18,862	-	-	-	-
Newcastle	21	3,839	14	3,000	15	1,691	3	355
Sunderland	4	691	7	1,132	-	-	-	-
Whitehaven	5	651	-	-	-	-	-	-
London	271	65,879	88	21,451	48	12,804	21	5,646
			<u>Prussia</u>				<u>Germany</u>	
Bristol	12	3,468	4	1,125	5	519	3	308
Hull	82	20,978	20	4,502	35	4,158	45	7,241
Liverpool	148	38,916	68	31,191	23	2,509	47	6,671
Newcastle	44	8,624	29	6,274	54	3,867	93	16,104
Sunderland	10	1,966	6	1,075	9	1,207	104	12,612
Whitehaven	12	2,338	1	172	-	-	-	-
London	264	56,222	28	5,616	265	31,567	109	18,351
			<u>Holland</u>				<u>Flanders</u>	
Bristol	10	1,291	9	893	1	185	-	-
Hull	66	7,264	49	5,080	15	2,033	13	1,776
Liverpool	32	3,354	12	1,373	4	526	78	13,570
Newcastle	26	2,659	32	3,459	-	-	4	453
Sunderland	487	74,749	504	75,918	52	6,728	18	2,441
Whitehaven	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
London	609	44,362	141	13,395	50	6,515	49	5,718

as this, simply because goods brought into England were distributed from London via the Coastal trade, whereas exports (coal, cloth, ironmongery etc.) were sent directly overseas from the nearest outport. Thus the tonnage out of London in 1751 was only 173,843, about half as much as the principal outports, and by 1790 London's total was only 35% more than Liverpool's or Whitehaven's, and only six times that of Hull.

In an attempt to sum up the factors influencing the growth of Hull and the position of Hull relative to the other ports, two obvious questions might be posed: Why did Hull develop at all?, and Why did it not develop faster than it did, compared, for example, with Liverpool?

In the first place, Hull expanded because there was a demand in the hinterland for the type of raw materials which were obtained from the Baltic, and because there was an increasing supply of manufactured goods, especially cloths, to be exported. The rate of Hull's expansion was thus determined to a large extent by the growth of the industries demanding raw materials and supplying manufactured goods; there was no large export tonnage caused by an increase in bulky raw materials, as at Newcastle, Sunderland or Whitehaven, but the high value of cloths and other goods meant that Hull's export trade was no less important or valuable than that of the coal ports.

In the second place, Hull did not expand as much as it

might have done because it was principally concerned with the north European trade, whereas the chief feature of trade in the eighteenth century was the development of the great intercourse with Ireland, America and the East Indies.⁶⁶ Europe declined in importance, sending 53% of the goods imported into England in 1700, 44% in 1750, and 31% in 1800; in the export trade Europe declined even more, from 78% in 1700 to 63% in 1750 and 45% in 1800.⁶⁷ Those ports engaging in the trade with America or Ireland were thus in a position to expand more rapidly than those concentrating on European trade, but Hull was not seriously interested in America, and trade with Ireland was, of course, out of the question.

There was, indeed little encouragement to take part in trade with America, (although some merchants began to specialise in the middle of the century), chiefly because American products could be obtained more easily and with less risk either from the Baltic or from London via the Coastal trade, or via the Dutch and German entrepot trades. Moreover, there appears to have been an absence in Hull of that spirit of adventure which one imagines was present in Liverpool, which was to be found in long-distance and uncertain trades and in slavery. Hull merchants were on the whole concerned only with the steady trade with the Baltic, Germany and Holland; they were not unscrupulous, as can be seen from the very small number of privateers fitted out in Hull, compared with many from Liverpool; and the moral

and religious atmosphere in Hull was, in any case, alien to the Slave trade upon which Liverpool's American trade was partly dependent. Hull American merchants may occasionally have used false weights to avoid Customs duties, but there is no evidence that they ever traded in Human flesh; on the contrary, it is very possible that the general aversion to the Slave trade was prejudicial to the development of an American trade in competition with Liverpool, which had fewer geographical advantages than most people realise.

A further reason why Hull did not expand as quickly as Liverpool is also connected with its concentration on Baltic trade; for the area with which Hull traded was so restricted that there was virtually no entrepot trade, except, perhaps, in American tobacco and Portugal cork, both of which were sent to the Baltic; nor was there a coastal entrepot trade. Everything which was exported came from the hinterland (except a few odds and ends), and everything which was imported went into the hinterland; nothing was imported which was not demanded first, and nothing was exported which could not be easily obtained. In other words, Hull merchants ~~did not~~ were not interested in making Hull into a great commercial centre like Hamburgh, Amsterdam, or London, probably because they had learned to rely on these centres rather than on direct trade. Towards the end of the century some merchants were becoming merely shippers on Commission, and Hull was, in these

cases, a true 'port' - the door through which goods passed, rather than a place where merchants gathered to do business.

Thus Hull lagged behind Newcastle, Sunderland and Whitehaven, in the volume of export trade, because it exported no coal, and in value behind Liverpool because it took no part in the American or Irish trades, (which accounted for 56% of Liverpool's tonnage inwards, and 49% of the tonnage outwards in 1790), and because it did not develop an entrepot trade. It is clearly impossible to make a final assessment of the relative importance of the major outports until a critical analysis has been made of their trade. In the meantime, (perhaps with too much prejudice in favour of Hull), it may reasonably be said that, since the Industrial revolution was the most important feature of the eighteenth century, the exportation of raw materials was of less direct importance than the exportation of manufactured goods, and that the importation of raw materials was ultimately of more value than the importation of those luxury goods which were paid for out of the profits of industry. And since the Midlands, Lancashire and Yorkshire were the most rapidly expanding regions of England, Liverpool and Hull deserve to be considered as the two ports which contributed the most to the industrialisation of England.

CHAPTER THREE - NOTES.

1. IMPORT TRADE 1700-1750.

1. An account of the Timber trade is contained in H.S.K. Kent, "ANGLO-NORWEGIAN TIMBER TRADE IN THE C18th", in Econ. Hist. Rev., Second Series, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (1955) there are several references to Hull.

2. Letter to Samuel Dawson of Bawtry, from his Christiania agents, Colletts & Leuch. Sheff. Cent. Lib., TIBBITTS 516-14. 29th May, 1719. The failure of the Norwegian forests to supply more timber can be seen in the figures quoted by Kent (Table 4, P.71); in 1700 London imported 16,500 hundreds and the Outports 11,000; in 1750 the totals were 14,000 and 11,500 respectively, and in 1780 they were 12,500 and 10,000.

In this chapter the symbol ^o (do) will be used, as in all the Customs Accounts, to denote the hundred of 120, which was used to count deals and Ells (of cloth).

3. The trading figures quoted in this chapter, unless otherwise noted, are taken ~~from~~ from the Hull Port Books, to which no further reference will be made. They are as follows:-

1702	E190/337/3	1758	E190/371/1
1717	E190/350/1	1768	E190/376/6
1728	E190/360/3	1783	E190/385/3
1737	E190/365/1		

4. Joshua Gee, THE TRADE AND NAVIGATION OF GREAT BRITAIN CONSIDERED, (1731), p17. E. Hecksher puts the percentage at 80 for the seventeen twenties; AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SWEDEN (1954), p176.

5. Ships from Sweden were, incidentally, among the largest entering the port from all regions. See Ch. V, P.290.

6. H.C.L.B., H-C., 28th January 1748/9. It may be noted that the iron landed in Hull was always short-weighted, i.e. it weighed less than it did when it left Sweden. There is a perfectly simple (and honest) reason for this, ~~which~~

[REDACTED] but the difference cannot be ignored, for it was rarely less than 10%. The figures given in the text should therefore be increased by 0.10% to arrive at the real, though unofficial, total of iron imported.

- 7. Hamilton & Co., who were pitch-makers as well as American merchants (which may explain their interest in the American trade!) were still making pitch from Swedish tar in 1752, but it was being gradually displaced by Colonial tar. H.C.L.B., H-C., Feb 26, 1752.
- 8. MAISTER DAY BK., passim. Hull University Library.
- 9. The timber which arrived in Hull from Scandinavia was usually measured by the "hundred" deals, and that from the eastern Baltic by the "load" of 50 cubic feet, although there were some deals arriving from the eastern Baltic in the middle of the century.
- 10. For the various types of cloth imported in the fifties, see Table 9 ., p 73 . The method employed in the measuring of cloth was complicated. Foreign Linen was counted by the Ell (3 1/4 yards) in hundreds (120 Ells), quarters (30 Ells) and the odd Ells: e.g. 31-3-5 (3,815 Ells). On the other hand, special types of material, such as Napkining or Damask was likely to be counted by the yard. English cloth exported was usually counted by the piece, except a few (such as stuffs) which were sometimes counted by the pound-weight.
- 11. H.C.L.B., H-C., 1750
- 12. H.C.L.B., H-C., 21 Mar. 1756.
- 13. H.C.L.B., H-C., Feb. 1759.
- 14. 2 George II, c35 (s3).
- 15. H.C.L.B., H-C., Feb 26, 1752
- 16. H.C.L.B., H-C., March 1752.
- 17. William Welfitt's and Peter Hodgson's Accounts, Pease Bank Ledgers.

2. IMPORT TRADE, 1750-1800.
18. Trade figures for 1783 from Port Book, H190/385/3; for 1796 from a MS in the Port Dues Box, G.H.MSS; for 1798 from H.C.L.B., H-C., 1 June 1799. See Table 10 .
19. B.M. Add. MS. 38, 345, fols. 225-268. ~~especially~~ ^{especially} fol. 266.
20. Maister Letters, N.M.-H.M., 8 December 1744.
21. Wray & Hollingsworth's Letter Books passim. See p249f.
22. Average figures for Hull from H.C.L.B., H-C., 10 Feb. 1794; those for the whole of England from P.R.O., B.T., 6/230.
23. W.H.MSS., Court Cases Box.
24. The source for the table is H.C.L.B., H-C., 4 Sep. 1766.
25. For the comparison between the trade of Hull and of the other major ports with particular areas, see Table 25 . It is worth noting in this connection that Liverpool was not far behind Hull in trade with the Baltic, a fact which is often forgotten.
26. Figures for 1785 from B.M., Add.MS. 38, 347, f206; for 1791 from "Cotton Wool aired from Quarantine ships", 1791-9 in H.C.L.B., H-C., 10 May 1800. The amount of wool quarantined in the other years was smaller: 1,310 bags in 1792, none in 1793-6, 307 bags in 1797, none in 1798 and 3,026 in 1799. How much came in unquarantined is unknown.
27. The corn trade in general is dealt with under Exports.
28. Figures for 1764 from H.C.L.B., H-C., 4 Sept. 1766; those for 1798 from H.C.L.B., H-C., 1 Jun. 1799.
29. Strother's Journal, 24th September 1784. (fol. 24).
30. H.C.L.B., H-C., 4 Dec. 1764.
31. H.C.L.B., H-C., 30 Mar. 1778.
32. H.C.L.B., H-C., 21 Mar. 1756 and 18 Mar. 1782.
33. H.C.L.B., C-H., 27 Sept. 1765.

34. Their banking account is contained in Smiths & Thompson's Ledgers; [REDACTED]
35. H.C.L.B., H-C., Oct-Dec. 1775, passim.
36. P.R.O., E190/369/7. When Whaling began in Hull in the fifties the American merchants were prominent among those owning whalers; the name of Standidge, particularly, is by tradition associated with the introduction of the industry in Hull. See Chapter VI, p 334.
37. This trade is dealt with more fully in Chapter VI, 'Whaling'.
38. William Welfitt, for instance, imported some in November, 1751, but he forgot about the certificate, so probably wished he hadn't. (To be imported free of duty plantation goods had to be accompanied by a certificate from a colonial officer stating that the goods concerned really had been shipped at a port in America).
39. Figure for 1792 from H.C.L.B., H-C., 17 Jan. 1793. Of this total 530 Hogsheads were re-exported; for the period 1742-58 see p 165.
40. Note in a letter Benjamin Blaydes Thompson to Walter Spencer-Stanhope, 20 Jun. 1784, in [REDACTED] Sheffield Central Library, MS WSS 1784
3. EXPORT TRADE, 1700-50
41. Maister Day Book, H.U.L. (1718).
42. The figures for 1672, 1682 and 1700 are taken from ^{P.} Davies' Thesis HULL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, Cardiff 1937
43. Gent's HISTORY, p196.
44. The details of the accumulation of corn for exportation are contained in a record of a bill sent to Maister's London agent:

Mr. H. Lyell Dr

To 100 quarters White wheat @ 30/-	.....	£150
Factorage & Freight to Hull @ 1/-	.....	5

Taking up, measuring heaving etc.....
 Skreening 8 times @ 6d - £2
 Turning 23 times at 1d.
 Warehouse hire from Dec 6 to July 11
 is 31 weeks at 2d. per week per last.....5:10s.
 Provision ((i.e. profit)) @ 2%.....3:4:6.
£164:10:4d.

Striking into a keel
 Keelhire
 Taking up and measuring it
 Riddling it
 Skreening and removing rubbish....£4:17:0
 Other turning, etc..... 12:8
£170:00:0

It was obviously easier to arrange for the shipment of ironmongery or cloth.

45. Maister Letters, N.M.-H.M., 6 Mar. 1737/8.

46. Do. 22 April, 1738.

47. Do. 7 and 15 April, 1738.

4. EXPORT TRADE 1750-1800

48. Admittedly the number of ships sailing to Denmark and Norway rose sharply after 1802, but this does not represent an expansion of trade: see under Hamburg.

49. G.H. Mss., Minute Book of the Committee for Convoys (1757-82), March, 1780.

50. 21 August, 1770.

51. Do. 11 June, 1765.

52. H.C.L.B., H-C., 10 Mar. 1791.

53. See Ashton, THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, pp.48f.

54. Sources for the Table as follows:

1759-66 H.C.L.B., H-C., passim;

1775-82 H.C.L.B., H-C., 21 Feb, 1783;

1783 E190/385/3;

1792 H.C.L.B., H-C., passim: July-Nov. only, mainly sent to Havre;

1793 H.C.L.B., H-C 24 Aug. 1793. 21 June - 24 Aug.
only;
1794-9 H.C.L.B., H-C 12 Feb. 1800 (exports only);
1796 H.C.L.B., H-C., passim (imports).

There were undoubtedly other imports, but the figures are very difficult to compile. Records of imports are only recorded in the H.C.L.B. 1796 (and also for 1797) because of the bounty granted on corn imported.

55. 36 George III, c21. Only in exceptionally bad years was importation encouraged as in these years. Usually the most that happened was an embargo on exportation, as, for example, in Sept. 1765, H.C.L.B., C-H 26 Sep. 1765.
56. G.H.MSS., Minutes of the Committee of Trade, 9 Jan, 1787.
57. Much of the Ale came from the breweries of Bass and Wilson (later Alsopps). Approximately 90% of the Beer brewed in Burton and exported to Europe went through Hull. The quantity of Wilson's ales, for instance, rose from 122 tuns in 1750 to 1,837 in 1775. It is interesting to notice that Wilson's ale was considered in the Baltic to be the best; John Voase once had difficulty in getting rid of a cargo because it was of "Mr Basses Brewery which has not by far the fine flavour as that of Wilson's, and which is always preferred here it will make the sales very difficult." W.H.MSS., Court Cases Box, Case of Mr. Barth of Danzig v. Jn. Voase. (1804).
58. Horses exported 1750-1771 in H.C.L.B., 19 Feb. 1772.
5. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE, 1700-1800.
59. The Tonnage figures discussed in the following paragraphs are those set out in Table 2/.
60. It is therefore understandable that the chief agitation for a dock took place c.1756 and c.1766, and that the agitation for an extension of the first dock began in c.1784 and increased in the early nineties.
61. The sources for the Table are as follows:
- (a) Add MS. 11256 f19.
 - (b) P.R.O., C.O. 338 - 18

- (c) P.R.O., C.O. 390 - 8
- (d) G.H.MSS, Loose paper in Port Dues Box.
- (e) H.C.L.B., H-C., January 1781.
- (f) Add. MS. 11255 f16.
- (g) H.C.L.B., H-C 2 September 1787.
- (h) TICKELL, History, p872. These figures are

extracted from the official returns of the Dock Co., but unfortunately the Dock Co.'s own records no longer contain such detailed information.

(i) P.R.O., Cust. 17/11-13. The remaining Cust. 17 Ledgers do not appear to contain details of total sailings, recording each ship only once.

- (j) H.C.L.B., H-C., 29 Jan 1795.
- (k) H.C.L.B., H-C., 12 Jan 1799.

62. J. E. Williams, WHITEHAVEN IN THE 18th., Econ. Hist. Rev. 2nd Ser., Vol. VIII, No. 3. (1956), p 398. Unfortunately Williams quotes only "second hand" figures, and does not relate them to the direction of trade.

63. Customs receipts contained in P.R.O., CUST 17/11-12; figures to the nearest £1.

64. Add. Mss. 38,345, f214.

65. Tonnage figures for 1709-1779 from Add. Mss. 11256; for 1790 from P.R.O., Cust 17/12.

66. In 1770, for example, 52% of the total English exports (by value) were with areas with which Hull had little or no trade, viz: Africa, Canaries, East Indies, Italy, Madeira, Streights, Turkey, Guernsey, America, and the West Indies. The total value of exports was £14,907,953 (P.R.O., C.O.390/9.) Similarly, in 1793, Ireland, America, and the West and East Indies accounted for 35% of the total tonnage inwards (1,477,742) and 59% of the total outwards (1,281,417) (P.R.O., Cust. 17/15.)

67. T. S. Ashton, AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, p154, quoting Mrs. Schumpeter.

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CHAPTER FOUR.

THE MERCHANTS AND THEIR CONNEXIONS

1. THE MERCHANTS.

The trade of Hull in the eighteenth century was dominated by about two dozen great merchant houses - which between them handled very nearly all the goods passing through the port - supplemented by a fluctuating number of smaller firms. The total number of merchants will never be exactly known, but it is of little importance; it was the size, rather than the number, of merchant firms that mattered. In 1702, for example, 116 individuals made shipments outwards, but 94 of them made less than ten shipments (which were not very big, in any case, at this time) and a considerable number made only one or two.¹ Of the remaining shippers, who were the real Hull merchants, 11 made between 10 and 20 shipments, 4 made 20-40 and 7 made more than 40. The relative importance of firms engaged in exporting from Hull can thus be very roughly ascertained by comparing the number of shipments made by each. William Crowle (whose son later represented Hull in Parliament) came first, with 85 individual shipments, closely followed by John Thornton with 80; but the next after him, Philip Wilkinson, had only 68, and he was followed by Daniel Hoare with 48. The dominion of the great firms can also be seen in the goods exported. Of the total

number of Kerseys exported in 1702 (108,267), Crowle accounted for 28,025, and John Thornton for 26,932. Of the lead exported (32,190 cwts), 17,888 cwts. was accounted for by Crowle (with 4,314), John Thornton (3,476) Philip Wilkinson (6,411) and John Beilby (3,687). The position was exactly the same in the second half of the century, although the firms were, , not the same ones. Of the 174 shipments outwards in the third quarter of 1783, 35 were accounted for by Williamson & Co. (the amount of goods in each shipment was also very great), and a further 20 were accounted for by Stephenson & Co.²

The great merchant houses are particularly noticeable as a group in the second half of the century because of their attitude towards the building, and later the extension, of the dock. The most important firms all had their "Staiths" along the river, the only legal landing stages, and consequently none of them wished loading and unloading to be allowed in any other place. Time and again the names of the principal merchants appear on petitions, statements and "Cases" aimed at maintaining their position and the value of their property. In 1793, for instance, the "High Street Interest" signed a Statement to the effect that the East side of the Haven was the most convenient place for a new dock because "The entrance into the present Dock, all the suffrance Quays ((i.e. the officially approved private staiths)), and by far the greatest number of the warehouses in the Town, adjoin the West side of the Old Harbour

directly opposite to the Garrison ground...³ The firms signing this declaration were as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Wm. Williamson | Wm. & Jn. Travis |
| Geo. Knowsley | Jn. Hall |
| J. & S. Horner | R. C. Pease |
| Wilberforce Smiths & Co. | Jos. Wilkinson |
| Geo. Holden & Co. | Rd. Terry |
| C. E. Broadley | Jn. Staniforth |
| Jn. Voase | Brandström & Küssel |
| Maister & Rennards | Jos. R. Pease |
| Moxon & Son | T. & J. Outram |
| Simon Horner | Howard & Parker |
| Jos. Sykes & Son | Wm. Thompson |

In effect, the existence of the private landing stages limited the number of great merchant houses, for no merchant could trade on a grand scale who did not have his own private staith or access to one; of the 3,402 feet between the "Stone Chair" in the North and Horse Staith in the South, only 95 feet was occupied by public landing places, 23 feet shorter than the largest private staith, that of the Peases. (See list of Private Staiths, ^{Appendix 7} .)

The expansion of trade did not bring about a great increase in the number of the most important firms, although there was no doubt some increase in the total number of merchants. What happened was that those merchants who already had extensive interests acquired the lion's share of the new trade, in accordance with the old maxim that unto him that has shall be

given and from him that has little shall be taken away that which he has.

This does not mean that new firms did not spring up. On the contrary, there were many firms in existence at the end of the century which began in the forties or fifties, and many which existed in 1700, on the other hand, had died out by 1750. The ranks of the greater merchants were continually being thinned by deaths, resignations and the occasional bankruptcy, and immediately filled again by the upward movement of medium sized firms. The rise and fall of merchant firms is, however, obscured by the mists of time. At one moment a firm, such as Crowle's or Mowld's seems from the records to be at the pinnacle of its glory; at another it has entirely passed away, and might never have existed so far as the casual historian is concerned. Similarly, other firms appear out of the blue; so far as Hull records are concerned, firms like Terry's, Hamilton's, Eggingtons', Stephenson's and Williamson's, all of them names of the utmost importance in the history of Hull, have neither beginning nor end. All that can be said of them is that at a particular point in time they were flourishing.

The discussion of the rise and fall of merchant firms leads to the obvious question: where did the merchant class come from? Many of the principal firms in the first half of the century

_____ were family concerns whose origin is lost in _____

antiquity, and whose survival is one of the most remarkable things about merchanting in eighteenth century Hull. Some idea of the time when various merchant houses became important can be gained from the lists of Corporation officers, who were usually drawn from the principal merchant families.⁴ The Carlills first held office in 1616, the Crowles in 1657, the Beilbys in 1591, the Blaydes in 1611, the Broadleys in 1696, the Wilkinsons in 1657, the Fields in 1603, the Maisters in 1637, the Mowldes in 1597, the Popples in 1621, the Peases in 1639, the Scots in 1595 and the Thorntons in 1694. How long before that they had been important merchants is unknown, but it may have been many years in some cases.

Sons followed father and brothers shared in firms for generation after generation, but in many, and eventually in all, cases there came a break in what appeared to be an endless succession. Sooner or later a son, born in luxury and a stranger to the counting houses, decided to retire on his family's money and the old firm ceased to trade or took in a managing partner who eventually took it over. Some men, like Henry Etherington, passed into honourable retirement having no issue (who got his business?), others left only minors, like old William Wilberforce. One or two did not cease to trade, but moved their chief centre of interest out of Hull, like the Thorntons, whom everybody knows, set up their main branch in London and a subsidiary in St. Petersburg, or the Thorleys, whose senior branch

moved to Narva. Finally, some went the humiliating way of Alderman Daniel Hoare, whose family had played such an honourable role in the seventeenth century; his business failed, and he was only saved from the fate of a debtor by the Corporation, which paid his creditors out of respect for him. Another important firm which failed was Sill, Bridges and Blount, merchants and probably bankers as well, who did not survive the crisis of 1759. Yet another important house to come to a sad end was the junior branch of the Thorleys, which had remained in Hull under the direction of Christopher Thorley. It should be pointed out, however, that these were the only important firms which went bankrupt in the eighteenth century, probably because Hull merchants did not speculate as much as those of London, Liverpool and Bristol.

Not all merchants were born in trade, like the Maisters; recruits came from several sources outside the older families, but still from sources more or less connected with merchanting. The most obvious source is the sea itself. Master-mariners were economically—and to a certain extent socially—valuable members of the population. More often than not they held, or eventually obtained, a share in the ship—or group of ships—which they sailed, and consequently they could do much as they liked with spare room on board ship; trading by master-mariners was common. Many, of course, found that navigating a ship was all they could rise to, but for a very few the future held out glittering prospects.

It is said of Francis Bine that he "was Master of a ship," but during the last war ((i.e. American war)) was very fortunate in Freighting ships from England to Ostend and from thence to various foreign ports, by which trade he acquired an immense fortune, it is thought not less than £20,000 at the conclusion of the war he commenced Merchant and Sugar-boiler having bought the New Sugar House in Wincomble".⁵ How far this, or the other self-made-men stories are true is unknown, but it shows that such a thing was not regarded as impossible by contemporaries. Not without envy, perhaps, did the members of the old established houses view Hull's only two knights. Sir Henry Etherington, Bart., (he was always very particular that the "Bart" should be added !), was the son of a merchant who had begun as a master-mariner, perhaps as a common sailor. Henry Etherington, senior, appears several times as a captain carrying goods for the Maisters in the period 1713-23, but by the thirties he was shipping goods on his own account, and his business expanded sufficiently for him to be elected to the office of Chamberlain in 1736, Sheriff in 1742 and Mayor in 1747 and again in 1758, the year in which Henry Etherington, junior, became Sheriff for the first time. Henry Etherington junior, who was himself Mayor in 1769 and 1785, was undoubtedly the most respected man in Hull in the latter part of the century, always being called upon to act as Chairman of Town Meetings during the long struggle against the Dock Company even though

he was a member of the Company himself, for a time. He, like his father, may have served his apprenticeship before the mast, but there is no proof that he did.

Hull's other knight was Samuel Standidge, who in the fifties was the mate and later master of ships in the service of Christopher Scott, *who specialised in American trade* ~~who specialised in American trade~~. His experiences along the north coast of America played a great part in encouraging him to begin a whaling firm in 1766, after making money out of trading on his own account, and he also fitted out one or two expeditions to Arctic waters. It should be noted, however, that both of them were knighted simply because they were the bearers of Hull's loyal addresses to a magnanimous sovereign, and their honour was more a token to the town than to the individuals concerned.

A master mariner was not socially despised - some of them lived in the best new streets in Hull - and younger sons of middling merchants were not ashamed to acquire first hand knowledge of conditions in the Baltic from the decks of their fathers ship or ships; but on the whole it must be emphasised that merchants recruited from this source were ~~merely~~

~~merely~~ exceptions, ~~merely~~
~~merely~~

The most important source of new merchants was the counting house of the old established firm. While it is generally believed that country squires spent their lives in

idle luxury, it is also generally believed that merchants spent their days in sombre counting houses. Nothing could be further from the truth. Merchants certainly had to work harder for their money than landowners, but the major part of any merchant's business, at least after 1750 if not so much before that date, was undertaken by the Chief Clerk or Book-keeper. Quite early in the century the principal merchants had ~~been~~^{taken} to living in the country around Hull, travelling in by coach when they felt like it and staying away when they did not. Consequently great responsibility passed into the hands of the merchants' deputies. At least one such clerk was running his master's business: "Charles Robinson", ~~runs~~^{runs} an affidavit made in October 1793, "Book-keeper to Benjamin Blaydes Thompson merchant maketh oath and saith that John Harrison of Wakefield in the county of York Cabinet-maker is justly and truly indebted unto the said B.B. Thompson in the sum of £12:6:6 for goods sold and delivered by the said B.B.T. for the use of the Said John Harrison. Signed Charles Robinson".⁶

Several clerks also swelled their not inconsiderable incomes by engaging in a second occupation, as a side line. Strother recorded in his JOURNAL that he had had long conversations with Huntingdon and Co's clerk about the possibility of obtaining a post in Ancona, and, incidentally, points out why some clerks remained clerks while others made their fortune. "Mr. Storm", he wrote,⁷

"has no opinion of going to a foreign country being one of those persons whom the sight of any difficulty discourages and condemns any novelty; rather delighting in an indolent life, ignorant of men and manners. He is a short and fat black complexioned man small black eyes and black hair. Keeps a shop for vending Spiritous liquors close by the Pauper house in Whitefryergate So that he has a double advantage the first he is Book-keeper to Mr Huntingdon and the second he has the advantage of selling his master's liquors for which he receives a great profit."

The greatest of all the men who started behind the desk was Thomas Thompson. Wilberforce & Smiths was a firm to be reckoned with, according to the Customs Officers, "three of the Partners being in Parliament"; but the commercial prestige of the firm was due almost entirely to Thompson's astute business mind, before he, too, entered Parliament, in the early nineteenth century. Thompson, the son of a farmer, had come to Hull as a clerk, and rose to the position of manager, receiving approximately £500 per annum for his labour in 1781. Six years later he borrowed sufficient money to purchase shares in the firm, and he also became Managing Director of the bank which the Smiths opened in 1784 (Smiths & Thompson's).

Not all the merchants were Hull men. But of those who lived in Hull there were very few who can be identified as immigrants. One or two apparently came, or perhaps returned, from America, like "Nathaniel Flemyng of Hampton but now of Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant", who acted as a witness in some correspondence about a plantation bond or certificate in 1765.⁸

How many settled in Hull from the Continent is unknown, but here again, it is not likely to have been many. The only firm with a name which sounds at all foreign was Barndström and Küsel's, but no details of the firm have survived. Usually the principal merchants, such as Williamson's or Stephenson's acted as agents for Alien merchants.

The number of merchants shipping through Hull without living there was larger than the number of aliens living in Hull. Some of the inland "ports" maintained their medieval trade until well into the eighteenth century. Elias Pawson of York, for example, was importing cork and wine from Portugal in January 1702,⁹ and there was constant friction between the Corporations of York and Hull about the rights of York merchants and ships to claim exemptions from tolls and, in some cases, even from by-laws.¹⁰ Selby, Bawtry, Stockwith and Gainsborough also had their merchants, one of whom, Plumsted of Gainsborough, had some cryptic things to say about Press gangs in the middle of the century. (see p 303) Samuel Dawson, whose papers have supplied information used elsewhere in this chapter, was the best known example. Although he lived in Bawtry, and apparently moved later to Sheffield, his Day Book covers roughly the same period as that of the Maisters', and reads almost the same. For all intents and purposes Dawson was as much a Hull merchant as the Maisters; the only difference was that his goods were received or despatched by Hull wharfingers, or by the master of

the ships concerned. In July 1715, for example, Dawson received a letter from one of his captains, John Dickinson, informing him "yt we are got to hull",¹¹ and a couple of days later Dickinson sent in his receipt:¹²

"Rec'd of Sm Dawson one hundred and three Pounds Sixteen Shillings 3d. in Full for Freight for Fifty one hundred & 90 Deales four hundred two quarters of Half Deales besides Pieces two Fatham of Fire Wood & Fifty one Spars, as also Three Hundred Two quarters of Deales my own Furden with Freight & Customs for the same as allso other Chardges within mentioned wch Goods an to deliver to his order on demand, I say Rec'd as above mentioned £103.16s.3d.

By me, Jn Dickinson."

The number of inland merchants having direct contact with their European or American customers most probably increased in the second half of the century, but all goods had to go through Hull because it was the legal headport of the Humber. All attempts to erect ports at inland places - Gainsborough, for instance - failed because they were resolutely opposed by the Commissioners of Customs, who demanded that their work should be simplified by everything being entered or cleared through one port. Hull merchants were thus able to maintain their monopoly, or keep their commissions, at a time when it might be expected that their importance would decline. In 1784 the Committee of Trade complained to the Commissioners of Customs that they knew of "Vessels passing this port up to a place called Selby above 40 miles up this river, and there taking in various cargoes, which they brought down here and

cleared at this Custom House coastwise for Yarmouth; where they were permitted to clear out for abroad without delivering and unloading their cargoes..."¹³ ~~_____~~ *This trade was stopped*

~~_____~~

Two connected trends can be observed among the more important merchant houses as the century progressed. Firstly there was a decline in the number of strictly family businesses, and secondly there was a gradual consolidation of interests among the merchant houses.

The first of these trends has already been partly explained. Merchants whose families had reached the stage where trade was more trouble than it was worth, retired to their country estates leaving their business in the hands of junior partners - the modern Managing Directors. Other merchants died, leaving their business to members of other firms. A good example of this occurred in the fifties when Thomas Mowld died without issue, leaving his money (£8,000) to his sisters and his books and papers to his nephew, Joseph Williamson; this business legacy from one of the Mowlds may explain the predominance of Williamsons in the iron trade in the second half of the century.

The second trend, the amalgamation of business firms, can be seen in all the great firms in the second half of the century, for they had all acquired an "& Co." or a double-barrelled name. Williamsons had become Williamson & Waller, and others were

Wray & Bromby (later Wray & Hippius and, after 1791, Wray & Hollingsworth), Maister & Rennards (later Maister, Rennards & Parker), Widow Stephenson & Fernley (probably the union of Stephensons and their old Norwegian factor Fernley, see p. 264), Terry & Wright, Wilberforce & Smiths and Dixon and Moxon.

The merging of business firms resulted partly from the retirement of the older merchants, as described above, but also partly from the desire to secure trading capital from outside the family circle. For at least the first half of the century, and probably longer, it had been customary for merchants to find their capital from "ancient riches" in the family coffers, or, if they were newly established firms, from the surplus they had accumulated as clerks or master-mariners. Towards the end of the century, however, the methods of financing merchant firms appears to have changed considerably. Both the merging and the finance of firms is admirably illustrated by the history of Wilberforce & Smiths and Sykes & Co.

At the beginning of the century the Wilberforces appear to have been trading alone. They were, however, closely allied with their kinsmen the Thorntons (who originally owned Wilberforce House in High Street) and the Watsons, and when the Thorntons left Hull for London the Wilberforces carried on their business.

In 1737, at least, shipments in the Port Books were recorded in the name of Wilberforce & Thornton, although the "& Thornton" was later dropped; there were also entries in the

name of Wilberforce & Watson. At a later date the Wilberforces became connected by marriage with the Nottingham Smiths, and as William Wilberforce grew older, and his son Robert died, Abel Smith came to control the firm from his office in Parliament Street, London, although Thomas Thompson managed it in the late seventies at least.

In 1787 Wilberforce & Smiths and the iron importers Sykes & Co., underwent a financial overhaul. On 11th July, 1787 the partners in Wilberforce & Smiths - Robert Smith, Samuel Smith, William Wilberforce and Thomas Thompson - each paid £2,062. 10s. into the newly constituted capital of the firm.¹⁴ But what is more interesting is the fact that Joseph and John Sykes also contributed to the capital, subscribing 45% of the total of £15,000. The Sykes were thus the largest single shareholding group in Wilberforce & Smiths, but there is no evidence that they ever interfered in any way in the business, but simply drew dividends from the capital, as with any other investment. So far as Sykes & Co. was concerned the position was exactly reversed. On the same day that Wilberforce & Smiths' new capital was constituted, the partners each paid £1,687. 10s. into Sykes, to be followed by a further £3,125 on 3rd December, making a total of £4,812. 10s. each. Thus the Smiths, Wilberforce and Thompson actually had a larger amount of capital invested in Sykes & Co., than in their own firm. About ten years after the firms were constituted a change occurred in the

distribution of shares. The Sykes increased their holding in Wilberforce & Smiths to 50% of the total, while the shares of the other partners were reduced to £1,875 each. But at the same time the Smiths', Wilberforce's and Thompson's shares in Sykes & Co., were increased to £7,500 each, viz. £30,000 out of a total capital of £60,000, and twice as much as the total capital of Wilberforce & Smiths.

These partnerships were obviously held by the Smiths and Wilberforce simply as financial investments, and they were expected to yield a handsome profit for their holders. Both Wilberforce & Smiths and Sykes & Co., in fact paid very high dividends. Starting with 4% in 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, Wilberforce & Smiths' dividend had risen to no less than 33¹/₃% in 1794 and 20% in 1796, 1797 and 1798. Sykes & Co., also started with 4%, but their dividends rose more slowly, to 15% in 1797 and 35% in 1798 and 1799. Thus, in 1790 Wilberforce & Smiths paid £270 to the Sykes and £82. 10s. each to the other partners, and in 1798 they paid £1,500 to the Sykes and £375 each to the rest; Sykes, with their much larger capital, paid £192. 10s. each to the Smiths, Wilberforce and Thompson in 1790, and £2,625 each in 1798. The total sum paid out by Sykes & Co., in the period 1788-99 (inclusive) was thus roughly £10,000 each to Wilberforce, Thompson and the Smiths, and roughly £40,000 to the Sykes, i.e. £80,000 in eleven years! (See Table 26)

Unfortunately no information is available for other firms,

but there is no reason to suppose that the way Williamson & Waller or Dixon & Moxon obtained their capital was in any way different from Wilberforce & Smiths or Sykes & Co., The sleeping partnerships held by the members of these firms may be typical - they certainly were typical of the shipowning and whaler-owning firms - although the degree of inter-dependence may be exceptional.

Table 26: DIVIDENDS DISTRIBUTED TO SLEEPING PARTNERS

BY SYKES & CO., 1788-99.

	Total Investment of each (4)	Paid to each	%	Total
1788	£4,812: 10s.	£192: 10s.	4%	£770
1789	"	192: 10	4%	770
1790	"	192: 10	4%	770
1791	"	192: 10	4%	770
1792	"	433: 2: 6	9%	1,732: 10s.
1793	"	433: 2: 6	9%	1,732: 10
1794	"	240: 12: 6	5%	942: 10
1795	"	1,684: 7: 6	35%	6,737: 10
1796	?	?	?	?
1797	£7,500	1,125	15%	4,500
1798	"	2,625	35%	10,500
1799	"	2,750	36½%	11,000
Total		£10,061: 5s.	160½%	40,224

Two final questions may be asked regarding merchant firms: to what extent did they specialise, and to what extent did they engage in activities other than trading?

Since Hull was itself a specialist port, principally engaged in trade with northern Europe, merchants were naturally concerned with this region more than any other. Some of the smaller firms no doubt traded only with northern Europe, but on the whole the merchants, especially the larger firms, did not trade with this region to the exclusion of all others.

General trade was a side-line with the great merchants just as it was a side-line for the port as a whole. The Maisters, for instance, were principally iron and tar importers in the early part of the century, but they also exported lead to France and corn to Portugal and Spain; William Williamson was the greatest merchant trading with the Baltic and Germany in the second half of the century, but he was also the greatest merchant engaged in the Italian and Mediterranean trade. There appears to have been but one exception to this rule. The trade with America in the middle of the century was carried on by a group of merchants who appear to have specialised in American trade and did not have extensive interests in the Baltic. There were about half-a-dozen of them altogether, including Hamilton & Co. (who may have originally been concerned in importing Baltic tar, changing to America because of the tar bounty) and Christopher Scott who were mainly concerned with tar, turpentine and train.

oil, and William Welfitt and John & William Travis, the only merchants to import tobacco in large quantities. But even the American trade was not entirely in the hands of specialists (who appear to have died out in any case) and men like Joseph Pease added American trade to their many and varied interests.

So far as commodities are concerned there was also little specialisation, although some merchants are usually associated with the importation of particular Baltic goods. The Mowlds, Maisters and Sykes were mainly iron importers, Ashmole (in the first half of the century), Wray & Hollingsworth, and Stephenson & Fernley were mainly timber merchants; but the fact that they dealt in large quantities of particular goods did not preclude them from trading in others. Wine was the only commodity in which specialists can be observed easily. A typical example, perhaps, was the firm of Dealtry & Revell, who shipped wine in the thirties, but who are otherwise completely unheard of. But here again, the wine trade was dominated by men whose main interest lay in northern Europe.

The Coastal trade was quite distinct from the Overseas trade. Although many of the great merchant houses took part in the coastal trade, a separate group of merchants are to be found who did not regularly take part in the foreign trade. They included, for instance, many inland shippers, who maintained their own communication with London or the outports, and merely sent their shipments through Hull. In the first quarter of the

century, and probably for much longer, the merchants whose names appear most frequently in the Coastal Port Books were, in fact, resident in Bawtry or Stockwith. Lead shipments were very frequently made by Leadbetter, Wigfall, Bagshaw and Yenle of Stockwith, and other merchants have names which are not usually associated with Hull. Similarly, in the middle of the century, the large amounts of wool which were coming to Hull via the coastal trade were being received by merchants who dealt in little else, and may not have been resident in Hull at all.

There were few merchants who did not have some interests outside their normal trading activities. Some engaged in industry, and in fact the merchants were the only people in Hull who did. The Wilberforces, Watsons and Thorntons had a sugar refinery, the Travis family had a snuff factory out at Cottingham, the Peases, Eggingtons and others had oil mills for crushing seeds and making paint, Hamilton & Edge had a pitch refinery, and so on. The principal Hull industry, whaling, was also controlled by merchants, originally those engaged in the American trade and oil-seed crushing.

The owning of factories which were in some way connected with their trade was certainly one of the most interesting activities of Hull merchants, but the most common activity was ship-owning. There was hardly a merchant in Hull who did not

own a share in a ship or in a number of ships, as a matter of course. Although towards the end of the century there emerged several ship-owning firms which did not directly engage in trade, their principal partners were often merchants or retired merchants. Another, less common, branch of merchanting was insurance underwriting. A number of wealthy merchants in the second half of the century acted as underwriters, but they were mainly those who had retired from active trade and preferred to be known as "Gents". Other firms set up as insurance and ship brokers, while maintaining their active interest in trade; what in effect they did was to sell to other merchants the experienced services of those members of their office staff who had, probably for a quarter of a century or more, specialised in securing ships or policies of insurance. There were very few bankers indeed who were not also merchants.

2. INLAND CORRESPONDENTS.

A great deal of attention has been paid to the development of the physical communications between the ports and their hinterlands, but little has so far been written about the commercial relationship between the merchants in the ports and the manufacturers and consumers in the country. In this section,

therefore, we shall attempt to discuss briefly the way in which Hull merchants obtained and disposed of the goods in which they traded.

Goods arriving in Hull were usually distributed in the hinterland by means of direct communication between the merchants and various correspondents. In the first instance a correspondence was most probably begun by an advertising letter sent by a hopeful merchant to someone who had been recommended to him, or of whom he had heard good reports. In 1744, for instance, Nathaniel Maister said that he had written to Samuel Lloyd of Sheffield "...to know what he could give us for a sortable parcell at Burton". He also noted that Mowld "...has been offering S. Lloyd his Iron", and he suspected that Mowld would let Lloyd have his Russian iron cheap in order to attract an order for the more expensive Swedish iron.¹⁵ Towards the end of the century Wray & Hollingsworth were also canvassing for orders, apparently before the goods concerned had arrived in Hull, for on one occasion the Worthingtons of Burton wrote to say "We never give orders until they are arrived at Hull".¹⁶

Once a correspondence had begun, a merchant simply advised his customers of anything in stock which he thought might interest them, and the customers, in turn, wrote for anything which they required, either from stock or to order. Often the fulfilment of an order was left to the discretion of the merchant. "Please send me as soon as possible", wrote one of

Wray & Hollingsworth's customers, "2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ((?hundreds?)) Raven Duck (by water) those at 37/- if as good as last bale - I would have them pretty good therefore will leave it to you to send such as you think most suitable for WAGGONERS' TRACKS..."¹⁷

In the second half of the century connections with inland correspondents were strengthened by the growing tendency to employ Commercial Travellers. In 1785 John Stephenson had sent his nephew "upon a Circuit among my Correspondents in Derbyshire and in the West Riding of Yorkshire",¹⁸ and five years later Wray & Hollingsworth appear to have had a permanent Traveller, a Mr. Wharing, who ventured as far afield as Chester in his search for orders. "We have an offer from your Traveller made to one of our partners at Rotherham...", wrote John Green & Co. of the Hunslett Brewery, Leeds,¹⁹ and John Aked of Bradford wrote to say "I gave an order to your Rider, when at Bradford, for a loading of Timber, and he informed me, it would be in Hull about the middle of this month..."²⁰

Throughout the century orders were paid for by bills, and later by notes as well, but it was usual for Travellers to collect money as well as orders. The money owing to Wray & Hollingsworth, wrote Jeremiah Gascoigne of Rotherham, would be "ready for your Traveller Mr. Wharing at the time he come to Rotherham",²¹ and William Thackeray of Harrogate excused a delay in payment by saying "Should have remited a Draught sooner, but I expected to have been cald upon for the money, for I offered

to pay your Traveller for them ((Deals)) when I ordered them, but he refused to take the money then..."²² Unfortunately it is not known when Travellers were first employed by Hull merchants.

Besides their Traveller, Wray & Hollingsworth, and no doubt several other firms, also had an appointed agent, William Suffolk of Birmingham, a place in which they had many customers. Suffolk sold goods, and received orders and payment on behalf of the Hull firm: "The under persons", he wrote on one occasion, "you will please credit for the sum annexed to their respective names. Please leave Mr. Coleman ((another Traveller)) the memorandum paper he gave you that it may be entered in our Books so that your House may have a fair copy of sales...Please inform Messrs. W & H that I have paid Burton Boat Co. their Freight Account..."²³ This letter, which may have been sent to Wharfedale rather than the Hull office, contained the names Pearson (£10), Taylor (£65), Webster (£23. 5s.), Tart (£26.10s.6d) and Rouse (£3. 1s. 6d). A few months earlier Thomas Gibson of Paradise Street wrote to say that "I have called upon Mr. Suffolk 3 times...to get an account of the timber, but have not yet received any. He informed me he had sent you the account of the timber and he would write you to send me a bill of the whole I had bot of him..."²⁴

Although the ordering of goods was carried out by direct

contact between merchant and customer, delivery had to be made through an intermediary. The river system necessitated a change of boats at either Bawtry or Gainsborough depending on the direction in which goods were travelling, and at both of these places there resided agents who arranged for the transfer of goods into the shallow-bottomed river craft.

According to their Day Book, the Maisters' cargoes usually went via Dempster & Co. of Bawtry and Richard Turpin, James Wharton, (?) Haines or Mrs. Wells of Gainsborough: "Sold Mr Jn Hall", reads a typical entry, "and sent per Jn Thomson to Mrs Wells of Gainsborough to go by way of Newark."²⁵ Haines at least was still employed by the Maisters twenty years later, for Nathaniel Maister wrote that "Mr Patteson orders us to send 3 tons of Stockholm Iron to Mr Haynes to be forwarded to Rbt Watkin at Birmingham."²⁶ Later in the century Wray & Hollingsworth maintained a similar agency in Gainsborough - Robert Flower & Sons - with whom they left a stock of numbered timber from which Flower could draw when ordered. "I am favoured with yours on the 3rd inst.," wrote Flower "Desiring me to forward to Calfract & Co... Newark 40 pieces Timber Mark WA by Thompson.. (Ms torn).. all the Timber of that mark is put together so you will please to send me the numbers you would have me send to C & B."²⁷ Wray & Hollingsworth apparently also had some sort of working arrangement with the Hull firm of Hall & Robinson, for in September 1791, Flower wrote: "As

under you have the Numbers of the Timber delivered to the Order of Hall & Robinson, Hull."²⁸

There is little detailed information showing how goods produced in the hinterland found their way to Hull. In the case of manufactured goods, it seems to have been common for the manufacturer, at least in the second half of the century, to have his own correspondents or travellers abroad, and to negotiate directly with his customers. Consequently all that was required in Hull was a merchant to enter the goods at the Customs House, and the manufacturer found the merchant rather than the merchant finding the manufacturer; the merchants concerned did not buy the goods, but received a commission for handling them. Other manufactured goods were delivered to the merchant by the manufacturer; the Leeds Pottery were sending circular advertisements and order forms to Hull firms towards the end of the century,²⁹ and other firms were sending representatives to Hull to attract orders. Among his many comments on various aspects of commercial life, Strother recorded that: "A Manchester Rider now in Town says to know the true Colour of a Black Ververet, one ought to look full upon them ~~§(sic)~~ and not obliquely..."³⁰ But how often, and how many travellers came to Hull, he unfortunately does not say. It is most probable that cloths especially were sent from manufacturer or inland merchant to Hull merchant as a result of long standing commercial connections, and that men like

Williamson had permanent contracts for the delivery of cloth, whether on the manufacturer's or the merchant's initiative.

Goods that were not directly manufactured were far more difficult to acquire, and were usually purchased by the merchant. In the case of the corn trade, in which there were no guaranteed producers or prices, the Hull merchants had to buy when and where they could, and they were forced to employ factors to scour the countryside. In the periods covered by the Day Book, the Maisters appear to have been employing about ten permanent factors, who received six pence per quarter for the wheat they purchased, plus the costs of storage and transport to Hull: "Factorage in the country" was always included in the invoices for corn which were sent to customers abroad. Other farm and animal products were acquired in the same way: "Messrs Dawson & Hilary bought by my order 50 dozen Calf skins - £91. 13s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d." ³¹

Conditions in the Lead trade were slightly different. The Lead producers in Derbyshire and Yorkshire sent consignments of lead to Hull merchants with whom they had reached some sort of agreement. The Barker firm, for instance, usually sent its lead down to Joshua Wilkinson & Co.: "sent from the warehouse at Skipton 200 pieces of Lead marked Wsn & Co to Josh Wilkinson Esq. at Hull." ³² During the slumps in the trade they still sent lead to Hull, allowing it to accumulate in the hands of the Hull merchant, who bore the loss until such time as trade revived.

Those merchants, like the Maisters, who had no direct contact with a lead producer, bought what they required from other merchants who had.

3. FACTORS AND THE FOREIGN TRADE.

Foreign correspondents were essential for the development of international trade, and Hull merchants had contact with their counterparts in many parts of Europe and in America. But it was not easy to find agents in the Baltic, for the countries with which Hull traded were all relatively undeveloped, with inhabitants who took little interest in the possibilities of international trade. Consequently it was left to Dutch, German and English merchants to open up trade with the Baltic. In other words, merchants seeking raw materials, and with manufactured goods to give in exchange, had to find or even make their own markets by sending representatives abroad, usually members of their firm. Thus for several generations the Maisters, Mowlds, Wilberforces and other important Hull merchant families had at least one member residing in Scandinavia or Russia.

It was usually not very difficult to decide which member of the family should go abroad. "I'm ty'd and nail'd down in this hole," wrote one of the Henworths to Thomas Broadley, "by the fate of a younger brother."³³ Young Henworth loathed to be so far from the pleasurable society of Hull, and soon returned,

but some men built up large businesses and it was the recognised way of providing for a younger brother what otherwise he may not have got, namely an assured position in life with a reasonable income.

On rare occasions some of the chief merchants would themselves make a tour of inspection, visiting their factories and customers; in 1700 the most important Hull merchant of the time, William Crowle, begged the Bench of Aldermen not to make him a "Light" (i.e. Nominee) for a forthcoming Aldermanic election because "his occasions this year would require his going beyond the Seas for several months...."³⁴

But personal visits of this kind were most unusual once a merchant had graduated to the headship of his firm.

Factors, or "Contoirs", whether or not they were members of great families (and not all were, of course), were not dependent on their "Principals" in Hull. In fact, it was usual for several factors abroad to form partnerships which bore no relationship to family concerns which they represented, although the money probably came from Hull in the first place and Principals may have had shares in the partnerships. Henworth, for example, went out to join a Maister, and when he sold his position eight years later, for £750, it was to a Grundy nominated by the then head of the Broadley family. The Hull Maisters also held a large share in the factory partnership. "Agreed with William Maister", noted the Hull firm in its

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Day Book around 1733, "to accept for ye net produce of ye co-partnership Acct with the late William Henworth... the sum of C200,000." (roughly £5,000).³⁵

The Mowlds and the Wilberforces were also in partnership - and Grundy was originally with them, before joining Maister - but it was not a happy union as no one seemed to be able to get on with Wilberforce; "...we have never had a good opinion of Mr W., having ever found him very unsteady...", was Maister's comment to Broadley in one of his letters about conditions in Scandinavia.³⁶

It is to be expected that the various factors did not work closely together, even when they knew each other personally. There was, in fact, considerable rivalry between the two groups - Maister & Henworth and Wilberforce & Mowld - about which we have information. On more than one occasion thoughts turned to the advantages and desirability of a monopoly; a joint letter from Maister & Henworth, for instance, complained that they were being overbid for Swedish iron by rivals, and that consequently the price of iron was being forced up.³⁷ A few years later Maister entertained the hope that "Very probably in time the differences that have been amongst the Contoirs dealing your way ((i.e. Broadley's)) may be made up and the trade brought under one direction, which will be the only ready way to make a stay in this country worth while..."³⁸ Henworth wanted a union of his firm and Wilberforce & Mowld, to end

rivalry, but the Mowld family strongly objected to one of their members in Sweden - Tom Mowld - joining Grundy and Maister because of personal animosity. John Mowld, who was probably the head of the family at the time, was, we are told, "...highly disgusted at Mr. Grundy's succeeding me ((Henworth)) and talks of fixing young Sam Mowld here in Co. with Wilberforce who is to remain at Narva."³⁹ It should be noted that Narva was in Russia, and that the factory partnership operated in both Sweden and Russia.

Just as the factors were semi-independent of the Hull firms, so also they did business with a number of "principals" in England. The Maister & Henworth factory supplied not only the firms connected with them, but also Broadley and several others in Hull, "the only Gent in Newcastle that imports any iron" (a Mr. Moncaster), Messrs. Ferrand & Meet and Mr. Sly at Stockton, "one Prankard of Bristol" and probably many others of whom there is no record. To obtain new customers in England, and in their attempt to dominate the Swedish market, the factors relied on their English connections. "As long as you and my brother resolve to push the trade" Maister wrote to Broadley, "and we can keep in with our friends in the outports and have Mr. Henworth to push for us in London I no ways fear enjoying a large share of business..."⁴⁰ It was the task of the senior Henworth in London to thwart the Mowld & Wilberforce factorage and so stop them from establishing the monopoly they so eagerly

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sought after.⁴¹

Many firms did not have their own related factors abroad, for a private factory was a sign of greatness to which only a few of the principal firms aspired. Those merchants who were not in the same class as the old established firms like Maisters and Wilberforces made do either with the factories of those older firms or made contact with other merchants already established in the Baltic. This was often the case when a merchant graduated from master mariner to merchant by degrees, retaining his "friends" abroad. The only merchant, other than the Maisters, of whom we have information, was Samuel Dawson of Bawtry, who employed the independent firm of Colletts and Leuch in Christiania.⁴² They served him just as well (to judge from their letters) as a related firm would have done, perhaps better in the absence of family jealousy and inter-family rivalry. Even the Maisters, with their agents resident in Stockholm and Gothenburgh also employed an independent man - Hans Ström - in Gothenburgh in the thirties.⁴³

Some factors went to the Baltic originally not as junior partners in great Hull firms but as junior clerks in foreign firms, from which they eventually emerged as merchants in their own right. As late as 1784 Strother made a note in his journal of one such hopeful young man, William Pearson, who had gone to Elsinore, and was "...happily situated at

Henry A. Halbitzer Esq.^r merchant and Prussian Consul,"⁴⁴
 Even if he could not establish himself in Denmark or Prussia,
 Pearson would be able to return to England with a sound
 knowledge of conditions in the Baltic and with many useful
 contacts there.

Little is known about factors outside Scandinavia.
 The Maisters, besides their Swedish factors, did business with
 the Riga firm of Vaus & Knipe, and James Gardner acted for
 them in St. Petersburg. Finally, for trade and also for
 financial arrangements, their Amsterdam agents were George
 Cliffords, Sons, & Jn. Archer, who were connected with Hull
 through the Pease family which at one stage had intermarried
 with the Cliffords. Moreover, before he joined Maister as
 the successor to Henworth, Grundy had resided in Narva, in
 company with one of the Mowlds, and probably also with a
 Wilberforce representative; he may have remained in Narva
 after joining Maister, leaving Maister to handle the Swedish
 side of the business.

There was also at least one Hull factory in Danzig in
 the forties. William Hobman, a Hull merchant, had settled
 there and did business with his brother-in-law, Richard Sykes
 (who eventually settled down as a landowner on the Sledmere
 estate) and with his brother, Randolph Hobman, to whom he gave,
 in his will, any money which he owed to William, "as will

appear by my Factory Books."⁴⁵

As early as 1725 Grundy had written to Broadley suggesting that a Hull factory should be set up in St. Petersburg, which at that time was in its infancy as a trading centre, but nothing further is heard of this suggestion and it is not known when the first Hull firm established itself in the Russian capital. Indeed, there is little direct evidence for or against Hull men residing in the Baltic, and it may be assumed that there were few of them. In those countries which were well developed, Hull merchants employed native firms which had good connections with the hinterland, factories being most common in the undeveloped countries. Even here they began to disappear soon after the middle of the century. The first Hull factor to establish himself in Gothenburgh, for instance, was probably Henry Maister, who arrived in 1699, if not before, and by 1730 he, Grundy and Thomas Mowld between them were exporting almost 40% of the total iron leaving Gothenburgh.⁴⁶ But twenty years later none of them was left, and no other representatives had arrived to take their place. The trade slowly passed into the hands of Swedes or German immigrants, and the close personal and financial link between importer and exporter seems to have been dissolved. True, towards the end of the fifties William Williamson of Williamson and Waller, the greatest firm in Hull in the second half of the century, established himself

in Gothenburgh, where he stayed until 1770, but by then he was the only Hull man known to be in Scandinavia. Of course, there were many other English and Scotch merchants in Scandinavia,⁴⁷ but they became more and more naturalised in Sweden and Norway, and can no longer be described as mere representatives of English trading interests. Among those firms remaining in the Baltic, for example, were two great financial houses which were originally Hull trading firms, Thorley, Ochterloney & Co. of Narva and Thornton, Crayley & Co. of St. Petersburg, but they had ceased to be greatly interested in Hull, although the junior branch of the Thorleys maintained their business until Christopher Thorley went bankrupt, and Robert Thorley of Narva was the largest single shareholder in the Hull Dock Co.⁴⁸

Some firms, especially later in the century, did not have direct contact with merchants abroad, but bought goods and disposed of them through other Hull or London merchants. Even the most important firms had dealings with each other on some occasions; the Maisters, for example, often bought their iron from Sykes, Mowld or Wilberforce, and sold tar to the Broadleys, or to other Hull men. Other firms made contact with Baltic agencies which were established in London. In 1790 the Hull firm of Wray & Hollingsworth bought (or tried to buy) Swedish iron from Elaes Grill⁴⁹ and iron and steel

from Wahrendorff & Co. (a Stockholm firm) in London. From I. & G. Stippins & Co.⁵⁰ they secured Archangel masts, and from John Warburton they tried to obtain logs.⁵¹ From M. & T. Yeldham they obtained feather, old iron, and deals, and they appear to have done business regularly with this firm. "Some little time ago", Yeldhams informed Wray & Hollingsworths in 1791, "our House mentioned having secured of Odinzeff an additional quantity of Deals finding they had a great demand.....We will.....allot you two more cargoes..."⁵²

Sometimes these London agents of foreign firms received payments as well as taking orders. On 14th January 1795 David Forsyth of London wrote to Wray & Hollingsworth that: "In consequence of the Statement of your account with Forsyth, Pillans & Co. of St. Petersburg transmitted the 23rd Sept. last, Balance in their favour £112.18s., my partners, Messrs. Hamilton & Jouray..." expect payment.

The chief duty of overseas factors was to advise their principals of the state of the market abroad, and to place orders according to their instructions. Broadley, for instance, was constantly being informed by his factors that the Swedes were trying to sell inferior iron for higher prices,⁵³ that the "Gentry...hold up the prices...", or that stocks are low. "You may be assured," Henworth told him in 1728, "that the Leeds men won't have half their usual quantity

to Hull this year, and that your import from Stockholm will in all likelihood be very inconsiderable." "There will be a large demand for our iron", he continued, "so that I hope You'll find encouragement to order a good deal from us." (i.e. from Gothenburgh).⁵⁴

So far as timber cargoes were concerned, Hull merchants had to rely on their factors, sometimes Norwegian and sometimes English, for the assembling of timber at the Norwegian ports. Thomas Fearnley, for instance, was a Hull merchant who settled in Norway in 1753 and assembled timber for the important Hull firm of Howarth and Stephenson, later Stephenson & Fearnley. Some of the timber he obtained in Norway, but for some of it he also went across the border into the Uddevalla district of Sweden.⁵⁵

Thus, goods for importation were most frequently supplied by a foreign agent or factor to the order of the importer. Some orders were sent with the captains of ships, which waited until they were loaded, or in some cases wintered in the Baltic. "The BENJAMIN, John Sharp, of this port," read an advertisement in the Hull Packet, "Winters at Danzig, and will sail from thence for Hull as early as possible in the Spring and is wanting a Freight for the said port."⁵⁶

The annual freeze-up was a good time for assembling cargoes to catch the first spring tides.

Other orders were sent by post, and shipping arrangements

were left to the factor responsible for assembling the cargo. Samuel Dawson's Amsterdam factor, Jacob Larwood, informed him on one occasion that "I find myself favoured with your most acceptable of the 11 past O.S. and note your order for a parcel Wainscot boards. Thomas Howarth Master of the Success is at present here and will be ready to proceed for Hull next week. If I can get your parcel complete to my mind I shall send it to you per him."⁵⁷ It was obviously Larwood's responsibility, having received an order, to send the goods concerned when best he could.

In the trade with Scandinavia, and no doubt also in the Baltic trade, it was generally best to place orders in advance, often from one year to the next, with a suitable financial advance to ensure satisfaction; ships which were sent with orders in the hands of the master or supercargo were often disappointed. The whole business of ordering and arranging for shipment is admirably summed up in a letter sent to Samuel Dawson by his Christiania agents, Collets & Leuch, who used to send him long and detailed accounts of all that was going on. The letter, in rather bad English, was as follows:⁵⁸

Christiania,
July 9th., 1715.

"Since our last the 29 past Captain Jn Dickinson brought us your very acceptable of the 1st ditto with an order to load on board his ship the loading as we

had already in course of your order in the winter, the which is accomplished as near as possible and as the ship would permit us for conveniency of stowage, no doubting but it will give you content both in goodness and price, for you may depend on it had not wanted on our particular care (nor never shall) in observing your interest, whereby you have the advantage of one dollar in each hundred of deals, for they actually pay now a dollar more than you is charged, and most the same our very good friend Mr Perrott in Hull paid being he had not given order beforehand which did not little trouble us and at the same time his ship (for about 14 days ago) was here, we were not able to obtain so many good deals as we wanted, if would give never so much for yem, so was forced to load some uffers. We have according to your order to the master, loaded some ladder poles, which it be to content or not we desire your mind for another time yt it may be altered.

You have here inclosed the bill of loading and invoice of all, for the amount of which we've debited your Account Current with 777 Dollars and after having deducted the £100 drawn in the winter, we shall take the freedom to draw the ballance on Mr Hackshaw as permitted and give you all advantage possible in the Exchange.

If you should incline for sending another ship here this year we desire to know your mind as soon as possible, for goods are very scarce and consequently dear, but as we said in above mentioned our last we expect some in by Waggons (which will come dearer than ordinair being that carriage is more chargeable than in the winter) we hope to find means to furnish you with a good loading about the middle of next month."

It is clear from the letter that merchants who did not order in advance stood ^{little} as change of obtaining a cargo if timber was short, and they would have to accept poor quality goods at high prices.

Financial advances - "drawn in the winter" - as described in Collett & Leuch's letter, played an important part in the trade with Scandinavia, for in order to keep the economy

of Norway and Sweden alive English merchants had to pay for part of their orders - if they wished to be sure of their cargoes - while it was still being assembled from the inland forests or mines. According to Kent, "Credits to Norway might have to be advanced for two or three years otherwise a valuable connexion might be lost", and his evidence is apparently taken from the Fearnley Manuscripts.⁵⁹ It is, however, not clear what happened when factors were related to the Hull firms; probably it was the factors themselves who advanced the credit to Norwegians and Swedes, in order to compete with rival factors.

So far mention has been made only of the straightforward shipment of goods by a factor for his principal. Many shipments were, however, not straightforward like this. In the case of factors connected with the Maisters in the thirties and forties it was usual for the ownership of a cargo to be shared between the importing merchant and his factor or factors. The Maisters were receiving iron cargoes, for example, which were shared with Maister & Grundy and also with their financial agents, Cliffords & Co. Sometimes the division was not even a simple one, and might be three-eighths belonging to Maister & Grundy, three-eighths belonging to Cliffords & Co., and only two-eighths to the Hull firm.⁶⁰ But factors may only have participated when they were Hull men, or had close

connections with Hull.

A few papers have survived showing the relationship between factors and Hull merchants in the Import trade, but there is very little direct evidence showing the methods of organising the export trade. Goods were apparently exported as a result of orders placed either with the Hull merchant by one of his foreign correspondents, or directly with inland firms, several of which maintained their own representatives or travellers on the continent during the second half of the century. London agents were also important, as they were in the import trade. The Maisters, for example, sent regular shipments of lead to Havre and Rouen in the first quarter of the century, as recorded in their Day Book: "Ship't on board the Alured of Hull, Thomas Wright Mr., for Havre de Grace... for account of Messrs Renee Ferriano and Renne, Merchants in London, and by their order consigned to Mr Behotte, merchant in Rouen."⁶¹ Similarly, when they took part in the corn trade in the thirties and forties, the Maisters were in despair if they could not ship corn to the order of one of their London contacts, a Mr. Bance, with whom Henry Maister did business in the House of Commons. Normal export goods could remain in the warehouse until disposed of, but corn was a serious worry because it went fusty, and so Nathaniel Maister on one occasion sent off a cargo to Messrs. Chase & Wilson of Lisbon on the

offchance that they may be able to get rid of it: "By the recommendation of your friend Mr Ambrose Wilson," he wrote, "we have taken the liberty to consign to your care a small cargo of wheat according to the enclosed bill of lading which we must desire your putting in the market with all expedition as our inclinations are to have a quick sale..."⁶²

Corn was clearly an exceptional commodity. When lead was in poor demand it simply piled up in Hull waiting for a rise in demand. But the examples given are enough to indicate that the position of the merchant in the export trade was not as great as in the import trade, as the merchants themselves admitted. In 1791, when opposing the introduction of new Customs fees the Committee of trade protested that "... our Correspondents, who provide the various manufactured Goods sent to our Address, only for us to forward, do not acquaint us with the contents of such package."⁶³ Advertisements for foreign sailings from Hull began to appear in inland newspapers such as the LEEDS INTELLIGENCER,⁶⁴ and in some cases Hull merchants acted merely as ~~agent~~ ship-brokers; one of the very few freight agreements which have survived is one "Between Christopher Brelin, Master of the Swedish Brigg UNION now laying at Grimsby...and John Voase of...Hull, Merchant for and on behalf of Messrs Roberts, Hodgson & Roberts of Sheffield... Merchants."⁶⁵ Another agreement, between Emmanuel Kruger of the Danish ship Anna of Altona and John & Samuel Lees of

Halifax, made no mention of any Hull merchant at all, but the goods concerned would no doubt go through a Hull merchant's warehouse. The extent to which merchants in Hull were ~~nevertheless~~ responsible for arranging for exports is not and never will be known; all that can be said is that very large shipments were still made in the names of Hull merchants, but that there was a growing tendency for exports to be recorded in the Port Books in the last quarter of the century as, for example, "William Williamson, ALIENS ACCOUNT", which ~~presumably~~ means that Williamson was entering goods at the Customs House on behalf of foreign merchants abroad, and not on his own account, although he was by far the greatest exporter in any case.

Apart from goods carried on behalf of various merchants and factors, it was customary for practically every master mariner to ship some goods on his own account. Commencing with a few odds and ends of ballast goods, especially ale and coal, both of which could be easily disposed of at the dock-side, they no doubt hoped eventually to emerge as merchants in their own right, as, indeed, ^{some} ~~many~~ of them did, including Hull's two knights, Sir Henry Etherington and Sir Samuel Standidge.

The quantity and value of goods imported and exported by Hull masters was naturally small, but this is not true of foreign masters. A considerable number of small ships came

from the continent, often without any previous arrangement about the disposal of their cargoes, which usually consisted of timber or fruit; the master was nearly always responsible for a large part or all of the cargo, and the voyages were more of a speculation than those of English ships. Nor was the speculation always successful; Anthony Atkinson, the broker, was once called upon to act for the creditors (? in 1795) when a Dutch galleot bringing timber staves from Danzig was sold by auction to defray the bankruptcy of George Van der Berge, the sole owner and master.⁶⁶

The master regularly speculated in ballast goods or relatively cheap goods which were in great demand; but there are no records of mates trading, although they probably did occasionally. There is, however, a stray reference to the whole crew of a ship joining together to ship goods; in the 1737 Port Book five dozen tubs were entered inwards by "The Ships company, British, in Eagle."⁶⁷ Why a ship's crew should suddenly turn traders for the sake of five dozen tubs is a complete mystery; probably they hoped to supplement their wages, and they may have regularly shipped small goods.

CHAPTER FOUR - NOTES

1. THE MERCHANTS

- 1. PORT BOOK, 1702. P.R.O., E190/337/3.
- 2. P.B. 1783. P.R.O., E190/385/3.
- 3. H.D.C.L.B., 25 January 1793. The position of the "High Street Interest" is discussed more fully in the section on the Dock.
- 4. Lists are contained in Hadley, pp.865-76.
- 5. Strother, JOURNAL, fol. 27. B.M. Egerton 2479.
- 6. W.H., Court Cases Box.
- 7. Strother, JOURNAL, fol.59-50.
- 8. H.C.L.B., 1765.
- 9. CALENDAR OF TREASURY BOOKS & PAPERS, XXI, Part ii, p.382.
- 10. The greatest clash was in 1737. See Hadley pp.310-313, and Bench Books, passim.
- 11. Sheffield Cent. Ref. Library, TIBBITTS 516/1.
- 12. *ibid*, 516/4.
- 13. G.H.MSS, Minutes of Committee of Trade, 20 August 1784.
- 14. Smiths & Thompson's BANK LEDGERS, Wilberforce & Smiths and Sykes accounts. All the following information has been taken from these accounts.

2. INLAND CORRESPONDENTS

- 15. MAISTER LETTERS, Nathaniel to Henry, 8 December 1744.
- 16. WRAY & HOLLINGSWORTH LETTER BOOKS, 9 July 1791. "They" refers to Memel timber, presumably staves.
- 17. *ibid*., 2 November 1791.

- 18. John Stephenson to Walter Spencer Stanhope, 16 March 1785, Sheff. Cent. Ref. Library, WSS 1785.
- 19. W. & H.L.B., 18 April 1795.
- 20. ibid., 10 July 1791.
- 21. ibid., 21 March 1795.
- 22. ibid., 11 October 1791.
- 23. ibid., 7 December 1791
- 24. ibid., 11 October 1791.
- 25. MAISTER DAY BK., 1 September 1714.
- 26. MAISTER LETTERS, April 1738.
- 27. W. & H.L.B., 2 March 1791.
- 28. ibid., 13 September 1791.
- 29. A copy is to be found in W. & H.L.B.
- 30. Strother, JOURNAL, 10 September 1784, fol.18.
- 31. MAISTER D.B., 11 March 1718.
- 32. Jacob Bailey (Manager at Grassington) to John Barker at Chesterfield headquarters of the firm, 6 October 1792. Sheffield, BAGSHAW 494.

3. FACTORS AND THE FOREIGN TRADE

- 33. 26 April 1725. This letter is one of a series sent to Thomas Broadley by his factors, Henworth, Maister and Grundy. Extensive use has been made of them in this section, and they will be referred to as BROADLEY. They are preserved in W.H.
- 34. B.B. viii, 465, 18 July 1700. He was particularly concerned because of the fine involved.
- 35. MAISTER ACCOUNTS (W.H.MSS) William Maister was virtually an exile, owing money to members of his family with no prospect of ever repaying them. He died abroad.

- 36. BROADLEY, 9 June 1729.
- 37. *ibid.*, 5 June 1725.
- 38. *ibid.*, 5 February 1729.
- 39. *ibid.*, 22 May 1729.
- 40. *ibid.*, 25 August 1729.
- 41. *ibid.*, 8 September 1729.
- 42. See p. 238, above.
- 43. MAISTER ACCOUNTS.
- 44. Strother, JOURNAL, fol. 15, 5 September 1784.
- 45. G.H.MSS, D944(L).
- 46. I am indebted for this and other information about Swedish trade to Mrs. Elsa Britta Grage.
- 47. Williamson, for instance, was succeeded in Sweden by Carnegie, from Scotland, who settled down there.
- 48. As late as 1797 the firm of Thorley & Bolton were sending shipments to Hull. They represented the firm of Wilberforce & Smiths, and on 9 February 1797 their account with Smiths & Thompson's bank was Dr: "To cash pd Codd ((the Attorney)) his bill of charges relative to the cargoes of timber addressed to Osbourne ((a Hull timber merchant)) by T.B. & Co."
- 49. W. & H.L.B., 17 May 1791.
- 50. *ibid.*, 13 August 1791.
- 51. *ibid.*, 16 August 1791.
- 52. *ibid.*, 12 July 1791.
- 53. BROADLEY, 4 November 1723.
- 54. *ibid.*, 2 August 1728.
- 55. See H.S.K. Kent, THE ANGLO-NORWEGIAN TIMBER TRADE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, Econ. Hist. Rev. 2nd Series, Vol. VIII, No. 1. (1955).

- 56. HULL PACKET, 17 January 1795.
- 57. Sheffield, TIBBITTS, 516-15, 5 December 1719.
- 58. *ibid.*, 516-11.
- 59. Kent, p.69.
- 60. MAISTER ACCOUNTS.
- 61. MAISTER D.B., February 1713/14.
- 62. MAISTER LETTERS, 22 April 1738.
- 63. G.H., Mins of Comm. of Trade, 13 August 1791.
- 64. For example, See page 298, below.
- 65. W.H.MSS.
- 66. Stray letter in W.H.MSS.
- 67. P.R.O., E190/365/1, Imports, July 1737.

CHAPTER FIVE

SHIPPING AND MARINE INSURANCE

1. SHIPPING

(i) Hull Shipping.

The shipping "industry" in Hull made great advances during the eighteenth century, in response to the demands made by the growing trade of the port, although the total tonnage owned in Hull throughout the century was, of course, small by modern standards. (See Tables 2729)

The Customs Officials estimated in 1702 that the trade of Hull was dealt with by 7,564 tons of locally owned shipping.¹ Seven years later this had dropped to 7,467 tons, because of the temporary decline caused by the war, but with the return of peaceful conditions the total rose to approximately 12,000 tons in 1716. There was, however, no appreciable rise until 1751, when almost 16,000 tons of shipping are said to have "belonged" to Hull. What would no doubt have been a steady rise after 1748 was halted by the war, but after 1764 a continual rise brought the tonnage up to approximately 38,000 in 1786, when the old method of recording shipping ceased. Until that date it was customary for the ships "belonging" to a port to be estimated by counting the number of separate English ships which traded during a particular year, but after the 1786 Registration Act (26 George III, c. 60) all ships had to be registered at the port of ownership whether or not they traded there. Moreover, a different basis of reckoning tonnage was employed, so that the figures for the period after 1787 may not be

compared directly with those for the period before 1787, and vice-versa. Since registration was more accurate in its assessment of ships owned, it is not surprising to find that the tonnage registered in 1788 - 52,101 tons - was over 14,000 tons more than the total "belonging" in 1786. The rise in tonnage continued after 1788, and by 1799 the total registered in Hull had reached 65,337 tons, six times as much as during the whole of the first half of the century.

The ships belonging to Hull consisted of fairly large foreign-going ships, smaller sized coasters, and, after 1754, the whaling fleet consisting of large ships of the transatlantic class. Until 1750 Hull shipping was roughly divided between the foreign and the coastal traders, the former accounting for approximately 55% of the total with 6,000 to 7,000 tons, and the latter for approximately 45% with 5,000 to 6,000 tons. It was not until the fifties that the tonnage of foreign-going ships began to draw ahead, and the rise in the total tonnage belonging to the port was due almost entirely to advances in this field; between 1744 and 1751 the foreign-going tonnage rose from 6,815 to 10,986 tons, while the coastal tonnage remained in the 5,000 to 6,000 tons range until the mid-seventies. The foreign-going tonnage was naturally reduced by the war in the late fifties and early sixties, to 6,000 to 7,000 tons, and although the trade resumed after the war it was not until the mid-seventies that the shipping figures showed any great improvement on those for the early fifties. The most important recorded increase came in 1784,

Table 27 : SHIPPING BELONGING TO HULL: Foreign-going, Coastal and Fishing Vessels which have traded, Counting each ship once only, 1709-82.

Year	Foreign	Coastal	Fishing	Total
1709	3,000	4,467		7,467
1716	6,315	5,340		11,655
1723	5,040	5,384		10,424
1730	6,500	5,400		11,900
1737	6,709	5,704		12,413
1744	6,815	5,650		12,465
1751	10,986	4,950		15,946
2	12,491	4,967		17,458
3	12,024	5,166		17,190
4	11,487	5,723	1,453	18,663
5	9,350	5,194	2,208	16,752
1756	9,870	5,614	2,210	17,694
7	8,390	5,990	1,227	15,607
8	6,750	6,384	1,168	14,302
9	6,060	5,498	1,015	12,573
60	5,670	5,474	1,015	12,159
1761	6,746	4,894	656	12,296
2	6,630	4,756	656	12,042
3	7,266	5,090	0	12,356
4	8,256	5,486	0	13,742
5	9,071	6,760	0	15,831
1766	10,630	6,105	315	17,050
7	9,485	5,743	662	15,890
8	9,785	6,116	1,054	16,955
9	9,108	6,272	1,816	17,196
70	9,552	6,249	1,598	17,399
1771	10,172	5,982	1,934	18,088
2	10,205	5,844	2,355	18,404
3	10,908	6,458	2,669	20,035
4	12,505	6,153	2,703	21,361
5	10,975	6,420	3,548	20,943
1776	13,770	6,864	2,846	23,480
7	12,998	7,137	2,533	22,668
8	13,732	7,312	2,232	23,275
9	10,470	8,664	982	20,116
80	9,820	8,916	1,059	19,795
1781	8,880	9,276	764	18,917
2	8,410	11,294	761	20,465

Table 28: SHIPPING BELONGING TO HULL: Foreign-going, Coastal and Fishing Vessels, which have traded, 1772-1786.

	Foreign		Coastal		Fishing		Total		Men
	Nº	Tons	Nº	Tons	Nº	Tons	Nº	Tons	
1772	84	10,635	130	6,384	11	2,379	225	19,398	1,707
3	79	11,158	138	6,947	12	2,693	229	20,798	1,761
4	91	12,945	135	6,820	12	2,727	238	22,492	1,895
5	83	11,275	143	6,800	16	3,588	242	21,663	1,907
6	95	13,970	147	7,479	14	2,872	256	24,321	2,045
7	87	13,408	151	7,677	14	2,581	252	23,666	1,983
8	90	14,812	147	7,972	11	2,279	248	25,063	2,037
9	61	10,770	149	9,282	9	1,030	219	21,082	1,599
80	66	10,100	162	9,349	9	1,107	237	20,556	1,589
1	62	9,175	170	9,801	8	809	240	19,785	1,509
2	56	8,530	171	11,785	6	785	233	21,099	1,562
3	82	13,290	162	10,107	7	1,090	251	24,487	1,803
4	114	21,551	172	11,199	10	2,501	296	35,251	2,515
5	128	21,992	185	11,723	31	4,036	344	37,751	2,830
6	121	21,265	180	10,971	39	5,279	340	37,515	2,921

P.R.O., CUSTOMS 17, passim.

Table 29: SHIPS REGISTERED AT HULL ON 30 SEPTEMBER 1788-99.

Years	Nº	Tons	Men
1788	392	52,101	3,760
9	397	53,025	3,567
90	417	53,890	3,450
1	443	54,677	3,483
2	467	58,039	3,645
3	-	-	-
4	512	60,749	3,722
5	531	61,494	3,649
6	542	64,643	3,892
7	545	64,477	3,979
8	546	65,021	4,039
9	553	65,337	4,068

P.R.O., CUSTOMS 17, passim.

when the tonnage rose by 50%, to 21,551 tons, compared with the coastal tonnage which had risen to 11,199 tons.

The third kind of shipping, that engaged in the whaling industry, started with 1,453 tons in 1754, when four ships were sent to Greenland. But for many years the total tonnage involved in the industry did not greatly exceed this original figure, until a definite expansion began in 1785, when the number of whalers rose to thirty-six in 1788 (? about 10,000 tons \pounds). At its height, in the late eighties, whaling thus accounted for about one-fifth of the total tonnage of shipping belonging to Hull.

Unfortunately the registration of ships took into account their origin, not their present use, so that no distinction can be made between foreign, coastal and whaling shipping after 1786. It should be noted, however, that these divisions are artificial, and that ships could be used in all three so long as they suited the requirements of the merchants concerned; the whalers, particularly, were used in coastal and foreign runs between the whaling seasons.

There are plenty of official and semi-official sources from which the total number and tonnage of ships trading or owned in Hull can be abstracted,² but there is a dearth of information about the size, cost and ownership of individual ships.

Ships appear to have been very small in the first half of the century. The average size of English foreign-going ships clearing

outwards in the period 1710-1717 inclusive was only 74 tons, compared with the average for foreign ships of 111 tons, and an overall average of 79 tons. In 1737 the average tonnage outwards of English and Foreign ships together was even lower, being only 58 tons, and it was still ~~xxxx~~ only 96 tons in 1758, compared with 169 tons in 1790. The average tonnage inwards was slightly larger - 77 tons in 1737 and 111 tons in 1758 - but it was still not very impressive. All that can be said is that there was a tendency for ships to grow slightly - but not much - larger in the first half of the century.

In the second half of the century the smaller ships quite definitely gave way to the two or three-hundred tonners in some branches of the overseas trade, and the sixties saw an increase in the size, as well as in the number, of ships trading. The average tonnage inwards of English ships was 132 tons in 1766, 153 tons in 1770, 161 tons in 1772 and 171 tons in 1778. By 1786-7 it had risen still further, to 194 tons, and it continued to grow in the nineties until it reached 232 tons in 1798. The average tonnage ~~xxxxx~~ outwards also rose very considerably, from 110 tons in 1766 to 203 tons in 1798.

It might be thought at first sight that the increase in average tonnage was due to a general increase in the size of all ships, but a glance at the relevant shipping figures will show that what general increase did take place was almost negligible. There were many small ships in 1800 just as in 1700, but the percentage of large ships was increasing. Nor was the growth of whaling important as a contributory

Table 30 : AVERAGE TONNAGE OF ENGLISH AND FOREIGN FOREIGN-GOING SHIPS TRADING IN HULL, 1710 to 1798.

	INWARDS		OUTWARDS	
	Eng.	For.	Eng.	For.
1710-17			74	111
1717-1737		77	59	
1738		111	97	
1766	132	132	110	82
7	142	147	108	92
8	149	89	113	79
9	146	84	119	92
70	153	90	134	82
1	149	107	120	81
2	161	93	123	88
1772	164	93		
3	166	92		
4	167	105		
5	150	102		
6	151	134		
7	165	129		
8	171	125		
9	167	120		
1786-7	194	118	178	91
1789	207	168	181	136
90	203	175	174	142
1	212	141	174	136
1798	232		203	

Table 31 : AVERAGE TONNAGE OF COASTERS TRADING IN HULL.

(Sample Dates)

Year	IN	OUT
1766	56	52
7	53	53
8	55	55
9	53	53
70	54	53
1	53	52
2	56	53
1789	84	83
90	75	81
1	85	83
1796	83	84

factor, for the growth in average tonnage began before the whalers were numerous enough to make much difference, and in any case they were no larger than many other ships belonging to the port.

The growth in average tonnage clearly coincided with the development of extensive trade with the eastern Baltic. Ships built for specialisation in the Russian and Prussian trades were much larger than those employed elsewhere, as can be seen in an analysis of the average tonnage of ships entering the port from all regions in 1790:

Table 32: AVERAGE TONNAGE OF SHIPS ENTERING HULL FROM INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES IN 1790.

	Average	N°		Average	N°
Norway	100	16	Netherlands	136	15
Sweden	232	37	France	96	39
Russia	277	109	Spain	149	4
Poland	149	15	Portugal	179	14
Prussia	256	82	Italy	213	6
Germany	119	35	Ireland	103	4
Holland	110	66	America	213	16
			Whaling	285	22

.....

The highest average tonnage - 285 tons - was naturally in the whaling fleet, but that was very closely followed by the far more numerous Russian traders with 277 tons, the Prussian traders with 256 tons, and the Swedish traders with 232 tons; the ~~the~~ overall average of the remaining countries, including a few large ships in the American and Italian trades, was no more than 127.5 tons. Consequently there was an automatic rise in the average tonnage of Hull ships when the number arriving from the eastern Baltic began to grow rapidly in the sixties.

In 1766, for instance, 78 of the 257 ships arriving in Hull came from the eastern Baltic, and the total average was 132 tons; in 1790 the proportion of eastern Baltic ships had risen to 206 out of 454 ships arriving, and at the same time the overall average had risen to 203 tons despite the fact that there had also been a considerable increase in the number of relatively small ships trading with Germany and Holland, and France.

Because of its high proportion of Baltic ships Hull compares very well with the other major ports so far as the average tonnage of ship trading is concerned. It had the highest average for ships entering inwards in the whole of England at the end of the century, (Table 3A), with 198 tons in 1790, and in tonnage outwards Hull stood in second place, equal with Newcastle at 169 tons.³

The tonnage of coastal ships was naturally much smaller than that of foreign-going ships, but here again there was a considerable increase during the second half of the century. In the sixties the average of coasters was just over fifty tons, but by the nineties it had risen to a little over eighty tons. The largest ship permanently engaged in the coastal trade to London, in 1798, was the 182 ton CARR, and altogether there were sixty-one ships of more than 100 tons. But there were also many very small ships, the smallest being the 32 ton LEITH PACKET.

The foreign-going ships trading at Hull were very large in

Table 33 : THE NUMBER OF SHIPS TRADING WITH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES
AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL FOREIGN-GOING SHIPPING,
Sample dates 1717-1802.

	INWARDS				OUTWARDS				
	1717	1728	1758	1790	1717	1728	1758	1790	1802
Norway	26.2%	16.5	14.8	3.5	14.4	11.1	2.4	0.4	0.9
Sweden	2.4	14.3	24.9	8.0	0	19.8	5.6	1.1	0.3
Russia	9.5	8.5	13.8	23.7	9.1	11.1	20.6	17.7	13.9
Poland	3.2	13.8	5.8	3.3	1.5	5.6	7.9	4.7	3.6
Prussia	9.5	2.7	4.8	17.8	1.5	0	3.2	7.2	5.1
Germany	11.6	5.4	9.0	7.6	14.4	12.6	19.8	16.2	31.4
Holland	23.0	27.2	13.2	14.3	38.6	28.6	27.0	17.7	20.8
Flanders	3.2	2.7	0	3.3	9.1	3.2	0	4.7	0
France	0	0.4	0	8.5	4.5	0	0	15.6	1.8
Spain	1.6	1.3	1.1	0.9	0	0	0	3.6	7.8
Portugal	7.1	3.1	2.6	3.0	3.8	6.3	4.8	3.6	7.2
Italy	0	0	0	1.3	0	1.6	3.2	4.3	0
America	0.8	0.4	7.4	3.5	0.8	0	4.8	3.6	5.7
Misc.	2.4			1.3					

comparison with those trading at other ports, but the overall average tonnage of the port was seriously reduced because the total shipping included a large number of small coasters. The average of all ships owned in Hull - foreign, coastal and whaling - was only 82 tons as late as 1772. There was, however, a considerable increase in the last quarter of the century, corresponding to the growth of the overseas trade, and by 1784 the average had reached 119 tons; in 1790 it was up to 124 tons, a good average for Hull, but very poor when compared with the 214 tons average for ships registered at Newcastle and the 202 tons at London.

Table 34: AVERAGE TONNAGE OF SHIPS ENTERING AND LEAVING THE MAJOR ENGLISH PORTS, 1790.

	TOTAL Inwards		TOTAL Outwards		AVERAGES	
	Nº	Tons	Nº	Tons	IN Tons	OUT Tons
Bristol	545	70,668	487	63,734	130	130
Liverpool	2063	241,117	1975	237,884	116	120
Whitehaven	373	34,838	2185	230,562	94	106
Newcastle	248	35,364	570	96,620	143	170
Hull	484	95,962	302	51,060	198	169
Sunderland	702	105,314	700	102,393	150	146
London	3378	553,722	1869	322,895	164	173

Table 35: AVERAGE TONNAGE OF SHIPS REGISTERED AT THE MAJOR SHIPOWNING PORTS, 30 September 1790.

	Nº	Tons	Av.
Bristol	246	34,272	139
Hull	406	50,432	124
Liverpool	425	59,940	141
Newcastle	501	107,418	214
Sunderland	375	52,757	141
Whitehaven	438	51,993	119
Whitby	253	47,903	189
Scarborough	168	24,470	146
London	1592	321,891	202

(ii) Hull Shipowners.

Shipowning in the eighteenth century was not usually a specific occupation, but was part of the complex activity of merchanting. In the first half of the century ships, or shares in ships, were owned as a matter of course by individual merchants or by merchant partnerships, often together with the master mariner who sailed them. The Sykes, for instance, were the principal owners of at least seven ships - the TRITON, VICTORY, TRUE BRITON, SHEPHERDESS, INDUSTRY, SYKES and DUKE OF CUMBERLAND - in which they imported iron in the year 1747;⁴ the Howlds owned several, Hamilton had the CROWLE, BAYARD, BOSVILLE, ANN and YORK,⁵ and so on.

Even in the first half of the century some masters appear to have held an important share in their ship - the Maisters regularly arranged insurance for Edward Farthing, one of their masters, usually for £100 per voyage⁶ - and some may even have owned the whole ship. In one interesting case, already quoted, a master named Thomas Lambkin - otherwise unheard of - sailed to Norway in the EMANUEL. "But being unable by some means to proceed on her voyage he bought the EXPERIENCE of the Burgesses of Christiana which had been sunk upon the Coast of Norway four years before: and having got her Weighd up he carried her to Moss where he took in the present Cargo."⁷ But the ship was not much of a bargain, being "so old and Crazy that it was with difficulty he arrived in England, and he cannot pretend to proceed with her to any foreign port."

The simple fact was that only merchants and masters were sufficiently interested in commerce - and sufficiently wealthy - to engage in shipowning. The evolution of the specialist shipowner, as distinct from the shipowning merchant or master mariner, is a feature of the second half of the century. Indeed, there was no one of consequence in Hull in the first half of the century who was not a merchant or professional man, and it is inferred from the existing evidence that large scale owning was attempted ONLY by the large merchant houses.

Specialist shipowners can first be recognised in connexion with the whaling fleet. Here for the first time were ships which were not regularly engaged in trade, and although the owners in the first phase of whaling were almost all merchants - mostly in the American trade - or oil millers, those in the second phase were not. The first shipowner of whom we have record was the famous Samuel Standidge, who equipped his first whaler in 1766, his second in 1767 and his third in 1768. It is, in fact, most noticeable that among the principal shipowners late in the century were to be found Charles Shipman, Daniel Tong, Daniel MacPherson, John Staniforth, Samuel Standidge, and several others who were concerned in the whaling industry. (See ^{pages 351 f} ~~Table~~). It may be that whaling attracted shipowners more than it did merchants, or on the other hand it may be that whaling gave specialists their first big chance, as it did to Samuel Standidge and Humphrey Foord. The whaling bounty would be a great inducement to the owner, for at the forty shilling rate the

value of a large whaler was more or less repaid in four years, and then there was the profit from the actual whaling, which was often considerable.

Table 36 : SPECIALIST SHIPOWNERS LISTED IN 1791/2 DIRECTORY.

Alder, Rbt & Son	Jackson, Michael
Anderson, Edw.	Jackson, Thos.
Atkinson, Peter	+Locke, Thos.
Barnby, Thos.	Macfarland, Rbt.
Barrowby, & Son	Metcalf, Benjamin.
Beatson, Stephen	Newton, John
+Brown, Thos.	Reaston, Thos.
Burstall, John	Robinson, Thos.
Cockrill, Joseph	Schonswar, Rbt.
Denton, Henry	Sharp, John
Emmett, Anthony	+Shipman, Charles
Flemming, John	+Sparks, William
+Foord, Humphrey	+Staniforth, John
Gardener, Rbt.	+Standidge, Samuel
+Gee, Rbt.	Thompson, John (Bishop Lane)
Green, John	Thompson, John (George Street)
Halley, Thos.	Thornton, John James.
Hammond, William	Wade, Richard
+Harris, Jms.	Walton, William
Hesletine, Mark	Wilson, John
Hewson, Thos.	Woolf, John

(+) denotes first heard of as owners of whalers.

The origin of the shipowners is far from clear. Many of them seem to have been men who had originally been masters, or whose fathers had been masters. Few men of this class can be traced among the merchant community in the last quarter of the century, but it was quite common for masters to purchase shares in the ship they sailed often half of it if it was a small one - and later to buy other shares with their savings until they could retire from the sea and

live on their investments, which in some cases were quite valuable; among those owners who were definitely masters at one time we can once more quote Standidge and Humphrey Foord - the most successful whaling captain of the century - together with Charles Shipman, who once sailed for Standidge, and Gee, who sailed for his father.

These owners were more fortunate whose fathers set them on the way. The Barrowbys, for instance, had a family business, Barrowby Senior being the retired master-owner, and Barrowby Junior the master of their ships (or one of their ships). Other owners built up their business from shares, and may never have been to sea. Strother says of Henry Denton that his "...Father kept asses and by mere dint of starving himself, saved as much as bought his son a share in a ship, he being the only child he had, and by the success of the share has risen to be a principal owner."⁸

With one or two possible exceptions merchants did not become specialist shipowners, and, despite the existence of men like Hammond - who owned the 650 ton YORKSHIRE, "the seventh ship of large tonnage this Gent has had built at Whitby within the last few years"⁹ - specialist owners were far less important in the shipping industry than those for whom owning was only an ancillary to their main business. John Voase, for instance, who was described as wine merchant in the 1791/2 Directory, was the sole owner of the PRINCE OF BRAZIL and joint owner of the HULL PACKET;¹⁰ William Watson Bolton was an oil miller and surgeon as well as being the head of the Bolton group of

companies, and the most important owners of whom we have record were the Terrys, still described as merchants and brokers - or "Gents" - who had shares in at least the HOPE, ACTAEON, SENEGALIA, HOGHTON, WOODHOUSE, MINERVA, FRIENDSHIP, GIBRALTAR and ENTERPRIZE, and the SALERNO, ARNO and NEPTUNE, the last three owned by a company known as the "Ships trading to Italy in the name of Richard Terry."¹¹

A great number of people who were not merchants also took part in shipowning without regarding it as an independent occupation. Shares in various ships were held by Joel Foster, who was a fairly rich man, but who was content to call himself "Master & Mariner", while the only Tonga recorded in the 1791 Directory ran a shipchandling business, and John Hall was listed as a sailmaker. This apparent disregard for the status of the shipowner is nowhere more noticable than in the case of Standidge himself. He was proud enough of his ships to despatch an artist to the Arctic to paint them and record on the canvas that he was the owner, but in the 1768 Poll Book he was content to describe himself simply as "Master & Mariner". An interesting contrast to this preoccupation with other things is found in the case of Joseph Cockerill, who described himself as "Shipowner" in 1791, no doubt because it sounded good, but who was in fact Smiths & Thompson's chief clerk, spending most of his time travelling in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire on the Bank's business.¹²

The diversity of occupation, especially among the small shareholders, increased in the last quarter of the century when a large

number of shipowning companies came into being, probably in the trade booms in the sixties and seventies. As ships grew larger - and presumably more expensive - the principal owner (whatever his occupation) simply confined his activities to organising companies to finance each of the ships in which he was interested as "Managing Owner", each ship, or sometimes group of ships, being divided into a varying number of transferable shares held by a different ~~number~~ of shareholders. The principal benefits of this system of ownership were that the owner could spread his risk, like the Terrys, and that the shares were small enough to be bought by relatively poor men. Consequently capital could be drawn from many sources other than commerce at the very time when the number of people only remotely connected with trade - bankers' clerks, etc. - was increasing as the town developed. The HOPE and ACTAION, for instance, were owned by a company consisting of John Terry, William Watson (banker's clerk), John Snowden and Robert Barnes (master mariners), Anthony Emmett (merchant), and N. Gordon (victualler). Outside capital was also obtained from William Etherington of Gainsborough and from I & J Gladwin, cornfactors in Brigg, Lincolnshire. Shares were in fact quite often bought by people not resident in Hull. One of the most famous of these ^hshareholders was the Burton brewer, Benjamin Wilson, who owned one-sixteenth of a whaler principally owned by William Hammond, and one-third of the PORTER and HUMBER,

of which Thomas Barnby was probably the Managing owner.¹³

(iii) Freights arrangement and Brokers.

Many merchants, especially in the first half of the century, owned their own ships, or had shares in ships. But they often did not want the whole ship to themselves because of the risk of loss - they preferred to send their goods in as many ships as possible - and because (in the case of timber and iron) cargoes often could not be assembled quickly enough for one merchant to have a whole cargo to himself. It was therefore common to see cargoes shared between several merchants. We have seen that the Maisters shared with their agents in Sweden and Holland; they also shared with Renue & Co. and Mr. Behotte when they shipped lead to Rouen, with Crowle, Sykes and Collings when they imported tar from Norway, and with Sykes and Mowld when they imported iron from Sweden.

When a cargo was shared it was common for one member of the company to make all the arrangements for freight and insurance, and he would be paid by the other partners; similarly, if he disposed of a cargo the acting partner would pay his partners their respective shares. Sharing in this manner was particularly easy when a ship was owned by a group of merchants concerned in the cargo, and it also simplified freight arrangements if a ship had to be hired.

It was not difficult to find shipping space to the Baltic,

because there was always a large number of ships sailing there in ballast eager to carry anything which paid freight; it was not always so easy to find shipping space to other places or inwards from the Baltic. A merchant wishing to hire a ship simply contacted an owner, or more usually the master, and, if the master was willing, signed a "Charterparty of Affreightment", which stated that the merchant had "hired and taken to freight" the ship, and the master, for his part, agreed to take on board all goods to the order of the merchant, and deliver them at an appointed place within a certain time. In return the merchant bound himself to pay a prescribed fee "for the freight and hire of the ship". Rough time limits were set, and bonuses were given if the ship arrived safely at its destination before the agreed time; after another, later, date, an additional fee was payable by the merchants if they wished to retain the ship.

The chief difficulties occurred when a merchant wished to hire a ship for an unpopular run, and the series of letters from Nathaniel to Henry Maister amply illustrates the problems facing a Hull merchant when engaged in trade outside the Baltic. The letters deal almost entirely with corn, which the Maisters were shipping in large quantities to the order of a London merchant called Bance, and it is clear that they were unable to obtain enough ships to carry the full quantity. One ship they managed to obtain was too small, and consequently Nathaniel was worried lest the cargo should shrink

en route (as corn usually did), because he had only been able to allow a surplus of one per cent.¹⁴ The next ship turned out to be awkwardly shaped, "...so sharp made and so long that he ((viz. the master)) dare not bring her into the haven, that we shall have a troublesome and chargeable piece of business to load her in the road." Not was that the end of the trouble, for Nathaniel discovered that they had run out of the mats which were used to protect the corn, and told Henry that if Bance sent any ships down from London he must send mats with them, ^{or} Henry must send "20 or 30 dozen which we shall want for the ships we take on"; the merchant and not the master was apparently responsible for providing these mats. Bance decided not to send any ships from London. "I fancy", Henry wrote to Nathaniel, "he will leave the procuring shipping to you, as none but large Vessels will go from hence and these I fancy we can take on as cheap as he can."¹⁵ In fact Nathaniel could not, and ten days later Henry told him that "Mr Bance has chartered a Vessel the John and Margaret, James Brame, to come to Hull to take in 1,200 quarters of wheat, she can come into the harbour and I have desired the Captain to take the mats with him and he will sail to be ready after Mellingen" (the awkward ship).¹⁶

The Maisters ran into two further difficulties before the series of letters comes to an end. Firstly, the weather was bad and delayed the loading of the ship in the road, and secondly, another captain they engaged declined at the last minute; "...till

Mr Ibbetson gets some account sales from Lisbon he is unwilling... " (to sail);¹⁷ in other words he wanted a return cargo before sailing to Portugal. Maisters may eventually have got their corn off safely, but their experiences are enough to teach us that securing a ship was sometimes almost impossible, and certainly tedious.

The Charterparty described above was the legal document binding both sides by an agreed bond. But it was not unknown for a master, especially if offered a freight on an unpopular run, to delay the signing of the Charterparty as long as possible in the hope of changing his client before sailing, with the result that a disappointed merchant would have to delay shipment while he sought another ship. Nathaniel Maister, and no doubt other merchants, were well aware of this danger, and he endeavoured to trick masters into a legal bond; "I generally bind the masters I agree with here by a note till the Charterparty is drawn up...", he told his brother, "and as it appears to be only by way of Memorandum they seldom scruple to sign it, thinking it ~~is~~ of no force in case they would break off the voyage but I believe it would be found as binding as a charterparty if signed before witnesses...."¹⁸

For cargoes inwards from the Baltic, ships were usually sent out specially, carrying ballast or only a small cargo, although some ships, especially foreign ones, hung around the Baltic ports hoping to be engaged by a factor or Baltic merchant. There was one interesting case (the EXPERIENCE, Lambkin, quoted above, p283.) of

a ship being specially sent to the Baltic. In 1752 Lambkin left Hull for Moss, in Sweden, and "was to have brought a cargo of wood etc for Mr Perrott...." The ship was lost on the voyage, but the enterprising master bought a battered old ship and eventually arrived in Hull with Perrott's cargo in a different ship from the one originally chartered.

So far we have mentioned only those cases in which a merchant or group of merchants hired a whole ship. This could often be done when the cargo was corn, or bulky raw materials, or when the merchant concerned was important enough to be able to ship large quantities of valuable goods. Men like Williamson often shipped cargoes worth up to £50,000, but it stands to reason that a merchant did not hire a ship to transport only a small quantity of goods.

Whereas in the case of a merchant hiring a ship the master went when and where the merchant required, in the case of small shipments the master decided when and where to go in consultation with the owners, and the merchants had to find a sailing to suit their requirements. Those ships which were not chartered privately were usually "constant sailers", making the same run time after time. Strother noted the arrival, in December 1784, of a ship named the OLIVE BRANCH: "this is the third voyage this year", he wrote, and the 50th that the ship has been to Riga." So regular, in fact, were some of the ships, that the owners engaging in the Hamburg trade were able to sign an agreement limiting the number

of ships sailing there during the lull in trade which occurred during the French invasion and occupation of Germany in the early nineteenth century.¹⁹ Eight owners agreed that each would contribute one ship to a common pool, and that each ship would sail to Hamburg according to a fixed rota. Profits were to be shared, and if trade was opened with Dunkirk, Ostend or Antwerp, they were to have "...a proportionate interest in the ships to be employed." The agreement also laid down that a ship may leave Hamburg for Hull full or in ballast at the discretion of the owners, so long as there was a Hull ship loading there. No ship may stay longer than ten days, but if it is the only ship, then it must stay either until another ship arrives from Hull, or load for at least ten days with goods for Hull. The agreement also shared out low-freight-paying cargoes: "...whenever it shall be deemed necessary to employ two ships in loading at Hull at the same time the quantity of Earthenware or other goods which pay inferior freight to cases and bales and Hardware such goods...shall be equally divided between the two ships."

It was, of course, not always satisfactory to the merchants and manufacturers that masters should fix the time of sailing. Benjamin Wilson, the Burton brewer, was among those who found it difficult to assemble a cargo in time to catch a particular ship. "I believe it will be in my power to serve your ship with several hundred casks of Ale," he wrote to a master eager to secure beer as

a ballast cargo to the Baltic, "provided you are willing to make the time of sailing agreeable to ME."²⁰

Finding the right ship at the right time was clearly a task for a specialist intermediary, particularly as there was towards the end of the century a growing divergence between merchanting and shipowning, following the participation of non-commercial elements in the shipowning companies. Arrangements for freighting were, in fact, made much easier by the emergence of the ship broker, some time in the middle of the century and probably at the same time as insurance brokers were establishing themselves. There is, indeed, some evidence to show that insurance and ship broking was carried on by the same people. In the seventeen-eighties the freight arrangements of Wilberforce & Smiths, one of the largest importing firms, were handled by Richard Terry of Terry & Wright. On 6 December 1787, for instance, Wilberforce & Smiths' bank account was debited:²¹

For freight of Ruby fm Konigsburgh -	£8
" Friendship fm Pillau	£95
" Woodhouse fm Riga	£139
" Esther fm Riga	£82
Charming Harriot fm St. Petersburg.	£35

Terry was also an insurance broker, and as such received payments, often for freight and insurance together, from Wilberforce & Smiths. The firm also paid fairly large sums at a later date to the brokers Hall & Robinson, and it may be that they had changed from one regular

broker to another.

Certainly brokers were expected to find ships for merchants, both outwards and inwards, although apparently mainly outwards. Nor were applications made to brokers only by Hull people. In 1791 Wray & Hollingsworths received a letter addressed "To any broker in Hull" from a Mr John Peters of Falmouth, who wanted to hire two or three vessels to take surplus pilchards to Italy.²²

This particular letter also points to an interesting feature of freighting. It was generally understood that the person hiring a ship should not pay full freight for it, and Peters ended his letter by observing "...that as the freight is very high, it is always customary for the owners of such vessels, to take a third or quarter part concern of the cargo on his own account..." It was most probably this reluctance to hire a whole ship which caused so many master-cum-owners to ship goods on their own account.

The 1791/2 Hull Directory does not give a list of ship brokers similar to the list of insurance brokers and underwriters, but it is possible to trace some of them in the general section of the Directory. At least seven men were listed as ship brokers, and another three called themselves simply "Brokers". But it is true that ship brokers, like insurance brokers, were often listed as merchants, because broking was only (for them) a branch of merchanting. We know from surviving documents that the great

merchant houses of Terry & Wright, Wray & Hollingsworth and Hall & Robinson were acting as brokers, although they are not listed as such, and it may be that other firms followed suit.

Table 37 : HULL SHIP BROKERS
(as listed in Battle's Directory for 1791/2)

- Charles Holmes "Broker"
 - Thomas Martinson Shipbroker
 - Robert Stainton Do.
 - T. J. Thompson Do.
 - Thomas Thornham "Broker"
 - Anthony Atkinson Shipbroker
 - Christopher Briggs Do.
 - Richardson & Dunn Do.
 - Thomas Rounding Do.
 - Robert Smith "Broker"
-

Ship brokers made business easier, but they were not absolutely essential in the eighteenth century. Business was still done in the exchange or in the coffee houses between master and merchant, especially since many merchants still owned shares in ships and naturally preferred to employ those ships.

Increasing use was also being made of the Newspapers, not only of Hull, but also of inland industrial centres like Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, as well as others. Advertisements of "Constant Sailers" and "Ships laid on" accompanied by the inevitable print of a sailing ship, were inserted by the master or owners a month or so before a ship was due to sail, and prospective shippers were invited to contact the master or sometimes a broker or other agent.

The LEEDS MERCURY and LEEDS INTELLIGENCER, for instance, carried many advertisements similar to the following:²³

"Laid on at Hull, for NEWPORT in RHODE ISLAND, The good sloop RECOVERY, Stanton Hazard, Master, who sails the 20th Sept. next. For Freight of Passage apply to John Burton Jun. in Hull; the Captain on board; or Mr Samuel Elam in Leeds."

Advertisements could also be used for ships inwards, even when a whole ship was required, and not just part of one. "Wanted to Charter", read an advertisement by John and Willian Hentig in the Hull PACKET, "Two SHIPS of 4 or 500 tons each to load Timber, with proper stowage, from the Baltic to Hull."²⁴

It is quite possible that brokers also advertised ships sailing and for ships to sail, especially from the Baltic to England. In 1795 Terry & Wright published one advertisement for "...several large ships to load masts at Riga and Petersburgh for England; and also Freight for 200-300 tons of Iron from Petersburgh per first ships."²⁵

(iv) The Effect of War on Shipping.

Shipowning was usually a rewarding occupation, but the life of the shipowner was not always a tranquil one. He had to face the natural dangers of the sea, the enemy in time of war, and the occasional delinquent master mariner.

War always created difficulties for the shipping industry, and the reduction in the number of ships trading is always reflected in the table of shipping "belonging" to the port; the tonnage in 1759,

at the height of the Seven Years War, for instance, was less than half the tonnage in the years 1752 and 1753 in the boom following the War of the Austrian Succession.²⁶

Trade was difficult - although not impossible - with countries which were "enemies", but this mainly applied to those countries in west and southwest Europe with which Hull had little trade even in time of peace. It is most probable that one of the reasons why Hull did not extend its trade with Spain, for instance, was that Hull seamen abhorred Spaniards - who were likely to "convert" them to the ^{Catholic} ~~true~~ faith if they were caught in a Spanish port at the outbreak of war - and feared the plague. Seamen were thus loath to sail for Spain; on one occasion, in April 1738, Nathaniel Maister informed his brother that the master of a ship he had hoped to send to Spain with corn "...will not be able to get any hands for Spain, for neither the Seamen nor Masters will venture thither yet, that I have been obliged to charter for Lisbon only."²⁷ Henry Maister replied that he had been unable to charter a ship in London because the underwriters there were refusing to insure ships bound for Spain, although the War of Jenkin's Ear did not break out officially until 23 October 1739.²⁸

There was, however, a far more serious handicap to trade than physical havoc wrought in Europe by war. In normal years an equilibrium was roughly maintained between the increasing volume of goods passing through Hull and the available shipping space, with

the volume of shipping slightly exceeding the volume of goods to allow for repairs and fluctuations in trade. But during war-time this equilibrium collapsed, trade declined, and the merchant fleet disintegrated.

Privateers and occasional enemy battleships made voyages dangerous, although Hull underwriters in the forties were prepared to insure against French capture, and very few ships did in fact fall into the enemies' hands.²⁹ Armed ships sometimes braved capture. One advertisement in the HULL PACKET in 1795 announced:³⁰

"MADEIRA AND JAMAICA (with or without convoy) The armed ship RESOLUTION, John Tanton, will sail in the middle of February and take in goods and Passengers for the above place on the London terms."

The fear of the enemy remained, however, and ships sailing to more dangerous places than Jamaica usually, but not always, sailed in convoys which were regulated, at least after 1757 - and probably before - by the Hull Committee for Convoys, under the chairmanship of the Mayor, whose duty it was to ask the Admiralty for escort ships.

"At the request of the merchants of this place", the Mayor wrote in April 1757, "I take the liberty to inform your Lordships, that they expect about 15 ships from Konigsburgh, Danzig and Riga will be at the Sound the first week in May, several of which will have very valuable cargoes being entirely loaded with Linnen Yarn, that should and accident happen to them, the Disappointment would greatly prejudice the Linnen manufacture and prove a heavy loss to the concerned; who also desire me to present the necessity of having the Yarn early home for the Bleaching season and therefore by the favour that your Lordships will appoint a Convoy to be at

Elsinore of the first May, to wait there a week or ten days and take under her protection such ships as are come down to the Sound in that time, and see them safe into the Humber." ³¹

Such requests were sent regularly to the Admiralty during war-time, but they were not always heeded, and convoys were often cancelled or delayed because no escorts were available. ³²

The importance of convoys to and from the Baltic and northern Europe was constantly stressed by the Convoy Committee. Twenty ships, they said in April 1782, were waiting for a convoy, and "their cargoes, consisting of various manufactures of this kingdom cannot amount to less than £150,000 to £200,000." ³³ The Committee took strong action against any captain who did not submit to the discipline of a convoy: ³⁴

"Resolved the merchants be desired to ship no goods, nor the Underwriters take any Policy for the MARS, or any other ship in which Michael Metcalf shall go in the capacity of Master until he has made proper submission to Andrew Agnew Esq., Captain of H.M.S. FURY for misbehaviour and insulting him on his duty when under his convoy to Elsinore."

Ships which strayed intentionally from a convoy were not allowed to claim insurance if lost or captured, ³⁵ and although some ships did sail alone - mostly armed ships - an Act was passed in 1798 by which ships not sailing in convoy were to forfeit £1,000, or £1,500 if carrying Naval Stores, ³⁶

Although political embargoes on trade - always brief and not very effective - and the need for convoys hampered trade, there

was a more serious problem facing eighteenth century shipping, namely the Press-gang. Not only did it disrupt private lives by compulsorily enlisting seamen (except those engaged in certain select trades) at a time when no other section of society was subject to similar compulsion; it also took seamen away from the merchant marine and so imperilled the efficiency of the service and reduced the number of merchant ships available for trading.³⁷

Master mariners were, of course, not pressed because they were of social importance and possessed the vote; but mates were sometimes pressed. One magnanimous press officer, Lieutenant Ryder, wrote to a relation that his captain "was kind enough to promote several young men that had been mates of ships, at my request he made them midshipmen." The mates were not gratified, and "before I sailed from Hull", Ryder continued, "many people warned me to be very careful of the men I had on board...."³⁸

It must be stressed, however, that the gangs took only seamen, and quite often only the roughest sort - "Vagrant seamen", "such sea-faring men as shall lurk about the town...",³⁹ although the type of seamen pressed naturally depended on the number required.

"The sea ports are certainly the places where numbers are to be met with", wrote one of the principal merchants, "and the Press gangs let nothing escape them that smells the least of tar."⁴⁰ Occasionally the demand was so great that returning whalers were boarded by force, to the peril of the gang, and there was always more or less

open war between the precariously privileged Greenlandmen and the gangs to whom they seemed to be the easiest victims to find.⁴¹

Towards the end of the century, when the demand was becoming acute, Pitt introduced the simple plan that every ship leaving port should give up one sailor or two landsmen, and the embargo on trade became more than ever the weapon of the press gangs: with Pitt's plan in operation one wonders how many ships' crews were tempted to do a little press-ganging of their own.

The effect of the Press gangs' work is reflected in a letter from Robert Plumsted, a Gainsborough merchant: "All business with us is suddenly swept by an embargo", he said in March 1756, "and the few hands that are left, mostly swept away in one nights press."⁴² The result was that although the Corporation, as representatives of the shipping interest, were prepared to give bounties to seamen (and others) enlisting voluntarily,⁴³ they resolutely opposed pressing on some occasions. "I arrived on June 23rd by their Lordships order", Ryder ~~informed~~ said, "to raise men for H.M. Service. According to my instructions I went at once to the Mayor for him to sign my Warrant; when he told me that I should not press in the town, nor would he sign my warrant." Ryder did manage to get "about twenty brave men without the help of the Mayor", but "As for the town", he said, "I shall take care and bring no gang in it to press until I have further orders."⁴⁴ Apparently pressing was

later permitted, for the HULL COURANT recorded, on 20 March 1759, that "On Friday last, broke out here a very hot Press for Seamen, which occasioned the Gates of the Town to be shut at 7 o'clock after which search was made in some Publick Houses, and several useful Hands were pickt up."

Various evasions were employed by seamen, and liberal assistance was given by the populace, including the constables who were sometimes called upon press. "I don't wonder at the small success of the constables in picking up vagrant seamen", wrote Nathaniel Maister to Thomas Grimston, "It is natural to suppose that these latter will keep about the place where their friends reside; and there the connections are generally too strong between the constables ~~and~~ of the several divisions and the people to make them exert themselves."⁴⁵ Even the Customs officers aided seamen. In 1755 Captain O'Brien of H.M.S. PEGGY complained to the Commissioners of Customs that the Hull Customs sloop was landing seamen from merchant ships and assisting those ships into port.⁴⁶ Some time later a press ship went so far as to fire on a Customs boat because it was thought to be taking Protections out to Greenlandmen.⁴⁷

Some seamen fled inland, only to be caught and returned to Hull like criminals, together with men taken from the inland navigations. "Last Thursday", declared the LEEDS INTELLIGENCER on 1 May 1759, "27 volunteers and impressed Seamen were put on board

a vessel at our Bridge in order to be conveyed to Hull."⁴⁸

2. MARINE INSURANCE.

(1) Underwriting.

Marine insurance, like the Bill of Exchange, was an invention of the Italians. The value of goods passing through a merchant's hands was so great that he could not possibly afford the risk of losing a cargo, and it became customary for several merchants to share the risk, just as they might, for further safety, share the ownership of the ship and its cargo. The person arranging the insurance would draw up an agreement and those willing to do so would "write a line" for a certain amount underneath it, that amount being the extent of the liability of the "underwriter". The premium, payable in return for this service, varied in accordance with the circumstances of the voyage, and could range from one to fifteen per cent.

There is no evidence that there were any underwriters in Hull at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Indeed, what evidence there is suggests that there were none. Insurance on most of the cargoes arriving for the Maister firm from the Baltic was arranged by Henry Lyell, Maister's London agent, or by Chitty, his Amsterdam agent.⁴⁹ Thus on 13 December 1718 the Day Book

account is "Dr to Chitty and Son for the Ins. of £1,100 on the ship Industry from Goree or Helvoet Sluys to Gottenburgh @ 8%", a policy @ £1. 16s., and "provision" £5. 10s., the whole totalling roughly £90. A cargo of iron, brought from Gottenburgh to Hull in the same ship in 1718, cost the Maisters 15%: "Dr to Chitty & Son for Insurance of £6,250 for the Industry edw Farthing from Gottenburgh @ 15% - £970.11s."

Insurance on lead which was regularly carried to "Mr Behotte, merchant in Rouen" on behalf of Rennue, Ferriano & Rennue of London, was arranged by Rennue & Co., and charged to the Maisters: "Nov 4 1714 Voyage to Havre de Grace, Dr to Rennue & Co. for Insurance of £400 on Goods per Edw Bower @ $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ with Pott & Prov - £8. 2s. Od."

Besides arranging for his own insurance through Lyell and Chitty, Maister also acted as agent for business connexions. On numerous occasions insurance of £100 was arranged for Edward Farthing on his ship the INDUSTRY for voyages to Gottenburgh and Bremen and, on one occasion, "to ye Canary Islands and during his stay there."

More important, perhaps, was the insurance arranged for William Mowld when they shared cargoes. The ships containing shared cargoes were apparently insured on only one policy and the cost shared out among the owners. In the accounts in the Day Book, Maister paid premiums to Henry Lyell & Co. and also to Peter Baxter, on behalf of Mowld and Farthing and it is interesting to notice that although he paid in July 1715 Mowld was not charged with the

premium until October.

By the thirties Maisters' insurance was handled in England, and most probably in Hull. In many cases in the loose sheets in Wilberforce House, lists of underwriters are given, as on

12 September 1733:

"Hemp from Riga, Dr. To Barth^o Shorey - £15. 4s. 6d.
Insured on Goods p. ye Eastland Merchant, Stephen Read
Mtr to pay 84% in case of loss.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|------|----------------|
| £100 | Thos King | £100 | Jn Brown |
| " | Thos Eames | £50 | Jn Wexham |
| " | Geo Newland | " | Rchd Ackland |
| " | Edw Fawkoner | " | Steph Thompson |
| " | Thos Seward | | |

£750 @ 2% & Policy 4/6 - £15. 4s. 6d."

This inclusion of the names of the underwriters strengthens the belief that they were Hull men, for when Lyell acted as broker or agent the names had never been given, although the account in the Day Book did mention once (25 June 1724) that an insurance was underwritten for "£500 by several..." Moreover, they were probably the same men who insured all Maisters' ventures, for a list included in the account of insurance on the Greyhound, Cooper Stanton, from St. Petersburg to London, mentioned Thomas King, John Brown, John Spicker and Stephen Thompson, three of whom had also contributed to the policy for the Eastland Merchant from Riga, and other ships.

A few years later, Nathaniel Maister was certainly insuring with Hull underwriters. Writing to his brother on 12 November 1744,

he said that he had a ship laid on from Stockholm to London, and "I may write to London or get insured here...."⁵¹ He did write to London, and informed his brother on 21 November that the underwriters there would insure for six guineas per cent., but not against French captures, so he had decided to insure in Hull. "The underwriters here", he said, agree to take 6 gns in the Swede from Stockholm and are to return one guinea p.c. in case she lay till Spring therefore I have given G. Maddison orders to get a policy filled up and to get £600 insured."⁵² Maddison is the first Hull insurance broker of whom we have record: he may not have been the first one or the only one, but about him and his generation we have no information at all, and can only assume that local underwriting flourished and developed without any grave setbacks.

In the thirties the Maisters also contracted for the payment of insurance premiums on behalf of inland and overseas agents. In the Wilberforce House set of accounts a Henry Scott of Leeds was "Dr to Insurance acct £120 on Goods p. ye Sea Flower, Wm Seaman fm Gott to London..." and for goods in other ships. Goods sent to England by the agents of the Maisters were insured in England before they left Sweden, and the premium was claimed from the agent: Vaus & Knipe, the agents in Riga, were debited in September 1735 "To insurance acct £700 on goods per the Jonge Thomas, Class Brass

from Riga to London @ 4 gn - £29 8s. Od...", and the Maisters received one-half per cent. commission for their services. James Gardner, the agent in St. Petersburg, had a similar account.

The only information which has survived from the middle of the century is contained in the Pease Bank ledgers. Pease himself seems to have been underwriting at this time, and two of his customers, the Elam brothers, tobacco merchants, were debited on 8 March 17 "To pm of Ins etc on Arethusa as p. cash Bk — £199 17s. 2d." At the same time they were credited with an average in the Arethusa amounting to £316 16s. Pease himself was often debited with insurance premiums, but there are no details beyond an occasional reference in his personal account to a particular voyage, as on 24 May 1763, when he was debited with £9 13s. 6d., the cost of £300 for a ^{voyage} ~~trip~~ from Waterford to Rotterdam.

Besides Pease, at least two men with accounts in Pease's bank were acting as underwriters or brokers. On 18 September 1758 both Thomas Wilkinson and William Turner were credited "By cash pm of Insurance on Co. 2 Ships to Greenland 1758", their premiums being £9 18s. 6d. and £19 16s. 5d. respectively. Wilkinson obviously was used to insurance, for earlier, on 6 August 1757, he had been credited with £85 13s. 6d. as "Balance of Insurance Acct."

Although we have no details of his career, the man who has a good claim to be regarded as the first Hull underwriter is Edward

Codd, Senior, father of the Town Clerk of Hull at the end of the century. In the year in which he died (1784) Strother wrote the following in his Journal:⁵³

"When he first came to Hull he was Foot boy to Mr Mountain Town Clerk after which he undertook the Business of Policy Broker and Underwriter and as there was no one of that Trade in Town at that time of his commencing business he made a considerable advantage. But other men seeing the Profits to be obtained by underwriting and Policy broking pushed into the trade and as every man has some friends as Mr Codd's trade would naturally be dwindled from him that at length he had little trade left."

Unfortunately we do not know when Codd started his business, and it is, of course, possible that Strother was reproducing hear-say evidence that was not true.

By the time information becomes more plentiful, towards the end of the century, insurance in Hull was very well organised. A large and growing number of men were prepared to "write a line", varying from fifty to two hundred pounds, on ships and cargoes, and Battle's Directory for 1791/2 lists twenty-eight names of underwriters, including twenty-four of the most important and wealthy men in Hull. According to the general section of the Directory, where the underwriters are listed with their occupations and addresses, all of them, were, or had been, engaged in trade. None of them took to underwriting as a specialised occupation; it was merely one facet, albeit an important and profitable one, of their many-sided business and financial interests. Eight of them -

Henry, Isaac, Robert and C.E. Broadley, Thomas Harrison, George Knowsley, Richard Moxon and J.C. Pease - were members of families engaged in banking as well as trade; three of them were "Gents"; and the rest were "considerable merchants". They turned to insurance because it presented a most lucrative source of income for wealthy men who were prepared to risk the loss of a small amount of their capital in order to gain ~~the~~ ^{the} premiums. There was the added advantage that the capital required remained in the hands of the underwriter until such time as a claim was made, and that as the proportion of losses was reasonably low, he was able to underwrite more policies than were covered by his available capital.

Although underwriting was an individual affair, because of the restrictions placed on Joint-stock insurance by the Bubble Act of 1720, it is quite clear that there was a very close connexion between many of the Hull underwriters. The Broadleys, for example, were all more or less connected with the family business; John and Simon Horner were partners, and so were Boyes and Scratcherd, the tea dealers.⁵⁴ (See Table 38) Even those who were not connected by family or business ties knew each other intimately. They certainly worked very much in agreement with each other, and on 7 January 1794 those who had "for some time past signed and underwrote and still continue to sign and underwrite at Kingston-

upon-Hull Policies of Assurance on Ships Goods and Merchandize" signed a formal agreement "...in order to promote dispatch and regularity in Underwriting Policies of Assurance and punctuality in the Payment of Losses and Averages", which probably summarises the custom as it had been in Hull for a half century or more.⁵⁵

There were seventeen articles altogether, but many of them have been mutilated by an anonymous autograph hunter. As might be expected, no insurance contract was to be made by any of the underwriters unless the value of the ship and cargo was expressly stated in the policy. This was no doubt to put a stop to the occasional over-insuring of decrepit ships which the owners hoped would never reach port again. A similar condition was to apply to the insuring of foreign ships, and in this case the policy was to remain in the hands of a Hull broker. In order to stop the deliberate loss of small packages, it was agreed "That we will not sign or underwrite any policy of Assurance upon goods Homeward bound so as to make themselves (sic) answerable for any packages under the value of £50."⁵⁵

The Baltic trade received special notice, for "we will not... underwrite...ships or goods from the Baltic until 10 days after the Ships departure from her sailing port outwards",⁵⁵ presumably because the most dangerous part of a Baltic voyage was along the Scandinavian coastline. The dangerous part of whaling was also excluded, for no insurance was to be undertaken for "Boats or

Whale lines that shall be lost in the Act of Fishing."

Premiums were to be set by a committee of five, which was to meet weekly, of whom three were to be a quorum, and the rates were to be fixed to correspond as nearly as possible to those of Lloyds. Losses were to be "immediately paid by a Bill on London not exceeding two months date", each individual underwriter being informed by the broker, and brokers were to submit their Accounts to the underwriters by 1 March each year. This last clause was most probably inserted because of the custom by which underwriters were not paid their premiums until the year following the making of the policy; in London final settlement was made in May - September, and in Hull sometime after 1 March.⁵⁶ Until that time the premiums remained in the brokers' hands and were a form of security to the insured. Finally, as regards new underwriters, it was resolved "That any Person desirous of becoming an Underwriter in Hull and of being admitted a member of this Society shall on his executing this Agreement and giving notice thereof to the Committee for the time being..." shall be admitted to membership.⁵⁷

Not all of the men listed as underwriters in Battle's Directory were Hull men. Several of the people who signed policies in Hull did so on behalf of men living inland or at other ports. In 1792, Edward Webster acted for William Hornby of Gainsborough, John Belton for John Saunders and William Jackson of Whitby, Joseph Rhodes for P. Crichton of Dundee, and George Fox for John Wood of

Beadnell in Northumberland. This fact emphasises the importance of Hull as a centre of marine insurance, and also the way in which the economic expansion of Hull drew capital from distant financial resources.

Table 38: HULL UNDERWRITERS AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS, 1792⁵⁷

Bateman, John,	George Street	(Merchant)
Belton, John,	(for J. Saunders & W. Jackson, Whitby)	
Bolton, Wm. Watson,	Lowgate	(Surgeon) (Shipowner)
Boyes, John,	Marketplace	(Tea-dealer)
Broadley, Henry,	Bowlalleylane	(Gentleman) (Banker)
Broadley, Isaac,	Highstreet	(Merchant)
Broadley, Robert,	"	(Gentleman)
Broadley, C.E.,	"	(Gentleman)
Carrick, John,	Ropery	(-)
Etherington, Henry,	Highstreet	("Bart")
Fowler, George,	Mytongate	(Gentleman)
Harrison, Thomas,	Highstreet	(-) (Banker)
Hickson, Joseph,	"	(Merchant)
Horner, John,	"	(Merchant)
Horner, Simon,	Bridgestreet	(Merchant)
Knowsley, George,	Highstreet	(Merchant) (Banker)
Knox, G.,	(for J. Wood, Beadnell, Northumberland)	
Levett, John,	(for T. Hinderwell)	
Moxon, Richard,	Highstreet	(Merchant) (Banker)
Mancklin, Benjamin,	Bishoplane	(Gentleman)
Miller, Edward,	-	(-)
Pease, J.C.,	Highstreet	(Merchant) (Banker)
Rhodes, Joseph,	(for P. Crichton, Dundee)	
Scratcherd, Thomas,	Marketplace	(Tea-dealer)
Voase, John,	Highstreet	(Wine & Brandy merchant)
Webster, Edward,	(for William Hornby, Gainsborough)	
Wharrie, Robert,	Lowgate	(-)
Wright, Samuel,	Mytongate	(-)

Details of the account of a single underwriter - Robert Ramsden - have survived, showing the extent of his activities in the year 1799.⁵⁸ It is not clear, however, whether the account is

his total insurance account (some of the names included are of shipowners who were, to complicate matters, also insurance brokers, or the account of one broker which had been submitted in accordance with the regulations of the Society of Underwriters. Altogether the account contains fifty policies on thirty-three ships belonging to seven owners (or brokers ?) who had accounts with him; they were Anthony Atkinson, Richard Rennards, G. & J. Eggington, Benjamin Blaydes, Christopher Bolton, J.W. Watson and Daniel Boileau, the first³ of whom were also brokers. In the four accounts in which the amount underwritten and the premium are both given - Atkinson, Rennards, Bolton and Watson - Ramsden rendered himself liable for a total of £4,252, for which he received premiums amounting to £184 4s. 10d., an average of 4.3%.

There are not enough examples of policies to allow for a definite conclusion to be drawn from Ramsden's account, but some general observations can be made. The premium varied with the distance (or rather, with the hazards) of a voyage, and also with the time of the year. Voyages to the Baltic, often undertaken in ballast, usually (But not always) cost less than voyages from the Baltic, and the same is true of all other ballast voyages. In the following tables the effect on premiums of a) distance, b) time of year and c) international conditions, can be clearly seen:⁵⁹

Table 39: EXAMPLES OF PREMIUM RATES.

a) 1799

Jan	Jamaica - London	.....	19%
May	London - Jamaica	.....	8
Feb	Antigua - London	.....	10
Mar	Greenland	.....	9
Aug	Elsinore - Hull	.....	2
Jul	Hull - London	.....	2
Apr	Hull - Hamburg & Riga		2

b) 1799

Jul	From St Petersburg	...	2%
Aug	To St Petersburg	.....	2
Sep	To & From St P.	.....	10

c) 1799

May	Hull to Memel	.....	2
Sep	Hull to Memel	.....	4½
Oct	Memel to Hull	.....	6

c)

Stockholm to Hull	1715 (Oct)	3%
	1724 (Jun)	2
	1744	6 (Aust. Succ. W)

Hull to Gottenburgh	1715	3%
Gottenburgh to Hull	1718	15 (Height of Northern War)
Hull to Gott & back	1720	3 & 2½
Hull to Gott & back	1722	2½

Allowing for normal seasonal fluctuations, there was hardly any alteration in the premium rate throughout the whole of the century. Elsinore to Hull, in 1799, cost exactly the same (2%) as the Sound to Hull had done in 1714, and, if anything, the rates for a straight-forward Baltic run were slightly cheaper in the last decade of the century than they were in the second. The major fluctuations in the rate were the result of wars, when many dangers were added to the normal life of the sea, both from enemy

action and from privateers. In order to reduce the risks involved in voyages through dangerous waters, convoys were arranged from Hull guarded by ships put at the disposal of the Mayor by the Admiralty, and a Liverpool ship which intentionally strayed from its convoy in 1764, and was therefore not allowed insurance by Lord Chief Justice Pratt (Camden), became a precedent for underwriters.⁶⁰

The Hull Committee for Convoys was, as we saw above, strict about orderly conduct in convoy and recommended the withdrawal of insurance privileges for indiscipline, but the existence of the protective convoy was settled once and for all when, in 1798, sailing without a convoy was absolutely forbidden, and underwriters were threatened with a £200 penalty if they insured ships which they knew were not sailing in convoy.⁶¹ With all these precautions, the premium rate still rose considerably during disturbances in the Baltic. In 1718, the height of the Northern War, Gottenburgh to Hull cost fifteen per cent, whereas the same voyage in 1715 and 1719 cost only three per cent. Similarly a voyage to St Petersburg in July 1799 and one from there in August cost two per cent, but one to and from there in September cost £15 15s. for £150. Occasionally Underwriters refused outright to insure a ship going to a danger zone. One of the most interesting cases of this was the Maisters' difficulty (already mentioned above) in getting insurance on ships bound for Spain almost a year before the outbreak of serious trouble between England and Spain.

(ii) Brokers.

Because underwriters wished to spread their liabilities as widely as possible, writing a line for only a few hundred pounds in a policy for several thousands, in order to reduce their risks, insurance brokers were essential to maintain contact between the underwriters and their customers, who seldom dealt with each other.

An owner or merchant wishing to take out a policy consulted his favourite broker, who arranged for a number of underwriters to write a line for him; in the case of loss the insured person notified the broker, who in turn notified the underwriters individually and called them together to consider the claim and appoint a committee to manage their interests. Only in desperation did a merchant contact an underwriter (if he felt justified) after negotiations through a broker had failed.

It is most probable that brokers simplified their work by reaching an understanding with half a dozen underwriters with whom they dealt regularly and on whom they could rely to underwrite the major part of the policies they handled. The fact that the brokers kept an account of their transactions with the underwriters, which they were compelled to submit annually to the respective underwriters, confirms the fact that the business side of underwriting was left to the brokers, and suggests that they

may have included an underwriter's name in a policy without transmitting the actual details of the policy to him. Whatever the arrangement, it is fairly clear from the account of Robert Ramsden that insurance was becoming stereotyped towards the end of the century, with owners regularly applying to the same broker, who in turn applied to the same underwriters.

There were twenty-four firms of brokers in Hull in 1792. Most of them, like the underwriters, were interested in trade, and only three of them were sufficiently specialised to mention the fact that they were brokers in the general Directory (1791/2): Robert Stainton was designated as "Broker", and Anthony Atkinson and Christopher Briggs as "Brokers & Merchant". Many of the firms were merely branches of old established trading concerns such as Terry & Wright, Overend & Thompson, Atkinson, Hall & Godmund, or Hall & Robinson (the shipowners); some of them were partners in merchant firms, like Richard Rennards of Rennards & Parker or Maister & Rennards, and Joseph Eggington, who was the head of one of the greatest whaling firms in England.

The great merchants had been arranging insurance for each other, in the case of shared cargoes, since at least the beginning of the century, as the Maister papers show, and it is significant that the brokers in 1792, with three exceptions,⁶² were men who were well used to arranging insurance for themselves and their partners, and who had gradually extended to the general merchant

community the benefit of their long experience and wide connexions. All that was necessary was for them to set aside one of their clerks to specialise in insurance on behalf of their friends as well as themselves, for it was as easy for the clerk to knock on ~~evry~~ other door in High Street with six policies as with one.

The relationship between brokers and underwriters is best seen in the context of Hull's closely compact merchant community, of which they were all members.⁶³ Their occupations were variations on a common theme - shipbroking was another - and arose as different merchants undertook the performance of the various services required by the community as a whole. The main difference between them was the fact that the underwriters were for the most part semi-retired merchants, or gentlemen whose interest in trade was becoming more nominal as their fortune increased, while the brokers, whose activities demanded a detailed knowledge of the conditions of world trade, were still actively engaged in merchanting.

The ease with which any respected merchant could set himself up as a broker, first for his friends and then for the general public, is the chief reason why there were so many in Hull; and, because there were so many, it was almost impossible for anyone to earn a living solely by insurance broking.

Several attempts were made to start a Hull exchange as a meeting place for Hull underwriters and brokers, but with little

success. On 1 January 1794 Bell opened his Exchange Coffee House which was "as well attended by the merchants, underwriters and brokers as most of the exchanges at the Outports", and in his "Proposals"⁶⁵ Bell had "offered that every subscriber to the Coffee Room might sell ships, estates, and merchandise in the Exchange, free of expence, employing any Broker, attorney or Auctioneer, they might think proper." But nothing came of it, and Bell accused interested people of deliberately keeping business away from the Coffee House, although it may be this exchange to which Christopher Briggs refers, in his letter to Robert Ramsden (See p.314), as the meeting place of underwriters.

Table 40: HULL INSURANCE BROKERS AND THEIR OTHER OCCUPATIONS LISTED IN DIRECTORY, 1791/2.

Atkinson, Anthony,	Beverleygates	(Broker & Merchant)
Atkinson, Hall & Godmund,	Highstreet	(Wine & Spirit Merchs)
Bell, Robert,	Wincolmlea	(Merchant & Candle-maker)
Bino, Widow & Co.,	-	(Merchants)
Briggs, Christopher,	Bowlalleylane	(Broker & Merchant)
Carlill, Gilder, Kirkbride & Co.,		(Merchants)
Coulson, Ed. Foster,	Highstreet	(Merchant)
Eggington, Joseph	-	(Oil merchant, shipowner)
Hall & Robinson,	Highstreet	(Merchants, shipowners)
Haworth, Joshua,	Northend	(H & Bateman, Brandy merchs)
Hammond, Henry,	Blanketrow	(Merchant)
Holden, William,	Highstreet	(Merchant)
Hordan, Hanwith,	Dockside	(Mustard manufacturer)
Knowsley & Ewbank,	Highstreet	(Wine merchants)
Lupton, Heneage,	Highstreet	(Brewer)
Overend & Thompson,	Dockside	(Merchant)
Rennards, Richard,	Northside	(Merchant)
Stainton, Robert,	Highstreet	(Broker)
Taylor & Markham,	Northside	(Merchant)
Terry & Wright,	Highstreet	(Merchants & shipowners)
Thompson, John,	Albion Street	(-)
Thompson, William,	Story Street	(?)
Wilson, John,	Highstreet	(Shipowner & merchant)
Thorley, Christopher,	Highstreet,	(Merchant)

The only broking firms about which anything is known were Terry & Wright and Andrew Hollingsworth (of Wray & Hollingsworth's): the former because their dealings with Wilberforce & Smiths are recorded in their account with Smiths & Thompson's bank, and the latter because a few letters addressed to him are preserved in the Autograph Letter Box in Wilberforce House.

Terry & Wright handled both freight arrangements and insurance for Wilberforce & Smiths. Each year their account in the bank ledgers was credited "By Balance of Ins. Acc't with W.S. & Co.": £226 12s. 4d. in January 1786; £215 and £104 in 1787; £222 in 1788; £640, for freight and insurance, on 5 January 1789; and £216 on 19 February 1790. Terry also arranged the insurance for the whaler owning firm of Sparks & Co., in which he was a partner, and on 3 February 1789 he was credited "By cash p. Mr Thompson and Messrs Wilberforce & Smiths for the balance of Insurance Acct of Gibraltar and Enterprize - £62 8s. 3d." (i.e. the firm's two whalers).

The Hollingsworth letters provide several pieces of information which are not contained in any other source. They show, among other things, that, just as all the underwriters were not resident, so also insurance was undertaken for shipowners not resident in Hull. Robert Ramsden's account showed that he underwrote voyages by Hull ships which did not enter Hull, but the Hollingsworth letters refer to ships which probably never

came to Hull. For example, Ralph Forster wrote from Berwick on 28 July 1795: "Sirs, The Expedition, Cummings is arrived from Gott. ((Gothenburgh), where she will immediately return, to load for this port. What will be the premium, all risks, out and home on sd vessel?" Two years later, on 27 May 1797, he again wrote to ask the price of a premium covering all risks, "on Goods by a Vessel under American Colours with an American Pass etc from Gottenburgh to Berwick", and it may be that Hollingsworth regularly arranged insurance for Berwick ships. He certainly arranged it on behalf of at least two Liverpool firms, those of Titherington, Smith & Co., and John Montgomery & Co. The former wrote on 12 September 1798:

"We wrote you of 10th inst ordering £500 Insurance on the Alexander and the present is to say you may make it £1,500 if convenient, the sums as before. She mounts 24 guns 9 & 6 pounders and will have 50 to 60 People the Voyage to Angola - You may make the order on the Friendly Cedar £1,000 and if you cannot do them at 10 gns may go as far as 12 gns though we hope there will be no occasion for it."

The letter reads as if the firms were old customers of Hollingsworth to whose discession was left the arrangement of premium. Similarly, the letter from Montgomery & Co. requests Hollingsworth "to procure insurance for two hundred Pounds more on Deals p. the Betsy, Stocker fm Petersburg." (9 July 1798).

An interesting example of the refund of part of the premium after the voyage concerned was over, is contained in a letter to Hollingsworth from Archibald Baine of Gourock Ropeworks, Greenock.

Writing on 25 August 1796 he says:

"Sirs, The Vim arrived some time ago and delivered her cargo in good order, but as she took much less Hemp than we expected we (?) to be credited for an Over insurance, which is stated below, and inclosed are the Invoice and Bill Lading with our Agents letter accompanying these,

Insured	£1,800 @ 3½ gns %	
Interest	£1,430 12s. 4d.	
Over Insured	£369 7s. 8d. @ 3½ gns %	- £13 11s. 6d.
Off ½% for short interest		<u>1 16 11</u>
		11 14 7

One wonders if Baine would have pointed out the discrepancy if the ship had been lost. It is probably an exceptional case, since it was one of the chief rules of the Underwriters' Society that no policy should be allowed unless the exact value of the goods were mentioned in it. But as the value of the cargo inwards depended on the agents in the Baltic, it is probable that there were some cases in which only the approximate value of the cargo was known before the ship arrived in England, and therefore a rebate was allowed when it was proved that the over-insurance was not dishonest.

(iii) Claims and Salvage.

Claims for payment of insurance in case of loss were made to the brokers, who called together the underwriters to consider each case on its merits. A notice of such a meeting was sent to Robert Ramsden, by the broker Christopher Briggs, on 20 March 1801;66

"Sirs, I am directed by the Insured to give you notice, that he abandons to you the ship Catherine Capt Willm Russell seized and detained at St Petersburg as far as concerns your subscription of £100 on a policy of Insurance on said Ship Catherine and I call upon you for the payment of that Sum as a Total Loss — The Documents respecting the Insured's Interest being in my possession I purpose laying them before the Underwriters on Thursday next the 24th inst. at Ten o'clock in the Forenoon at the Exchange where you are particularly requested to attend when you may choose a Trustee and appoint a Committee for the management of your Interest."

General sympathy was felt for those who lost goods because of the intervention of Russia into the Napoleonic War, but other causes of seizure were not so well provided for. On 25 March 1799 Robert Ramsey was presented with a threat of legal proceedings by a Manchester firm whose goods were delayed by war: ⁶⁷

"Sir, In consequence of the Detention at Palermo of the Ship Minerva bound to Leghorne, We sometime since desired Mr E.F. Coulson as Broker to give notice to the Underwriters that Messrs C.T. & I. Marriott of this place had abandoned the Goods insured to them on board of that ship — Having received for answer from Mr Coulson that the Underwriters refuse to comply with the wishes of our clients, and that answer not being satisfactory — we think it necessary now to repeat such notice to you and the other Underwriters individually — And we now demand of you the amount of your Subscription on the Policy.

By the last advice, the Goods are on board the Ship Minerva detained by order of Admiral Lord Nelson at Palermo — We before mentioned to Mr Coulson that Messrs Marriott are acting under the advice of Counsel, of which we are supposed you have been informed,

Yours etc.,

Sharpe & Eccles,

Attornies for Messrs Marriott."

There is no record that payment was ever made.

Not all accidents at sea resulted in total losses. If the ship concerned was near to land it may be beached and its cargo and fittings, and sometimes more, saved, even though it was a total loss so far as being sea-worthy was concerned. Similarly, if a ship was in difficulties on the high seas it may be helped to safety by a passing ship, sometimes after being abandoned by its crew. In both these cases it had become customary for salvage money to be paid to those assisting a ship in distress or for rescuing its cargo, and for that money to be a legal right. When a Russian ship, the ALEXANDER, was wrecked in the Humber its remains were auctioned, and one-third of the value of its contents was granted to the seamen salvaging her, leaving only two-thirds of the value to the owners. Similarly, when John Massey and Anthony Peck, smack-owners of Gravesend, brought into Hull a grain ship, the ACTIVE, which they had found drifting without a crew, they received £500 before it passed back to its owners, George Knox and John Hay, on 8 December 1792.⁶⁸

It is obvious that the allowance of insurance in full, on a wreck which was capable of being partly salvaged, was open to all kinds of abuse on the part of owners and masters, and in the thirties agreements about salvage rights were entered in the policies. When the Maisters joined in a cargo with William Hart & Sons of Bristol they were :

"Dr to Wm Hart & Sons for their Moiety of £1,700 underwrote on ye Capitane and Alherante Viz to pay 98% in case of loss. £1,200 without benefit of salvage @ 7gns% (poundage deducted) —£84
 £200 " " " " " @ 6gns% (Do.) —£12
 £300 on Interest with benefit of salvage @ 7% (Do.) —£21
 £117 their half is £58 10s.

As well as this distinction between policies allowing salvage and those denying it,⁶⁹ there was an entry in each policy stating the amount to be paid in cases of loss, and it was one of the arguments against "private" underwriters that "the present Insurers, over and above the ten per cent. mentioned in the Common Policies to be abated, will not pay, without a Suit, unless a further Abatement of six Pounds per cent. be made." "To pay 84% in case of loss" was a common entry in the policies in the Maister accounts in the thirties, while the actual percentages varied from 84% to 98%, apparently depending on the premiums; a policy to pay 84% demanded a premium of between 2% and 4½%, and one to pay 98% demanded a premium of 6% to 7%. These charges may represent the infancy of Hull underwriting, for later in the century the underwriters followed the example of Lloyd's.

When only part of a cargo was lost, or salvage expences were incurred, the cost was apportioned out among the merchants involved according to the value of their goods, the owners according to the value of the ship, and, in the case of the NANCY of Selby,⁷⁰ also the receivers of freight charges, presumably the owners, according to the value of the freight. It is not clear to what extent the

underwriters were responsible for paying General averages or losses other than total losses. Pease was probably paying the whole of an average when John and Robert Elam's account in his ledger 'B' was credited with "An average in the Arethusa - £316". It is extremely unlikely that Pease would have a share in the cargo on which the average would amount to £316, and in any case, the Elam brothers were tobacco merchants, not brokers, and they had already paid an insurance premium of £119 17s. 2d. to Pease. At the end of the century it was usual for underwriters to pay for repairs to whalers which suffered damage while insured, although the Society of Underwriters refused to pay for boats and lines lost in the act of fishing. The Hull underwriters probably acted the same as the London ones, who refused to pay Averages of less than five per cent on perishable goods damaged and of less than three per cent on ship and cargo, unless the ship was stranded or the Average a General one.⁷¹

NOTES - Chapter 5

SHIPPING AND MARINE INSURANCE

1. SHIPPING.

1. P.R.O., C.O. 388-9. "An abstract of the number of Vessells, Total of their Tonnage & the Complement of Mariners...."
2. Since the averages quoted in this chapter have all been taken from the general shipping figures contained in the Section on Trade, no further reference will be made to sources.
3. This fact is all the more remarkable when we consider the size of some of the larger ships belonging to London and Liverpool. In 1790, for instance, when the largest ship registered at Hull was 420 tons - although there is mention of larger ones owned by William Hammond - the largest registered in London was no less than 1,280 tons.
4. H.C.L.B., H-C., 28 January 1748/9.
5. H.C.L.B., H-C., passim.
6. MAISTER DAY BK., passim.
7. H.C.L.B., H-C., 29 January 1752.
8. Strother's JOURNAL, fol. 27, 30 September 1784.
9. Weatherill, THE ANCIENT PORT OF WHITBY & ITS SHIPPING, p 87. *Whitby, Rob.*
10. Ownership from H.C.L.B., H-C., passim.
11. Details of the firms are from their bank accounts, SMITHS & THOMPSON'S BANK LEDGERS.
12. *ibid.*
13. Benjamin Wilson's DAY BOOK; information from P. Mathias, Esq.
14. MAISTER LETTERS, 15 February 1737/8. It was apparently usual to send surplus corn to allow for any loss in shipment and for variations in measure. "I shall get the Bushell changed before I begin to load..." (the next ship), he noted.
15. *ibid.* 18 February 1737/8.
16. *ibid.* 28 February 1747/8.
17. *ibid.*, 4 April 1738
18. *ibid.*, 29 April 1744
19. 21 May 1802. Wilberforce House., STANEWELL DEEDS, Parcel 8, N° 15.

- 20. Benjamin Wilson's Papers. Information kindly supplied by Peter Mathias, Esq., Queen's College, Cambridge.
- 21. Smiths & Thompson's BANK LEDGERS, Wilberforce & Smiths' Acc't.
- 22. W.H.MSS., AUTOGRAPH LETTER BOX, 17 July 1791.
- 23. LEEDS INTELLIGENCER, 28 August 1770.
- 24. HULL PACKET, 5 March 1793.
- 25. *ibid.*, 9 February 1795.
- 26. Since the method of calculating shipping "belonging" to ports before 1786 was to count each separate ship which traded, the tonnage "belonging" naturally declined during war-time because less ships would trade; but this does not mean that the ACTUAL number and tonnage of shipping was in any way changed except, of course, for losses of various kinds.
- 27. MAISTER LETTERS, 13 April 1738.
- 28. *ibid.*, 22 April 1738.
- 29. Unfortunate ships were sometimes returned to their owners on payment of ransom. The 120 ton ELBE with a cargo worth £2,160, and the ANN with a cargo worth £5,819, were ransomed for £800 each in 1778. H.C.L.B., H-C., 21 October 1778.
- 30. HULL PACKET, 13 February 1795.
- 31. G.H.MSS., MINUTES OF CONVOY COMMITTEE, 2 April 1757.
- 32. For example, one convoy, due to leave Hull on 26 December 1799, did not leave until March 1800. PROCEEDINGS OF THE MANCHESTER COMMERCIAL SOCIETY, 6 March 1800. (The PROCEEDINGS are quoted in Redford, A., MANCHESTER MERCHANTS & FOREIGN TRADE, *passim*.)
- 33. MINUTES OF CONVOY COMMITTEE, 30 April 1782.
- 34. *ibid.*, 22 August 1780.
- 35. Macpherson, D., ANNALS OF COMMERCE, Vol.III, p.401.
- 36. 38 George III, c.76., *op.cit.* Macpherson, Vol.IV, p.447.
- 37. The crews of merchant ships were small (usually eight to twelve men) and always cut to the minimum, so that even a slight reduction by impressment meant that a ship was dangerously undermanned.
- 38. Lieutenant Ryder to Thomas Grimston, the Yorkshire landowner. HIST. MSS. COMM., DU CANE MSS., pp.222-224.
- 39. G.H.MSS., L.1320. (21 July 1782).

40. Nathaniel Maister to Thomas Grimston, 16 March 1756. (DU CANE)
41. For Greenland Protections see Whaling, Chapter 6. Protections could sometimes be gained for other men: in 1738 Nathaniel Maister told his brother, Henry, that if a ship bound for Hull had not already left London "...it will be proper to get some protections for the men, else they will be pressed by Capt Robinson's men who take all Seamen they can get...." It is not clear on what grounds these protections were to be claimed, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Press gang "incidents", with battles between the gangs and Greenlandmen, are recorded in Sheahan, HISTORY...OF...HULL, pp.147ff.
42. 6 March 1756. op.cit. Skeel, C.A.J., THE LETTER BOOKS OF A QUAKER MERCHANT, 1756-8 in ENG. HIST. REV., January 1916.
43. Bounties were usually given by the Corporation during war-time. In March 1756, for instance, they "ORDERED that £3 3s. be paid to every able Seaman and £2 2s. to every ordinary Seaman as shall voluntarily Enter into H.M. Service (before they be impressed)...." B.B.ix,234. Another bounty was offered in 1776 - this time of two guineas and one guinea - and between 15 November 1776 and 1 November 1779 no fewer than 143 Able Seamen and 215 Ordinary Seamen responded, at a total cost to the Corporation of £614 15s. CORPORATION CASH BOOK, passim. G.H.MSS.
44. DU CANE MSS., Ryder to Grimston, 30 June 1758.
45. ibid., 16 March 1758.
46. H.C.L.B., H-C., 15 August 1755.
47. See Whaling, Chapter 6.
48. There was a similar announcement on 3 July 1759, with thirty-five seamen involved.
- 49.
49. 2. MARINE INSURANCE
49. Information from MAISTER DAY BOOK, Hull University Library. Dates will be given in the text and no further notes made on the contents of the Day Book.
50. W.H., NUMBERED MSS BOX.
51. MAISTER LETTERS (57 letter on business matters, Nathaniel to Henry Maister, when the latter was at Westminster)
52. MAISTER LETTERS, 21 November 1744.

53. Strother's JOURNAL, fol. 51, 17 November 1784.
54. The Bubble Act prohibited all corporations except the Royal Exchange and the London Assurance Company, and also "all such Societies and Partnerships as now are, or hereafter shall or may be entered into by any Person or Persons, for assuring Ships or Merchandizes at Sea...." This was partly to give security to the Insured, for an underwriter's premiums were not liable for the debts of any merchant partnership of which he was a member. See Wright & Fayle, HISTORY OF LLOYD'S, pp. 61 and 250.
55. AGREEMENT in Hull University Library, MS DA690 H9.
56. See HISTORY OF LLOYD'S, pp. 65 and 161.
57. The names of the underwriters are contained in a list in Battle's DIRECTORY for 1791/2, and their occupations can be found after their individual entries in the general section of the Directory, and in other places.
58. Ramsey's Account, with no heading or remarks beyond the bare details of payments, is to be found in W.H.MSS.
59. Figures (a) and (b) from Ramsden's Account, (c) from Maister's DAY BOOK and MAISTER ACCOUNTS.
60. Macpherson, ANNALS, Vol. III, p. 401.
61. 38 George III, c. 76.
62. They were Robert Bell, candlemaker; Hanwith Hordan, mustard-manufacturer; and Heneage Lupton, brewer.
63. They lived closely together; fifteen brokers and sixteen underwriters lived in or off High Street.
64. The only copy of these "Proposals..." which I have been able to find is in W.H.MSS.
65. The list of names from Battle's DIRECTORY List of Brokers, and the occupations from the general section of the Directory.
66. Stray letter in W.H.MSS.
67. Letter in W.H., AUTOGRAPH LETTER BOX.
68. Stray letter in W.H.MSS.
69. When salvage was not allowed to the owners it was usually claimed by the underwriters. An advertisement in the HULL PACKET on 12 March 1793 offered 10,000 St Petersburg Deals, 100 Loads of Timber and 2,000 pieces of Lathwood, to be auctioned "For the Benefit of the Underwriters", when the

VALIANT of London ran aground at Saltfleet, Lincolnshire.

70. The Case of the NANCY OF SELBY (Marshall v. Joshua Howard and William Walker Jnr.) in which the owners were prosecuted for recovery of expences incurred in salvaging the ship at Theddlethorpe, Lincolnshire, is contained in W.H., LEGAL CASES PARCEL.
71. See HISTORY OF LLOYD'S, pp.143-150.

CHAPTER SIX

THE HULL WHALING INDUSTRY

Of all the branches of trade in the second half of the eighteenth century, whaling has always attracted the most attention in Hull, mainly because of the picture of hardship, bravery, adventure and novelty which emerges from the Log Books that have survived. But no attempt has been made to study whaling as an industry or as a branch of the general trade of Hull. It is proposed in this chapter to deal briefly with the origin of whaling in Hull, the type and number of ships employed in the trade, the kind of people who owned them, and, finally, the men who sailed them.

Surprising as it may seem, there is very little information about whaling in the eighteenth century, and the only set of contemporary references is to be found in the Hull Customs Letter Books, Hull-Commissioners. None of the hear-say local historians are worth consulting on this matter.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDUSTRY

Hull never had an extensive transatlantic trade, yet it was this trade - or rather, fluctuations in it - which provided the stimulus for the creation of the Hull whaling industry. Whale

oil, which was used principally for lighting, began to be imported from British North America, especially from Nantucket and Rhode Island, after the development of the American whaling industry which took place in the seventeen-thirties.¹ The Rhode Island industry, for example, was established soon after 1731, when the Rhode Island Assembly offered a bounty of five shillings per barrel of oil and one penny per pound of bone. The Hull merchants engaged in importing whale oil were such specialists in American trade as James Hamilton and Christopher Scott, and such oil millers as Joseph Pease.

The American whaling industry was not, however, a secure source of oil because of the effect upon it of the many wars in which the Americans were involved. Serious trouble started in 1752 when the French in Canada became restive and commenced their penetration down the Alleghany mountains to Fort Ohio, which they captured in 1753; war began between the French and English in earnest in 1754 and the failure of the Colonists to agree to Colonial Federation made the future of New England seem extremely uncertain. In such circumstances the whaling industry virtually ceased, and many whalers were conscripted into government service; in 1760 Amherst used no fewer than ninety in his campaign up the St. Lawrence, and such conscriptions were, in fact, quite common.²

With the temporary failure of the American industry the Hull merchants were forced to seek elsewhere for their supplies.

One of them, James Hamilton, took the only course open to him, and sent his ship YORK direct to Greenland in 1754, and three other ships, the BERRY, POOL and LEVIATHAN, were fitted out by the "Hull Whale Fishery & Company",³ formed by a group of merchants to exploit the situation. The ships were successful in their first venture, returning to Hull with fourteen whales and five seals, the first to reach Hull direct from the Arctic in the eighteenth century. Encouraged by this success, Hamilton sent another ship, the BOSVILLE, as well as the YORK, in 1755 and the Hull Whale Fishery & Co. also sent another ship, the ANN & ELIZABETH; a seventh ship, the MARY & JANE, was fitted out by the tobacco merchant, William Welfitt.

Little is known about the Hull Whale Fishery & Co., which was the only company fitting out whalers between 1758 and the lapse of the industry after the end of the 1762 season. The leaders of the company were presumably oil merchants; the only important shareholder whose name is known was Robert Pease,⁴ and it may be significant that one of their ships was the BERRY, the name of another Hull-oil merchant.⁵ The company was divided into eighty transferable shares of £250 each, making a total nominal capital of £20,000, which would more than cover the cost of its four whalers. A reasonable profit was made, ~~at~~ at least in the early days of whaling; and a dividend of £9 7s. 6d. was declared in May 1755 (for the 1754 season). The following year was even better, and the dividend paid in February 1756

(for 1755) amounted to £25 per share, ten per cent of the nominal subscription.⁶ A meagre clue to the income of the company is provided by the bank account of Pead & Co., the oil merchants and millors, who were the Hull Whale Fishery's chief customers. For the year 1758, when only two ships returned to Hull, Pead paid a total of £2,505 for oil to the "Directors of the Hull Whale Fishery".⁷ This, together with the bounty on the two ships, would bring the total income to about £3,750.

The Company was, however, declining. In 1758 their shares were selling for about £200, and they would no doubt become even less valuable as the returns declined. In 1762 the two remaining ships, the BERRY and the LEVIATHAN, brought home only 1½ tons of fish oil, 22 seal skins and 9 sea-horse skins between them,⁸ and they did not go to Greenland again. The last reference to the Company is dated March 1764, when Pease paid them £11 5s. 4d. for some unknown reason,⁹ but by then they had ceased to be an active body.

The decline of the whaling industry was caused partly by the war in Europe, which brought about a general decline in trade and a brief financial crisis in the years 1758-9, and partly by the ceasing of hostilities in America, which enabled whaling to be revived there. The first phase of Hull whaling was, in fact, regarded more or less as an expedient by the merchants taking part in it; America was still regarded as the best permanent source of whale oil, and Greenland was still only

a troublesome alternative in emergencies. In the year following the establishment of the industry in Hull, and despite the troubles in North America, Christopher Scott had imported some forty tons of oil from Rhode Island,¹⁰ and as early as 1757 Hamilton had sent the BOSVILLE back on the American run after its brief life as a whaler.¹¹ Thereafter, oil was once more imported regularly from America, and as late as March 1765 Pead & Co. brought over sixty tons of oil in the ANN, from Boston, New England.¹²

The Hull whaling industry received a fresh impetus in the late sixties, when the oppressive Act of 1766 placed a duty on oil and bone imported from the colonies, while Englishmen were offered a bounty to help in the establishment of a native industry. It goes without saying that the American whaling industry was adversely affected. The old Hull Whale Fishery ship BERRY, now under the control of Samuel Standidge, was fitted out in 1766, and returned with one whale and several hundred seal skins. In the following year Standidge fitted out a second ship, the ~~BRITISH QUEEN~~ BRITISH QUEEN, and a third ship, the BRITANNIA, was fitted out in 1768. So far Standidge had been venturing alone, but he was joined by another three owners in 1769; by 1770 there were seven shkps, nine by 1772, and twelve by 1775, but thereafter another temporary decline reduced the numbers to three or four per annum.

The Hull whaling industry was, in fact, not developing

very quickly, and until 1785 the port played only an insignificant part in the national whaling industry. Compared with the number of ships fitting out from all the English ports, the number of ships sailing from Hull was very small indeed, being 4 out of 36 in 1754, none out of 32 in 1764, 9 out of 65 in 1774 and 9 out of 89 in 1784. Hull assumed its position of importance in the national whaling industry after the boom which began in 1784 following the third great collapse of the American whaling industry during the Revolutionary war. The English troops took at least fifty ships from Nantucket, and many of the remainder fled to the Falkland Islands because of their equivocal position;¹³ they needed the London market, but in order to sail from America they had to satisfy the General Court of Massachusetts Bay that they were rebels. Caught as they were between their fellow New Englanders, who regarded them as "rank Tories who ordered their oil to be carried to the London market...",¹⁴ and the English who regarded them as rebels, the Nantucket fleet alone lost over two hundred thousand pounds' worth of ships, and in despair the whaler owners began to look towards the continent as a likely base. One of the principal owners, William Rotch, tried to find an English port for his fleet, but failed to do so and set up his headquarters in Dunkirk. Besides the obvious fact that the supply of American oil was cut off once more, there was also the influx of American ships and crews which probably came to all the principal English ports, besides Milford Haven

and Dunkirk.¹⁵

The whaling industry expanded rapidly in Hull after 1784, as in the other ports, but when the boom ended, in the early nineties, the decline in trade was less marked in Hull than in the nation as a whole. Thus the percentage of ships fitting out from Hull rose from 10.5% of the national total in 1782 to 44.4% in 1800, and Hull became the most important outpost in the trade, ranking second only to London.¹⁶

TABLE 41. HULL WHALERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL ENGLISH WHALERS.

1782	10.5%	1790	24.2%	1796	38.6%
1784	10.1%	1792	22.9%	1798	38.9%
1786	12.5%	1794	32.0%	1800	44.4%
1788	10.6%	.....		

The expansion of the industry in Hull after its revival in 1766 was thus due mainly to the increasing demand for oil at a time when it was becoming unsatisfactory to import it from America, ~~first~~ firstly because of the wars, secondly because of the desire to cut out the middlemen in America, and thirdly because, after the Revolutionary war, American oil ceased to be "British caught". John Adams, the Minister in London, is said to have complained: "We are all surprised that you prefer darkness and consequent robberies, burglaries and murders in your Streets to receiving, as a remittance our spermaceti oil...."¹⁷ But whaling was now a great national industry, to be safeguarded

TABLE 42. WHALERS: NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF HULL SHIPS COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL ENGLISH SHIPS FITTING OUT, 1754-1800.¹⁸

Date	TOTAL ENGLISH		TOTAL HULL		Date	TOTAL ENGLISH		TOTAL HULL	
	Nº	Tons	Nº	Tons		Nº	Tons	Nº	Tons
1754	36	11,663	4	1,453	1778	71	n.a	8	2,231
1755	65	21,297	7	2,208	9	59	n.a	4	982
6	67	21,332	7	2,210	80	52	n.a	4	1,059
7	55	17,225	4	1,227	1	34	9,862	3	764
8	52	15,402	4	1,168	2	38	11,124	4	761
9	34	10,339	3	1,015	3	47	14,270	4	n.a
60	40	12,084	3	1,015	4	89	27,228	9	n.a
1	31	9,791	2	656	5	140	43,570	14	n.a
2	28	8,777	2	656	6	168	52,254	21	n.a
3	30	9,417	0	0	7	217	65,890	29	n.a
4	32	10,262	0	0	8	222	64,987	36	n.a
5	33	10,101	0	0	9	151	46,282	30	n.a
6	35	10,917	1	315	90	103	30,819	25	n.a
7	39	12,285	2	662	1	93	27,546	22	n.a
8	41	12,804	3	1,054	2	87	25,596	20	n.a
9	44	13,473	6	1,816	3	73	21,287	18	n.a
70	50	14,778	7	1,598	4	53	14,772	17	n.a
1	not available		7	1,934	5	40	10,877	15	n.a
2	50	π	9	2,355	6	44	12,091	17	n.a
3	55	π	9	2,669	7	57	15,801	21	n.a
4	65	π	9	2,703	8	59	16,597	23	n.a
5	96	π	12	3,548	9	60	17,047	27	n.a
6	-	π	9	2,446	1800	54	15,405	24	n.a
7	77	π	9	2,533					

at all costs against the claims of foreign competitors, who were not, under the mercantilist system, to be allowed free access to English ports. The increasing returns from whaling were thus to be reserved exclusively for Englishmen. Both oil and bone fetched good prices, and whaling became one of the most profitable ways of employing a ship. Although there are unfortunately no records of the value of oil in Hull, some national figures do exist for six years, and these show a reasonably close connexion between the increase in the price of oil and the increase in the number of ships fitting out:

TABLE #3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRICE OF WHALE OIL AND THE NUMBER OF SHIPS FITTING OUT. ¹⁹

	1773	1774	1775	1783	1784	1785
Value of oil	£22-5	£18-21	£28	£22½-3½	£22-6	£25-7
Engl. Ships	55	65	96	47	89	140
Hull Ships	9	9	12	4	9	14
					

Another factor influencing the growth of the whaling industry - although not as much as might be expected - was the government bounty granted to all ships that completed sixteen weeks in the Greenland fishing grounds. At the rate of forty shillings per ton, after 1750, the bounty on an average sized ship would be worth between £500 and £600. A fresh Bounty Act of 1771 set out to reduce the bounty by five yearly stages, finally abolishing it in 1786, but the owners resolutely opposed this move and the

bounty was allowed to continue; in 1782 the owners were still receiving forty shillings per ton,²⁰ and they were receiving thirty shillings long after 1786. The bounty was obviously of great value to the owners, especially when a ship returned without a cargo, but once the industry was firmly established the fluctuations in the value of the bounties did not, in fact, greatly affect the number of ships fitting out. The industry was affected to a far greater extent by other factors such as demand and prices, war, and the general trade fluctuations, and it is doubtful if the bounty did anything more than maintain an atmosphere favourable to whaling. The Hull owners were certainly over-stating their case when they maintained, in December 1785, that "if the present bounty falls short as it certainly does of defraying the expences attending the outfit etc of these precarious and hazardous voyages, it cannot be supposed that the shipowners can continue such a trade without a continuation of the encouragement...."²¹ Indeed, it is strongly asserted in the Jonkinson papers²² that the bounty had little real effect on the state of the industry and was therefore - from the point of view of the government - uneconomical, and the whaling statistics bear out this judgement (with the exception of the rise that occurred in the number of ships fitting out after the 1749 Act), despite the assertions of the whaler owners.²³ After the passing of the 1771 Act, which threatened the future of the bounty, the number of ships

fitting out increased by almost 100 per cent, and the number declined not in 1781, when the bounty was reduced by ten shillings, but in 1779 when the war with America and France became serious; trade revived again after the end of the war, and the bounty alone certainly cannot account for the great rise in the number of ships fitting out between 1785 and 1788. Thus, although the bounty was fairly important in encouraging owners, the growth of whaling took place in response to a demand for its products, like any other industry or trade, and the fluctuations in whaling were determined by the personal interests and fortunes of the owners and by international relations.

The Hull whaling fleet fished in northern waters, off the coast of Greenland or in the Davis Streights. With a few exceptions Hull ships took no part in the southern whale fishery, and those ships which did go to the southern fishery were usually smaller than the average Greenland ship. When they went south they seem to have concentrated on seal skins rather than oil. The ALBION (128 tons) and the PHOENIX (275 tons) fitted out for the southern fishery in 1786 (the first record of Hull ships going there), the EDWARD (230 tons), the MINERVA (175 tons) and the ALBION in 1787, and the EDWARD in 1788.²⁴ Of these four ships only the MINERVA is heard of after 1788, and she is included in the list of ships sailing to Greenland,

TABLE 44. HULL WHALING STATISTICS, 1772-1800.²⁷

Date	N ^o	SHIPS		CARGOES			
		Lost	Clean	Total		Averages	
				OIL	BONE	OIL	BONE
1772	9	-	-	391	19	43	2
3	9	-	2	265	14	30	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	9	1	-	446	23	58	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1775	12	3	5	68	3	7	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
6	9	-	-	276	13	30	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
7	9	-	-	333	15	37	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	8	-	2	171	9	21	1
9	4	1	-	142	7	47	2
1780	5	-	-	309	15	77	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
1	3	-	-	263	13	88	4
2	4	-	-	217	11	72	3
3	4	-	-	290	15	72	3
4	9	-	-	432	22	48	2
1785	14	-	1	722	36	43	2
6	21	1	-	856	43	35	2
7	29	1	2	1,132	56	39	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	36	-	2	958	47	28	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	30	2	3	854	43	31	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1790	25	2	1	832	42	36	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1	22	1	6	345	17	19	1
2	20	-	1	896	45	44	2
3	18	-	1	835	41	46	2
4	17	-	-	709	35	46	2
1795	15	-	1	1,148	57	82	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
6	17	1	-	1,578	77	92	4
7	21	-	-	1,741	87	83	4
8	23	-	-	2,162	100	94	4
9	27	1	-	2,244	110	86	4
1800	24	2	-	1,818	90	82	4

[†]N^o of ships is 4 in H.C.R.L., MS. 1281.

[†]N^o of ships is 3 in do.

although she definitely went south in 1793²⁵ (in which year she is recorded as coming home clean, presumably from Greenland, in H.C.R.L., MS.L281) and again in 1796.²⁶ While it is possible that there may be mistakes in MS.L281, as in the case of the MINERVA in 1793 (see page 348), its author's apparent indifference to the question of whether a ship went north or south emphasises the fact that where the ship went made little difference to the oil, bone and skin merchants and, ultimately, to the whaling industry in Hull.

2. THE SHIPS.

The early whalers were not specially constructed ships. Apart from the gear required to lower and raise the boats, and to haul in the catch, they were normal merchantmen with reinforced hulls to withstand the pack-ice. Most of them were of the transatlantic merchantment class, between 80 and 100 feet long (not much bigger than a good sized whale), with two or three masts; the average tonnage for the forty ships for which a figure is available was 290 tons (excluding the eight small seal catchers of less than 200 tons). The largest ship sailing from Hull was the ALLIANCE, of 428 tons, and the smallest was the seal catcher YOUNG RICHARD, which was only 83 tons.

They were withdrawn, when required, from the transatlantic run. Hamilton's BOSVILLE, for example, was one of his regular

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American traders until he sent it to Greenland in 1755, and it returned to the American run when whaling temporarily declined. His 267 ton ship MANCHESTER, Hull's champion whaler in the seventies and eighties, was also originally used (1765-9) to bring such things as tar and turpentine from America,²⁸ and he did not send it to Greenland until the industry had become firmly re-established in 1770.

A surprising number of the later whalers were American-built ships; no less than 13 in 1787.²⁹ Some of them may have been built originally for the North American whaling fleet - they may have been prizes taken during the American Revolutionary war - but whatever their original purpose their existence in Hull emphasises the reliance of the port on ships which were not usually to be found in Hull. Indeed, in the absence of a large transatlantic trade Hull obtained many of the whalers from other ports. The MANCHESTER, for example, was originally a Liverpool ship until it was purchased from Bird, Bache & Traffords in 1765, and the MOLLY was a Glasgow ship.³⁰ Of the later ships at least the GREENLAND, ENTERPRISE, LADY JANE and MAYFLOWER were originally registered in London before being purchased for the Hull fleet.³¹

The cost of a medium sized whaler was a little over £2,000. An estimate of £2,434 for one fitted out from Liverpool was given in evidence before the Committee of Trade in 1786,³² and

the price of the only Hull whaler for which the figure is known roughly agrees with this; the ENTERPRISE cost approximately £2,088 when Sparks & Company fitted it out in 1788, although it was later sold at a loss for £1,500.³³

The normal running costs of a whaler were very heavy. Each year the ship had to be refitted, the damage of the previous year repaired, and provisions for five months or more stored on board; the total cost could be anything up to a quarter of the total ~~max~~ value of the ship. On top of these expences there was the wages of the crew, which would be about £500 for a 300 ton ship, Dock dues, and other incidental expences.

The costs of whaling were heavy and the risks great; but the profits were immense though unpredictable. According to the Jenkinson Papers a ship had to bring home at least 30 tons of oil and 1½ tons of bone (worth approximately £245 per ton and oil £21 per ton) to make a saving voyage.³⁴ But as a small whale yielded about 19 tons of oil and a middling one about 22 tons, a whaler had to take only 1½ or 2 whales to show a profit. In the instances recorded in the Port Books and the Hull Customs Letter Books, the number of whales caught was usually between one and five, although higher numbers were common, seventeen being the highest surviving record (for the CAROLINE in 1780). The amount of oil naturally varied with the size of the whales, but a good catch may well be 140 tons. For several years - 1780-83 and 1795f - the average cargoes, as calculated by the

author of MS.L281, were over 70 tons per ship, which means that for several ships the figure would be much larger than this, although for some ships it would naturally be much lower.

If a ship was lucky, like the MANCHESTER in 1786, it could make £3,750 in a single voyage, excluding the value of any seal skins and the bounty. On the other hand a ship might return with a practically valueless cargo; the BERRY, which in 1758 brought home 114 tons of oil from 15 whales, brought home only two seal skins in 1760. The actual size of the catch depended on the skill of the master and crew, the weather, the number of whalers fishing in a particular area, international relations and good luck, and consequently the size varied from ship to ship and year to year. The list of average cargoes in Table 4-4 is therefore of little practical value in showing the position of individual owners, although it does give some indication of the general state of the trade; it does show that averages tended to decline with the increase in the number of whalers.

Seal skins formed an important part of the whalers' catch. From the very beginning, in 1754, seals had been hunted for their valuable fur, which Sheahan says was worth five shillings per skin. They were much easier to catch than whales, and ships which had fared badly in the whale fishery endeavoured to make up their cargo with skins. The first Hull ship to do so on a large scale was Standidge's BERRY, in 1766, which returned with one whale and 400 seal skins; two years ~~earlier~~ later his

BRITISH QUEEN brought back one whale and 700 skins, and after that most ships brought back one or two hundred. So important did this part of the industry become that seven or eight small ships were specially fitted out for seal catching, but unfortunately no record of their activities has survived. Several of them spent their time in the southern fishery; in April 1793 a ship arrived in Falmouth with the news that when it had left the south nine weeks earlier the MINERVA of Hull had already caught 12,000 seals and was still going strong.³⁵

Whalers did not spend the season in Greenland and the rest of the year in the dock or repair yard. As we saw earlier, whalers were normal merchantmen with a few extra fittings, and between trips to Greenland many (perhaps all) of them reverted to the merchant service, at least during the first twenty years of whaling. In 1771, for example, the MANCHESTER and the KING OF PRUSSIA both brought deals and iron from St Petersburg, and the BERRY brought deals from Narva.³⁶ The BERRY appears several times in the Hull Customs Letter Books, because Standidge preferred to use it on ~~merchant~~^{government} service during the winter. In 1770 he offered it to the Customs as a Lazarette for seven shillings and six pence per ton (roughly £120) per month;³⁷ the offer was apparently refused, for the BERRY entered Russian service as a navy transport.³⁸ In 1772 it became a Brigantine (presumably in the British navy) and in the following

year it fitted out from London to save the journey back to Hull.³⁹

In 1776 it was once more in government service, being used to transport coal to Boston, New England, for government use.⁴⁰

As if the dangers of the Arctic were not enough, another of Standidge's ships, the BRITANNIA, ran aground off the Suffolk coast while on her way to Oporto with pipe staves in January 1772.⁴¹

Owners were constantly faced with the risk of a ship coming home 'clean', but the most serious problem facing them was the damage incurred almost every year. It handicapped the fishing, and by forcing a ship to remain in dry dock it could also prejudice the ship's chance of picking up out-of-season work. No record of whaling would be complete without some account of the hazards facing the industry.

The best example is the case of the GREENLAND in 1788. There is nothing unusual about either the GREENLAND or its damage. It was a 200 ton ship making its maiden voyage for Samuel Standidge, with one of the best captains, John Anderson, in command. But it was forced to return to Hull before the expiry of the legal period required to secure the bounty and therefore a Customs inquiry was made and is recorded in the Hull Customs Letter Books.⁴²

The ship sailed from Hull on 11 March 1788, "in all respects

well and sufficiently fitted furnished fortified manned and provided with all things needful and necessary for a voyage to Davis Streights or the Greenland Seas."⁴³ The master intended making for the Davis Streights, and after sheltering from gales in the Shetlands for four days the ship set out on 19 March. For a month they sailed across the Atlantic, but "...apprehending from the wind being set in the contrary that they might not reach those seas in time for the Fishery..." they altered course and headed for Greenland on 22 April. They reached the ice at Latitude 75° North on 8 May and began fishing immediately. On the fourteenth, however, a gale forced the ship onto the ice and the mainpiece of the rudder was broken and the iron work greatly damaged. The following day the starboard bow was damaged and one pump had to be set constantly at work, but the men continued to attempt to catch whales until the twenty-fourth, when, as they were trying to dock the ship in the ice, it struck against it with such force that the whole ship was shaken and the cut water so badly damaged that timbers floated to the surface. On the twenty-sixth the larboard bow was struck, and the following day a cable had to be cut into fenders "to prevent the ship being stove by the ice." When the gale and the fog had died down the captain, mate, carpenter and harpooners held a conference and decided that it would be suicidal to remain in the Arctic and they set sail for home, arriving in Hull on 24 June 1788.

3. THE OWNERS

The whaling firms in the first phase of the industry were, as we have seen, on the one hand a couple of ordinary merchant-shipowners engaged in the American trade, and on the other hand a group of merchants who joined together to form the Hull Whale Fishery & Company. In the second phase of whaling the companies generally were specialists in whaler-owning, constructed like the Hull Whale Fishery & Co. by merchants, shipowners and others for the purpose of administering the affairs of a particular ship or group of ships. The last whaler recorded as belonging to an individual merchant company was the MANCHESTER, which James Hamilton sold to John Staniforth, the shipowner, in 1771. Thereafter the whaling firms were independent of the private business concerns of the various shareholders, and they existed solely for the exploitation of the whale fishery.

A few of the firms were built round master mariners, who acted as masters or 'managing owner', or who had worked their way up from mates and masters to part owners. Samuel Standidge, who is often said (mistakenly) to have founded the industry in Hull, had originally been a mate and then master in the American trade, bringing oil from Rhode Island for Christopher Scott as late as 1755.⁴⁴ He no doubt made some money by trading on his own account, and in 1767 he was able to equip the old BERRY, which had belonged to the Hull Whale Fishery & Co., and sent it to

Greenland again. Standidge was not the only owner who rose from the ranks; Humphrey Foord, who first went to Greenland as master of the JENNY in 1769, and who, as master of the MANCHESTER after 1770, became the most successful whaling captain in Hull, eventually acquired a half share in the MANCHESTER,⁴⁵ and later joined with Henry Coates (a member of Eggingtons & Co.) to buy the MINERVA from Burstall & Co. in 1799.⁴⁶

But the majority of principal owners were either oil merchants or shipowners. William Watson Bolton and Christopher Bolton, oil millers, were the principals ~~in~~ⁱⁿ two companies⁴⁷ which owned the SYMMETRY and MINERVA and the LOTTERY and ARIEL, and Dr W.W. Bolton was also one of the principal members of Eggingtons & Co. Widow Eggington & Sons (Joseph and Gardner) were also oil millers and principals of the company owning the ELIZABETH, FANNY, MARY and OAK HALL, and they presumably also owned the EGGINGTON, perhaps in another company.⁴⁸ Chief among the shipowners with interests in whalers were John Staniforth, Daniel Tong and Daniel MacPharson.

Ships of all kinds were by custom divided into a number of shares - usually four or five - which were owned by a principal owner who was professionally a shipowner and by secondary owners who bought shares solely as a means of investing and increasing their modest fortunes. Master mariners, victuallers, ropemakers, wharfingers, merchants, bankers, merchants' clerks and bankers' clerks all sought to buy the easily transferable shares which were

constantly being advertised for auction. "To be Sold", ran an advertisement in the HULL PACKET, "One fourth part of the good ship or vessel called the BROTHERS, of Hull, of the burthen of between five and six hundred tons; and of her boats Fishing Tackle and Stores."⁴⁹

Thus the number of men forming a company could vary from the two shareholders of the MANCHESTER to the sixteen shareholders of Eggingtons & Co. An analysis of Eggingtons & Co. illustrates the the variety of shareholders in a large concern, and also illustrates the way in which men often held shares in a number of different companies. The principal owners were, of course, Elizabeth Eggington and her sons, and they were supported by Dr W.W. Bolton, John Kiero, who was a ropemaker and also owner of part of the ENTERPRIZE (1799); John Sykes of Sykes & Co., the greatest merchant firm in Hull; Wray & Hollingsworth, timber merchants (two shares); Robert Kinder; William Lee and Ralph Turner, merchants; Daniel PacPharson, principal owner of the CHANCE and one of the instigators of the scheme for establishing a North Sea Fishing industry in Hull; Overend & Thompson, among the most important wharfingers in Hull; Henry Coates, oil merchant and miller (of Jarratt & Coates) and half owner of the MINERVA (1799); and finally P. Middleton, another ropemaker.

Eggingtons & Co. was a very large concern. A more typical firm, and the only one about which financial information has survived, was William Sparks & Co.⁵⁰ This firm was founded in

the last few months of 1786, when Sparks, who may have been a master mariner, was joined by John Burstall, Richard Terry, Thomas Thompson and Abel Smith, each partner contributing £600 to the joint capital. With the money they bought and equipped the GIBRALTAR, and sent it to Greenland in 1787. The company succeeded in its venture and in March 1788 the partners each put up a further £350, which they augmented by transferring £1,000 from the profits in the account of the GIBRALTAR for 1787, to purchase a second ship, the ENTERPRISE, for £2,088. In the next few years, however, they did not fare so well, and after the death of Sparks they decided to sell the ENTERPRISE. The price fetched by the auction was £1,500, and this, together with the surplus credit in the account, was distributed to the partners at the rate of £863 per share. In the meantime Thomas Thompson appears to have acquired Abel Smith's share, and another member of Smiths & Thompson's, Samuel Smith, bought the share (for £325) which Mrs Elizabeth Sparks offered for sale in 1793.⁵¹ Dividends remained reasonably high, and £1,500 was distributed in 1795, but in March 1796 the ship was sent to Archangel, fell a victim to the enemy, and was never seen again. The last dividend was distributed in June 1796, and Sparks & Co. ceased to exist.

Sparks' was like many of the small companies; it was formed to run one ship and out of profits bought a second. But when it sold one of the ships and lost the other the firm ceased to exist

because the ships were its sole raison d'etre.

Not all the shareholders in whaling firms were Hull men. John Smith of Gainsborough was listed as the sole owner of the MARIA in 1798,⁵² and the LONDON was owned by a company which included Edmund Taylor, wharfinger of Halifax, and several merchants and Emanuel Silva "Insurance Broker" of London.⁵³ A quarter of the KINGSTON was owned by John Finley, merchant in Jamaica (presumably related to Edward Finley of Hull, who was also a shareholder),⁵⁴ and a fifth of the ENTERPRISE in 1799 was owned by Joseph Horncastle of London,⁵⁵ Benjamin Wilson, the Burton brewer, included shipowning among his many activities, and in February 1790 his Day Book was credited with £18 15s. for "1/16 profits of 2 Voyages of Greenlandman (Henry Hammond)."⁵⁶ This is, incidentally, the only known reference to a distribution of profits for a definite period. The ship must have been doing very badly to be paying out only £300 for two voyages, but nevertheless the profit represents a dividend of approximately seven per cent of the value of the share if the whaler was worth £2,000.

4. THE CREWS.

When the South Sea Company commenced whaling in 1725 there were, according to Macpherson, no Englishmen who knew anything

about it, and "all their commanders, harponeers, boatsteerers, line veerers and blubber-cutters" had to be brought over from Fohrde in Holstein.⁵⁷ But by the time Hull sent its first whalers to Greenland, English seamen were employed exclusively, and the trade had come to be regarded as one of the chief nurseries for seamen. There is, however, little doubt that the men received their training from foreigners, and it may be more than a coincidence that the best whaler captain in Hull was Humphrey Foord.⁵⁸

The masters, at least in the early days, were drawn like their ships from the American trade. On the whole they tended to remain with one ship and to acquire a share in it, but in the case of the larger companies they often changed about among the ships owned by that company. So far as is known they were all Englishmen.

When the industry expanded the mates of the original ships most probably became masters, and the new masters brought in from other branches of trade could easily learn the trade because of the custom for several ships to hunt together.

The total crew, including the master, mate, cook, surgeon and one or two carpenters, was usually between thirty and forty-five. By the 1771 Bounty Act all ships of 200 tons were compelled to carry at least four boats and six men for each of them, and one boat and six men for every further fifty tons.

It was these six-men boats and not the whalers which did

the actual catching of the whales. The ships cut themselves a dock in the ice and then sent out the small boats three or four together; if the boats from more than one ship made a kill, then the whale was shared. The dead whales were towed back to the parent ship, dismembered by the flensers, and stowed away in casks to be processed in the factories along Wincolmee.

For the men who chased giant whales in small rowing boats in icy water the conditions of labour were not good, and the cold and danger drove out of the industry all but the toughest men. Apprentices often fared badly - the Corporation paid out 3s. 6d. on 21 September 1762 "To ye Jury for a Boy belonging ye Greenland Co."⁵⁹ - and occasionally a master would add his own brutality to that of nature. The result was that crews occasionally mutinied, as when William Allen, master of the WHALEFISHER, was beaten by the mate, George Hopkins, who took over the control of the ship and addressed the crew in true musical-comedy style: "Now my Lads I am Master of the ship and I wish to be Master." Several of the crew on this occasion thought differently, and led by the surgeon they brought the captain back from the neighbouring YOUNG MARIA, where he had taken refuge, and the luckless Hopkins found himself in chains.⁶⁰

Although conditions were often bad, the provisions for the crew were good. As part of his evidence in the GREENLAND case in 1788, Samuel Standidge had submitted to the Customs a list of stores remaining on board when she arrived home 57 days

before she was due. The stores were calculated for those days and the surplus and totals shown:⁶¹

	lb	Surplus	Total
BEEF - 1 lb p.day for 42 men for 17 days -	614	422	1036
PORK - 1 lb p.day for 42 men for 17 days -	614	394	1008
FISH - 1/2 lb p.day for 42 men for 23 days -	483	189	672
BREAD - 1 lb p.day -- 42 men for 57 days	2394	1190	3584
FLOUR - 1/2 lb p.day -- 42 men for 18 days -	428	132	560
WHITE PEAS - 16 pints each day - 39 days -	624	400	1024pts.
BARLEY @ 8 lb. - - - - - 57 days -	446	226	672
BUTTER @ 4 lb. for every fish dy 23 days -	92	76	168

Liquid refreshment was not quite so generous. It was usually anything that the owners could buy up cheaply, although the meat may have been the same, for that matter. In 1786 five owners offered to buy condemned spirits of poor quality from the Customs at one shilling per gallon, for the 1787 season,⁶² and this was probably their favourite way of securing spirits.

Whaling was, then, a hard life for the crews, but it had two great attractions which drew men from all other branches of the merchant marine. In the first place the wages were good, and in the second place 'Greenmen' were exempt from service in the Royal Navy.

About wages little can be said except that they were better than those paid to ordinary seamen. From a reference in the Customs Letter Books⁶³ it may be guessed that they were between fifteen and twenty shillings per week, but Greenlandmen were, of course, paid for only half the year, and they had to

manage as best they could for the other half.

All seamen were notoriously loath to serve His Majesty, the worst employer in England, but only the whaling and coal trades were considered sufficiently important for their seamen to be exempt from the doubtful privilege of serving before the mast during war time. Whaling was regarded as a great National industry, and its continuity was protected. Greenlandmen, who would have been the easiest prey of the pressgangs in their long periods ashore, were thus given a document known as the "Greenland Protection", which was ^{valid} ~~official~~ for the time between the end of one season and the beginning of the next.

Enthusiastic pressgangs did not always have respect for official Protections. In 1757 the YORK, BERRY, POOL and ANN & ELIZABETH took no chances, and the BERRY was the only ships which arrived in Hull with its full crew; the crew of the ANN & ELIZABETH confined the captain to his cabin (probably with his connivance) and landed in Lincolnshire, and the crew of the POOL landed at Paul.⁶⁴ Four years later, on 15 August 1761, when the Customs boat "together with Robert Pease Esq. a Proprietor of the Fishery" (viz. the Hull Whale Fishery & Co.) went out to meet the BERRY in order to muster the men and take an account of the catch, they were fired on by the crew of the MERMAID Man-of-war. When they reached the BERRY:

"Mr Storey, a Lieutenant of the MERMAID, came on board the BERRY in a Swearing disolute manner with his Boats crew armed with Carhines, Pistols, and Cutlasses and being asked the reason why he fired on the Customshouse Boat he gave for answer that he thought they were carrying protections off to the Greenlandmen."

A protection was obviously a very valuable document. It guaranteed freedom, a good wage, and immunity from the risks which beset a naval seaman at action stations. As a result the Customs were constantly being asked for new protections, usually because the old one had jumped out of its owner's inside pocket as he happened to be leaning over the side of a ship.... One wondors how much these "lost" protections fetched on the seamen's black market.

The need for protections during the many years of conflict determined the conditions of employment for most of the eighteenth century. It was usual for crews to enter into contracts with the owners of their ships and bonds with the government, to return to their ships when recalled for the next season. The crew of the MANCHESTER, for instance, entered into a bond of £250 each with the government to return to the ship, but on 2 March 1783 the owners, John Staniforth and Humphrey Foord, complained to the Customs that two of them, James Bradley and John Parks, line managers, had not returned to the ship because the war had ended, and the owners claimed that they should forfeit their bonds because they had not turned up when sent for and had caused inconvenience and delay to the ship. 66

During peace-time crews were not legally bound to return to their ships, but the competition for places was so great that they may have contacted from one voyage to the next as in war-time.

Whaling seamen were no more idle than their ships between voyages. Many of them would be retained as a skeleton crew of fifteen or sixteen when their ship went on merchant runs to America, Spain or the Baltic, and others took jobs in other ships, like Thomas Oliver, who wrote to inform the Customs that he had lost his protection while "engaged as a Seaman on board the MARY OF SUNDERLAND employed in the Coast Trade."⁶⁷

But the most popular occupation - if that is what it can be called - was to be retained as "Evidences" by the Commissioners of Customs in the never-ending disputes over bounty, or by the underwriters in insurance disputes. The Collector at Hull wrote to the Commissioners of Customs in February 1790 informing them that

"Several of the Greenland Sailors to whom the Collector pays ten shillings per week each by your orders have lately been with us; and the Greenland Ships for the ensuing season are now fitting out, they alledge that if they are not soon dismissed they shall lose the opportunity of shipping themselves, as the owners of such ships are now engaging their Hands."

The Collector thought they would all disappear in any case soon, "...the wages and allowances at Sea being more than what the Collector pays them, although during the winter all were

striving to be on the list of Evidences." On this occasion their three months idleness cost them dear, for they all missed their ships in the end.⁶⁸

Whaling was an important branch of the general economy of Hull, but care must be taken to view it in its proper perspective. The Hull whaling industry employed only a small proportion of the total tonnage of shipping engaged in the general overseas trade, just as it formed only a negligible part of the national industry until the late seventeen-eighties (Table 42). According to national records, whalers made up a comparatively large proportion of the ships 'belonging' to the port and engaged in overseas trade, the average percentage being 15.1% for the five years ending in 1760, 10% for the five years ending in 1770, and 13.1% for the five years ending in 1780. (Whalers naturally formed a smaller percentage of the tonnage of ships engaged in all trades, including the coasters - 9.2%, 6.5% and 8.7% respectively). But each whaler traded only once a year, whereas the ships engaged in the coastal and overseas trades made several voyages a year, depending on the distance they covered, and of these repeated voyages the whalers form a very small percentage. In 1776, for instance, whalers made up only 2.7% of the total tonnage paying Dock dues, and in 1786 the figure was only 4%; in the greatest year of the century for whaling, 1788, the percentage was still only 7% if the thirty-six whalers are

assumed to have amounted to 10,000 tons, a liberal estimate.

TABLE 46. TONNAGE OF WHALING SHIPS COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL SHIPS PAYING DOCK COMPANY DUES.

	Total	Whalers		Total	Whalers
1775	109,491	3,548	1782	86,408	761
6	102,791	2,846	3	107,476	1,090
7	97,276	2,533	4	119,454	2,501
8	100,772	2,231	5	117,743	4,036
9	88,778	982	6	132,108	5,279
80	88,409	1,059	7	144,183	7,894
1	91,138	764			

The importance of whaling did not lie in numbers or tonnages, but in the fact that it was Hull's only large-scale industry. The ships provided the raw material which was refined into marketable oil in the half a dozen or more factories which were to be found in the suburb of Sculcoates, to the north of the town. Thus whaling meant employment, albeit seasonal, to a large number of men, varying from the smallest number (after 1772) of approximately 130 to the largest of approximately 1,500, who were engaged as Greenlandmen for the summer months. It also meant employment to those engaged in the Greenlandhouses and in the soap and candle factories, to the shipwrights who were constantly having to fit and repair whalers, and to the victuallers who supplied the ships.

It follows that whaling was a valuable source of income for the town. Whale oil was the sole property of the owners who brought it into the port, and so the full value of the raw material remained to be distributed in the town, whereas

merchants only received a commission on cargoes in the overseas and coastal trades. Moreover, as it provided an income for a large number of people - seamen, factory hands, tanners, victuallers and shipwrights - it most probably acted as a stimulus to immigration from the surrounding countryside and from the decayed ports.

Whaling was thus more important than its size implies, in that it was primarily an industry in Hull rather than a trade from Hull, and in that the cargoes were generally of higher value than cargoes in the coastal or foreign trades. Whaling grew in response to a demand for its products which increased their price, and it declined when demand ceased and the industry was no longer profitable. But while it lasted - and more especially in the early nineteenth century - whaling was a factor to be reckoned with in the economy of Hull.

NOTES

1. The American whaling industry is dealt with in detail by Edward A. Stackpole, THE SEA HUNTERS: THE NEW ENGLAND WHALEMEN DURING TWO CENTURIES, 1635-1835, Philadelphia, 1953, from which the information about America in this chapter has been chiefly obtained.
2. The English took 50 ships from Nantucket at the outbreak of the American Revolution: Stackpole passim.
3. Information about the whalers is contained in the PORT BOOKS, E190/369/2 following, and also in the HULL CUSTOMS LETTER BKS, HULL - COMMISSIONERS, passim. For a complete list, see Appendix 6
4. See page 452.
5. Daniel Berry, oil merchant in 1742, according to W.H., EAST YORKS DEEDS, N^o 53.
6. Financial information from the PEASE BANK LEDGERS, Haldenby Dixon's account, 1757-8. Dixon owned one share in the Hull Whale Fishery & Co., which he sold to Isaac Broadley for £203 in May 1758.
7. PEASE BANK LEDGERS, Pead & Co's account, 1758-9.
8. P.R.O., E190/373/1.
9. PEASE LEDGERS, Pease's account.
10. P.R.O., E190/369/7.
11. References to ships engaged in the American trade are to be found in H.C.L.B., H-C, passim.
12. H.C.L.B., H-C, March 1765.
13. See Stackpole, especially pages 72ff.
14. op.cit. Stackpole p.82.
15. The general exodus of whalers is described in Stackpole, Ch.IX.

(continued)

16. The relative position of the English ports engaging in whaling, for the years 1787 and 1790, was as follows:

	1787	1790		ships.
		North	South	
		fishery		
London	105	34	28	
HULL	28	23	2	
Liverpool	22	15	1	
Newcastle	21	7	0	
Whitby	20	12	0	
Sunderland	6	5	0	
Lynn	6	4	0	
Yarmouth	4	4	0	
Whitehaven	2	2	0	
Exeter	2	0	0	
Stockton	1	0	0	
Southampton	0	0	2	

The figures are for ships fitting out; 1787 figures from P.R.O., B.T. 6/94, and 1790 figures from P.R.O., Cust. 17/12, p. 241.

17. op.cit. Stackpole p. 122.

18. The sources for the table are as follows:

a) Hull figures. 1754-72 Port Bks & H.C.L.B., H-C, passim.
1772-1800 Hull C.R.L., MS. L281.
1754-82 (Tonnage) B.M. Add. MS. 11255.

b) English do. 1754-70 P.R.O., C.O., 390-9.
1772-85 B.M., Add. MS. 38,347, ff. 14-58.
1781-1800 P.R.O., B.T., 6/230.

19. The market value of oil is taken from B.M. Add. MS 38,347, f. 366. This refers to Greenland oil only, not to Sperm oil which was worth approximately twice as much.

20. In July 1782 Daniel MacPharson, principal owner of the CHANCE, claimed a bounty of £557 12s. 6d. at the rate of 40s., through his London Attorney, Samuel Reynolds of Catherine Court. G.H. MS, M463.

21. Letter from principal owners to Bench, G.H. MS, L1386(234). The Bench petitioned for an extension of the bounty in 1781 and again in 1785.

22. B.M., Add. MS. 38,347, ff. 14-58.

23. It is not clear, however, why an increase of 10s. per ton in 1750 should be followed by such a sharp rise in the number of ships fitting out, when an increase of 10s, in 1740 had

been followed by a decrease in numbers. It is hardly likely that owners would be encouraged by an extra £150 when the prize they sought was so much more valuable. A rise in the value of oil would have a more noticable effect on the whaler-owners' incomes, for a rise of £5 per ton would mean an extra £500 on a reasonably good cargo. It is possible that the increase in 1750 was caused not by the rise in the bounty (although this would doubtless help), but by the ending of the war in Europe, which had held up natural development since 1740. The whaling figures for the English ports before 1754, when the Table starts, were:

20/- Bounty-	1733	2	613	1744	5	1,648
	4	3	921	1745	5	1,648
	1735	3	921	6	5	1,648
	6	2	613	7	2	683
	7	4	1,148	8	2	683
	8	5	1,432	9	2	683
	9	6	1,781	1750	17	5,569
30/- Bounty-	1740	2	632	1	20	6,253
	1	2	632	2	26	8,551
	2	2	632	3	27	8,954
	3	1	349	4	36	11,663

P.R.O., C.O. 390-9.

- 24. H.C.L.B., H-C., 25 September 1787. Another ship, COLUMBUS, is recorded as having come into Hull in 1786, but it did not fit out there.
- 25. HULL PACKET, 12 November 1793.
- 26. H.C.L.B., H-C., 1796.
- 27. The Table is taken from H.C.R. Library, MS L.281. This MS, of unknown origin, also contains numbers of seamen employed in the whaling trade, but they should not be used, since they are estimates based on the assumption that all the ships had a fixed number of men when in fact they did not.
- 28. H.C.L.B., H-C., July 1765.
- 29. H.C.L.B., H-C., 7 April 1787.
- 30. H.C.L.B., H-C., 1786. The MOLLY had been built in Boston, New England, in 1759 and came to Glasgow in 1760. In 1773 B.B. Thompson bought her from William Davis & James Strachan of London, and he fitted her out in 1775. In 1778 he sold her - or his share of her - to Daniel Tong.
- 31. H.C.L.B., H-C., 24 January 1789.

32. B.M.Add.MS. 38,347, fol.366.
33. Smiths & Thomson's bank ledgers, S parkp' & Co.'s Acc't.
34. B.M.Add. MS. 38,347, fols.14-58 and 366.
35. HULL PACKET, 12 March 1793. The ship which brought the news had 25,000 skins on board.
36. H.C.L.B.,H-C., November to December 1771. The MANCHESTER'S cargo was 2,877 deals and 5,293 bars of iron; that of the BERRY was 6,608 deals and 1,856 battins; and that of the KING OF PRUSSIA was 7,545 bars of iron and 6,258 deals.
37. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 27 October 1770.
38. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 22 March 1772.
39. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 8 September 1773.
40. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 10 February 1776.
41. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 20 March 1773.
42. H.C.L.B.,H-C., August 1788 and following. The proceedings were started by an anonymous letter of 2 August 1788, which asserted that the GREENLAND was not equipped to stay in the Arctic for the appointed time, and had been sent out merely to defraud the Customs of the bounty money.
43. Affidavit of the Captain, dated 24 June 1788.
44. PORT BOOKS, passim.
45. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 2 March 1783.
46. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 3 April 1799.
47. W.W. & C. Bolton, R. Bell, J. Bateman, B.B. Haworth, (H.C.L.B., H-C., 2 February) and Boltons, J. Rose (master mariner), R. Moxon and T. Moxon respectively.(February 1798).
48. They had also owned the HUMBER, which sailed to Greenland from 1772 until it was lost in 1779.
49. HULL PACKET, 13 January 1795. Whoever bought this share would make a bad bargain, for the official Customs measurement of the ship was only 378 tons.
50. The Banking Acc't is in Smiths & Thompson's Bank Ledgers, passim.
51. Smiths & Thompson's Ledgers, Samuel Smith's Acc't.
52. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 28 March 1798.
53. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 29 August 1797.
54. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 28 February 1799.
55. H.C.L.B.,H-C., 11 March 1799.

- 56. For this reference I am indebted to Mr Peter Matthias, Queen's College Cambridge, who kindly showed me his transcriptions of Allsopp & Co.'s Day Books.
- 57. Macpherson, III, p.131.
- 58. It is interesting to note that in the painting of Samuel Standidge's three ships in 1769 (Feren's Art Gallery) one at least of the boats is showed being steered by means of an oar instead of a rudder, and containing men wearing caps: ten years earlier Captain Mitchell of the HUMBER sloop arrested a boatload of escaped French prisoners at Cleethorpes on the south bank of the Humber, having discovered them because they had steered the boat away from Hull USING AN OAR, and because THEY WORE CAPS, both of which things were apparently foreign to Hull men! See H.C.L.B., H-C., 9 June 1759.
- 59. A receipt signed by Joel Smith, 21 September 1762, is in W.H.MSS, MISC. MSS Cupboard, Folder 'H' (marked Playbills).
- 60. W.H.MSS, COURT CASES BOX.
- 61. H.C.L.B., H-C., 13 September 1788.
- 62. H.C.L.B., H-C., 5 December 1786. They were Charles Shipman, William Horncastle, Gardner Eggington, Thomas Brown and Thomas Locke.
- 63. H.C.L.B., H-C., 9 February 1790.
- 64. Do., August 1757.
- 65. Do., 28 August 1783.
- 66. Do., 2 March 1783.
- 67. Do., 8 December 1795.
- 68. Do., 9 February 1790 and 23 March 1790.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PORT FACILITIES.

1. THE OLD HARBOUR

(1) Growing inadequacies of the harbour:

The old town of Kingston-upon-Hull had grown up on the west bank of the tidal mouth of the river Hull, where that river entered the Humber. The mouth of the river formed a good natural harbour, and since time immemorial merchant activity had been concentrated in High Street, which ran parallel with the river from the North Bridge to the South End. Here the merchants built their houses, with the fronts to the street, and the backs to the river; here also were the only landing stages in Hull, the Staiths which the merchants built at the end of their gardens and connected with the street by open passageways through their houses. Consequently the landing stages in Hull were all private property, with the exception of the 'Common Staiths' which were built and maintained by the Corporation at the points along the river where the public streets terminated. Unlike Liverpool, where "there are not any private wharfs" and "the landing places are the public quays" which are "vested in the corporation of this borough",¹ Hull had no public and therefore Legal Quay; indeed, Hull had been specifically exempted from the acts of 1559 (and 1674) which

established legal quays in England, presumably because there was no space for a legal quay because of the town walls, which prevented any expansion along the waterfront.²

The Harbour, with its warehouses alongside, was obviously very convenient in the leisurely days of the sixteenth century, when a merchant's ship really did tie up at the bottom of his garden, but by the second quarter of the eighteenth century the chaotic state of the harbour was apparent to all but the most prejudiced observers.

In the first place, the increasing trade of the port put a very great strain on the Customs staff, which was always too small in any case: "...as we have no lawful Key to make examination of any goods upon, so neither have we any Porters, Weighers or Packers to open and make up the same after inspection."³ When goods had to be carefully checked, the checking was done on the merchant's own staith using his own scales or weights, as in the case of Welfitt's Tobacco imports; he "...unshipped into a Lighter 40 Hogsheads which were brought to his staith in order to be weigh'd and examined by Messrs Page and Farnell Landwaiters...."⁴ The opportunity for dishonesty is obvious.

Beset, as they were, by opposition on all sides, and overwhelmed by the number of ships they were expected to visit, the Customs officers were unable to carry on their work either with the speed required by the merchants or the accuracy demanded by the Board of Commissioners. Their position, and

something of the conditions of the port, is eloquently summed up in a letter sent to the Commissioners on 31 October 1764:⁵

"That the merchants being exceedingly clamorous to have their Goods discharged particularly those from the East Country where they are apprehensive of Great Damage the Ships having had very bad passages home this inclement Season and having only Seven acting Landwaiters it is Impossible for them to give that Dispatch which the Merchants expect and require, and at the same time to pay due obedience to the orders which Messrs Clantree and Robson yr Hons late Inspectors at this Port have left for the Waterside Officers which require all free Goods Inwards such as Flax, Madder, Old Rags, etc. to be weighed loose, all Whalefins, Kuttmegs, Old Broken Bushel and Old cast Iron to be shipt and the packages tared, and as from the situation of this port, not having a lawful Key this practice in the aforegoing particulars has hitherto been obliged to be in great measure dispensed with in regard the Merchants claim and always have enjoyed the liberty of landing such goods as are for themselves at their Own Staiths and of sending such goods as are on Commission up the Rivers, directly by Keels to the places of their destination as stated in several of our former reports to the Board - and will not now assist the Officers in anything contrary to it, and as there are not Officers enough to take out the large Fatts of unwrought Inkle Imported in some of the ships and to bring them ashore by force to be weighed loose and Tared which cannot be done on board nor to weigh all the free goods such as Flax Madder etc and as hiring Labourers and Lighters for the purpose aforesaid would be very expensive and create great delays supposing the merchants would consent to their Goods being brought ashore. We do not know what to do upon this occasion and therefore State the Difficultys the Officers labour under at this Port, where the Ship is the Key, and where consequently the Business cannot be done as at other Ports, and submit the same to yr Hons directions."

The merchants had every right to be clamorous, for the Customs Letter Books contain many lists of ships whose unloading was delayed by the Customs staff; on 15th November, 1749, for example, there were thirty-three ships in the harbour, some of

which had been there since October 12th⁶

Secondly, the delays caused by the lack of a legal quay, plus the increasing number of ships, resulted in a very serious problem; the harbour was too small for the number of ships using it.

As early as 1676 Shipowners and Masters had complained to the Bench that ships were being crushed together, thereby causing considerable damage to each other, that there was no place for repairing ships, and that it was difficult to find a place to lay up a ship for the winter;⁷ similar complaints were made during the embargo of 1739, when many ships had to remain outside the "Harbour".⁸ But these were isolated complaints, and it may be assumed that before 1750 the harbour was in normal circumstances large enough for the shipping resorting to it, and that it was only too small when, for some special reason such as an embargo or an exceptionally bad winter, large numbers of ships accumulated there and did not clear outwards as they normally would have done.

Conditions began to change for the worse in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Between 1716 and 1730 the tonnage of ships in the foreign trade entering the port had remained fairly constant at about 11,000 tons, but after 1730 there was a steady rise in tonnage (broken, of course, by war years) to about 24,000 in 1751.

Consequently the harbour was crowded all the time by the

middle of the century. It became increasingly difficult for ships to manoeuvre into and out of it, and those which lay nearest to the staiths became common highways to the ships further out. "The King's Boats", wrote the Collector of Customs to the Commissioners, have "of late received considerable damage whilst laying at the Staiths - chiefly by having passage made over them to and from Ships in the harbour, when it is low water...."⁹

The position was made more difficult by the fact that the east side of the haven was taken up by the quite useless Garrison, and was therefore not available for any sort of development. The captain of the Garrison had objected to a jetty being built, in October 1685,¹⁰ but ships did in fact tie up there, and in 1716 the Town Clerk informed the town's Members of Parliament that ships moored on that side of the haven to land timber and ballast, which was "allowed and connived at by those concerned in the Garrison whose care and business it is to obstruct it if they please...." Although the Bench did not like ships using Garrison side because Port Dues could not legally be demanded from ships tying up there, the Clerk suggested that "considering the revenues to the Crown arising from this Port are so very valuable we presume such inconsiderable damage ((such as happened to Garrison Side because ships moored there)) may be winked at and our shipping not debarred from such a necessary method of

security...."¹¹ Unfortunately no agreement about Garrison Side was made, and, probably because they could not claim dues, the Bench eventually ordered that no ships were to be made fast on Garrison Side except at the South End Jetty. (January, 1737)¹²

By the middle of the century the people most affected by the shortcomings of the Old Harbour had split up into a number of conflicting sections, each concerned not with the true interest of the port, but with the advancement of its own interest. The Commissioners of Customs were, quite naturally, eager to have a public Legal Quay built, and were considering introducing an Act of Parliament to secure one; but a very influential section of the merchant community, just as naturally, were opposed to such a Quay. Those merchants not possessing Staiths in High Street recognised the necessity of building Quays independent of the private properties on the west bank of the Haven, while High Street merchants were not at all convinced that this was necessary. The Corporation and the Trinity House, divided in spirit between the various points of view, were convinced that something must be done quickly, but had no idea what. It is therefore not surprising that thirty years elapsed between the first discussions and the opening of the Dock, and that the later history of the Dock is marred by the more or less open conflict between the various interests in the town.

(ii) Agitation for a dock:

Serious agitation for improvements in the Harbour facilities began in the 1750's, and seems to have been led by Thomas Broadley, Edmund Popple and Andrew Perrott, three of Hull's most important merchants. They organised a meeting of "merchants, traders, and inhabitants" for 28th January 1756, and that meeting announced that:

"Whereas by the Increase of Trade the Present Harbour for Ships at this Port is become not near large enough for the shipping and the want of sufficient room therein is found to be very detrimental and hazardous. And as it is apprehended that there must be sooner or later an application to Parliament in order to make an additional Harbour or some further Accomodation for the shipping..."

a committee of five was appointed to meet five from the Corporation and five from the Trinity House to form a "Committee for the whole Town".¹³

This Committee soon met, and, realising that nothing could be done with the Old Harbour so long as the Garrison remained, it turned its attention to building a new harbour along the Humber bank. On 26th March 1756, it came to the conclusion that:

"the Harbour from the Hand at the South End thereof to the Hand next the North Bridge is sufficient for the Loading and Delivering Ships provided the Light Ships be removed to some convenient place or places.

"That from the Jetty at South End to the Long Jetty will be a proper place for an additional Harbour to lay up Light ships, and also the river above North Bridge..."¹³

The Bench were both relieved that a conclusion had been

reached, and confident that the new Harbour would be built; they granted ten guineas to the new committee, "which sum is to be repaid this Corporation out of the Duties to be granted when an act of Parliament is obtained for such Harbour".¹⁴

The arrangements for the new harbour were left to the Committee, who presented their report to the Bench on 3rd June 1756:

"Application was this day made...for the ground from the Jetty at South End to the Long Jetty reserving to the Corporation out of the same sixty feet south from the wall in the Ropery and ten feet more for a Common Road or passage Extending in length from Hessele Gates to the piece of ground in the occupation of John Western, and from the Long Jetty to Lime Kiln Clow in case the Trade of this Town should so increase as to make it necessary for the further accomodation of shipping." 15

The Bench agreed to this, providing twenty feet ^{of ground} for the road instead of ten, and a Mr. Charles Tab was engaged to make a survey for the Corporation.

Fifteen days after presenting its first report the committee "upon further consideration" became more ambitious, and informed the Bench that "the whole span from Jetty to Jetty without any reservations is little enough for the additional Harbour to lay up Light Ships..."¹³

Unfortunately there is no indication of the type of harbour which the Committee intended should be built. It is most probable that they intended to build only a wall with mooring posts along the foreshore, such as the Bench ordered to be built when the building of the second dock was delayed

in the early nineteenth century, but it is possible that they were considering the building of an enclosed wet dock after the fashion of Liverpool. Soon after the original meeting in January, William Harrison of Hull had written to Mr. Edward White of Liverpool, and had obtained from him some sort of a plan of the Liverpool dock, which was specially designed, according to White, "to be useful and a guide to you in making yours at Hull".¹⁶ But the plan has not survived, and is not referred to in any of the official sources, so it is not known whether it was sent in reply to an enquiry of the Committee, which may have been considering the possibility of adapting the Liverpool dock designs, or in reply to a far-sighted individual who was interested in the construction of a wet dock in Hull.

Whatever the designs of the Committee might have been, they came to naught, despite the enthusiastic support of many of the merchants, for on 29th August 1756, Frederick II invaded Saxony. Two years later Hull was facing one of the greatest crises of the century, and with a large reduction in the amount of shipping using the port there was little incentive for enlarging the harbour room.

There is no record of any opposition to the proposals put forward by the Harbour Committee, but there can be little doubt that a bill would never have got through the House of Commons containing only the provisions as approved by the

Corporation of Hull. One of the reasons why the 1756 Plan did not provoke opposition from the merchants was the fact that it provided for the building of a place to put light ships - a kind of Ships' garage - and made no alteration at all in the place where ships were to be loaded and unloaded. It must be emphasised that the 1756 proposals differed from all later ones in that there was never any intention of doing anything to the detriment of the staiths in High Street; indeed, the movement was led partly by Thomas Broadloy, a High Street merchant, whose family business is numbered among those important firms resolutely opposing, in 1772, any measures for the building of a dock for loaded ships independent of the old harbour. But as circumstances were in the 1750's, a bill which did not provide for the building of a Legal Quay - which was anathema to the merchants of Hull - stood no chance at all of getting past the Commissioners of Customs, and without their support a bill would be doomed to failure. As it happened the matter was never put to the test.

Nothing further was done about an additional harbour until the revival of trade after the war. Then, in 1764, the Customs staff in Hull sent up to the Commissioners their complaint about conditions in Hull (supra, p3/2.), and they followed it up in May, 1765, by the assertion that "...we must believe that the weight or guage of every species of Goods could be more certainly Assertained upon a Legal Quay.."17

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But the Customs were not the only people thinking about improvements. In December 1765 "Mr Mayor and three of the Aldermen" were "appointed a Committee to meet a Committee of Trinity House and the Inhabitants to consider of a Proper Place for a Dock for Ships",¹⁸ and it was decided to take action, for in January 1766, "Mr. Mayor, Ald. Cookson, Ald. Bell, Ald. Pool, and Ald. Sykes" were "appointed a Committee by this Corporation for the Application for a Dock for Ships,"¹⁹ The old plan for a harbour on the Humber bank was dropped, and in its place there emerged a desire for an enclosed wet dock which would, presumably, be used for loaded as well as light ships. In July 1766 the Bench ordered "that Mr Mayor...put the Common Seal...to any Petition or Bill which shall be judged necessary to be carried to Parliament...for the making a wet Dock or Bason for ships...on the East Side of the Haven...and for laying a Tax on Shipping in order to carry the same into execution..."²⁰ Despite the determination of the Bench nothing more was done about a Dock until April 1767, when the Commissioners of Customs sent two surveyors, Mylne and Robson, to report on the conditions in the Harbour. They stressed the necessity of keeping the Haven as clear as possible, and so ruled out the building of a Quay along the west side of the Harbour; the Committee for Docks agreed with them, stating that "it was thought impracticable that a Quay could be effected on the West side of the Haven".²¹

Thus the prevailing idea in the late sixties was that some sort of wet dock should be built on Garrison - that is, the east - Side, and that the staiths should be left as they were. But the idea was never transformed into reality. Opposition to a Quay was growing, and negotiations for a new harbour broke down under the strain produced by many proposals and counter-proposals about the position of the harbour. The truth of the matter was, that the principal merchants soon began to realise that a dock on the Humber bank or on Garrison Side was not the most convenient means of solving their problem, especially if the Customs insisted that any new dock should be made a Legal Quay, as they seemed likely to do.

The controversy over the building of a dock sprang to life again in 1770, and once more the initiative came from the Commissioners of Customs. For some time the old Customs House, which was an ordinary merchant staith rented from the Corporation, had been too small and inconvenient for the staff, and in 1770 it was proposed to move it out of High Street altogether. The motive behind this move was quite simple; in High Street there was no room for the Customs to build a Quay alongside the Customs House without encroaching on private property, whereas at South End, where it was proposed to erect the new Customs House, there was plenty of spare room.

The reaction in the town to the announcement of the

Commissioners was immediate. Henry Etherington, Charles Poole and Joseph Sykes were elected a Committee by the Bench to inform the Commissioners that the merchants, "...having all along erected their Dwelling Houses and Warehouses in...High Street ...as near to the present Custom house as was it in their power ...", regard a removal to South End as "...highly inconvenient to the Trade of the Place and hurtful to the private Property of many of the inhabitants..." The merchants were willing to do anything to make the present Customs House convenient and for this purpose they would let to the Commissioners, for any term they thought fit, the staith next to the Customs House so that a building could be erected there at least as big as any which could be built at South End. Moreover, "...if by erecting a Custom House here a Quay could be made to follow it..." such a Quay "...will be very agreeable to the merchants..."²²

In response to this appeal the Commissioners ordered Mr Corthine, the Collector, to begin negotiations for the lease or purchase of ground for a 'Lawfull Quay', keeping the Commissioners informed so that they could consider altering the plans for a Customs House at South End. But if the Collector and Comptroller "...shall not Succeed therein the Board will leave the consideration of a lawfull Quay to a future time and proceed to the building of a Custom House...", although they "are to Consider the Obtaining a Lawfull Quay as the principal object of the Board..."²³ On May 31st the Commission-

ers were informed "that the Corporation, Merchants, Traders and others at this Place had consented to Your Hons' proposals signified to them by us for building a Free and Legal Quay in the Front of the Stathings on the West Side of the River Hull..."²⁴

Not all the Staiths were to be included in the Quay, but only the fifteen frontages from Scale Lane to Chapel Lane, which were to be rented to the Commissioners; the Commissioners were to be responsible for the construction of the quay. Once it had been decided that a Quay should be built the Corporation endeavoured to satisfy the entire merchant community by having the Quay extended for the whole length of High Street and allowing the merchants between Scale Lane and Chapel Lane to build their own Staiths, instead of the Government. The Commissioners did not agree because they thought the clause as proposed by their Solicitor was "sufficient to empower the Lords of the Treasury to Issue their Warrant for a Commission at any future time, for Establishing any other Quays, as well as those at present agreed upon, either at the Expence of the publick or private Merchant, whenever they shall be thought necessary and applied for in the usual manner, either by your Hons or the Merchants...", but the Hull Customs officers deferred submitting this statement to the town because it would be very unpopular as the people were legally entitled to land their goods when and where they liked and would soon build

their own legal quays in any case without being forced to do so.²⁵ The draft of the bill for a quay was read to the bench on 4th November 1771, and was due to be presented to Parliament during the next session.

The merchants did not give up without a final struggle, and a large number of the most important ones presented a petition to the Corporation. They still persisted in believing that the papers relating to the new Quay, which the Bench had lent to them "...do not appear to contain any proof that Government has absolutely determined to establish a Quay at this Port", despite the fact that a bill for that purpose was before the Bench. "We are sensible", they continued, "that this has frequently been an object with the Board of Customs but we hope the reasons arising from our natural situation which have hitherto prevented it will always have their due weight unless the Town shall concur in depriving itself of the valuable exemption we now enjoy on the security of Parliament." Having attempted to persuade the Bench that the Customs would never dare to build a quay they proceeded to point out how objectionable a quay was to them:

"From the best Information we have hitherto been able to Collect we are persuaded a Quay will not only retard the Dispatch of Business but lay a heavy burthen upon Trade no less than £6000 to £7000 and a sum of such Importance to this town that it becomes the Interest of every Individual to have the affair well considered and therefore we desire you will suspend all further proceedings till another year in the meantime we wish

you would communicate to us your reasons for believing a Quay will in any respect be advantageous to the Trade of this Town or to H.M. Revenue and also to give us an opportunity of Conferring with you more particularly upon this Interesting Subject."²⁶

The weight carried by this letter can be seen in the list of subscribers, which included Joseph Godmund, Gardiner Egginton, Christopher Thorley, the Halls, John Gilder, Joseph Hickson, Richard Barrowby, John Tong, Christopher Pryme, the Bakers, Richard Rennards, the Maisters, R. C. Broadley, Samuel Watson, Abel Smith, the Horners, John Hall, and several others. As a delaying tactic it was successful. A motion in favour of the bill passed the Bench by only six votes to five, and one that the bill should be presented that session was defeated by seven to four. A third motion, that the bill should be presented in the following session, was again carried by six to five, so it looks as if five of the Aldermen were definitely against the bill, and two were only half-sure in their support. The Customs tried to go ahead alone, and the Secretary informed the Collector, on 8th May 1772, that "the Bill for the Establishing of the Legal Quays at Hull is to be immediately Brought into Parliament..."²⁷ but apparently it was not, for in November the Collector observed that it was the determination of the Commissioners "unless the Corp come to a speedy Determination and agreement among themselves in this matter to have a Bill brought into Parliament the Next Session for that Purpose..."²⁸

Up to now the proposed alterations consisted only of

the building of a short legal quay in the Haven, and no attempt had been made to obtain extensions to the harbour room. The Bench had, however, given its attention to the matter in the second half of 1771, when its Committee was appointed "to conduct and carry on the business of the Customs House and Quay proposed to be erected and also concerning the walls and Ditches...",²⁹ and Trinity House, in the following February, promised "most ready support in promoting of the Intended Bill for Making a Quay and Enlarging the Harbour".³⁰ (Both underlined in the original). Here we have the first record of public interest in the old walls and ditches as a possible site for the construction of a dock for light ships, and also an attempt - soon abandoned - to reconcile the High Street interest by enlarging the old harbour instead of building a new one.

Discussions about the building of a dock and a quay went on separately for some time, the latter always taking precedence because of the thinly veiled threats of the Commissioners; but in March 1772 the discussions about a dock received new impetus when the "Merchants, Traders and Manufacturers residing in the Counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, Warwick and Stafford..." petitioned the Commissioners that a new port should be set up at Gainsborough so that ships bound to and from the Trent valley could by-pass Hull.³¹ This plan had no chance of success whatsoever, for many reasons, not least of which was the opposition of the Hull Customs House,

but it did bring home to the merchants the growing discontent in the hinterland with the inadequate facilities of Hull.

After another nine months of discussions it was finally decided that a dock must be built, and that the only suitable place was along the line of the north wall. The Bench "did lately petition for the military works surrounding the Town and have received a very favourable answer and proposed to form part of those Military works, viz. the Ramparts and Both Ditches into a Bason for Light Ships from North Gates to Beverley Gates..." (4 December 1772) The town was to bear all expenses and raise the cost from a toll on shipping.³²

The announcement of the intentions of the Corporation to build a dock resulted in an immediate change of plans by the Commissioners, who had tried to make the Bench agree to the erection of a Legal Quay along High Street. Now the Commissioners asked the Corporation "...whither legal Quays may not be made much more Commodious and Convenient, and with much less expence" if built along the new dock instead of in the old harbour, and, provided, of course, Government granted them the land, "...whither they would be willing to make the Intended Wet Dock of a Depth equal to the Bed of the River." But the Bench were "...unwilling the Quay should be placed anywhere else, than in Hull Haven as formerly proposed..." and the Collector suggested that the Commissioners should allow a little blackmail:

"But had we authority to Signify to them that if they did not agree to make the Wet Dock of a sufficient Depth for Loaded as well as Light Ships, they could not obtain their Grant of the Walls and Ditches, and that the Ditches if they refused these Conditions, would be given to another Body who might be willing to convert the same into such Wet Dock, they would then be under a necessity of being more expedite, and we apprehend would not forgo the expected advantages from making such Wet Dock, or at least, that other persons would be found that would except the Ditches on Such terms." 33

(Underlining in original).

In March 1773 the Corporation agreed to the Commissioners' terms,³⁴ and on 13th April Aldermen Pool, Bell and Sykes were appointed a Committee to settle the draft of the bill.³⁵

Apparently "...the only objection Started..." in Hull was "...the Difficulty of raising funds for Carrying the intended work into Execution..." The Bench thought it was "... impossible for the Trade of the Town to raise the money without being too much distressed, and that they must therefore rely on the Assistance of Government, which they think themselves the more entitled to: As it is to oblige Gov't that they have so readily agreed to tax their trade, and lay themselves under so great an expence, for Erecting and Maintaining those works"³⁶ The Bench apparently thought the Commissioners would not be able to remember as far back as November 1772, when the Bench petitioned for the walls and proposed to raise the cost by tolls.

The Corporation was obviously hoping that the Government would pay at least part of the cost of the dock in the same

way as they had offered to build a Legal Quay, even though the Corporation had requested that the Quay should be built by the individual merchants and not by the Government. The Bench did have a reasonable case in that to admit loaded ships the Dock would have to be deeper than if it was only to admit Light ships. The Commissioners presumably made the cash offer of £15,000 which appeared in the Bill, and final agreement was reached on 24th April 1773.³⁷ Sykes, Waller and Hammond were sent to London by the Bench to Solicit support for the bill, which was to be presented in 1774. After more discussions, during which the Commissioners observed that "...it does not appear to us that they ((i.e. the Corporation)) are sufficiently warm in this matter, and we are very apprehensive if left to them the time proscribed by Parliament for securing of Private Bills may elapse without anything effectual being done...",³⁸ the Bench finally put the Seal of the Corporation to the Bill on 8th February 1774,³⁹ and it was immediately sent off to Sir George Savile. In April 1774 the bill became law.

2. THE FIRST DOCK.

(1) The Dock Act:

The first part of the 1774 Act dealt with the problem which had faced the Commissioners of Customs for so long. After a recital of the acts exempting Hull from having Legal Quays the act empowered the King "...to assign and appoint such open places, quays, or wharfs, at Kingston-upon-Hull, on the West side of the Harbour, and on the Walls adjoining the Town's ditches..." to be the only lawful places for shipping or unshipping all goods exported or imported in the overseas trade. (sI.) Thus the Bench gained its point that the West side of the Harbour should remain a legal place for trade; but the building of a Legal Quay was to be purely optional, depending on the owners of the individual staiths. As soon as the new dock was opened, but not before, the owners of staiths might build "...commodious quays or wharfs opposite to their said staiths respectively, to be erected on piles of wood, and not otherwise, and to project into the haven of the said river Hull fifteen feet, to be open at all times to the officers of his Majesty's revenue, by a free and clear communication with the common staiths adjoining." Such quays in the haven could be used for all Sufferance goods, such as Lead, Iron, Hemp, Flax, Yarn and Timber. (sIII.) Some merchants elected not to

build up their quay, and as a result there was a certain amount of trouble later on in the century as will be seen later.

The act then turned to another problem, namely the gradual silting up of the haven, especially near the staiths, where rubbish, and occasionally stones to support the foundations of the staiths, had been thrown into the water. It was ordered that all the new wharfs should be constructed on two rows of piles only, so that the water could circulate freely, and all owners were to remove the mud in front of their staiths beyond thirty-five feet from the existing staiths, allowing the bed of the river to slope upwards from the thirty-five feet line to the staiths at the rate of one foot in two. (sVI).

The second part of the Act established the first Hull Dock.

The Legal Quay which had been established "...on the walls adjoining the Town's ditches..." was to be on the south side of a dock which was "...to extend from the river Hull to a certain place...called The Beverley gates, or as near thereto as conveniently may be..." It was to be "...in all parts equal in depth to the bed of the river, or at least within fifteen inches of the same, for the admission of the loaded ships, and of such width at the least as the ground granted by this act will admit..." (sXV.) It was to be built by a special body

set up for the purposes:

"And whereas the several persons, bodies corporate and politic, hereinafter named, are willing to begin, carry on, and complete the said bason or dock, and quay or wharf adjoining thereto, and to make and provide such reservoirs, sluices, bridges, roads and other works, as shall be necessary for accomplishing the design and purposes intended by this act..."those persons "...shall for those purposes be one body politic and corporate, by the name of THE DOCK COMPANY AT KINGSTON-UPON-HULL..." (sXVII.)

The Dock Company thus established was vested with all the property of the dock and kindred works (sXXV.) , and also, "...in consideration of the great charges and expences which the making...such...dock (etc)...and the...maintaining...the same in repair for the future, will amount unto,...", the rates and duties were "...vested in the said dock company as their own proper monies,...for their own proper use,...for the purposes aforesaid..." (sXLIII.)⁴⁰

The capital of the company, which was not to exceed £80,000, was to be raised by the issue of the necessary number of £500 shares, each of which carried with it one vote in the deliberations of the company's affairs.⁴¹ But a great financial boon to the company, and one without which the Dock could hardly have been built, was the granting to the company "...for the purposes before mentioned, and no other, all that piece...of ground, being part of the land belonging to his Majesty's military works at Kingston-upon-Hull..., called the Town's ditches, from low water mark in the river Hull,...extending from

thence south-west to Beverley gates, and southward as far as Hessele gates...and from thence eastwards to a place called Harry Ogle's Tower...," and also the granting "...out of his Majesty's customs at the said port of Kingston-upon-Hull, the full sum of fifteen thousand pounds of lawful money..." (ss XVIII and XXVIII).

The actual building of the dock was to be regulated by a body of Commissioners, which was to consist of nine members of the company together with six inhabitants of the town (not being shareholders) nominated by the company, the Mayor and two Aldermen, and the Warden, one Elder Brother and one Assistant of Trinity House. (sLIV). They were empowered to make the necessary plans and contracts with the builders (sLVIII), to make By-Laws (subject to the approval of the company) for the running of the dock (sLXI-III), to maintain lamps "at the most convenient place upon or near the quays or wharfs" (sLXIV), to purchase land needed for the dock works, and to sell any land which remained unused after the opening of the dock, "the money arising by such sale...(to)...be applied to the use of the sd Company." (sLXXX).

When constructed, the work was to be controlled by an independent Haven and Dock Master, who was not to be a member of the company, nor a commissioner. He was to be appointed by Trinity House, who were to be paid £100 per annum by the Dock Company towards his salary. This independent appointment of

the Dock Master led to a peculiar situation at the end of the century, when Thomas Westerdell became the leader of the opposition to the Dock Company.

The remaining sections of the act deal with the details of the daily administration of the dock.

(ii) Construction of the first dock:

Hull had no experience of dock building and, as in 1756, advice was sought from Liverpool. The Chief Docks Engineer there was consulted, and on 3rd February 1775 the Commissioners wrote to the Mayor of Liverpool requesting that "Mr. Berry may be permitted to direct and superintend the work intended to be carried on here".⁴¹

Henry Berry (1720-1812) was eminently suited for the task of building the Hull dock. His famous master, Thomas Steers, whom he succeeded at Liverpool, had worked first in London, and then on the first Liverpool Dock (1709-15), while Berry himself had continued working on the Liverpool docks and had also built the first canal in England in the eighteenth century, the Sankey Navigation (1755-9).⁴² He was, indeed, the greatest living expert on docks, and it is fitting that the first Hull dock should be correctly attributed to him and not incorrectly to John Grundy, as it usually is.⁴³

His resident assistant was to have been Joseph Page, a

very versatile Hull Master-builder, but he was in a poor state of health and had other commitments, so the Commissioners informed Berry that "They will certainly therefore have occasion to engage a person that will act under you, and be capable of carrying into execution such plans as you may from time to time direct, and will make it his daily and only employment."⁴⁴ Berry apparently could not think of a suitable assistant, and the man eventually chosen was Luke Holt, who was recommended by John Smeaton (who was well known in Hull) in March 1775.

Berry may have been an excellent engineer, but he was a very bad employee. He was, perhaps through no fault of his own, exceedingly dilatory over the planning of the dock, and many letters had to be sent to Liverpool requesting his attendance in Hull. Finally, on 24th May, 1775 the Commissioners informed him: "We think it exceeding necessary that Mr. Holt should attend you at L'pool in order to make his remarks of your Works and what is more material to consult with you to the necessary plan for the immediate progress in our business." But when Holt arrived in Liverpool he could not find Berry. Eventually, in August 1775, William Waller the chairman of the Commissioners was able to tell his friend Smeaton that "Mr. Berry our Engineer has been here and settled the plan for our proceeding in the work of the Dock", and two months later, on 19th October 1775 the foundation stone of the dock

was laid by the Mayor, John Outram.

With the exception of the sand and gravel, thousands of tons of which were brought from Hessle and Aldborough, none of the materials used in the construction of the dock were obtainable locally. Contracts were made by the Commissioners, after tenders had been submitted to them, for the provision of some five hundred chalders of Hexthorpe Lime by Heaton & Co. of Doncaster, and for the stone, which was obtained from the Mexborough quarries of Joseph Smith at Woodlesford (near Leeds) after Berry had viewed them at the request of the Commissioners.

One interesting feature of the construction of the dock was the use made of concrete (which was not generally in use at this time) made of cement and crushed Pozzollana stone, specially brought from Civita Vecchia in Italy. It was used to add strength to the stonework below the waterline, probably, on the advice of Smeaton, for neither Berry nor Holt knew how to make it and the Commissioners had to ask Smeaton for details in August 1775.

Work on the dock progressed reasonably well after the laying of the first stone, and not quite three years later, on 25th August, 1778 the Commissioners ordered "That the water be let gradually into the Dock and that Mr. Holt do begin the work this day." A month later, on 22nd September,

1778 the first ship - Hull's champion whaler, the Manchester - was ceremonially admitted to the dock, amid scenes of general rejoicing throughout the town.⁴⁵ The legal quay was opened for business at the beginning of Michaelmas quarter 1779, and the final engineer's report was submitted to the Treasury by their engineer, John Grundy, in November 1779.

Thus, at long last, Hull had its dock, bigger and better than anything which had been anticipated. It was 1,703 feet long and 254 feet broad, containing just over 48,000 square yards (9a.3r.29p.) and capable of holding one hundred ships (although it often sheltered more). The length of the quay on the North and South walls, where ships were handled, was approximately equal to the length of the Old Haven, which was 3,402 feet from the Stone Chair in the North (by the North Bridge) to the Horse Ferry Staith in the South, although the Legal Quay (1,558 feet) was only half of this. The total area of quay space was, however, 18,000 square yards, over three times as much as the total area of the quay built along the west side of the Haven, which was certainly less than 5,670 square yards (3,402 ft. by 15 ft.). On the other hand the Warehouse space on the dock side, 2,251 square yards, was very much smaller than the area of warehouses in High Street, and the pattern emerged of goods being shipped and unshipped in the spacious dock, and stored in the warehouses in High Street.

Expenditure on the dock itself amounted to £64,588, while land purchased by the company but not actually used for the dock cost another £8,741, making a grand total of £73,330. This was only £6,670 short of the maximum permitted capital of the Dock Company, and a far higher figure than most people had expected. But the money was quite easily raised, despite the earlier fears of the Bench and the later assertions of the Dock Company. The duties on shipping which had been granted to the company totalled £26,080 between 31st December 1774 and 1780, and this, together with the £15,000 granted towards the cost of building the legal quay (which had been for the Treasury the primary object of the Act) accounted for over half the total cost of the work. The shareholders who, according to the later apologists of the company, faced grave financial risks and the prospect of ruin, had in fact only light calls made upon them. Although the legal value of the shares would have covered all but £13,000 of the total cost of the dock, only half of the £60,000 was needed: £1,200 in 1773, before the passing of the Act: £13,800 in 1775, £6,000 in 1776 and £3,000 in 1777, 1778 and 1779.⁴⁶

In return for this fifty per cent subscription the Company received a large and rapidly increasing income which is, incidentally, one of the indications of the expanding trade of the port. In 1780 the gross income from dues was

TABLE 47.

THE HULL DOCK COMPANY.

INCOME, EXPENDITURE and DIVIDENDS, 1775-1810.

	Gross Income	Expen- diture	Net Inc.	Dividends		Surplus	Deficit
				Total	Per share		
1775	£ 4663	443	4220			4220	
6	4668	657	4011			4011	
7	4535	681	3853			3853	
8	4957	1614	3343			3343	
9	4472	1771	2701			2701	
1780	4806	5131		6269	52		6269
1	6181	3821	2360	10600	88	11	
2	5590	4900	690	1443	12		753
3	7040	4002	3038	3124	26		86
4	8217	3622	4595	3909	33	686	
1785	8077	4394	3683	3684	31		1
6	8480	5078	3402	2496	21	906	
7	9307	5581	3725	4726	39		1000
8	9269	5216	4053	4053	34		
9	9280	4372	4908	4908	41		
1790	9812	4758	5054	5054	42		
1	12698	4853	7845	7845	65		
2	14649	4778	9870	9870	82		
3	13700	5816	7884	6885	57	1000	
4	11462	6437	5025	5025	42		
1795	11149	5877	5273	6272	52		1000
6	14858	5946	8912	6512	54	2400	
7	11703	5022	6681	5481	46	1200	
8	12754	5839	6915	6916	58		
9	13415	5729	7685	7686	64		
1800	17734	5762	11972	11972	100		
1	18496	5566	12931	12931	108		
2	19913	6644	13269	13269	111		
3	23311	7803	15508	14902	110	606	
4	21434	7305	14128	14734	98		606
1805	18415	7133	11282	11283	73		
6	16259	7357	8902	8902	49		
7	15107	7783	7324			7324	
8	10898	6657	4241			4241	
9	14465	7034	7431			7431	
1810	21203	6578	14624	10307	57	4318	

only £4,806, but by 1785 this had almost doubled, to £8,077. In the next five years there was little change, but in 1791 there was a further sharp rise to over £12,000 and after minor fluctuation for a few years another sharp rise began in 1800 bringing the total up to £23,311 in 1803, before the war caused it to decline again. The total cost of running the dock was roughly £4,500 to £6,00, so that the net income rose steadily until it reached £11,972 in 1800. Since no debts had been incurred during the building of the dock, and the Company had no intention of building up a reserve of capital, all the excess income was available for distribution to the shareholders, commencing with a £50 dividend on 5th May, 1780.⁴⁷ The total dividends distributed, including £162 per share arising from the sale of dock lands, amounted to no less than £1,134. 0s. 7½d. per share between 1780 and 1800 (inclusive), an average of £54 per annum, or 10·8 per cent of the face value of the shares and 21·6 per cent of the price paid by the original shareholders. Shares paying 20 per cent are valuable investments, and there is little wonder that they should have been in great demand in Hull, and that their price should have increased to over £1,000 in the nineties.

The original promoters of the Dock Company (named in s.17 of the Act) were mainly prominent members of the merchant aristocracy. Sykes, Williamson and Waller, Maister, Watson, Etherington, Porter and Lambert, B.B. Thompson, Dixon, Howard,

Broadley and Pease, Welfitt, Fowler, Thorley, Travis, Outram, Staniforth, Haworth and Hammond are the names of families which made Hull - or were made by Hull; Corthine and Ker were senior Customs officials, and Codd was the Town Clerk. Several of them were Aldermen and some of them were landowners, and between them they virtually controlled the town. To the supporters of the bill in 1773 and 1774 it must have seemed that the best possible men were to form the backbone of the company. But the Company which came into existence after the passing of the Act contained many shareholders who were far from public-spirited, and gradual changes which took place among the shareholders in the first twenty years after 1773 resulted in a company of men and women who considered it their primary duty to preserve the company in its present form, whatever the requirements of the public from which it drew its income.

The chief feature of the change which took place in the company was its gradual domination by a small group of men who acted as proxies for their fellow shareholders. By the beginning of the seventeen-nineties at least 33 shares were held by persons not residing in Hull, and a further eleven were held by females who did not attend meetings of the Company.⁴⁸ Thus forty-four shares were more or less permanently assigned to Proxies. Of the other shareholders many did not attend the meetings, and some of them did not even bother

to appoint a proxy. The net result of this was that five men could, if necessary, summon seventy votes to their service. Henry Maister could usually find seven or eight votes, and the Travis family controlled a similar number, while William Hammond could muster anything up to twenty, closely followed by R. C. Broadley at eighteen. The greatest of them all, the banker Thomas Thompson, could muster no less than twenty-three votes, of which four were his own, six belonged to the Smiths, one to Wilberforce, and three to Thorley in Narva. Thompson, the representative of a firm which had vigorously opposed the building of the dock, was thus able to outvote the combined forces of the Trinity House and the Bench (ten shares each), who acted as the guardians of the public interest.

(iii) Organisation of the dock:

The organisation of activities within the dock was a matter affecting every merchant and shipowner using it; for the dock was of value to them only if their ships could enter and leave it freely and if their goods could be loaded and unloaded efficiently and with the minimum delay.

The Dock Act had stipulated the minimum depth of water which was considered safe for the admission of loaded ships, and it was one of the chief concerns of the Dock Company to

maintain this water level. The Company ordered the construction of the first Dredger modelled on the Dredger used in Yarmouth Harbour, in 1780.⁴⁹ It was a Hopper of 118 tons, forty feet long, fifteen feet broad and five feet deep, carrying a "mud engine" built by William Large in February 1781. The total cost was £550 and five "Mud Boats" cost a further £600.⁵⁰

The Company was also responsible for the construction of a Tug for moving vessels into and out of the dock. In 1779 the resident Engineer, Mr. Holt, was instructed "to make a plan of a Hulk for heaving down vessels - fifty-five feet long, twenty-one feet broad, and from five to six feet high."⁵¹

Goods were carried from the Dock to the warehouses in High Street and the factories north of the town in Wincolmlee by Lighters. According to the Register of Inland Navigation⁵² there were 65 at work in the Dock in the period 1795-1800, making a total of 1,633 tons, and employing 65 men. The Lighters were most probably taken by their Master to the place of lading and left there to be collected when full, for 23 of them were registered in the names of only six Masters; George Simpson, who was also Master of the Dredger, had no less than eight, James Featherland had four, John Cotton and Benjamin Pinder had three, and Thomas Oldridge had two. By using their vessels in this way the Lightermen would not only save time but would also allow more than one man per Lighter, which is all

that they had if the Lighters are assumed to be working all at the same time. It is hardly likely, in any case, that one man could handle a Lighter of more than average size when the average was a little over 25 tons.

Ships were usually berthed side by side in the dock, at right angles to the walls, and their cargoes were landed over the end of the ship onto the quay. In September 1779 the Company ordered three temporary Derricks and three permanent cranes for use with heavy loads.⁵³ The cranes may have been moving ones, for on 21st April, 1791 the Company ordered the repair of a Wheel Crane.⁵⁴ No doubt for the convenience of the Customs the Company also provided two tons of weights, which they obtained from Rotherham in November 1779.

The dock labour force which was used on the ships was employed directly by the Dock Company. On 17th January, 1783 the Company ordered "That in future the Wharfinger shall hire the Labourers for the business of ye Wharf and give them an order on the Clerk for their Wages."⁵⁵ They may have been employed by the Company before this order, which may only refer to a change in the system of payment or hire.⁵⁶ Some merchants complained because the Company did not exercise enough control over their labourers, who were not above savouring the wines and spirits imported for the refreshment of their betters, but the Company checked this by asking merchants to "direct their Coopers, not to give any liquor to any of the Labourers during

the delivery of...ships"; any docker found drunk was to be instantly discharged.⁵⁷ The dockers were aided in their task by a railway - "Wheeling ways of wood" - which the Company had built on the Legal Quay on the south side of the dock. This was specially useful because the handling of heavy carts was not easy amid the bustle of the dockside.

The business of the quayside was superintended by the Chief Wharfinger, who controlled the labour force and collected the wharfage charges. The responsibility of his office is reflected in his salary of £80, which was a good one for the time, and the free house which he enjoyed on condition that he undertook no part-time job besides his work for the Company.⁵⁹

Thus, with a regular labour force aided by as many mechanical devices as had been invented, the merchants were well served in the dock; its facilities, if not its size, were all that could be desired in the eighteenth century.

(iv) The harbour after 1780:

The importance of the dock looms so great through the fog of controversy that it is possible to forget all about the Haven while concentrating upon its successor.

It was expected both by the supporters and the opponents of the 1774 Act that the proposed dock would be merely an auxiliary to the existing harbour. High Street was expected to

remain the centre of merchant activity within the town and the Haven was expected to remain the chief rendezvous for shipping. That the Haven did not fulfill this expectation is mainly the fault of those who had fought for so long to protect it against the rivalry of a dock; for although no effort was spared to produce a well organised dock no attempt was made to determine the future development of the Haven.

Extensive development of the Haven was obviously necessary, especially as the old Staiths were only to remain legal landing places if an open Suffrance Quay was built to connect them with the Common Staiths. The Commissioners of Customs, who had gained an excellent quay in the dock by the 1774 Act, lost all interest in the west bank of the river, and they consequently made no plans for enforcing the building of a quay there. The merchants themselves objected to being forced to do anything, and they lost their chance of having a continuous well-built quay from Beverley Gates to South End by insisting that the Suffrance Quays should be built by their individual owners.

The chief obstacle to orderly development in the Haven was the reluctance of many merchants to build up their quay, some because they had transferred their activities to the dock, and others because they had ceased to trade altogether. Their refusal to build resulted in gaps between several private staiths and the nearest Common Staith, and consequently those

11 of

private staiths were automatically prevented from obtaining legal status.

The importance of enforcing the building of a continuous quay was apparently not realised until building actually began after the opening of the dock. One of the greatest firms in Hull, Wilberforce & Smiths, were among the first to discover their plight. On 27th March 1780 Abel Smith complained to the Commissioners of Customs:

"That there is a Staith between the Common Staith called New Staith and your Memorialist's Staith, the owner of which refuses to Erect a Key or Wharf, and there is no law to compel any person so to do."

Thus the firm was unable to continue using its staith, despite the fact that they had a private road from New Staith "behind some large Warehouses and Buildings that are between it and the River Hull, to the Premises of Mr. Wilberforce..."⁶⁰

Shortly after Abel Smith's Memorial the Bench attempted to stop merchants with staiths adjoining the common staiths from depriving their neighbours of the right to a legal quay; it ordered:

"That no Gent have a Communication with any Common Staith by building a Wharf unless he build a Wharf the whole extent of his own front into the Harbour."⁶¹

This order does not seem to have been very successful. In a memorial submitted to the Customs on 21st February 1783 Alderman B.B. Thompson pointed out that his neighbour,

Stephenson, had two frontages, one of which adjoined the common staith, but he had built up that one only, with the result that Thompson could not build a quay.⁶² It was probably Thompson who introduced an amendment of the 1774 Act into the New Goal Act (23 Geo. III, c55, ss51-58) empowering the owner of a staith to call upon a neighbour who had built or should build a quay to make it extend the full length of his frontage so that the petitioner, who must pay one third of the cost, may have free access to the common staith. If the adjoining owner refused to do this, then the petitioner was to have the work done and, if necessary, sue for two-thirds of the cost. (ss51-3).

Wilberforce & Smiths were among those who took advantage of this amendment. On 18th November, 1784 William Wilberforce:

"Paid Jn Voase as a consideration for his expence in building a Quay opposite his own warehouse and in order to obtain the priviledge of building a Quay opposite Mr. Wilberforce's Warehouse £150."⁶³

The reluctance of the Corporation and the "principal merchants" to enforce the building of an open Suffrance Quay marks the beginning of the end of the Haven and the High Street which had for so long depended on it. The sporadic building of Quays hampered many merchants and forced some of them to use the dock entirely, while the cramped conditions of the small private staiths were more suited to the leisurely days of the past. Cargoes could be unloaded direct on to the

dock quay and broken up for the various owners much easier than they could be landed by Lighter from a ship in the Haven. Some owners had probably tried to use the Suffrance Quay in the same way as the public dock quays, for a section of the amending act (23 Geo.III, c55) orders that in future no owners shall be allowed:

"passage for himself, his servants, agents, or workmen, over the Quay or wharf of any other person or persons, nor to land, ship off, or carry any goods, wares, or merchandise, upon, from, or over such quay or wharf, . . . as shall not be then his property or in his occupation."

Thus the Haven ceased to be a place where the merchants would willingly unload a valuable cargo. The Dock Master regarded it as "a place of danger to shipping, without the greatest attention being paid to prevent it . . .", and he quoted the case of the ship "Empress", which was ordered out of the Haven onto the strand by its owners during the winter of 1786-7.⁶⁴ Just as the larger ships tended to congregate in the dock, so the smaller coastal and inland vessels began to concentrate on the Haven, "where", according to Hugh Ker, "all the Coasting Trade is done . . ."⁶⁵

MAP 3. HULL IN 1791, SHOWING THE FIRST DOCK.



- A Trinity Church
- B S' Mary's Church
- C S' John's Church
- D Dissenting Chapels
- E Baptists
- F Quakers Meeting
- G Jews Synagogue
- H Town Hall
- I Custom House
- K Trinity House
- L Charity Hall
- M Theatre Royal
- N Assembly Room
- O Methodist Meeting
- P Guard House

3. AGITATION FOR A SECOND DOCK

(i) 1786:

When the Commissioners of the Dock Act completed their task in 1780, it was generally believed that the port facilities were now sufficient to accommodate the largest amount of shipping which the port was ever likely to handle. The discovery, only two or three years after it was opened, that the great new dock was totally inadequate to cope with the rapidly expanding trade of the port, came as a great shock and disappointment to many people. The dock was, in fact, too small from the very beginning, in the first place because the Old Harbour was - quite unexpectedly - deserted in favour of the new dock, and secondly because estimates of the size required were based on the amount of shipping frequenting the port in the late sixties. The merchants had been extremely short-sighted when assessing the future trade of Hull, as they always were; when trade was bad they usually refused to embark upon capital expenditure, and when trade was good they regarded their good fortune as transient and awaited the inevitable recession. The promoters of the dock were no different from the other merchants in this respect, although we can hardly blame them for not knowing that they were living at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution!

So long as the total shipping entering the port remained around ninety thousand tons the dock was comfortably filled.

and worked fairly efficiently; but as soon as the total exceeded 110,000 tons, as it did after the peace of Versailles in 1783, serious overcrowding began to impair the efficiency - and sometimes the safety - of the dock facilities. By 1786, when the total went up to 132,108 tons, ships were competing for access to the dock, and, with the prospect of increasing trade ahead, some of the merchants and shipowners began to think in terms of an extension of the dock. Public agitation for an extension began in January of that year, when a group of them sent a Memorial to the Dock Company.⁶⁶ The Company received it favourably, appointing Robert C. Broadley, Arthur Maister and William Hammond to begin discussions with three of the delegates of the Committee of Merchants which had been formed, and on 8th February they agreed to the appropriation of some of the land granted to them by the Government, for an extension of the dock southwards to Myton Gates to accommodate fifty ships.⁶⁷

It was easy enough to agree on the position of the proposed extension, for no alternative site was considered, but who should pay for it was a far more difficult question. The Town did not expect to have to pay, but the Company would offer only £50 per share (a total of £6,000) towards the expected cost of £25,000, and consequently the report of the delegates was rejected by the Town Meeting of 20th February. A week later the Town began what was destined to be a long series of

attempts to force the hand of the Company, by instructing the Chairman, Sir Henry Etherington, to demand "that the sd Company will make on the ground granted them by Government, from Beverley Gates to Myton Gates, a reservoir for the more convenient use of the dock, and for the general benefit of shipping..." If the Company refused, then application would be made to Parliament for relief. The merchants anticipated the answer of the company by opening a subscription "for defraying such expences as may be found necessary for obtaining the relief..."⁶⁸

On 7th March, 1786 the Bench entered the fray, and ordered its proxy, Harrison, to vote for any motion for the extension of the dock at the sole expense of the Company, and to introduce a motion to that effect if no one else would. The Company retaliated by refusing to allow Harrison to vote at the meeting, and a smarting Bench considered legal action and donated three hundred guineas to the Merchants' subscription.⁶⁹ A month later the merchants met in the Guildhall to consider the answer of the Company to their ultimatum and proceeded to nominate a committee for drawing up a Bill.⁷⁰ Nor was the tension in the town eased when the Company offered, on 23rd June, to seek Government aid for building a dock when the Bench and Trinity House agreed to levy a duty of one shilling per chalder on coals and cinders entering the port. In reply the Bench "resolved unanimously that no such burden ought to be

laid upon the inhabitants of this town", and joined wholeheartedly in the merchants' attempt to coerce the Company.⁷¹

They ordered a survey of the dock land, engaging Gott (of Leeds) and Anthony Bowers for the purpose. Attempts were made by the Company to scare Bowers off, and after he had had a fight with one of its "chief servants" Hammond threatened to expel by force any further surveyors who trespassed on the Company's property.⁷²

The attitude of the Town was, quite simply, that as the 1774 Act had granted land from the North Gates to Hessle Gates for docks, and for no other purpose whatsoever, the Company must be empowered to extend the dock along the whole length of the walls when necessary, for only about a third of the land granted to the Company had been used - from North Gates to Beverley Gates - and the remaining two thirds lay idle, waiting, according to the Town, for docks to be built on it.⁷³

This view was strengthened by the fact that there was already a projection southwards at the south west corner of the dock (See Map 3), no doubt placed there by Berry to provide the entrance to a canal to the Humber or another dock. It was also widely held in Hull that, in view of the very large profits received by the Company (£29,029 to the year 1785), the Town should offer no financial assistance towards the building of another dock.

The Company, on the other hand, asserted that "nothing

remained on the part of the Dock Co. to be performed, except the Maintenance and support of the works which they had completed: - more therefore cannot be lawfully required of them."⁷⁴ The only way out of the deadlock which resulted was for the merchants to supersede the Dock Company, which they attempted to do in the Bill which their Committee drew up.

It was proposed that the Bench should join Trinity House to extend the dock, and in return they were to receive the "Rates and duties of the Dock Co...together with full and sufficient power to make, carry on manage, and complete the said works and such further accommodations as may be necessary..."⁷⁵ To this end the Bill ordered that the Company should make a dock, and in the event of its refusal to do so all its powers were to devolve immediately upon a body of twenty-one Commissioners, seven from each of the three corporations.⁷⁶ The cost of the proposed dock was to be met by the sale of surplus Company land, and by mortgaging the dock dues. Shareholders' dividends were to be restricted to 6 per cent, and all the excess income of the company was to be used to pay off any debt on the dock and then to reduce duties. But the most remarkable clause in the Bill was that providing for the gradual transfer of the Dock from private to public ownership; any Dock Company shares which came onto the market as a result of the passing of the act were to be bought up by the Bench and Trinity House alternately, for £550 each.⁷⁷

In proposing this usurpation of the position granted to the Company by the 1774 Act, its opponents undoubtedly went too far. The Company refused outright to accept £550 per share when their property was worth over £100,000, forgetting, of course, that they had only paid £30,000 (£250 per share) for it and that they had received more than that back in dividends. They produced a huge pamphlet entitled "A defence of the Rights of the Dock Co. at Kingston-upon-Hull" and set out to explain in great detail the iniquities of "A Bill of the most alarming nature to private property, and of the most destructive tendency to all future national improvements under parliamentary authority..." They concluded, rather naively, "That no extension of the present work seems to them to be necessary."

Despite the support which it received from many inland towns, the Bill was rejected by the Commons, and the local Members, Samuel Thornton, Walter Spencer-Stanhope and William Wilberforce, were instructed to secure a settlement acceptable to both sides.

The "Propositions" which they drew up were, in fact, very favourable to the merchants, being based to a certain extent on the rejected Bill.⁷⁸ It was agreed that the new dock should be built by twenty-one Commissioners, but the 1774 Act was to remain in force and the Company was to control both docks. In return they undertook to double their contribution and provide

£10,000 (later raised to £12,000) on condition that they were exonerated from all further cost. The remaining £15,000 was to be raised by securing a grant of part of the Garrison ground.

The town was delighted that the Company was at last going to build a dock at its own expense, and on 10th November Hammond was able to inform the Members of Parliament that "our local differences relative to an extension of the Dock are I hope happily terminated. The Corporations of the Town, the Trinity House and the Dock Co., together with the principal inhabitants have agreed in a general application to Parliament the next Sessions for the purpose of such Improvements, as the convenience of the Trade may be thought to require."⁷⁹

The petition, which was drawn up by Hammond himself, was sent to Samuel Thornton on 2nd February, 1788 with the unanimous blessing of the Committee for Extension and with only very slight opposition in the town.⁸⁰ There is no reason to suppose that the Bill would not have become law if everything had gone according to plan; it was the unforeseen response of the Government to the Bill which caused it to be abandoned.

The Dock Company had inserted in the petition a request for part of the Garrison side and for pecuniary aid, but they were so unsure of obtaining a grant that they had not made it a condition for proceeding with the building of the dock. Their surprise was therefore considerable when, on 22nd March, 1788 Samuel Thornton and Walter Spencer-Stanhope wrote to the Mayor

that:

"...having been favoured with an Interview with the Duke of Richmond, Lord Howe, and Mr. Pitt, we are enabled to lay before you the outlines of a plan which was proposed by them for abolishing the Garrison and granting the whole ground belonging to it, provided a wet Dock was made for one hundred sail of ships and a dry Dock that could occasionally receive a 74 gun ship..."⁸¹

The Dock Company immediately began negotiations with the Government, and on 21st April, 1788 Hammond was able to inform the Company, from London, that the discussions with the Duke of Richmond "...induced us to hope that we might give additional, and extensive improvements to the town, without any material burthen on trade..." The Government was prepared to approve a plan for demolishing the Garrison and "establishing the works on that spot...", although they were troubled by the great cost involved; but they rejected outright a request for a grant of the ground adjoining the North Block House "...as a subsidiary aid for our making the dock to Myton Gates..." The delegates of the Company therefore requested Garrison Side and agreed to build the new dock there.

The Government's Proposals mark the beginning of a new phase of the Hull dock disputes. Hitherto all proposals had been for the extension of the existing dock, with one exception which urged the building of a Humber dock (in the same place as the later dock of that name). It had always been assumed

that any further docks would be built on the land granted for that purpose along the west walls, and no alternative site had been considered. Faced, however, with the refusal of the government to grant Garrison Side except for a dock there, the Company naturally wished to agree with the Government's proposals; but the news of the scheme was received in Hull with grave disquiet. The tenor of the negotiations reached Hull on 1st April and immediately a Committee of Burgesses was appointed, a Committee which, according to Hadley, "may be called not improperly a COMMITTEE OF SAFETY..."; the Chairman was none other than the Dock Master, Thomas Westerdell.⁸² On 7th April they issued a statement mainly concerned with the exorbitant dues levied by the Dock Company and expressing their intention "by such lawful means as may be in their power to prevent the Town from being compelled to submit to the unreasonable demands of private interests." The following day Spencer-Stanhope and Thornton wrote to the Mayor informing him that the Company was still willing to come forward with their £12,000 contribution towards the cost of the dock, "but they signify to us their inability and unwillingness to carry the Proposals of Gov't into Effect without the Assistance and support of the Town..."⁸³ The required assistance and support was not forthcoming; on the contrary, the Burgess Committee issued a statement dated 3rd May denouncing the design for a Garrison dock, and the Company were compelled to suspend negotiations

with the Government on 24th June.

Thus, for the moment at least, the wishes of the merchants prevailed, although nothing further was done until October, when the Town issued a sharp reminder to the Dock Company requesting them to "state...within 2 days...the terms on which they will undertake, as soon as conveniently may be, an extension of the present dock..." An agreement was reached on 31st October, 1788 by which the Dock Company undertook "the charge of managing (etc)...the proposed new Dock and further continuations of it", and the Town undertook to raise an annual sum of money "...sufficient to defray the Interest of the money which will be required for making a New Dock from Beverley Gates to Myton Gates above the £12,000 to be advanced by the Dock Co..."⁸⁴ The new dock was to contain sixty ships, forty less than the government had stipulated in its offer in March, but it was to be extended to the Humber to contain another fifty ships whenever the average dues of three successive years was £2,000 higher than the figure for 1786.

The agreement was not, however, wholly acceptable to the town, and the bench had only given its approval because nothing better could be arranged. The Burgess Committee was violently opposed to the scheme, because it contained the clause laying an extra burden (£1,000 per annum) on the town, and on 13th November they produced their "Hheads of a Bill for the better accomodation of the Trade and Shipping of the Town and Port of

Kingston-upon-Hull",⁸⁵ which was practically the same as the Bill sent up to the Commons in 1787, although it was more determined in its attack upon the Dock Company. The Company was not even given the opportunity to build a dock; all its property was to be vested in thirty-five Commissioners "for the sole use and benefit of the subjects residing within the said town..., and for the purpose of making therein one or more Dock or Docks for the accomodation of the trade and shipping of the said port." It is very noticeable that no Commissioners were to be chosen by, or members of, the Dock Company. The dividend given to existing shareholders of the Company was to be limited to six per cent and all surplus money was to be used "in purchasing the stock of the present Company, ...so as to sink the same for the benefit of the public", and in reducing dues until they covered only the expenses incurred in running the docks. As the Mayor was to be the permanent Chairman of the Commissioners it was expected that they would represent the Town as fully as possible.

If we consider only the best interests of the Town, it is difficult to imagine a better scheme for dock improvements than this one put forward by the Dock Master and his Committee. As events turned out, and as they were forecast by the wiser inhabitants in 1788, the Dock Company was incapable of extending the dock even if it had wished to do so, without the help of the Town. But unless the system of Dock organisation was

changed the Town could only help the Company by allowing it to become an even greater burden than it was already.

It must be said in fairness to the Company that they did make several efforts in 1789 to secure the support of the Town. On 7th April they repeated their willingness to fulfill the agreement of October 1788, and on 23rd September they went so far as to pack a Town Meeting to secure acceptance of their offer. It was really a fraud; Sir Henry Etherington, the regular Chairman of Town Meetings, never turned up, and the chair was taken by Christopher Thorley who, by an open deception, managed to turn a negatived motion into one favouring the Dock Company.⁸⁶

The Town was furious when it heard of the Meeting, and the prevailing attitude was summed up reasonably well by Westerdell when he wrote to the Bench: "The business which has been so long depending between this Town and the Dock Co, appears to us to have come to this single Question, whether the Inhabitants...shall pay the sum of £1,000 a Year for ever to the Company for making another Dock or not."⁸⁷ The Town was clearly in no mood to add to the already considerable profits of the Company, and in November 1789 Hammond announced the end of the negotiations and the breaking of all agreements. Moreover, the Company burned its boats by distributing to the shareholders the £11,357 (£94. 12s. 11½d. per share) which had been raised, by the sale of land to the North of the Dock,

towards the Company's £12,000 contribution towards the cost of the proposed dock.

(ii) 1793:

The refusal of either side to give way over the £1,000 subsidy produced a stalemate which persisted for over two years and confirmed the Company in its determination to build on Garrison side in compliance with the Government's wishes. In March 1792, in support of an abortive scheme for a £55,000 dock on eighteen acres of Garrison side,⁸⁸ the Company voted, by 79 out of 91 shares present, that "...the ground betwixt Beverley Gates and Myton Gates would be an inconvenient situation for a new dock", and this remained their attitude throughout future negotiations.

Meanwhile, the growing seriousness of the situation is very apparent from the Company's own statistics. By 1791 the shipping of all kinds frequenting the port had risen to 181,547 tons, almost 100,000 tons more than the dock catered for when first opened, and in 1792 the total passed 200,000 tons for the first time. (See Table 48.) It is therefore understandable that trouble should begin again in January 1793, when the Shipowners decided to refuse to pay Dock dues on ships not accommodated in the dock, declaring (at meetings on 8th and 18th January) "That an additional Dock is absolutely necessary,

And it is the opinion of this meeting that the New Dock should be between the West end of the Present Dock and the Humber with an Entrance into it from the Humber." But in the face of the declared opinion of the shipowners and merchants the Dock Company merely restated its own view that a Humber dock would be "...in a place highly improper in point of situation..." and "...ruinous in its consequences to the Commerce of the port..."⁸⁹

The dock dispute was becoming increasingly more complicated as the problem of whether a dock should be built became dependent upon the further problem of where it should be built. The Dock Company was able to assert that all plans had been "...frustrated by the jarring local Interests in the Town..."⁹⁰ But the Company itself did not rise above "local Interests", for on 15th February, 1793 they dogmatically stated that as the "principal Inhabitants" (and the Company) approved a dock on the East side, they would not "treat with any Gentlemen for the making a Dock in any other situation."⁹¹ On the following day "Observator" pointed out that a dock on the east side of the Haven was a ridiculous proposition because it would cause even greater congestion in the old harbour, and this statement was echoed by the Observations and Remarks published by the Committee of the Town on 1st March.⁹²

"The Observations" also attacked the financial policy of the Company. In return for building a dock for about £60,000,

TABLE 48: NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF SHIPS --
FREQUENTING THE PORT OF HULL.
1775-1815.

	<u>N^o</u>	<u>Tons</u>	<u>Dues</u>		<u>N^o</u>	<u>Tons</u>	<u>Dues</u>
1775	1012	109,491	£4295	1795	1323	150,536	£7384
6	946	102,791	4390	6	1401	237,946	10051
7	889	97,276	4760	7	1264	213,848	7245
8	864	100,772	4800	8	1268	162,576	8025
9	811	88,778	4230	9	1272	152,825	8135
1780	833	88,409	3650	1800	1678	198,173	10745
1	878	91,138	4209	1	1721	191,180	9897
2	858	86,408	3873	2	1619	210,249	11026
3	956	107,476	5000	3	1578	208,521	13008
4	902	119,454	6000	4	1384	170,964	8819
1785	946	117,743	5507	1805	1434	174,875	9139
6	1050	132,108	6300	6	1274	150,907	7201
7	1124	144,183	7187	7	1116	125,257	6093
8	1054	139,204	6670	8	932	82,149	3297
9	1150	143,331	6684	9	1196	78,654	5699
1790	1270	156,315	7215	1810	1580	172,751	10403
1	1437	181,547	9100	1	1910	190,020	
2	1522	201,789	10386	2	2001	194,301	
3	1390	183,403	9274	3	2469	240,368	
4	1246	147,799	7089	4	2346	242,797	
				5	2495	265,232	

(1874 2,058,624 tons)
(1900 4,214,571 tons)

as proposed in 1792, the Company had demanded land on Garrison side which would be worth, when the dock was built, over £70,000, and the right to sell the land which the 1774 Act had provided for future development and which was worth at least £30,000. At the same time the income from Dock Dues was in the region of £14,000 per annum, and was likely to increase. The attitude of the Company was, the Committee asserted, simply blackmail to obtain forty acres of Garrison side. The delegates of the Committee saw Pitt at the Treasury, and in response to their pleas three surveyors were sent to Hull to prepare reports for the Government. William Jessop (1st July), Thomas Morris (3rd July) and J. Huddart (6th August) all agreed that the west side of the town was the best position for the dock, and in any case, as Jessop said, "wherever a New Dock may be made, it should have a communication with the Humber, independent of the Old Harbour."⁹³

Apart from the obvious financial advantages, a dock on Garrison side was also welcome to many members of the Company because it would ensure the continuation of High Street as the centre of gravity in the town, whereas a dock on the west walls would encourage the building of warehouses and business premises there and reduce the value of premises in and around High Street.⁹⁴ The High Street Interest was therefore incensed by the reports of the Government Surveyors, and on 1st November the Company resolved that as the letters from Hugh Ker, (who

had succeeded Westerdell as the leader of opposition to the Dock Company) "...do not convey the sentiments of the principal Merchants...; they conceive that a tedious correspondence with him, would not in the least facilitate the business in question or answer any purpose of public utility."⁹⁵ Several days after the snubbing of Ker, a Town meeting presided over by the Mayor stressed "That it is the most decided opinion of this meeting, that the Dock ought to be extended to the river Humber, with an entrance from the said river forming a direct communication between the Humber and the present Dock and Quay..."⁹⁶ Not to be outdone, the Company called in its own surveyor, Hudson, with instructions to study the reports of Morris, Huddart and Jessop "and point out to the Dock Co. such parts of the said reports as shall appear to him to be founded on erroneous principles, together with the difficulties attending the carrying the same into execution and using the same when executed."⁹⁷

It is noticeable that although Hudson was requested to submit estimates for docks on the west side, and also for widening the Old Harbour, no mention at all was made of the Garrison side; the Company were no longer interested in building a dock; they only wished to pull to pieces the plans for extension on the west side. On 3rd January, 1794 they learned that a Bill was to be submitted to Parliament and voted £1,000 towards the defence of the Company. The Bench and Trinity House immediately protested, and the latter withdrew its proxy

and sent its Secretary to the Meeting of 3rd February to lodge an official protest at the Company's action.⁹⁸

Despite their attempt to fight the Town over the latest Bill the Company were reaching the end of their tether. They could not with safety oppose the clearly expressed wishes of the Town for much longer; two attempts had already been made to take over the Company and a third might be successful, especially now that the Bench and Trinity House had been thoroughly antagonised. All attempts to blame the failure to build a dock onto divisions within the town were abandoned, and the Company fell back on the claim that "the receipts of the Dock Co. are greatly reduced, and the funds of the company by no means warrant a large expenditure for any purpose whatever";⁹⁹ but there was no justification for this statement, as the income of the Company at its lowest point was still £1,000 more than it had been in 1790. With the failure of the "Short Case" to evoke sympathy for the Company a last attempt was made on 7th April to rally support by a pamphlet entitled "A Direct Attack on the Private Property of the Dock Co. at Kingston-upon-Hull", which pointed out that a Bill had been introduced to compel the Company to use the revenue arising from the present duties to extend the dock, "notwithstanding those duties were granted to the Dock Co. as a recompence for the making and maintaining of the present Dock." This was the first argument ever put forward against Dock extension, and no one,

perhaps not even the Company itself, regarded it as a valid argument.

On 1st July, 1794 the Company capitulated. It sent to the Bench a compromise proposal for "converting the harbour into a Wet Dock and for making a communication between the same and the present Dock...", with a new passage to the Humber,¹⁰⁰ ~~but~~, but the Bench refused to accept the proposals, adhering to the original demand for a dock on the west of the town,¹⁰¹ and so the Company was forced to accept the plan against which it had fought for so long. On 6th December, 1794 the Bench was able to inform Samuel Thornton that the Company was willing to build a dock from Beverley Gate to Myton Gate following Jessop's plan; that half of £40,000 was to be raised by the Company on the security of dues; and that the remainder of the money was to be raised by the sale of Garrison land. When the dock was completed interest on the borrowed money and ten per cent on the capital of the Company was to be paid first, and then the surplus was to go two-thirds to the repayment of the debt and one-third to the Company, and finally, when the debt was cleared, one half was to go to the Company and one half to the reduction of dues.¹⁰²

A Bill for the new dock was not, however, presented. On 6th February, 1795 the local and interested Members of Parliament, William Wilberforce, Samuel Thornton, Robert, John and Samuel Smith, Henry Duncombe and E. J. Elliot, suggested

that "a Bill should not be brought into Parliament until the determination of Government shall be known respecting the Aid they will give either in money or by a Grant of Garrison Ground."¹⁰³ They said they would immediately apply to Pitt, who was Wilberforce's close companion, for aid, and added the wise suggestion that provision ought to be made for the future. They also thought it would be better to build the Humber Dock first, rather than the Myton dock which would have no direct access to the Humber.¹⁰⁴ Nothing further is heard of the Bill, probably because of the war, which was rapidly gathering momentum.

Between 1795 and 1800 there was only one occasion on which dock extension was proposed, and that was because of outside stimulation. Early in 1796 a Bill was presented in Parliament for the extension of Grimsby Haven, and on 15th March the Mayor, Sir Samuel Standidge, informed the Dock Company that, although the Bill was "...seriously injurious to the Interests of the Town...", there could be no opposition because of the "want of accomodation" at Hull. He hoped that the Company would "...immediately propose an adequate extension of the Dock..." but the time was not ripe for large scale public works, and the Company did not reply to Standidge's invitation.¹⁰⁵ All thoughts of extending the dock before the return of peace had been abandoned, and when Bateman, Hugh Ker's successor as chairman of the Extension Committee, put

up for Alderman in 1797 his election manifesto urged his would-be supporters to "doubt not, but on the return of peace, he will exert his abilities and Influence to serve us, in jointly applying once more to Parliament, to obtain an Extension of the Dock to the Humber". (Underlining in original).¹⁰⁶

4. THE SECOND DOCK.

War was the only thing which now stood in the way of dock extension. But by Eighteenth century standards the French Revolutionary war was no ordinary war. In the first place the energy of the French seemed to be never ending, and the war looked like going on for ever; in the second place the war made ¹¹⁴⁶ difference to the expansion of trade which doubled the Dock Company's net income between 1795 and 1803. It is therefore not surprising that, war or no war, negotiations for a new dock began again in 1800. On 29th April, 1800 the Bench resolved unanimously to "guarantee to the Dock Company One Thousand pounds apiece for Ten shares in the Dock provided the Dock Company think proper to create Thirty new shares, and will agree to make a New Dock with an entrance from the Humber near Hessele Gates large enough to admit of ships of war of

50 guns..."¹⁰⁷ On 27th June the Corporation proxy in the Dock Company moved that a new dock should be erected, and a committee agreed to build the dock.¹⁰⁸

An unexpected hitch occurred over a dispute about laying soil on the foreshore which the Dock Company refused to do at their own expense for the benefit of the Corporation, but agreement was reached by the delegates in December, 1800. The Dock was to extend from Myton to Hessele Gates, to contain 70 ships, and was to be built when the Company received half the expenses of the work. A third dock, to contain 60 ships, was to be built when the number of ships warranted it. It was decided, however, that the execution of the work should be delayed until the general peace. The three corporations in Hull were to unite to persuade the government to pay half the cost.

Once more things did not go according to plan. On 10th January, 1801 Trinity House informed the Dock Company that it no longer wished to participate in the scheme, and as a result the Company ordered "that further proceedings on the part of this Company towards the making of a new Dock be suspended...", although the Corporation and the Company did in fact go ahead with a joint petition to Parliament on 27th January,¹⁰⁹ and the Company later agreed to resume negotiations on 26th March.¹¹⁰ Full agreement was again reached in April 1802, and the bill received the Royal assent on

22nd June, 1802. Plans for the dock were approved on 26th October and the Deed between the three corporations was signed on 16th November, only to be broken a month later when Trinity House again withdrew. The agreement was later re-signed.

The Act (42 Geo.III, c91) provided for the building of the "Humber Dock" by the Old Dock Company, which was to remain the sole dock authority in Hull. Half the cost of the dock was, however, to be paid by the Corporation and Trinity House between them (s28), the Company providing the other half out of income (s36) and new shares. Thirty new shares were to be created altogether (s32) and of these twenty were guaranteed by the Bench and Trinity House (s39). Possibly the disappointment which caused Trinity House to withdraw twice was due to the fact that no direct government grant was forthcoming, as it had been in 1774. Instead, the Corporation and Trinity House were to receive the Garrison side - containing about thirty-seven acres valued at over £50,000 - on payment of £8,000 to the Ordnance Office (s46-8).

Thus the dock dispute cost the town a great deal in the long run. In January 1786 they had objected to providing £19,000 for a dock; in June 1786 they refused to levy a duty of one shilling per chalders on coal; and in 1788 they refused to pay £1,000 per annum to the Company. But in 1800 they were compelled to submit to the demands of the Company for assistance,

and they had not only to guarantee £10,00 for twenty new shares in the Company (this guarantee was, however, not needed), but also to pay half the costs less the net value of Garrison Side; and in the twenty years during which the dispute had been going on the cost of the dock rose from an estimated £25,000 to £233,000.

The Act is important in that it contained not only the instructions for the second dock, but also provision for the third. Never again was the Dock Company to be allowed to haggle over the interpretation of its rights and duties under an Act of Parliament! Land for the building of the third dock - between the Old Dock and the Humber Dock - was to be purchased "as soon after the passing of this act as conveniently may be ..."(s46), the Dock Company paying half the cost, and the Corporation and Trinity House paying a quarter each (s41). And, as soon as the average tonnage for three years shall bear the same proportion to the area of the two docks as the tonnage for 1791-3 did to the Old Dock, then the said Company "...shall and they are hereby required to make another dock from Myton Gates to Whitefriar Gates, to contain 60 sail of ships..."(s62).

It is interesting to note that in the positioning of the new dock, and also in the provision made for a further extension, the advice given by the Members of Parliament in 1794 was followed. The idea of extending the Old dock to Myton Gates and retaining the one entrance through the Haven

was abandoned, and the High Street Interest was finally defeated.

Work on the new dock began in 1803, but progress was so slow that the foundation stone was not laid until 13th April, 1807 and the dock not ready until 30th June, 1809. Based on plans made by John Rennie the Engineer, and William Chapman his resident assistant, it contained just over seven acres (914 feet long and 342 feet wide) - approximately two acres less than the first dock (1,703 feet long and 254 feet wide) - and the dock Basin was about a third as big. The total cost, which was far more than estimated, mainly because of the delays caused by the war, turned out to be the colossal sum (for those times) of £233,086. 19. 6d. (over three times as much as the bigger 1774 dock, and ten times as much as the first estimate in 1786 - see p. 410), of which the Company had to find £116,056 and the Bench and Trinity House £58,517 each. The Company, which had expected to raise sufficient money from mortgages and the sale of the thirty new shares was caught unawares, and a further act of Parliament (45 Geo.III, c.42) was necessary (5 June, 1805) because, as the Act puts it:

"from the great price paid for the land purchased for the use of the said works ((no less than £46,244 for 6a.2r.25p.1)), and from the great advance in the price of materials and labour necessary for the completion of the same, and from other circumstances which have taken place since the passing of the said last recited act, it is found that the said act cannot be carried

into execution, unless a power be given to the said Company to raise money by creating and selling a greater number of new shares in the said undertaking than they were authorised to sell by the said last recited act" (s4).

When sold, the sixty new shares brought in no less than £82,390, an average of £1373 per £500 share, and to this sum the Company added £34,893 taken from the Company's income for the years 1807, 1808, 1809, 1812 and 1813, thus easily accounting for their share of the cost. The popularity of the work, with the general public if not with the leaders of the Company, can be seen in the increase in the value of shares as the dock disputes progressed. (Table 49) At the turn of the century shares stood at about £1,100, at £1,250 in 1801, at £1,400 in 1802 and at £1,500 in 1803. Nor did they seriously decline in value; the 120 sales which took place between 1806 and 1843 fetched an average of £1,169 per share.

TABLE 49 . AVERAGE PRICE PAID FOR DOCK COMPANY

SHARES 1785-1805 111

1785	£ 524	a		
6	520		1796	£ 1062
7	525	b	7	1113
8	712		8	1053
9	845	c	9	1049
1790		d	1800	1100
1	1100		1	1246
2	1270	d	2	1412
3	1550		3	1471
4			4	1450
5			5	1300

At last, after nearly a quarter of a century of proposals and counter-proposals, promises and threats, enthusiasm and war-scares, the Dock Company had been cajoled into fulfilling those obligations which it had for so long refused to recognise; at last it had admitted not only the need for a new dock but also, in the words of the Extension Committee (expressed 1st March, 1793) "...that many more Docks will be necessary at Hull in due succession..."¹¹² As a result of the act the Dock Company regained something of its popularity in Hull; Commerce was satisfied for a time; peace reigned once more over the busy dockland; and seventy more people grew fat at the expense of the town.¹¹³

The history of the disputes leading to the building of the second Hull dock is not a happy one. It is the story of the obstinate refusal of the Dock Company to consider any of the plans put forward for the extension of the dock, except when forced to do so at pistol point. Yet many of the most important individual members of the Company were just as concerned with the welfare of the town as their most resolute opponents,¹¹⁴ and the benefits which would be felt as a result of dock extension would apply to them as to the rest of the merchants and shipowners. This paradox is best explained by analysing the motives which determined the actions of the Company.

In the first place there was the belief of many of the

shareholders that the Company had been created solely for the building of the first dock. The duty of the Company to the public had, they thought, been fulfilled in 1779, and they considered that the Dock Dues were a recompense for their trouble in building and maintaining the original dock; they did not consider it their duty to build any further docks, despite the fact that they had been granted a large area of land for dock building which they had not used. This reluctance to build a dock under any circumstances was always present in the minds of those who viewed the future with pessimistic uncertainty, and it increased as the clouds of war covered Europe.

In the second place the Company believed that as their income was a recompense for their past services it should not be used for new works. Those shareholders who had joined the Company after the first dock had become well established had paid a great deal of money for their shares, and they had done so in the expectation of receiving the Company's fabulous dividends; they were not likely to vote for any motion which endangered those dividends. Thus the Company insisted time and again that it would give no financial aid towards building a dock which in any way detracted from its income. Hence its willingness (in 1788f.) to pay only £12,000 (the amount which could be raised by selling land) and hence also its insistence that the Corporation should pay the interest on any money which

had to be borrowed. In the end however, after a great amount of persuasion, the Company did agree to pay part of the cost of a new dock out of their income. Surprising as it may seem, the prospect of reduced dividends - there were none at all in the years 1807, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14 and 15 - in no way detracted from the value of Dock Company shares, which were in fact, increasing in value in the first few years of the century. The sixty new shares issued by the Company fetched an average price of £1,373 each, which shows the eagerness of investors to become members of a company which paid an average dividend of 20 per cent in the years 1800-5 inclusive, even if they had to wait a few years for their returns.

Thirdly, the Dock Company contained many of the most important High Street merchants, and the High Street mentality became obvious towards the end of the century, especially after the Government offer of Garrison side. It is reasonable to assume that the offer would not have been kindly accepted even by the Dock Company had it not already a predilection for a site which would leave the Haven and High Street as the centre of gravity within the port. While the desire for Government aid is understandable, the geographic advantages of building a dock across the river were virtually non-existent, and to insist on building a dock there was to court opposition.

The Dock Company is not altogether to be blamed for its attitude to extension. Its shareholders displayed no more self

interest and were no more shortsighted than was usual in the eighteenth century. The germ of the dock disputes was, in fact, contained in the 1774 Dock Act, and the Dock Company was left to flounder willy-nilly over the interpretation of its own ambiguous position.

The Dock Company was, of course, a private company in possession of a valuable asset which had to be exploited for the benefit of the shareholders. It was also, by virtue of that asset, a public utility company, with a moral, if not legal, obligation to those from whom it drew its income. It was the Company's dilemma that it had been created with sufficient resources to cover only the building of the 1774 dock and could therefore only fulfill its obligation to its customers by heavy borrowing or by increasing the number of shareholders, both of which courses would be detrimental to the income enjoyed by the present shareholders.

The Dock Company was thus genuinely unable to afford large scale works, despite its appearance of great wealth; its opponents were probably correct in saying that its income was out of all proportion to the services performed, but they were wrong in assuming that the Company could use that income for extending the dock. Moreover, it was unwilling to resign any of its rights as the sole dock authority in Hull, so that no one else was to be allowed to build the dock which the Company could not build. There were, then, only two courses

open to the promoters of dock extension; they must either supersede or subsidise the Dock Company. Rather than subvert private property, two attempts at which had already failed, the town was forced to build most of the new dock itself and allow the Company to remain in charge of both docks and continue to draw revenue from both. The Dock Company thus gained the enviable distinction of being a public-subsidised private company; the first two docks were worth over £353,000, but their cost to the Company was only £136,000, or roughly forty per cent of the total value.

In view of the difficulties arising from the existence of a private Dock Company it is surprising that the Company should have been created at all. Hull certainly did not follow the example of Liverpool, where "all the Docks...were formed under the authority of Acts of Parliament which have invested the Corporation of this borough, as trustees for the public with the sole direction of them..."¹¹⁵ Nor is the Company in accord with the tenor of the dock movement in Hull at least until 1772, when the Corporation quite definitely was expecting to bear the cost of any dock to be built (see p 367). Moreover, the negotiations between the Commissioners of Customs and the Bench implied all along that the Bench would build the dock, and the Collector at Hull had suggested that the Commissioners used as their trump card in forcing the Bench to agree to its proposals the threat that if the Bench did not hurry itself

"...other persons would be found that would except the Ditches..."(see p 326.). The suggestion was not meant to be taken seriously, yet the act which eventually became law not only vested the dock in a private company, but also declared the Corporation to be "...incapable of holding or being possessed of more than ten shares..." (s36). Between them the Bench and Trinity House thus had only twenty votes, a fact which led Trinity House to withdraw its proxy altogether in 1794 because of the futility of trying to vote against overwhelming odds.

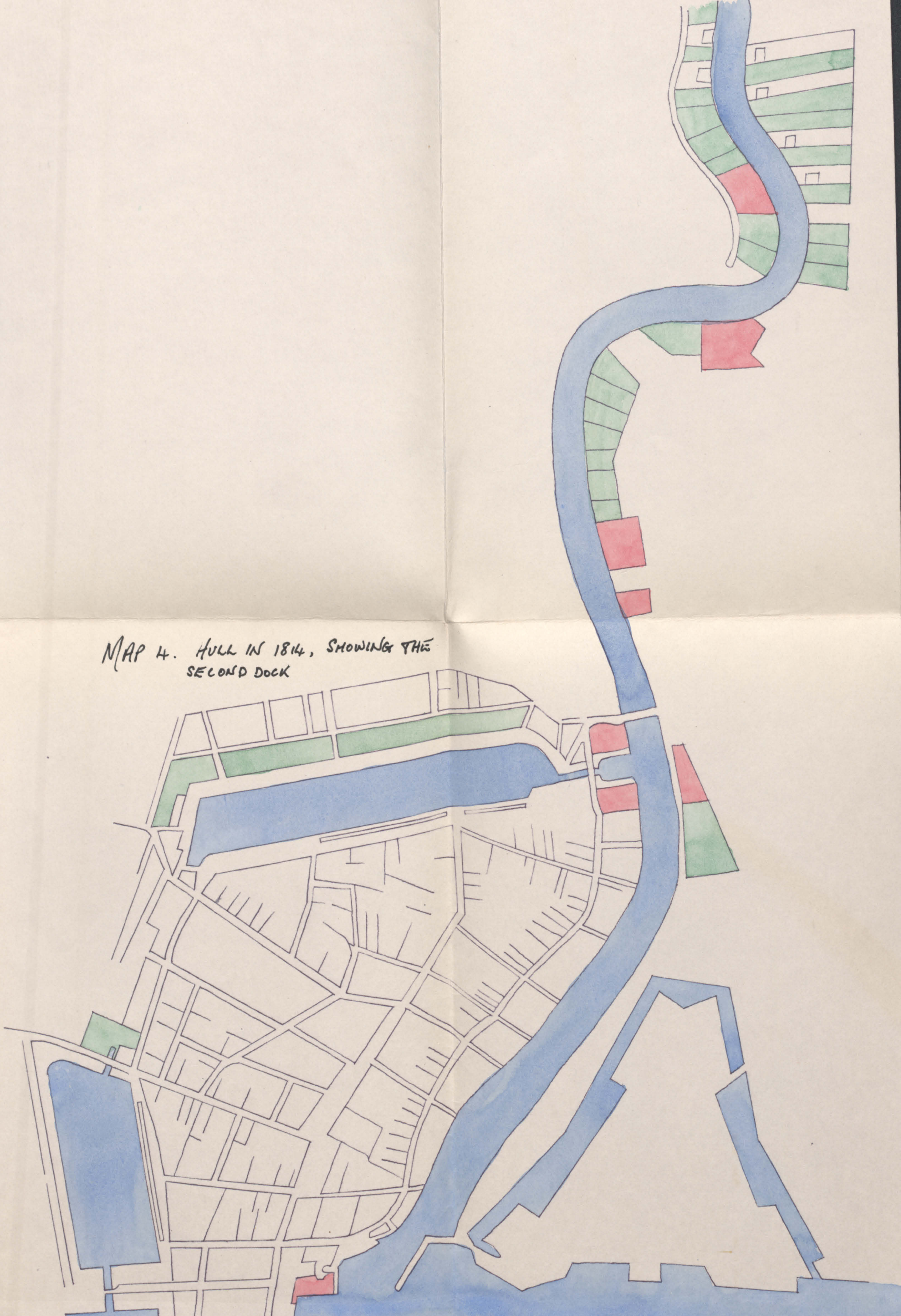
It is not easy to understand why the Corporation, which was in many respects progressive and far ahead of its time, should have allowed the greatest asset which the town acquired in the eighteenth century to fall into private hands. It was not because of the difficulty of raising the money, for it was the Corporation which first secured the promise of government land and money, and the Corporation had ample means for raising money on the security of the rates. It is more likely to have been because of differences which occurred between the Aldermen, half of whom were opposed to a Bill in 1772.

Hadley, writing in 1790, could only put forward the slightly biased explanation that the Bill had been passed at a time when the Government was so unpopular as to be unable to refuse any measure which gained them support. As for the actual clauses of the bill he thought:

"it is somewhat extraordinary, how the grievances which have since been so much enlarged on as originating from the act, should escape the notice of those whom it might concern before it passed, when the draft of it lay open to the inspection of the public for several weeks; it can only be attributed to the effect of that indolence, which individuals generally manifest in exerting themselves to investigate the merits of a public concern..."

Hadley was near to the truth when he pointed out that no one in 1774 was aware of the dangers of vesting a public work in a private company. The Dock Company was an experiment, and its failure did not become obvious until the Company was faced with difficulties with which it could not cope. There was no reason to suppose that the men named as sponsors of the 1774 Bill would do anything to the detriment of the town; they were all great merchants and they were all enthusiastic for the public good. What the town failed to realise was the fact that a responsible public body is always more or less concerned with the welfare of the public, whereas the policy of a private company is determined by a changing body of shareholders who might eventually care more for profit than for the laudable task of providing shipping facilities, which had been the object of the original shareholders.

MAP 4. HULL IN 1814, SHOWING THE
SECOND DOCK



NOTES - CHAPTER SEVEN.

1. Liverpool Customs L. Bks., Aug. 18, 1788. op cit. Jarvis, R.C., CUSTOMS LETTER BOOKS OF THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL, 1711-1813, p.142. No. 400. (Manchester, 1954)
2. The Act stated "That it shall not be lawful to or for any person or persons whatsoever...to lade or put...of or from any wharf, quay, or other place on the land, into any ship...any goods, wares, or merchandizes whatsoever...to be transported into any place of the parties beyond the sea...or to take up, discharge and lay on land...out of any...ship...any goods, wares, or merchandizes whatsoever...to be brought from the parties beyond the sea...but only in the daylight...and in... some...open place quay, or wharf...where a customer, controller, and searcher...or the servants of any of them have by the space of ten years last past been accustomedly resident or hereafter shall be resident ..." I Eliz. c.11. op.cit. J.R. Tanner, TUDOR CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, 1485-1603. Hull had no such "open place".
3. H.C.L.B., H-C, Jan 3, 1759.
4. H.C.L.B., H-C, Feb 22, 1752.
5. H.C.L.B., H-C, Oct 31, 1764.
6. H.C.L.B., H-C, Jan 17, 1749.
7. B.B. vii, May 11, 1676.
8. B.B. viii, 872.
9. H.C.L.B., C-H, May 17, 1754.
10. B.B. viii, 147.
11. G.H.Mss, L.1244. Peacock ^(Town Clerk) to Sir Wm. St. Quintin and Wm. Maistor, Jan 11, 1715/16.
12. B.B. viii, 846. In May, 1735, the jotty opposite Church Lane Staith had been repaired by the Corporation. B.B. viii, 853.
13. G.H.Mss, Box 9 (i), for a record of the meeting.
14. B.B. ix, 246.
15. B.B. ix, 249.
16. A stray letter referring to this plan is contained in W. H. Mss; it was written in reply to one from Harrison complaining that the plan which White had sent him was too dear.

- 17. H.C.L.B., H-C, May 16, 1765.
- 18. B.B. ix, 362.
- 19. B.B. ix, 363
- 20. B.B. ix, 365.
- 21. I have not been able to find a copy of Mylne & Robson's report. Part of it, together with the decision of the Docks Committee, is quoted in Grundy's report, 1772.
- 22. H.C.L.B., Sep 8, 1770 (H-C)
- 23. H.C.L.B., C-H, May 10, 1771.
- 24. H.C.L.B., H-C, July 11, 1771.
- 25. H.C.L.B., H-C, Aug 28, 1771.
- 26. B.B. ix, 412
- 27. H.C.L.B., C-H, 8 May 1772.
- 28. H.C.L.B., H-C, 5 Nov 1772.
- 29. B.B. ix, 408.
- 30. B.B. ix, 412
- 31. H.C.L.B., H-C, March 1772.
- 32. B.B. ix, 424.
- 33. H.C.L.B., H-C, Dec 18, 1772.
- 34. H.C.L.B., H-C, Mar 25, 1773.
- 35. B.B. ix, 426.
- 36. H.C.L.B., H-C, Apr 16, 1773.
- 37. H.C.L.B., H-C, Apr 24, 1773.
- 38. H.C.L.B., H-C, Jan 22, 1774.
- 39. B.B. ix, 431.
- 40. Dues were charged on all shipping entering the port, whether or not the dock was used. Indeed the Company claimed dues from shipping putting into the port of Grimsby (a branch of the Hull Customs House, and therefore liable to dock dues) before the Hull dock was even opened. H.D.C. COMM, Tr, Oct 8, 1777.
- 41. The number of shares eventually issued was 120, giving a total nominal capital of £60,000.
- 42. Barker, T. C., THE SANKEY NAVIGATION, in Trans of the Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire, Vol. 100, 1948.

43. The Dock is assigned to John Grundy in all the history books, and they probably copied Huffam who regarded Grundy as the Engineer. The mistake probably arose because of the work of Grundy in surveying the land draining into the Hull before the 1774 Act was passed, on behalf of local landowners, and in surveying the dock after it was completed on behalf of the Treasury. The final instalment of the £15,000 grant was not handed over until this report had been made.
44. H.D.C. COMM. Tr. Feb 3, 1775. Hereafter no reference to the COMM. Tr. will be given when the date occurs in the text.
45. The scene is described by Hadley, p568-569.
46. The details of the size, cost, etc., of the dock are contained in Huffam, *SCRAP BOOK, Hull Dock Offices*.
47. H.D.C. Tr. Feb 2, 1780. The actual order was for a dividend of £50 or 10%, but £52 seems to have been distributed, if Huffam is correct.
48. Members names published in Battle's Directory and in occasional printed Fly-sheets. The name of no female appears in the attendance lists in the H.D.C. Tr. Books from which the information about proxies is taken.
49. H.D.C. Tr. May 31, 1780.
50. H.D.C. Tr. Feb 1781. Mud raised in the Dock was deposited on the west side of the South End Jetty as part of the Corporation's scheme for building the south of the town out into the Humber. H.D.C. Tr. Jun 26, 1781.
51. H.D.C. Tr. Mar 11, 1779.
52. G.H.Mss., Register of Inland Navigation. M.445, pp 9 and 46.
53. H.D.C. Tr. Sep 8, 1779.
54. H.D.C. Tr. Apr 21, 1791.
55. H.D.C. Tr. Jan 17, 1783.
56. The expenditure of the Company on wages and incidentals amounted to c.£100 per week in the period 1790-1792. Smith & Thompson's Bank Ledger, Dock Co. Account.
57. Advertisement in Hull Packet, Feb 10, 1795.
58. H.D.C. Tr. Feb 5, 1790.
59. H.D.C. Tr. May 18, 1781.

60. H.C.L.B., H-C., Mar 27, 1780.
61. B.B. ix, 515.
62. H.C.L.B., H-C., Feb 21, 1783.
63. Wm. Wilberforce's Bank Account, Smith & Thompson Bank Ledgers.
64. "AN ADDRESS TO THE CORPORATION...OF HULL...IN ANSWER TO A PAMPHLET CALLED 'THE DEFENCE OF THE DOCK CO...'"
T. Westerdell, 1787.
65. In "Observations..."
66. In the case of decisions etc. made by, and letters received by the Dock Co., no reference will be made to H.D.C.Tr. when the date is given in the text of the chapter. Details of the dock dispute are contained in H.D.C. Tr. and B.B.ix and x passim; many of the decisions were printed as Fly-sheets, in the local papers, and in Hadley (until 1790).
67. There had been some discussion about extension as early as 1784, and a Memorial was presented to the Company, but nothing came of it. (Referred to in "CASE OF THE MERCHANTS, SHIPOWNERS, etc, 1786") On October 28th, 1784, an entry in STROTHER'S JOURNAL records that "A Meeting of the proprietors of the dock was held, they having some thoughts of making another dock on the north side of the present one, which is insufficient to hold the number of ships that frequent this port...." I think this represents the gossip of the day rather than fact, for a dock on the north of the existing one appears in no official source.
68. Op. cit. Hadley, 572.
69. B.B.x, 13, 19, 20.
70. April 3rd. Hadley, 586-7.
71. B.B.x, 23-4.
72. G.H.Mss., L.1386 (264).
73. Strother, writing in his JOURNAL on October 29, 1784 said, "By an Act of Parliament ((presumably the 1774 Act)) the dock must be carried round the Town to join the Humber, on the S.W.side of the town, for which the present King has given all the ramparts..."
74. "AN ADDRESS TO THE DOCK CO.", by "A PROPRIETOR", February 13, 1786. The Address is quoted in full in Hadley, 572-4.
75. B.B.ix, 35-7. The Common Seal of the Town was put to

the Petition on February 10, 1787.

- 76. Three to be elected from their own bodies and four from the inhabitants of the Town who were not members of any of them. The "Town" was thus in a two-thirds majority and would be able to dictate terms to the Company.
- 77. The Bill is quoted in Hadley, 593-7.
- 78. B.B.x, 46. The Dock Co. accepted the terms in June, the Town Meeting in August, and the Bench in November.
- 79. Richard Terry joined in the general enthusiasm by offering to procure for the Dock Company 200 tons of Pozzollana Stone, but his offer was refused with the non-committal reply that "at present it is not convenient to purchase that Article". H.D.C. LETTER BOOK, Oct 19, 1787.
- 80. In a letter accompanying the Bill, Hammond told Thornton that he was "happy in assuring you that in this business as well as in every other transaction the Delegated Committee have been unanimous."
- 81. G.H.Mss L.1387 (16).
- 82. The proceedings are recorded in Hadley, 653-660.
- 83. G.H.Mss. L.387 (20).
- 84. The Company officially agreed on November 7th. One of the reasons why the Corporation objected to a dock on the east side of the river was the fact that such a dock would be outside the town and county of Hull, where ships were not legally compelled to pay Water Dues to the Corporation. The Bench was already having trouble on the north quay of the dock, which was just outside the line of the old walls of the town, where some merchants refused to pay dues and could not be forced to.
- 85. Op.cit. Hadley, 656-660. The 35 Commissioners were to consist of 5 each from the Bench, the Burgesses, Trinity House, the Freeholders of the County, the Merchants of the Town and the Shipowners. Money was to be borrowed on the bonds of the Commissioners by the issue of Annuities or on agreed rates of interest.
- 86. Hadley, 661-9.
- 87. B.B.x., Nov 4, 1789. Events happened rapidly. On Oct 2, 1789 the Company accepted the September 23rd Proposals, but on Oct 9th a full meeting of the Company was proposed at the normal meeting, to discuss the disposal of money which had been raised by the sale of land and had been reserved for dock building.

88. "PROPOSALS MADE TO THE DOCK CO. BY JOHN PORTER Jnr., JOHN SYKES, GEORGE KNOWSLEY, and RICHARD TERRY, on WEDNESDAY the 14th MARCH, 1792". They were that the Company should make a Dock to contain 120-140 ships providing they received a grant of 30 acres of Garrison land (18 acres for a dock and the rest to sell) together with a renewed promise of £1,000 p.a. from the town. (The revenue of the Company was to be limited to £12,000 p.a. and they were to be allowed to create 20 new shares to cover the cost.) H.D.C.Tr., February 12 - March 27, 1792. The Company sent the proposals to the Bench on March 16th. G.H.Mss., L.1387 (88).

89. In their letter covering a Memorial which they sent to the Treasury in answer to that of the town. (January 28)

90. In "THE ADDRESS OF THE DOCK COMPANY AT KINGSTON-UPON-HULL TO THE MERCHANTS SHIPOWNERS AND OTHERS CONCERNED IN THE TRADE AND SHIPPING OF THE PORT", February 15th, 1793.

91. The company was correct in their reference to the wishes of some at least of the principal inhabitants. On February 15th a statement was issued by several merchants asserting that "the most convenient situation" was Garrison Side.

92. "OBSERVATIONS & REMARKS ON THE ADDRESS OF THE DOCK CO. TO THE MERCHANTS OF HULL", published by Hugh Ker, "Chairman of the Committee of Merchants, Shipowners, and principal Inhabitants (joined by deputations from the Corporations of the Town and Trinity House) for the Extension of the Dock at Hull."

93. The Surveys were all published as Fly-sheets; they are also recorded in H.D.C. Tr. and in the G.H.Mss Dock Papers Box.

94. The main argument in the February 15th memorial of the High Street Merchants (see Note 83) was that "The entrance into the present Dock, all the Sufferance Quays, and by far the greatest number of the warehouses in the Town, adjoin the West side of the Old Harbour directly opposite to the Garrison Ground...."

The Memorial certainly carried a great deal of weight with the Company; it was signed by the most important merchants in Hull:

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Wm. Williamson | Geo. Knowsley | J. & S. Horner |
| Geo. Holden | C. E. Broadley | Jn. Voase |

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Richd. Moxon Jos. Sykes Wm. & Jn. Travis
Wm. Thompson R. C. Pease Richd. Terry
Branstrom & Kusel Jos. R. Pease T. & Jos. Outram
Wilberforce & Smiths Maister & Rennards Jn. Hall
Jn. Staniforth Howard & Parker.

95. It is surprising that the idea of public utility could still be argued, for the only reply which had been forthcoming against the "OBSERVATIONS..." was "TO THE PUBLIC" by "S", which could find no better argument than the rhetorical question "Ought Individuals to offer for Public Benefit?"
96. Report of the Meeting in H.D.C. Tr., November 6th.
97. H.D.C. Tr., December, 6 1793.
98. As a last minute attempt to force the Company's hand in favour of the High Street element a group of eight principal merchants agreed that if accommodation was made on the East side of the town or by enlarging the old dock, then they and many others - all more or less connected with the Dock Company - would support the Company. The men were approximately the same group as those named in Note 94.
99. "SHORT STATE OF THE CASE OF THE DOCK COMPANY", February 3, 1794.
100. B.B.x, 208.
101. B.B.x, 225.
102. The plan was based on proposals made by the M.P's on March 19th.
103. With the exception of E. J. Elliot all the M.P.s were shareholders in the Company. Hence, perhaps, their caution.
104. Both these pieces of advice were heeded when the Humber dock was finally built.
105. A copy of the letter is in G.H.Mss, Box 9, No. 5.
106. Copy of Manifesto in Dock Office.
107. B.B.x, 328.
108. B.B.x, 330.
109. B.B.x, 343.
110. H.D.C. Tr. March 20, 1801.

- 111. Notes for the table are as follows:
 - a. Two sales at £210 have not been counted, as they obviously were not normal sales; they probably represent nominal payments for transfers among members of the same family etc.
 - b. Not including one sale at £400.
 - c. The only sale in 1790 was one at £380.
 - d. Only one sale in 1791, 1793, 1800 and 1805.
 - e. Not including one sale at £362.
 - f. " " " " " £397.
- 112. In the pamphlet "OBSERVATIONS..."
- 113. Seventy because the Bench sold its ten shares to help towards the cost of its contribution to the new dock.
- 114. Two of the original promoters, Henry Etherington and Hugh Ker, did in fact later act as chairmen of most of the meetings of the Town in opposition to the Dock Company.
- 115. LIVERPOOL CUSTOMS LETTER BOOKS, July 21, 1789. Op.cit. Jarvis, pp 144-5, entry No. 406.
- 116. Hadley, 566-567.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE BANKING SYSTEM

1. THE HULL BANKS.

One of the most important aspects of the economic development of Hull was the change which occurred in financial organisation during the eighteenth century.

In the first half of the century foreign exchange business was transacted, as it had been for hundreds of years, through the individual London agents of the Hull merchants, while credit facilities and means of making local payments without cash were virtually non-existent. But the second half of the century saw the emergence of the bankers, who gradually dominated all aspects of financial life except insurance. Stimulated as they were by the general growth of merchant activity, those merchants who branched out into banking began to perform specialised services on behalf of the merchant community as a whole, making loans and receiving deposits, providing adequate means of payment by bank notes and bills, and, more important still, discounting foreign bills of exchange and acting as intermediaries for bill traffic to and from London.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the rise of the bankers, for the great commercial expansion which occurred

during the last quarter of the century would have been virtually impossible without the facilities for easier financial transactions which they offered.

Fortunately enough sources of information have survived to give a reasonably clear picture of the state of finance both at the beginning and the end of the century, so that it is possible to discuss firstly the actual details of banking in Hull, and secondly the financial life of the port as it was before banking, and as it was when affected by banking. Information about the first quarter of the century is available from scattered documents of the Maister firm¹ and also from the papers of the firm of Dawson & Co. of Bawtry;² the last quarter of the century is covered by the complete set of Smiths & Thompson's General Bank Ledgers (but not, unfortunately, by their Private Ledgers, which are lost) which is the best single source of information about finance in Hull, and one of the best sources for a history of banking in England in the eighteenth century.³ There is, however, as will become apparent in the following pages, a regrettable dearth of information about conditions in the middle of the century. At the present time no documents are known to survive which cover the activities of merchant firms - or any other bodies, for that matter - in the middle of the century, except two Ledgers belonging to Joseph Pease & Co.⁴ These, needless to say, represent the infancy of bank book-keeping, and they are therefore not so

valuable to the historian as the later Smiths & Thompson's books. There is no documentary evidence at all relating to any of the other banking firms, either in the middle or towards the end of the century.

Hull was one of the first provincial towns to have an organised banking system. The earliest Hull bank of which a definite record has survived was founded by Joseph Pease (1688-1778) in 1754, at a time when there were not more than a dozen country banks in the whole of England. Joseph Pease was a member of an old Hull family - a Robert Pease was chamberlain of Hull in 1639 - which had emigrated to Holland during the troubles of the seventeenth century, most probably for religious reasons. He came to Hull in 1705-8, when he was still a young man, and started business as an oil miller and merchant, trading mostly with the Netherlands and America. He became a freeman of Hull in 1719, but never took an active part in public life, concentrating all his energy on commerce. His attention to business alone certainly brought its just reward, for by the middle of the century he had reached a position of great wealth and respectability when, perhaps after acting as a bill discounter and money-lender for many years, he commenced banking as an off-shoot of his merchanting and milling business. The influence for this new venture may have come from the Pease family in the north, or from his connexions

with continental financial houses, particularly Cliffords of Amsterdam, to whom he was closely related.⁵

The history of Pease's bank is unfortunately obscure, for a second Pease bank was founded at an unknown later date, and it cannot be established beyond doubt which of the later banks was the original one, such is the general lack of information. Unlike most eighteenth century country bankers, Joseph Pease had no partners outside his family when he began banking in 1754, and in the seventies the bank was still known as Joseph Pease & Son.⁶ At the same time their chief clerk was Thomas Harrison, and we would therefore expect that the bank known later as Pease & Harrison's was the original one. However, the fact that the old Pease Ledgers were preserved in Barclay's bank, the successors to Pease, Knowsley & Co., seems to suggest that Pease & Harrison's were the newcomers.⁷ The most probable explanation is that the two surviving Peases worked together originally, but parted company sometime after the death of Joseph Pease in 1778, forming two rival banks in place of the original one. This is most likely in view of the confused history of the Peases themselves. According to the family genealogy, Joseph Pease had no surviving male issue and was succeeded as head of the family by Joseph Robinson Pease, who was not a Pease at all, but had assumed that name to please his grandfather. There was, however, another Pease in Hull, Robert Copeland Pease, who shared in the running of the merchant firm⁸ and who,

together with Joseph Robinson and Anne Robinson Pease, was enabled by Act of Parliament to grant building leases of Pease family property during the minority of their children, who had apparently inherited it from old Joseph Pease.⁹ Robert Copeland Pease was obviously either a relation from the northern Peases or an illegitimate member of the Hull family; he was certainly the head of one of the two Pease banks and also of some at least of the Pease commercial enterprises. Since Joseph Robinson Pease was in partnership with Thomas Harrison in the North Lincs. Bank we may presume that he was the Pease in Pease & Harrison's, and that it was Robert Copeland Pease who ran Pease, Knowsley & Wray's.

Whatever their origins, both the Pease banks flourished in the last quarter of the century. The personal credit of Joseph Robinson Pease was so great that Pease & Harrison's were able to carry on without the addition of more partners, while the other Pease bank built up a tremendous credit and prestige by the union of three of the most important merchant houses in Hull; Knowsley was the senior partner of Knowsley, Hall & Ewbank, merchants and brokers, and Wray was the senior partner of Wray & Bromby, later Wray & Hollingsworth, timber merchants and brokers.

Joseph Pease's original bank was most probably not the only one in Hull in the middle of the century. A second important and influential firm, Sill, Bridges & Blount, may have been engaged in

banking until its failure during the financial crisis of 1759. They were referred to only as "merchants, dealers & chapmen" in the London Gazette's announcements¹⁰ and in a deed of assignment of part of Blount's property,¹¹ but there can be no doubt that Thomas Bridges, at least, was a banker, as was stated in the notice of a second dividend on his estate made in 1789.¹² He certainly knew enough about banking to write a book called "The Adventures of a Bank Note", if not enough to save his firm.

Sill, Bridges & Blount's was, like Pease's, an old established Hull firm. Thomas Bridges, Senior, had been Chamberlain of Hull in 1719 and Sheriff in 1721; his son was Chamberlain in 1745 and Sill occupied the same office in 1757, while both Bridges and Sill acted as Captain of Volunteers during the Jacobite troubles in 1745. Also like Peases, and most of the later bankers, Sill, Bridges & Blount embarked upon banking as part of their general merchant activities and continued to trade until the end when, according to the Gazette, they went bankrupt not as bankers but as merchants.

For some time after ~~the failure of Sill,~~ the failure of Sill, Bridges & Blount in 1759, Pease's was the only bank known to be functioning in Hull¹³. It was, however, eventually joined - probably in the seventies - by another house, Bramston & Moxon. The date when Alderman Edmund Bramston, merchant, of Blackfriargate

commenced banking is unknown, but it was certainly before 1780, when the Corporation borrowed £500 for six months from him.¹⁴ In 1791-2 he was joined in partnership by another important merchant, Richard Moxon of Dixon & Moxon, and the bank moved into Whitefriargate under the title of the "Hull Commercial Bank". Moxon is included in the list of underwriters in 1791-2, and he may have been underwriting in his capacity as banker. Firmly grounded on trade, as its name suggests, the bank may have concerned itself mainly with the finance of trade and exchange of bills. None of its records have survived.¹⁵

Yet another bank was that of Sykes, Creyke, Broadley & Lockwood, or the "East Riding Bank", but it differed from the other banks in that it was a "country" bank rather than a commercial one; although it had a branch in Hull it was centred on Beverley and Malton,¹⁶ and its main function seems to have been the finance of agriculture. The partnership represents a union between town and country, for the Sykes were the country cousins - long since retired from trade - of the great Hull iron importers, while Broadley was the head of the great merchant family which had been engaged in trade for a century or more, but which was now retiring on its laurels.

The last and most important of the banks founded in Hull in the eighteenth century was opened in 1784, when the Smith family of

Nottingham, the oldest country banking house in England, with branches in Nottingham (1688), London (1758), and Lincoln (1775), established their branch in Hull.

The Smiths' connexion with Hull was an old one. The head of the family in the middle of the century, Abel Smith (1717-88), had married into the Hull merchant family of Wilberforce, and took a personal interest in many aspects of the life of the port. He was one of the original subscribers to the Dock Company in 1774, and regularly subscribed to several of the local Benevolent Societies. He became a member of the Wilberforce firm, and after the death of William Wilberforce Senior it was entrusted to his care under the name of Wilberforce & Smiths. In a petition to the Commissioners of Customs, in 1780, he described himself as carrying on "...a very considerable Trade by Importing and Exporting divers sorts of Merchandize, and particularly by Importing Hemp, Flax and Iron..."¹⁷ But in the absence of the Smiths (who were Members of Parliament, Abel after 1774 and Robert, his son, after 1779) and Wilberforce (who was first a minor and then, after 1780, a Member of Parliament), the firm was managed by Thomas Thompson, the chief clerk.

The bank was established in the headquarters of the merchant firm, Wilberforce's house in High Street; but it differed from the other Hull banks (excepting, that is, Sykes & Co.) in that it did not evolve out of the merchant firm, three partners of which - William Wilberforce and Joseph and John Sykes - were not partners in the bank. It was a branch of the Smiths, having only one local

partner who was not a Smith, and it remained a separate entity, despite the fact that the head of the bank was also the head of the merchant house, and that the prestige of the bank locally came partly from its association with the merchant firm, in which Robert and Samuel Smith, and Thomas Thompson, held shares,¹⁸

Robert Smith, Lord Carrington (1752-1838)¹⁹ was the senior partner in both firms after the death of Abel Smith. He held large amounts of the firm's money in his own hands, and it was through his office in Mansionhouse Street that Smiths & Thompson's were connected with their London agents, Smith, Payne & Smiths. But the guiding spirit behind the bank, as well as the commercial house, was Thomas Thompson (1753-1828). From humble beginnings as the son of a small farmer at Owbrough (Swine) in Holderness, and clerk to Wilberforce & Smiths, he worked his way to a position of the highest standing in Hull. He became a partner in the merchant and banking firms (in the case of the former with money borrowed from the latter), Chairman of the Dock Company (one of the most important "prestige" offices in Hull), Governor of the Poor, a Member of Parliament (three times, in the early nineteenth century, for Midhurst), Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians (for historical research in Holderness) and an honorary member of the Board of Agriculture. From the opening of the bank he was responsible for the Private Ledger, the Note issue, and the general running of the bank. Although he was not classed as an employee, he does not

seem to have become a partner, officially at least, until 1788, the year of Abel Smith's death: on 11 January 1788 "Abel Smith Esq. & Sons" became bankers to the Dock Company,²⁰ but in February 1789 a miscreant, later to be prosecuted, became indebted to "Robert Smith, Samuel Smith, George Smith and John Smith, and this deponent ((viz. Thomas Thompson)) as Bankers and Co-partners at Kingston-upon-Hull...by the name and description of Messrs Smiths & Thompson."²¹

2. BRANCHES AND AGENTS

(1) Country Agents

The activities of the banks were not, of course, confined solely to Hull. They influenced North Lincolnshire and the whole of the East Riding of Yorkshire. In an age when branch banking was unusual, Pease & Harrison's had opened branches, no doubt with a view to drawing in as deposits the surplus wealth of agricultural communities, in Barton-on-Humber - the North Lincs Bank - and Beverley and probably also in Malton, while the Sykes' East Riding Bank had branches in Beverley and Malton as well as Hull.

The method of establishing a branch was for a bank to enter into partnership with several local men of repute, and to leave the business in their hands. Thus the North Lincs Bank consisted of Joseph Robinson Pease and Thomas Harrison, and also Josiah Prickett,

Thomas Morris, and William Graburn who signed the Notes and no doubt ran the bank.

Smiths & Thompson's, which was itself a kind of superior branch bank, had no local branches. The business of the bank was all done through the Hull office and even the most distant customers were entered in the General bank ledgers, as is shown on Map 6. They did, however, employ an agent, John Barker, who represented the bank in all its transactions in Howden and the surrounding area. His office was no doubt similar to the modern rural branch, for on 1 March 1792 he was credited with 10s.10d. "allowed for his sign painting", and in September of the same year he was debited for £27 18s. "to stamping and Printing his Draft checks". He also acted as a traveller; on 26 April 1792 he was credited "by bills etc rec'd at York - £3,880 3s. 8d." and by another £424 10s. received at Wheighton.

His account, which for 1789 had a turnover of £60,925 16s. 5d. with a ~~xxxxxx~~ final credit balance of £3,095 11s. was mainly composed of regular monthly supplies of cash, "per Mr Thompson", ranging from 1,000 guineas per month in 1789 to 3,000 guineas per month in 1792, with various sums between these regular deliveries. The money was most probably used for agricultural wages, or sent to local landowners together with interest on their investments, and in return large numbers of bills, probably representing the sale of agricultural produce, were sent to Hull, together with the

interest on loans made by the bank to people in Howden. Barker has no account in the ledger covering the end of the century (E), but that may be because his account had been transferred to the private ledger rather than because he had ceased to be an agent.

In the first ledger Smiths & Thompson's also ^{had} ~~was~~ another agent, Henry Priestman in Scarborough. His account, although very much smaller than Barker's, contains record of notes sent to Scarborough, including £105 "of our notes" on 25 June 1784, then large quantities of cash until 30 January 1787, and then £1,203 6s. in notes between 30 January and 23 July 1787. Like Barker, he also paid interest on various loans, in the period 1788-89.

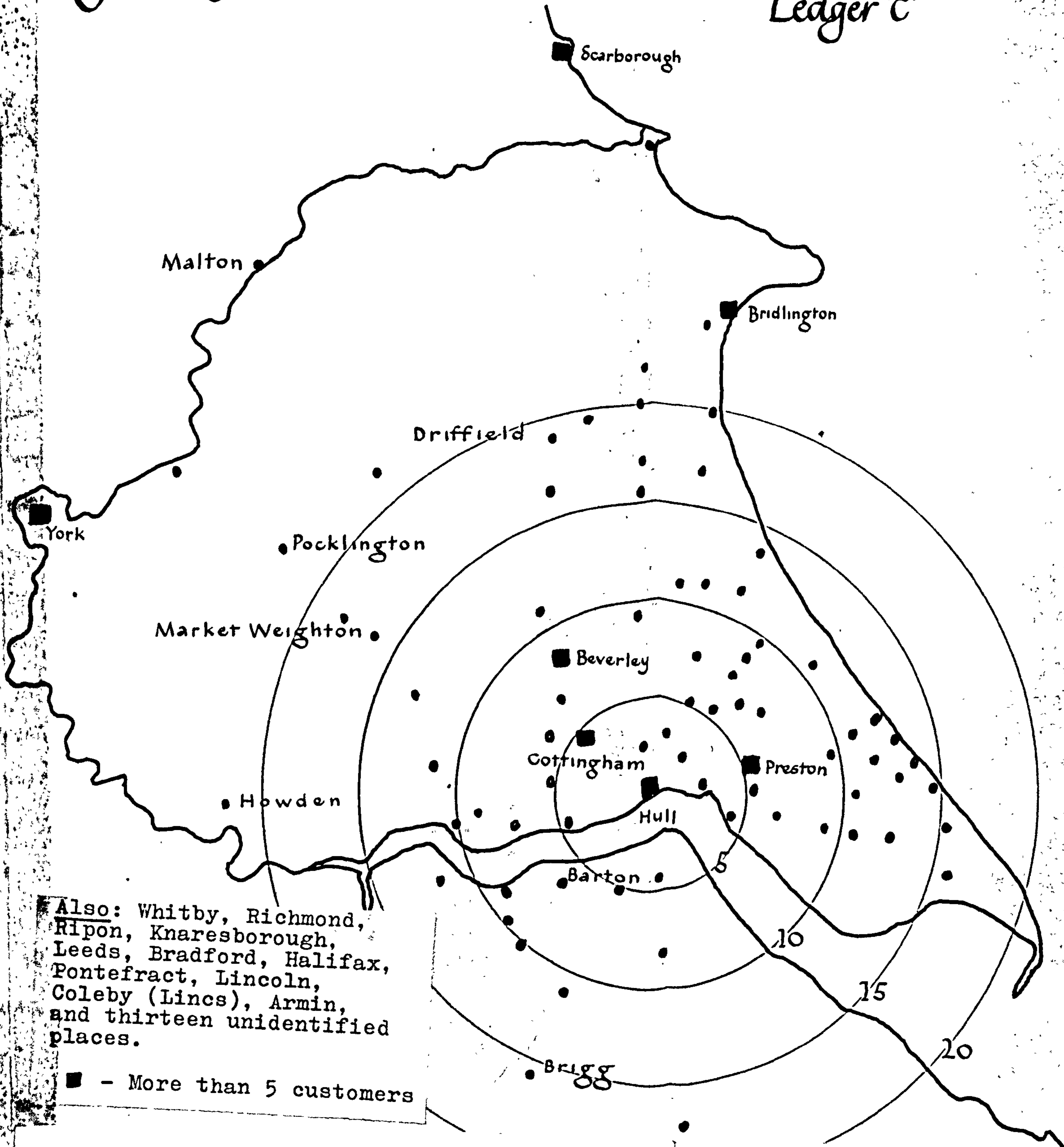
There may have been other agents towards the end of the century, such as Isaac Cook of Bridlington, who had some kind of agent's account in ledger 'C'; but most of the country business was done by tours undertaken by Thomas Thompson, J.Cockerill the chief clerk, or one of the other bank officers. There are many records of expences for journeys undertaken to such places as York, Beverley, Bridlington, Wassand, Hessle, Coniston, Stilton, Cottingham, Waltham Cross, Barton, Brigg and Lincoln (to the Smiths' Lincoln branch, Smiths, Ellison & Co.). Moreover, the bankers were in attendance at trade fairs just as they are today; on one occasion, for example, Terry & Wright were credited "By cash paid us ((viz. Smiths & Thompson's)) at York Fair - £104 8s. 6d." (4 June 1784).

Alliance	+	o	+	o	o	o	o						
Benediction	o	o	o	l									
Brothers	o	o	o	o	+	o	o	+	+	+	o	o	o
Barthia & Mary	o	o	o										
Barrington	o	o	o	+	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	o
Bellison	o	o							o	+	o	o	o
Bends	o	o	o	l									
Brabant	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	t			
Broke	o	o	c	o									
Bulby	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o					
Burne	o												
Elizabeth of Sutton	o	o	o										
Enterprise	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Fainsborough	o	o	c	l									
Greenland	c	l											
Lady Jane	o		c										
Minerva	o	o	o	o	o	o	c	o	o	o	o		
Palliser	o	o	c										
Scarthingwell	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o				
Symmetry			o	o	o				o	o	o		
Suzerine										o			
Tater										o	o		
Maria							o	o	o	o	o	o	o
John							o	o	o	o	o	o	o
North Briton								o	o	o	o	o	o
Traveller								o	o	o	o	o	o
Wenheim									o	o	o		
Countess Hopetoun									o	o	l		
London									o	o			
Lynx									o	o	o	o	
Dak Hall									o	o	o		
Maria										o	o		
Del										o	oo		
Nettery										o	o		
Adventure												o	
Jane												l	
Vestal												o	

KEY: 'o' denotes single voyage and return with cargo.
 'c' denotes voyage ending 'clean', i.e. with no cargo.
 '+' denotes champion whaler for the year
 'l' denotes ship lost on voyage.
 't' denotes taken as prize in war, i.e. by the French.

From: Hull C.R.L., Ms. L.281.

Places of residence of Smiths & Thompson's customers.
Ledger 'C'



Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page.

(ii) London Agents.

The importance of the bankers in the life of Hull was due mainly to their excellent financial connexions with the capital. The London Correspondent had been an essential feature of the financial organisation of all large merchant firms in the first half of the eighteenth century, for it was through London that Hull maintained its contact with the rest of England, and with the outside world (mainly with Amsterdam). The Correspondents of the bankers in whose hands local financial business came to be concentrated were essentially the same as the financial agents of private merchants. They arranged the exchange of foreign and inland bills, and also of bank-notes, especially as the Banks' Clearing House, which was set up in 1773 in the offices of Smiths' London branch at No. 1, Lombard Street, could only be used by London banks. The agents invested money by Power of Attorney, and received interest and bounties, printed bank-notes and cheques and despatched bullion (and received 'cut' guineas) on behalf of their Hull customers. Also like the early merchant correspondents, they accepted and paid notes and drafts, although not always very well, as was shown by the 1793 crisis.

With the exception of Smiths & Thompson's the Hull banks had no organic link with their correspondents, who were only commissioned agents who might be changed when it suited the Hull bankers. During the 1793 crisis, for example, Pease & Harrison and Bramston &

Moxon changed their agents from Robert & Thomas Harrison, whom they both employed, to Messrs Boldero & Co. and Masterman, Peters, Walker & Mildred respectively.

Smiths & Thompson's agency was a permanent one, being the London branch of the firm, Smiths, Payne & Smiths. Their huge corresponding account (Table 50) is to be found in the general ledgers of the bank, and provides an interesting commentary on the growth of the business passing through Smiths & Thompson's. The total turnover of Smith, Payne & Smiths' account with Smiths & Thompson's rose from £227,179 in the bank's first year to an average of £848,557 for the last decade of the century.

The account fluctuated a great deal, according to the rise and fall of trade, the amount of stocks bought and sold and the amount of taxes and customs money paid into the Treasury, and in order to avoid excessive fluctuations which would result in very large debts or long distance transfers of cash, the Hull and London banks used as an intermediary Robert Smith, their senior partner, who had an office in Mansionhouse Street. He was responsible for putting into or taking out of the London bank sufficient cash to keep the balances at a reasonable level, as, for instance, in the first year, when he put £21,000 into Smith, Payne & Smiths and thus reduced to amount owing to them to £24,105 17s. 2d. His own account, however, fluctuated wildly; there was a difference of over £110,000 between his highest and lowest January

balance (1793 and 1800). It is interesting to notice that for 'normal' years it was usual for the bank to have money owing to it by its London agents. The exceptional years were the first years of the bank, when use was made of credit extended by Smith, Payne & Smiths, and the crisis years of 1793 and 1796-8, when large sums of money were owed in London to Robert Smith as well as to Smith, Payne & Smiths.

TABLE 50. MONEY IN LONDON: THE ACCOUNTS OF (a) SMITH, PAYNE & SMITHS AND (b) ROBERT SMITH IN THE BOOKS OF SMITHS & THOMPSON'S, 1785-1800.

Year ending 5 Jan	Total Turnover (a) Acct	Balance (a)	Balance (b)	Total Balance (a)+(b)
1785	227,179	24,106 Cr	4,213 Cr	28,319 Cr
1786	340,589	6,588 Cr	17,005 Dr	10,417 Dr
1787	400,223	5,351 Dr	23,000 Dr	28,351 Dr
1788	563,055	1,507 Dr	24,000 Dr	25,507 Dr
1789		19,864 Dr		
1790		21,250 Dr	30,000 Cr	8,750 Cr
1791		25,382 Dr	0	25,382 Dr
1792	962,799	13,174 Dr	22,000 Cr	8,826 Cr
1793	760,100	28,051 Cr	48,500 Cr	76,551 Cr
1794	853,165	12,298 Dr		
1795	793,169	4,905 Dr	33,500 Dr	38,405 Dr
1796	923,410	13,335 Cr	10,000 Cr	23,335 Cr
1797		2,026 Dr	31,172 Cr	29,146 Cr
1798		11,793 Cr	19,000 Dr	7,207 Dr
1799	915,633	10,285 Dr	36,000 Dr	47,285 Dr
1800	731,623	12,229 Cr	69,250 Dr	57,021 Dr

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(iii) Overseas Agents.

Although there is no doubt that the majority of financial transactions took place directly through London and Amsterdam agents, there were a few instances when they did not. Smiths & Thompson's, and perhaps some of the other banks, had their own financial contacts in the eastern Baltic - with the firms of Cattleys, Prescotts & Co. in St Petersburg, and Thorntons, Craley & Co.²² and Thorley, Ouchterloney & Co.²³ in Narva - and occasionally payments were made directly through them, without reference to London or Amsterdam. The Bank had a special "Charges of Money in Russia" account, and kept large amounts of cash with their agents there. Cattleys & Co. held £9,226 in June 1790, £9,731 in January 1791 and £10,511 in January 1792.²⁴ Thornton & Co. had £14,328 in January 1792, but the largest balance was that of Thorley & Co. of Narva, which had risen from £6,788 in January 1790 to £16,592 in January 1792.

It would, however, be a mistake to think that these agents were self-supporting. There is no doubt that they received payments on behalf of customers of Smiths & Thompson's, but the nature of the trade with Russia meant an almost permanent lack of credit there. The agents received the money they paid out, or kept in hands, from London, via the normal channels. Of the £9,226 in the hands of Cattleys & Co. in June 1790, £9,026 had been drawn on Smith, Payne & Smiths, and Muilmans, in June 1789 and

January, March, May and June 1790. Thorley & Co. had built up their January 1790 balance on 4 June 1789 when they had been debitted "to bank notes rec'd of Tim Raikes R: 50,000.0 drawn by T. Raikes on Muilmans @ 30 and redrawn by them on S.P.& S. £6,531 0s. 3d." Currency exchange and transport ~~was~~ ^{were} apparently left to the overseas agents. On 15 December 1791 the "Charges of money in Russia" account was debitted:

"To cash pd Thornton & Co. for comm(ission) and Brok(erage) on draw(in)g Ro.120,000 on London & Amsterdam @ % Ro.900
 Postage & Letters- - - - - 20.30
 Exchange @ 29 for 920,30 - - - - - £111 4s."

Again, on 26 December, the account was debitted:

"To cash pd Thorley Ouchterloney & Co. for Comm. etc. for drawing Ro.73,531 on London and Amsterdam @ % - - Ro.551.48
 Postage on Ro.95,000 fm St.P. - - - 475
 Letters - - - 67.90
 Exchange @ 29 - Ro.1,094.38 - - £133 7s.6d."

3. BANK NOTES

The provision of facilities for making easy local payments, in the form of bank notes promising to pay the bearer on demand, was one of the chief functions of the newly founded banks. The promissory note was not, of course, an invention of the bankers, but it was they who brought it into general use, especially outside the merchant community.

The banker's note evolved directly out of the private notes which continued to be used for all transactions in which a delay

in payment was desired, especially, for example, in the case of dues charged by the Corporation. They were also given as coverage for debts or loans, and bankers received them to cover overdrafts. A default in payment of one such promise resulted in a case of trespass brought by Sykes, Creyke, Broadley & Lockwood against a John Ross, who:

"on the 16 day July, 1793 - to wit at Beverley... made his certain Note in writing commonly called a Promissory Note his own proper hand being thereunto subscribed bearing the date the same day and year aforesaid and then and there delivered the said Note to the said Sir Christopher Sykes (etc) and thereby on demand promised to pay to the said Sir Christopher Sykes (etc) or order, fifty pounds with lawful interest for value received...." ²⁵

Pease's early bank notes were all of the kind signed by John Ross. Each one was written and signed and bore its own number, date and value; when issued it was entered in the Promissory Note Account in the general ledger - Credit 13 April "By our Note ys day to Jms Hamilton or order on demand £195" - and entered again in the account when cashed - Debit 2 May "To cash pd our Note to Jms Hamilton 13 A pril £195."

In the bank's first ten years these notes were not numerous. An analysis of the original holders of notes in the period May to November 1757 shows that seventeen notes were cashed by seven merchant firms, with a total value of only £4,838 3s.2d. (See Table 51 ϕ).

TABLE 51. PEASE PROMISSORY NOTE ACCOUNT,
May to November 1757.

Date	Dr		Date	Cr	
May 2		J. Hamilton	Apr 13	£195	
Jun 3		J. Shields	Apr 30	227	
Jun 9		J. Hill	Feb 27	20	
Jun 11		J. Hill	Feb 27	80	
Jun 28		J. Shields	Jun 3	160	
Jul 14		G. Schonswar	Mar 19	70	
Jul 14		G. Schonswar	Apr 26	60	
Aug 3		E. Burrows	Jul 19	108	4s. 6d.
Aug 4		J. Willie	Jul 14	230	
Aug 5		Wilberforce & Co.	Jul 11	1000	
Aug 9		J. Shields	Jun 28	70	
Oct 17		Wilberforce & Co.	Jul 11	1000	
Oct 17		Wilberforce & Co.	Jul 27	500	
Oct 17		Wilberforce & Co.	Sep 27	400	
Oct 17		J. Shields	Aug 9	50	
Oct 21		S. Hall	Sep 23	316	10s.
Oct 21		S. Hall	Oct 1	210	
Nov 2		S. Hall	Oct 21	141	8s. 8d.
				<u>4,838</u>	3s. 2d.

+++++

There was, however, a considerable increase in the total value of notes issued in the period 1757-65 and, more important, there was also an increase in the value of the notes which remained in circulation - that is, which remained in the Note Account as credit balance (See Table 52). Although the account was not balanced regularly, it is clear that the total value of notes taken out of the chest rose from £7,983 12s. 10d. for the period January 1758-9 to £47,868 9s. 6d. for January 1764-5 and ~~XXXXXX~~ £32,214 6s. 9d. for January 1765-6, while the credit balance rose from £3,310 in April 1759 (it can hardly have been higher before) to an average of £8,783 for the period June 1763 to

January 1766, or £9,282 if the figure for May 1763 is included.

TABLE 52. THE TOTAL VALUE OF NOTES CREDITED IN THE PEASE NOTE ACCOUNTS, 1757-1766.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Total</i>
Apr 1757 - Jan 1758	£4,998 3s.2d.
Jan 1758 - Apr 1758	3,302 5s.1d.
Apr 1758 - Jan 1759	4,681 7s.9d.
Jan 1759 - Apr 1759	9,175 2s.6d.
Balance Apr 1759 - £3,310.	

.....

<i>Period</i>	<i>B/forward</i>	<i>Cr</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>C/forward</i>
Jun 63-Aug 63	£12,772	£7,278	£20,050	£9,585
Sep 63-Jan 64	9,585	5,673	15,258	8,176
Feb 64-Jun 64	8,176	6,020	14,196	8,389
Jul 64-Oct 64	8,389	7,130	15,519	8,938
Nov 64-Jan 65	8,938	9,216	18,154	8,110
Jan 65-May 65	8,110	7,850	15,960	8,443
May 65-Jan 66	8,443	7,812	16,255	9,844



In the early days of banking, notes, although payable on demand, were obviously not expected to circulate in the same way as the later printed notes. Some notes did circulate, but they were looked upon, and recorded, as notes to an individual, not to the world in general. They were really, in theory (though not always in practice), receipts for deposits in the bank; when they were returned to the bank and cashed they ceased to exist. The length of time between issue and cashing varied, of course, depending on who held the note and what its purpose was. If it was obtained to be passed on to a creditor its life might be short; if on the other hand it was obtained as a receipt for a deposit

in the bank it might last for a vory long time. The Bench, for example, hoarded notes as investments, cashing them, or passing them on to workmen, as the case may be, only when the cash was required. On 19 January 1776 "Two promissory notes of Messrs Pease & Son that is to say One for the sum of £1,030 and each of the other four (sic) notes for the sum of £500 making the whole the sum of £3,030 being the remainder of the purchase Money pd by the Dock Co. for land and premises sold the sd Co. by this Corporations..." were placed in the Town's Chest.²⁶ It was not until eleven months later, on 17 December 1776, that it was "Ordered that one of Mr Pease's Notes for £500 be taken out of the cash and left with the Treasurer to Discharge Workmen's Notes etc."²⁷

Something of the diversity in value and time of circulation of notes can be seen in the list of those issued in the name of Pease's largest customer, Wilberforce & Co., for the period 1757-8; they ranged from £80 to £1,000 in value, and from seven days to nine months in the time taken for the notes to return to the chest. (See Table 53).

It is not known at what date printed "bearer" notes of fixed value were first introduced into Hull. The Peases were certainly using printed notes in the eighties, and one of their very few examples of which a record has survived was issued by their Barton branch.²⁸

No 4,888

£10

Barton, 4 January 1792.

I promise to pay the bearer Ten pounds on Demand at Messrs Robert & Thomas Harrison & Company's Bankers in London value received.

For Joseph R. Pease & Thomas Harrison,
(etc) William Graburn

.....

TABLE 53. PROMISSORY NOTES ISSUED TO WILBERFORCE & CO. IN PEASE NOTE ACCOUNT, 1757-8.

	Credit		Debit	
1757	Jul 11	£1000	Aug 5	1757
	Jul 11	1000	Oct 17	
	Jul 27	500	Oct 17	
	Sep 27	400	Oct 17	
1758	Mar 11	100	Apr 10	1758
	Mar 11	120	Apr 10	
	Apr 3	80	Apr 10	
	Feb 22	250	Apr 18	
	Apr 4	370	May 9	
	Aug 11	431 17s.	Aug 29	
	Sep 26	224 4s.	Nov 3	
	Aug 1	600	Dec 1	
	Mar 10	100	Dec 9	
	Nov 5	270	Jan 26	1759
1759	Mar 21	500	-	



The earliest surviving record of an issue of printed notes for general circulation is contained in "Thomas Thompson's Note Account" which appeared in the Smiths & Thompson bank ledger for the first thirteen months of the bank's life. The notes, printed by Smith, Payne & Smiths in London, were for five guineas and nine guineas. During 1784 notes valued at £15,330, made up of 1,300 five guinea and 900 nine guinea notes, were issued, and

the total had reached £17,372 by 19 February 1785, when the account was transferred to Thomas Thompson's private ledger. At the end of the century a note account again appears in the general ledger ('E'). While it gives no indication of the total number of notes in circulation it does show the tremendous increase in business which had taken place in the ten years from 1784, and also it shows clearly the effect which the suspension of cash payments had upon note issues.

TABLE 54. SMITH & THOMPSON'S NOTE ACCOUNT, 1796-1800

Year ending	Credit	Debit
Jan 1797	133,476	152,476
Jan 1798	147,523	146,280
Jan 1799	46,329	11,327
Jan 1800	160,632	162,944



There appears to have been a general desire to convert notes into cash or securities or bank balances in the war period, and Hull was no exception; the notes cashed in the year ending January 1797 exceeded those issued by £19,000. It is interesting to notice, however, that in 1797 there were more notes issued than cashed, resulting in a slight reduction in the debit balance which was carried forward from year to year except in January 1799. The suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England is marked in Smiths & Thompson's Note account by a complete cessation of business, for no notes were put into the

chest after 14 March 1797 and only 400 One guinea notes were taken out between 21 March 1797 and 9 January 1798 (on 16 August).²⁹ The note issue soon revived, for although 1798 was a bleak year so far as numbers of notes issued is concerned, the value of those issued exceeded those cashed by £34,676, although any credit balance which might have been carried forward was eliminated by the large debit balance brought forward from 1797. Business increased again in 1799, the value of notes credited being the highest in the table, and increase of £114,305 over the figure for 1798. It seems probable that the increase in at least the last year of the century was due to the introduction of a One guinea note, which was very convenient for making small payments, in place of the old Nine guinea note.

The popularity of Smiths & Thompson's notes is shown by the volume exchanged with banks in Whitby, York, Lincoln, and Lynn, and by the numbers distributed in and around Hull by the bank and its agents. The bank had note exchange accounts in ledger 'A' with at least four banks - Garforth, Raper & Co. and Crompton, Mortimer & Co. in York, Audley, Fydell & Co. in Lynn and Smiths, Ellison & Co. in Lincoln. The account with Garforth & Co. had the largest turnover, amounting to £10,269 3s.8d. by 15 January 1785; that of Crompton & Co. was £3,100 15s. on 5 January 1785 but had risen to £6,838 18s.5d. for the year 1786. There were no exchange accounts in the

1
ledgers at the end of the century, presumably because they had been transferred to the private ledger.

4. ASSETS AND LIABILITIES: DEPOSITS AND LOANS.

In the early Pease ledgers there are no deposit (savings) accounts, and Pease had to rely on surpluses in the current accounts, ~~and~~ on his own resources, and on his promissory note issue to provide advances. Twenty years later, however, when the Smiths & Thompson ledgers become available, there was a small but rapidly growing number of deposit accounts, which provided the bankers with a more or less steady supply of credit. The 'deposit' accounts were quite distinct from the 'current' accounts; the former contain a small number of entries and withdrawals like a modern savings bank account, while the latter contain all the financial transactions of merchant firms, sometimes running to dozens of pages. Most of the deposit accounts were small, £20 being a common figure, especially in the early days - although they ranged from that to several hundreds of pounds - and the money was often kept in the bank for only a short time; but their total value was considerable.³⁰

A large number of Smiths & Thompson's customers were not resident in Hull (the same is most probably true of the other banks), and from these the banks drew in several thousands of

pounds of surplus 'agricultural' money. Country deposits tended to be more permanent than town ones, and were often quite valuable, such as that of Stephenson of Aldborough, which was £300 throughout ledger 'C'. The largest country deposits on record for the nineties were those of Robert and William Cropper of Laceby and Sixhills, Lincolnshire, which were £8,000 and £9,569 respectively, while the Barton, Lincs, landowner, Sir John Nelthorpe, had £5,493; all on 5 January 1793.

There were several sources of deposit income besides private accounts. Most of the Benevolent Societies and charities, Trinity House, the Corporation and the Dock Company had banking accounts in which there were permanent credit balances.

The Benevolent Societies which banked with Smiths & Thompson's had a system whereby their subscriptions were deposited in the bank once a month: they remained in the bank until the next month, when the next lot of subscriptions were deposited and the previous lot withdrawn (the value of subscriptions, or of the amount deposited in the bank, varied from month to month), with the result that there was always a certain amount of money in the account. Some of the Societies built up balances of a hundred pounds or more, especially in the last decade of the century, and the largest of the Societies, the Sailors' Society, had a balance of £300 in January 1793.³¹

The charities also kept large amounts of cash at the bank:

← Coggan's charity had £417 and the Sunday & Spinning Schools had £571 in January 1793. The haunt of the genteel young ladies, the Subscription library, also had a credit balance (£130) at the same date.

The Corporate bodies in the town deposited their surplus cash with the banks. The Corporation banked with Alderman Bramston, who endeavoured to keep small deposits without giving interest for them, for on 8 December 1789 he wrote to the Bench:³²

"In pursuance of an order, lately sent me, I find 'tis expected that in future I shall allow the Corporation Interest whenever their Account is above £500.

"I beg leave to observe, that the Benefit arising from these terms, must be inadequate to the trouble of paying and receiving; therefore Sir, I trust that on more mature Deliberation the Gents will not require Interest, when the Cash in hand is below a Thousand Pounds."

The Bench did give the question more mature deliberation, and informed Bramston that if he would not give them interest, then they would change their banker; Bramston presumably agreed. All the Dock Company's business passed through the hands of Pease & Harrison's, and then Smiths & Thompson's, who also handled the Trinity House account in the nineties.

There was also a certain amount of government money in the hands of Smiths & Thompson's, whose ledgers contained the accounts of the Collector of Customs, the Commissioners of Taxes, and two accounts called "New Assessed Taxes" and "Redemption of the Land Tax" accounts. Altogether the government money accounted for £137,375 of the cash in hands in January 1800.

The deposit and Corporation accounts were not the only source of money available to the bankers. The current accounts of the merchants, alternately depleted and replenished as they were by the normal fluctuations of trade, were both the chief field for bankers' investments and also the best source of loanable income. Many of the merchants had credit balances of several thousands of pounds, although none of them used their accounts for their personal investment. The note issues were, also, of course, a source of credit for the bankers.

The deposits which were held by the bankers were used mainly to make advances to merchants, to whom ample facilities for credit were essential. In the early part of the century the funds of the greatest merchants had most probably been drawn from their very considerable family fortunes. The most important firms were all old established concerns dating back into the seventeenth century, and many of them (for example, the Wilkinsons and the Wilberforces) were in a position to lend money to their less affluent neighbours and to the Corporation. The Corporation itself occasionally lent money to merchants (though it preferred to buy Bank Annuities for long term investments), and when the University Exhibition was vacant Alderman Wilberforce was "desired to put out to Interest the Exhibition Money in his hands when the same Amounts to £100 upon the best Security he can get."³³ On this occasion

the money was apparently lent to Christopher Scott the merchant, for when it was required, in July 1748, a bill from Scott was delivered to the Bench.³⁴

At least one medium sized merchant house, the Maisters, borrowed money from East Riding landowners (the Grimstons) and also from their Amsterdam agents, George Cliffords & Son, (£2,500) in 1731, but there is little evidence to show to what extent merchants drew money from outside Hull.

Credit became more essential for the smooth flow of business ~~with~~ ^{with} the expansion of trade, the increase in the value of cargoes and the rise of new firms which took place during the first half of the century, and after the advent of the current banking account in the second half of the century merchants turned to the banks as the easiest and best source of credit. They were able to pay their debts promptly to their creditors by overdrawing their bank accounts to do so. Joseph Sykes & Co., for instance, used their account with Smiths & Thompson's originally for the payment of customs duties, and they had overdrawn by £7,310 before they made any attempt to repay the bank. Most of the merchants used their accounts solely for current expences, keeping very little cash in them, with the result that any heavy or extraordinary expenditure resulted automatically in a temporary overdraft. Several of the larger merchant houses had what appear to have been almost permanent overdrafts; that of the Sykes' firm

stood at £15,914 in May 1790, while the largest overdraft recorded in Smiths & Thompson's ledgers, that of the related firm of Wilberforce & Smiths, stood at no less than £35,468 on 5 July 1792. The account of that firm shows the way in which large merchant firms depended on large-scale credit, especially in the period 1788-1792:

TABLE 55. WILBERFORCE & SMITHS' CREDIT AND DEBIT BALANCES, 5 January 1785-1800.

1785	99 Cr	1791	10,359 Dr	1796	6,239 Dr
1786	607 Dr	1792	30,194 Dr	1797	2,791 Dr
1787	50 Cr	1793	32,180 Dr	1798	5,801 Cr
1788	3,466 Cr	1794	13,198 Dr	1799	2,630 Cr
1789	23,387 Dr	1795	1,205 Dr	1800	6,178 Dr
1790	16,072 Dr				



Sykes & Co. and Wilberforce & Smiths were, of course, in a specially good position to borrow money, as were all firms which were closely connected with bankers. These two firms certainly had the largest overdrafts in Smiths & Thompson's ledgers, but they were by no means the only firms borrowing extensively from the bank. The sugar refiners, Bassano, Carlill, Boyes & Levett, borrowed heavily in the nineties, probably to build or buy their factory, which in 1797 was insured for £20,100;³⁵ in January 1792 they owed Smiths & Thompson's £8,474, and £10,686 in January 1793. In company with all other merchant houses, Bassano, Carlill & Co. were effected by the difficult financial situation at the beginning

of the French wars, and by 1796 their overdraft was down to £4,696. By 1800 the account showed a surplus of £720, but this was the result only of financial organisation - or, reorganisation.- for Boyes & Carlill now had an overdraft of £2,250 in another account.

Permanent overdrafts of this sort were paid for in exactly the same way as any other loan, inasmuch as the banks entered interest on both sides of the account. Wilberforce & Smiths, for instance, paid £1,024 5s. 7d. interest on their account in January 1792 and another £850 14s. 5d. in July 1792. Indeed, the total income of the banks from this source must have been very great, especially in the last decade of the century.

The most common way of lending large sums of money was to provide credit in return for a Promissory Note or Bond which was deposited with the Lender until the loan was repaid, when it was returned to the Borrower. They were very frequently used for extending credit by delaying payment, especially to the Corporation to cover dues (which were rarely paid regularly, and never willingly), and it is not unusual to find an entry in the Bench Books ordering, for example, "that Mr Jn Newton be sued upon his Note unless he pay the same before the next Sessions."36

When given to a banker a note or bond was recorded as Credit in the Debtor's account, and when it was redeemed it

was entered in his Debit account. An excellent illustration of the use made of notes is contained in the Smith & Thompson account of Edmund Riddell & Sons, who paid for bank drafts by giving in notes or bonds, and who later redeemed those notes by giving in cash:

	<u>Dr</u>		<u>Cr</u>
Mar 17 '84	Cash lent on Int	£300	
Oct 19			By their Note £300
Oct 26	Note ret'd them	£300	Bills £300
Jan 22 '85	1 Draft	£300	By their Note £300
Dec 27	Note ret'd them	£300	Cash £300
Mar 3 '86	Cash draft	£400	Bond £400
Jun 10	Bond ret'd	£400	Cash £400

Thus they delayed the actual payment of their drafts from January to December, 1785, and from March to June, 1786.

Bonds were sometimes given to boost current accounts. Francis Bine managed to end the year 1784 with a Credit balance of £1,312 but this was only because on three occasions - 12 August, 16 November and 28 December - he had been credited "By his Note on Demand with Int't - £2,000." Some Notes apparently covered trading losses, for the £6,000 borrowed by Bine was not paid off in the normal course of trade, and was only covered when he sold £6,608 of 5% Stock on Aug 3, 1785, to buy back his Notes.

So far as the banks were concerned, Mortgages were not popular as security for loans, although Pease had mortgages

worth £6,500 at the beginning of ledger 'E'.

Loans were also made to the country, and some of them were very large. One overdraft, that of Francis Otter of Coleby, near Lincoln, amounted to £10,750 at the end of 1792, but there is no indication of the reason why it should have been so large. Most of the country overdrafts were small, such as that of John Bell of Elsternwick (£200 in April 1784), or that of John Ellis and others, of Barrow-on-Humber (£110 in May 1784), and no doubt they represent temporary loans to farmers.

Many of the larger loans were for agricultural and other improvements. The Anlaby Turnpike Trust had an account with Pease's bank in the middle of the century, and was paying interest on a loan at the rate of £50 12s.6d. per half year. Thirty years later John Spofforth of Howden paid to Smiths & Thompson's bank "one yrs Int on his note for Market Weighton Drainage £200 due 17 Nov last" (December 1787), and another bond made the total £400. The interest paid was 5%. In July 1790 he owed a total of £2,900, £3,400 in January and July 1791 and £2,709 in January 1792, presumably all on account of the Drainage. Another loan was to Thomas Clarke and others in Spaldington, who in February 1787 borrowed £4,000 which was given to them in thirty drafts and in cash, and which was almost certainly to cover the cost of an enclosure: £1,000 was still outstanding in July 1792.

The enclosure of Coniston was mainly financed from Hull.

On 18 March 1790 William Wilberforce paid Messrs Raines, Nevill and Wood £1,097 4s. "for his proportion of Coniston Enclosure", but this did not cover the full costs, for in 1791 the enclosure account in Smiths & Thompson's ledger paid interest on loans of £900 and £500, and in January 1792 there was a debit balance of £710 0s. 7d. which was transferred to the account of William Wilberforce.

The assets of the bankers were not, however, confined to loans to their customers in and around Hull. Smiths & Thompson's regularly had money owing to them from their London agents, and also from their senior partner Robert Smith, who acted as intermediary between Hull and London. On the other hand, there was sometimes a heavy liability to the London agents. The total balance of Smith, Payne & Smiths and Robert Smith (Table 57), ranged from Cr £76,551 in January 1793 to Dr £57,021 in January 1800, mainly because of the wild fluctuations of Robert Smith's account. Part of his debit balances represent credit extended to the capital by Hull, for it was invested or lent out on interest on behalf of Smiths & Thompson's; on 1 March 1791, for example, he was Dr to "Cash rec'd of S.P.& S. and lent on Gov't Security @ 4% - £10,000", and on numerous occasions he was debtor to large sums for "Interest on money in his hands."

Smiths & Thompson's also had overseas assets, in the accounts of their foreign agents, Cattley & Co. of ~~xxxx~~ St Petersburg, and Thorley & Co. and Thornton & Co. of Narva.

Together they had a debit balance of over £40,000 in January 1792 and 1793, and lesser sums at least until the end of ledger 'F' (January 1800). From these accounts, in 1792-3, Smiths & Thompson's obtained about £1,600 per annum interest.

Thus, for the years in which figures are available, the total balance of all the agents (allowing credits and debits to cancel each other out) was:

TABLE 56. TOTAL BALANCES OF SMITHS & THOMPSON'S AGENTS.

1786	10,432 Dr	1793	33,305 Cr	1800	63,819 Dr
1792	32,234 Dr	1796	13,356 Cr		
				

Another group of assets was constituted by the private investments of the banks. In the period covered by ledger 'E' (1762-6) Pease held or bought Bank Annuities, stocks, "Subscription 1760" and Navy and Victualling bills to the value of about £50,000, of which he sold about £16,000 worth. At the same time there is record in the ledger of holdings of £20,000 worth of stocks and Mortgages worth roughly £6,500, so that the total value of his assets in this form must have been at least £60,000.

The only record of Smiths & Thompson's buying securities is contained in the Navy Bills Account in 1793; they amounted to £18,979 12s.7d. when, like so much else of interest, they were "taken by Mr Thompson into his Private Ledger." Ten years earlier, in 1784-5, the bank had also made heavy purchases of

Navy Bills, but they eventually closed the account on 1 August 1785, when they were credited "By the produce of Stack rec'd for the Navy Bills - £16,544 2s. 6d."

Although it is not possible to assess the total value of the assets and liabilities of Smiths & Thompson's, an attempt can be made to show the total value of the credit and debit balances remaining in the GENERAL ledgers at the end of each year.

TABLE 57. TOTAL CREDIT AND DEBIT BALANCES, SMITHS & THOMPSON'S BANK, SAMPLE YEARS 1786, 1793, 1796 and 1800.

5 Jan.	Town	Country	London Agents	Foreign Agents	Total	Credit Balance
1786 Cr	26,963 ³⁷	1,737	6,568		35,268	13,337
Dr	4,927	4	17,000		21,931	
1793 Cr	122,743	40,466	76,551		239,760	54,810
Dr	119,119	22,585		43,246	184,950	
1796 Cr	120,801 ³⁸	9,269	23,335		154,405	102,310
Dr	37,018	4,098		9,979	51,095	
1800 Cr	264,890 ³⁹	14,785	12,229		291,904	162,666
Dr	48,048	5,142	69,250	6,798	129,238	



The table shows the amount of money deposited in the bank by its customers in Hull, by those in the country, and also the amount owing to the London agents; on the other hand it shows the amount advanced to customers and the amount owing to the bank by its agents in London and Russia. So far as the normal deposits and merchants accounts were concerned, credit reached its peak in January 1793, and the end of the 1792 boom year,

which was marked by very heavy advances by the banks. The boom collapsed early in 1793, causing the temporary closing of Pease & Harrison's and Bramston & Moxon's for lack of cash to back up their liabilities, and the general result was a rapid reduction of the liabilities - and consequently the assets - of the banks.⁴⁰

This can be seen in the January 1796 figure in the table:

Smiths' total assets in the form of loans to customers and agents were reduced by no less than £133,855 between 1793 and 1795, and the figure may have been even lower for 1794. By January 1800 their advances to customers and agents had risen again, to £129,238, which was only about £30,000 less than the total deposits (if government money is deducted as being an unreliable source of credit for the bank), but approximately £76,000 of this total was in the form of money owed by the agents. Thus, although the amount of deposits remained steady in the three balances 1793, 1796, 1800, (and increased if taxes are included), the amount of credit available to the merchant community in Hull had seriously diminished, and remained at a comparatively low level at least until the end of the century.

It must be emphasised, however, that the total balances shown are not truly representative of the state of credit in Hull. In the first place, as we have seen, the total credit balance was swollen by Customs and Tax money which, although

counted in the liabilities of the bank, was often only in the bank for a short time and therefore not available for making loans; although the bank could always rely on about £10,000 Customs money, and some of the tax money did, indeed, stay in the bank for a very long time. Similarly, the January balances always included about £9,000 belonging to the Dock Company, which had accumulated during the year, but which was distributed as dividends in February; moreover, the Company demanded a deposit from the banker as security for their money, and this, at £5,000, practically cancelled out their deposit.

Secondly, because loans to merchants, unlike those to manufacturers, were usually made for short periods only, and because merchants were fond of withdrawing their profits from their accounts in order to invest them, many accounts balanced themselves in January whereas they might have had a heavy debit or credit balance in the middle of the year. A good example of this is in the account of Edmund Riddell (page 480); he borrowed money from March to October 1784, January to December 1785 and March to June 1786, and advances made to him would therefore not appear in any of the January balances. The tendency for merchants' accounts to balance at the end of the year reflects, to a certain extent, the cessation of trade which occurred during the winter months; having finished their financial transactions for the year the merchants had less need of credit than when they were accepting and paying drafts, and they had

had time to withdraw their profits from the account.

Thirdly, many of the deposit accounts, especially in the earlier ledgers, were used during the summer months only, and may have represented the savings of seamen or master mariners who, as in the Greenland trade, made most of their money in the summer months; there was often nothing left at the end of the year, although in some cases there may have been a hundred pounds or more for a few months in the middle of the year.

It follows that the table does not show the true relationship between town and country, for deposits and loans were always less at the end of the year than they were during the months of agricultural activity. It is clear, however, that money always flowed from the country to the town, and not vice-versa.

Thus, in the last quarter of the century, probably earlier, the bankers performed an extremely valuable service to the community in making available for investment the small amounts of money in the hands of the not-so-rich, which would otherwise not have been available in the days before joint stock companies. A seaman's twenty or thirty pounds was of no value to a company in need of twenty or thirty thousand pounds, and the lowly amount of a subscription to one of the Benevolent Societies would be worth even less; but it was the accumulation of such small deposits in the hands of the bankers that provided (or helped to provide) the funds for the large merchant and ship-

owning firms, and also the backing for the note issue. Moreover, the use made of the small deposits enabled a greater proportion of the town's aggregate wealth to be employed in trade, and this was important because it came at a time when the older merchant families were taking large amounts of money out of trade and putting very little, either money or energy, into it. The surplus money of the surrounding agricultural communities in East Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire was also tapped by the bankers, and made available for use in Hull or for redistribution to farmers and landowners in need of capital for improvements.

5. MEANS OF PAYMENT: BILLS AND BILL-DISCOUNTING.

Yet another important function of the banks was the provision of easier means of making and receiving overseas payments. The chief instrument of payment used in the eighteenth century was the bill of exchange:⁴¹

£21 2s. 6d.

Hull, April 27 1793

At Seven days sight pay Mr John Trebutt or order
Twenty One Pounds 2/6d which place to account with or
without Advice for value rec'd.

To Messrs J & J Allen,
Furnivals Inn,
London.

Edward Codd.

It could be used to make a payment in two ways; it could be drawn on a debtor and sent to a creditor, thus eliminating two debts at once, or a bill which had been received from a debtor could

be endorsed and sent on to a creditor. The first of these two is straightforward, but the extent to which endorsed bills were used is not clear. From the evidence available it is reasonable to assume that merchants did not as a rule endorse high valued bills, especially towards the end of the century after the advent of the banking account. But bills were certainly used to make small payments, especially by people who were not engaged in trade. Edward Codd, the Attorney, for example, regularly made use of bills payable to himself to make payments to his creditors in various parts of England. There were even occasions when unaccepted bills circulated, as is shown by a legal action brought by the Hull firm of G. & J. Egginton, oil-merchants and whaler-owners, against a William Liddall of Rossendale, Lancashire. Liddall had sent a bill requiring Mr P. Maber of Leadenhall Market, London, to pay £10 sixty-five days after date, to a Mr William Butterworth. Butterworth endorsed it and made it payable to a Mr G. Ormond, who in turn endorsed it in favour of the Eggingtons. As the bill was now due Eggingtons wrote to Maber demanding the money, but he refused to pay it, presumably because he had not previously accepted the bill and because Liddall's credit with him was exhausted; "and by reason whereof he the said William Liddall according to the usage and custom of merchants became liable to pay to the said G & J Eggington the sum of £10."⁴²

In order to facilitate the drawing of bills, especially on places where there was a dearth of credit, it was customary for all the great merchants to have commissioned agents in London on whom bills could, if necessary, be drawn, and who would pay bills drawn on Hull. William Maister, for example, "Accepted Mr Henry Maister's bill ye 3 December 1715 paya. in London @ 1/mo sight, to Mr Matthias Schildt or order: to pay at ye house of Mr H. Lyell £150 due 9/12 June."⁴³

The use of agents as a source of credit was of far greater significance in the overseas trade of Hull. A very important feature of Hull trade was the importation of goods from the north and east Baltic, where financial organisation was rudimentary and the market for English goods poor. As these parts exported more to Hull than they imported, there was a permanent adverse trade balance and a consequent lack of credit there. As a result Hull merchants were unable to send drafts to the Baltic because they had no debtors there, and their creditors were unable to draw on Hull because to do so could only have resulted in a transfer of bullion which would have been impracticable. Thus it was necessary, as well as convenient, for merchants to employ a continental - usually a Dutch - intermediary possessing credit in the Baltic and good financial connexions with England. Bills were drawn by the Baltic merchants not on the Hull importer, but on the continental

financial house, and this house in turn drew on the London agent of the merchant concerned, who debited the draft in the merchant's account with him. Alternatively the Hull merchant could send to the Baltic bills drawn on Amsterdam,.

The use made of financial agents is amply illustrated in the accounts of the Maister firm. In the early part of the century their payments abroad, even to their own factors, were made through the Amsterdam house of Chitty & Son; Chitty in turn drew on the Maisters' London agent, Henry Lyell & Son.

A very typical example of the entries recorded in the Maister Day Book is that for 16 September 1718: "Sundry accounts: Dr to H. Lyell for £200 drawn on him this day by Chitty & Son

@ 2/usa - £200." In the seventeen-thirties the firm was still paying for Baltic goods in the same way, although the two agents were now Knight & Jackson in London and George Cliffords, Sons & John Archer in Amsterdam.⁴⁴

An entry in the ledger sheets runs: "Knight & Jackson Dr to Cliffords & Co my separate acct £500 for my drafts this day on sd Cliffords & Co @ 2½ use." In this case bills drawn on Cliffords had no doubt been sent to the Baltic by the Maisters to pay for imported iron.

Similar entries are found in the only other extant merchant accounts, those of Samuel Dawson of Bawtry. Jacob Larwood, his Amsterdam agent, who received payment for goods sent from the Netherlands through London, wrote to Dawson:⁴⁵

"I have this day drawn on Mr Wm Haywood of London
 for your acct £240 @ 35 - 2520
 Agio 4 % 119.14
 2639.14

I do not see any likelihood of the exchange rising
 or I should have delayed drawing...."

Dawson's correspondents in Christiania, Colletts & Leuch, drew
 in the same way:⁴⁶

"You have here the bill of loading and invoice of all,
 for the amount of which we've debited Your Acct Curr't
 with 777 RDollars, and after having deducted the £100 -
 drawn in the Winter, we shall take the freedom to draw
 the ballance on Mr Hackshaw as permitted and give you
 all advantage possible in the exchange."

The opening of the Hull banks resulted in several small
 but important differences in the means of payment.

The statement of Dr L.S.Pressnell, that "Of the many
 financial links between London and the country, that most
 relevant to the growth of country banking was provided by
 the increasing use of the bill of exchange drawn on London...",⁴⁷
 is perfectly true so far as Hull is concerned, for the Hull
 bankers confirmed the growing tendency to draw bills on London,
 and at the same time provided means by which such bills could
 be drawn more easily. As well as allowing merchants to draw
 bills on them or their London agents, the bankers sold to their
 customers bills which they themselves drew on their agents, and
 most people with a banking account (especially those possessing
 no trading credit) found it easier to make remittances using
 these bills. Edward Codd, for example, very often used endorsed

bankers' bills to pay rents to absentee Hull landlords for whom he acted, and the Dock Company, which had no trading account, used bankers' bills to make all payments in connexion with the building of the first Hull dock:⁴⁸

No 9594 £31 10s. Hull, 9 Nov. 1774

Twenty days after date pay this our first bill of Exchange to Mr Samuel Martin or order the Sum of Thirty pounds ten shillings, which place to Acc't for value rec'd.

To: Henton Brown & Sons, For Messrs Jos. Pease & Son
London. Thomas Harrison.

As it became common in the second half of the century for merchants to have a current bill account with one of the local banks, the responsibility for transmitting bills to and from London was passed to the bankers. As a result, merchants ceased to transact their foreign bill business through their private London agent, and the bankers' London agents became, in fact, common agents of all their Hull customers. Creditors of Smiths & Thompson's customers, for instance, drew bills on Smith, Payne & Smiths, just as Chitty & Son had drawn on Lyell & Son for the Maisters' debts. Smith, Payne & Smiths entered the bills in Smiths & Thompson's account with them and Smiths & Thompson's eventually debited the bills in the accounts of the merchants concerned. On 21 May 1792, for example, Wilberforce & Smiths' bank account was debited, "To Muilman's Draft on S.P. & S. dated the 15 inst. @ 2mo £428 18s.," and on 30 May "To their acceptance of Paleski & Sons draft of May 11 @ 3 usances - £379 10s." On the other hand, bills which were

payable to Hull merchants were credited in their accounts and then sent along to Smith, Payne & Smiths to be forwarded to the drawee's London agent.

Merchants' bill accounts were valuable not only because of the simplification of their financial business at a time when trade was becoming rapidly more complex, but also because of the facilities for credit which they offered. Bills and drafts were accepted by merchants as a matter of course, whether or not they had enough money in hand to pay for them, and they became indebted to their banker and not to their overseas contacts. But at the same time the usance period which appeared so prominently in all bills of exchange declined in value to the merchant, for the banker debited him with a draft when it was accepted, not when it became due; Muilman's draft on Wilberforce & Smiths, quoted above, was debited in their account after only a week of the two months usance had expired.

Just as the English end of foreign payments passed into the hands of a few London banking firms, so the Baltic end was centred almost entirely on the activities of about a dozen Baltic and Dutch financial houses, mainly in Amsterdam. The chief of these was Muilman's, closely followed by such firms as De Haan, Cummings, Trompowski, Rogge, Retburg, Ostreight, Franck, Voght & Sievekings, and one or two others, and the extent to which they dominated business with the Baltic can be seen clearly in the draft acceptances of the large merchant firms. When

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necessary the Baltic houses drew on the Hull firms, through Smith, Payne & Smiths, once a month, and in the case of Muilman's bills were drawn about nine or ten times a year on such firms as Wilberforce & Smiths, and Carlill, Gilder, Kirkbride & Co.

Most bills in the Baltic trade were drawn on Hull in the first four months of the year, when the cargoes which had been amassed during the winter were despatched for Hull, and the months of October, November and December show the dearth of drafts which is associated with an almost complete standstill of trade. Out of £31,392 drawn on Wilberforce & Smiths in 1788, no less than £23,233 was drawn during the months February to May inclusive; only £76 was drawn in November, and nothing in December.

As we saw earlier (page 464), not all payments were made directly through Amsterdam; Smiths & Thompson's employed their own agents in Russia, who on occasions made payments on behalf of Smiths & Thompson's customers, drawing the money from Amsterdam to do so.

Some payments were not made through financial agents. Complicated transfers of foreign credit could be arranged between important Hull merchants, whereby cash could be moved about in the Baltic area and paid for in Hull. Such an movement is recorded in the Sykes' account in Smiths & Thompson's bank (17 September 1790): Cr "By the amount of Ro.12,919.92

Exch, @ 31 p, Ro. (including Agio) sent by Sutherland & Co. to Narva the 2 July last on acct of W.S. & Co. -- £1,668 16s. 5d."

This method of making overseas payments was, of course, unusual.

6. MISCELLANEOUS FUNCTIONS OF COUNTRY BANKS.

The Smiths & Thompson ledgers reveal that that bank at least was performing a number of useful services for its customers, besides exchanging bills and receiving and lending money.

In the first place, Smiths & Thompson's, and no doubt the other bankers also, bought stocks and shares on behalf of their customers (from both town and country), who were investing heavily towards the end of the century. Through their London agents, Smith, Payne & Smiths, they secured various kinds of government stocks, Omnium, Irish and English Tontine, Lottery tickets, Sierra Leone Company and American Bank shares; and some local stocks such as that of the Driffield Navigation (which was bought through Pease, Knowsley & Co.), and the Yorkshire Tontine. Incidentally, Smiths & Thompson's also handled the Tontine account of Garforth, Raper & Company, one of their York correspondents.

The extent of the stock-buying side of the bankers' business was greater than might be imagined. On 5 January 1799 Smiths & Thompson's drew interest (on behalf of their customers) on

3 per cent Consols which alone were valued at over £200,000, and during the same year they bought stocks of various kinds amounting to over £75,000 and sold stock worth over £57,000. Some of the greater merchants had as much as £20,000 worth, at the least, entered in their accounts, and they were steadily buying more.

Several people, widows or men providing for the future, used their bank accounts solely for the purchase of stocks and the receipt of dividends, which were entered in the accounts in the same way as normal deposits. The account of Mary Gartham, for example, contained only the half yearly drawing of £2 4s. 11d., her dividend on £112 7s. 2d. in the 4 per cents, and the account of George Fowler shows clearly how the bank acted as agent for investment, and how a balance in the bank was allowed to build up only until such time as a suitable investment could be found:

Cr 5 Jun	Bills etc. -	£1,050	
Dr 23 Aug "To cash laid out in the 3% Consol. Anns. -		£1,050	
Cr 17 Jan $\frac{1}{2}$ yrs int. on £1,870 3% - -		£28-1-2d.	
Dr 20 Jan	4% - - -	£1,160	
Cr 5 Feb. $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. int. on 5% £2,709-11-4d. - -		£67-14-9d.	
Dr 11 Feb	5% - - -	£1,055 3s.	(purchased)
7 Jun	5% - - -	£1,052 10s.	"
10 Jun	5% - - -	£54-3-11d.	"
10 Jun	5% - - -	£555-12-6d.	"
.

Secondly, Smiths & Thompson's were responsible for the handling of the Customs account, which was in the name of R.H. Harrison, the Collector at Hull, and for transmitting

large sums of Customs money to the Treasury via Smiths of London. Because of the Customs account, Smiths & Thompson's were able to simplify the payment of duties by their customers, for duties were debited in the merchants' accounts and transferred to Harrison's account by the bank. Sykes & Co., one of the greatest Hull firms, considered this service valuable enough for them to open a special account with Smiths & Thompson's solely for the payment of Customs duties, at a time when their ordinary account was not handled by that bank.

Thirdly, the normal taxes on land, windows, phaetons, female servants and the rest, were collected by or through Smiths & Thompson's. In the case of customers, taxes were debited in their accounts in the same way as Customs duties; other money was collected by salaried officers, paid by the bank, or was sent in by corresponding bankers, such as Simpson, Chapman & Co. of Whitby, who sent in that for the Guisborough district of East Yorkshire. Out of the taxes Smiths & Thompson's paid the collectors (approximately £2,000 per annum), and also supported the East Riding Militia, which very conveniently had an account with the bank. The cost of general and subdivision meetings were paid for by the bank, as were also warrants for the arrest of deserters.

Finally, all the bankers were responsible for securing the bounties for their whaler-owning customers, and Smiths & Thompson's were responsible for a special bounty, paid to the

growers of Flax - £772 13s. 2d. to the East Riding and £45 8s. to the North Riding growers in 1786-7.

7. FINANCIAL CRISES.

Thus Hull was provided, at a fairly early date, with an efficient banking system consisting eventually of four town banks and one country bank, capable of fulfilling all the requirements made of them. They took on a tremendous responsibility as they established control over the financial activities of the port, for with the increase in credit, note issues and deposits, the wellbeing of the whole community became more and more dependent on the solvency of the bankers. In this respect Hull was luckier than most, if not all, other trading towns. In the first place the bankers were all very respectable and very capable business men who were already firmly established as traders, and who were engaged in pseudo-banking activities before they opened as bankers. In the second place, the rise in the trade of Hull in the eighteenth century was reasonably steady, so that financial crises were very few. In fact there were only two periods when the whole of Hull was shaken: 1759 and 1793.

The years 1758-9 were among the darkest in English history. They were marked in Hull by a great decline in trade and by a

number of bankruptcies. In April 1758, John Reed, one of the foremost shipbuilders in Hull failed,⁴⁹ soon to be followed by Thomas and Benjamin Haworth, merchants;⁵⁰ Foster, Adams & Holmes of Southwark and Hull, "tanners, bankers, dealers, chapmen and partners";⁵¹ Sill, Bridges & Blount, "merchants, dealers and chapmen";⁵² John Stephenson, merchant;⁵³ and Benjamin Haywood, merchant,⁵⁴ to mention only the most important firms.

The position of two of these firms, Foster, Adams & Holmes and Sill, Bridges & Blount, is by no means certain. There is no definite contemporary evidence that either of them were engaged in banking in Hull, but, as we have seen, the Gazette refers to Foster, Adams & Holmes, and Frost refers to Sill, Bridges & Blount as bankers. If they were indeed bankers, then the effect of their failure on the economy of Hull must have been considerable. Such failures were usually serious, and the case of Thomas Bridges illustrates the small hope which creditors had of ever receiving their money back. It was not until thirty years after his bankruptcy that the estate of Bridges made a final settlement with his creditors:⁵⁵

"Notice is hereby given, to the separate Creditors (or their representatives) of Thomas Bridges, formerly of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, Banker, deceased; against whom, together with Joseph Sill and Roger Blount, a joint Commission of Bankrupt was awarded in the year 1759, that a second dividend of one shilling and two pence in the pound (of the separate effects of the sd Thomas Bridges) was lately declared, and is now payable, at the bank of Messrs Pease, Knowsley & Wray in Hull; where such of the

sd separate Creditors, of the sd Thomas Bridges, who have not been pd the former dividend (declared in the year 1769) may receive the same."

No doubt there was a great deal of hardship caused by the failure of Sill, Bridges & Blount and Foster & Holmes, but banking was not sufficiently established in the seventeenth-fifties for those failures to harm the economy of Hull as a whole. Indeed, Hull quickly recovered from the 1759 crisis, and there were no more local bank failures in the eighteenth century. The basis of Hull financial life remained sound, even during the wars at the end of the century, although the town received an uncomfortable jolt during the national crisis of 1793. The origin of the trouble in Hull seems to have been a report that Robert & Thomas Harrison, the Mansionhouse Street correspondents of Pease & Harrison's and Bramston & Moxon's, had stopped payment. A run on those banks caught them by surprise and caused them to stop payment, "their being not provided, at the moment, with cash sufficient to supply the sudden emergency...." The position was made much worse by

"An opinion haveing been entertained by some people that the private Effects of Bankers are not liable to the payment of the Notes, and other Debts, of their respective Partnerships, beyond the amount of the proportion of their respective capitals in such Partnerships, and that their Landed Estates, are not at all subject to the payment of such debts...."

In a notice dated 8 March 1793 this curious belief in limited liability was contradicted by the Recorder of Beverley and Hull,

"Bankers, as well as other Traders", he wrote, "are Subject to the Bankrupt Laws, and if on failure of the payment of their Debts a Commission of Bankrupt be taken out against them, the Landed Estates of all the Partners, (subject to any Settlement or Mortgage, that may have been previously made thereof) as well as the whole of their personal property, are, after the payment of their private debts, liable to the payment of their Notes, and other Debts contracted in the Course of their Trade."

In an attempt to keep the situation in hand, Pease & Harrison met their creditors at the Guildhall, under the chairmanship of the inevitable Sir Henry Etherington, and

"...the Recorder produced a Deed by which, all the real and personal estates of Messrs Pease & Harrison, are secured to trustees for the payment of their engagements, and an assurance that Mr Pease was gone to London, for the purpose of procuring cash, and there being no doubt, that the bank would be able, in a little time, to discharge all demands. The Creditors were very well satisfied."(sic)

Pease & Harrison and Bramston & Moxon advertised in the same edition of the HULL PACKET that their bills and notes would be paid as usual by Messrs Harrisons' in London, but there was apparently no smoke without fire, for both Pease and Bramston had changed their agent by the end of the year, to Boldero & Co. and Masterman, Peters, Walker & Mildred respectively.

The Hull banks were not greatly affected by the suspension of cash payments in 1797.⁵⁷ The Creditors of the banks acted wisely, and at a "numerous and respectable Meeting" on 1 March 1797, they resolved:

"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that, as the Lords of the Privy Council have required the Directors of

the Bank of England should forbear issuing any Cash in payment for the present, it is the duty and Interest of all Ranks of Persons to unite in support of the Credit of the respectable PAPER CURRENCY,

That the Banking Houses of Messrs SMITHS & THOMPSON; Messrs Sir CHRISTOPHER SYKES & Co.; Messrs PEASE, HARRISON & Co.; Messr PEASE, KNOWSLEY & WRAY; and Messrs BRAMSTON, MOXON & Co. are highly respectable, and entitled to the Confidence of the Public.

That the several Persons whose names are hereunto subscribed, will continue to receive in all payments whatever, the NOTES of the abovementioned banks, as usual."

This document, inserted in the Hull and York papers, was signed by 235 of the most important inhabitants, including all the great merchants and shipowners, the Collector of the Excise, and the Proprietors of the HULL ADVERTISER. When bankers' notes came into their own, they did so with the full support of those who used them.

8. NOTE ON INVESTMENT.

In the preceding sections we have dealt with finance chiefly from the point of view of trade. There is, however, one final aspect of finance in Hull: the merchants had private lives, with private finances, and in this section we shall deal with the question - partly social and partly economic - of what happened to the money which accumulated in Hull as the profits of the trade of the port.

The merchants, unlike the manufacturers, of the Industrial revolution, had little need of heavy, long term, investments;

his assets were his business contacts rather than buildings, engines and workmen. Moreover, the highly organised world of commerce was based, to a certain extent, on a complicated system of credit extended by one merchant to another, so that a merchant could usually find most of the money he needed without having to get it from his own resources. Consequently there was a sharp distinction between the business and private finances of individual merchants, especially after the growth of extra-family partnerships in the second half of the century. The business banking accounts contained only the financial transactions of the firm; every halfpenny of profit was withdrawn for distribution among the partners, and only a small - sometimes a dangerously small - surplus remained. After the banks were opened, sudden emergencies were usually dealt with not by drawing on private sources, but by obtaining overdrafts, so that, except in the case of bankrupts, private fortunes were not affected by the vicissitudes of trade.

It might be expected that merchants kept their profits in the proverbial "Old Oak Chest" in the first half of the century, and in their private banking accounts in the second half, but this is not so. The poorer classes of people usually had a few pounds in special deposit accounts in the banks towards the end of the century, but many - perhaps most - of the merchants did not even bother to have private accounts, and those who did have them did not use them for large deposits.

Every merchant dreamed - so we are told - of his country house, and not a few of them did in fact establish county families. Hull is ringed by Georgian mansions which speak eloquently of the methods of investment employed by the commercial community, and with a country estate to enlarge or consolidate, and a town - and in some cases also a London - house to keep up, there is little wonder that the profits of the merchant houses were not ploughed back into trade or hoarded in Hull. But country estates were not in themselves sufficient to absorb the huge income that the greatest merchants received, and they were constantly seeking new ways of investing that income, with a view to enlarging it still further.

In the early part of the century there was very little scope for local investment beyond the lending of money to the Corporation and the purchase of shares in ships. There were only a few local companies which were divided into shares, although there may have been several others. The Waterworks was certainly divided into shares, and so were the Hull Whale Fishery Company and the Assembly Rooms, both founded in the fifties. It is possible that some of the larger industrial firms, such as the sugar refiners and the soap makers, may have been inviting investment from sleeping partners, but there is no evidence that they were. In the absence of any very great local demand for capital investment the great merchants no doubt

followed the example of the Maisters, who were investing heavily in government and other stocks - including South Sea, at 349% - which they purchased through their London agents, Henry Lyell & Son.

Opportunities for investment increased with the growth of the town and its trade in the second half of the century. On the one hand there was the new dock, which called for large investments, and on the other hand there was the rapidly expanding merchant marine which provided a welcome field for investment in relatively small shares. There was also a great deal of speculation in property with the rise in population, which doubled in the last quarter of the century. The new streets to the north of the dock were developed in the eighties, when the Dock Company sold over 25,000 square yards of land, approximately half of it being acquired by three men, Richard Howard, Richard Moxon and Joseph Robinson Pease. The building of the new residential quarter was also of interest to investors because, as the better class people moved out to the new streets the older streets declined into rows and alleys of tenements, inhabited by many families or sometimes by women ~~and~~ of doubtful character, and seldom by their owners. One property owner of whom we have record, William Todd, described as a shoemaker, owned no fewer than fifteen houses and three "tenements" during the Napoleonic war, and there were many like him; the Wilberforces, Maisters and other merchant families owned property all over

the town. Finally, the Corporation raised loans to cover the gap between income and expenditure which was increasing with the development of local government. The richer inhabitants were offered five per cent on loans which sometimes reached £1,000, while the poorer inhabitants were offered Annuities which became popular as a kind of Old Age Pension or life insurance.

Local investments were extremely profitable, whether in private firms or public bodies, but the bulk of the merchants' and shipowners' surplus wealth continued to be invested in national funds and stocks. The only difference between the first and second half of the century was that investments, like all other branches of finance, were now concentrated in the hands of the bankers, who bought or sold stocks, and collected interest, on behalf of their clients, as we saw earlier in this chapter.

NOTES

1. The surviving Maister Mss are: (i) The Day Book, (ii) Loose ledger sheets, (iii) Letters, circa 1740. See bibliography.
2. Dawson was not, strictly speaking, a Hull merchant, but all his transactions took place through Hull (via Holden & Co., wharfingers). Mss in Sheffield Central Library, TIBBITTS Collection, Nos. 382, 516.
3. Smiths & Thompson's eventually became the National Provincial bank in Silver Street, where the ledgers are now preserved.
4. Apparently the complete set of Pease ledgers, from 'A' onwards, was preserved ^{at Barclays Bank} until 1939, only to be destroyed during the war; they would have been an invaluable source, not only for the history of Hull, but for the history of banking in general.
5. Joseph's father, Robert Pease, had married Ester Clifford, the daughter of George Clifford of Amsterdam, in 1670; Joseph was their third son.
6. Two of their bills, bearing this title, are recorded in H.D.C.L.B., (A), November 1774; see also B.B.ix, 19 January 1776. The 'Son' in the firm, Robert, had, in fact, died without issue in 1770, and Joseph's only other son had died in infancy.
7. The omission from the Directory is an obvious mistake; earlier references to Pease, Knowsley & Co. can be found, e.g. HULL ADVERTISER, 13 January 1789.
8. Entries in the Port Books were made in the name of J.R. & R.C. Pease.
9. The private Act was 34 George III, c108 (1794).
10. London Gazette Nos. 9863 and 9870.
11. Manuscript kindly loaned to me by Mrs D. Harrison-Broadley, Tickton Grange, Yorks.
12. HULL ADVERTISER, 13 January 1789.
13. L.S.Pressnell, COUNTRY BANKERS IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, p.20, refers to Foster & Holmes of Southwark and Hull as bankers and tanners; when they failed in 1759 the LONDON GAZETTE (9868) called them "Robert Foster (Myton), William Adams and John Holmes (Southwark) Tanners, Bankers, (etc)..." But there is absolutely no evidence that the bank functioned in Hull, despite the fact that a creditors' meeting was held at the King's Head, Hull.
14. B.B.ix, 527. Bramston may have had connexions with London Goldsmiths, for he was responsible for securing the new Mace for the Corporation in March 1777. B.B.ix, 464.

- 15. Bramston & Noxon's failed in the nineteenth century.
- 16. Early in the nineteenth century, if not before, their notes were being issued from Malton, Yorks., and not from Hull.
- 17. H.C.L.B., H-C., 27 March 1780. The extent to which the Smiths dominated the firm is shown by the statement of the Collector that this petition referred to "the premises of Mr Wilberforce whose Warehouses are Occupied by the Memorialist...."
- 18. The relationship between the bank and the merchant house will be found in Chapter IV, p241f.
- 19. Carrington is said to have been the only Englishman to whom George III gave an English peerage while actively engaged in trade. He was created first Marquis of Lincolnshire, in which county he had extensive property.
- 20. H.D.C.L.B., February 1789.
- 21. G.H.L.B., (53), 27 July 1793.
- 22. This was the Baltic branch of the very old Hull firm of Thorntons, which had moved its headquarters to London during the eighteenth century. It was used on occasions to transmit money from the English to the Russian government.
- 23. This was the Baltic branch of the Hull firm of Thorley; Robert Thorley, who was head of the Baltic branch and also senior member of the Thorley family, was the largest shareholder in the Dock Company, and owned extensive property in Hull.
- 24. On which they paid accumulative interest of £290 in January 1792 and £300 in January 1793. Their main business seems to have been the collection of small sums of money on behalf of Thomas Woods, a Hull merchant.
- 25. MS in ~~THE~~ COURT CASES BOX, W.H.
- 26. B.B.ix, 19 January 1776.
- 27. B.B.ix, 462.
- 28. G.H.L.B., (52). The chief difference between the older written notes and the later printed ones was that the former were receipts for specific deposits in the bank which could, if necessary, be cashed by or to the order of, the person in whose name they were issued, while the printed notes were issued by the banks in the place of species and therefore payable to the bearer on demand and valued at a fixed rate.
- 29. Although the suspension referred to the Bank of England, the country banks were relieved, in fact if not in strict law, of the necessity of providing for the payment of their notes in gold.

30. An example of short term deposits is to be found in the account of Aistoppe Stovin - a Hull man, despite his name - who deposited £400 on 17 May 1787 and withdrew it on 29 May. Stovin was an attorney, so it is possible that he was holding money for a client for this period.
31. The Benevolent Societies, like the merchants, preferred to invest their surplus income.
32. G.H.MSS, L.1389(62). Unfortunately there is no clear evidence about interest rates in general. From the evidence that is available it seems that banks reached agreements with each individual depositor (if of sufficient importance) about the interest to be allowed and also the amount to be deposited before interest should be paid. Pease, for instance, allowed the Dock Company 3% on their account - when over £500 - in the eighties (H.D.C.XX Tr., 'B', 2 February 1784), but he had allowed the Corporation 7% in 1776-77 (CORP. CASH BK). The majority of deposits were too small or too transient to gain interest.
33. B.B.ix,98. There was a similar request January 1748, B.B.ix,108.
34. B.B.ix,116.
35. Bassano & Company's Insurance Acc't in SUN BOOK.
36. September 1755. B.B.ix,234.
37. Including £14,232 Customs money withdrawn 5 January 1786 thus reducing the credit total of £35,268 to £21,036.
38. Including £9,015 Customs and taxes.
39. Including £137,375 Customs and taxes. If the government money is deducted from the 1796 and 1800 totals (Town) it will be seen that there was little change in the value of the Town deposits after 1793.
40. The liabilities of Pease & Harrison's were set at £400,000, and those of Bramston & Moxon's at £50,000, by Henry Thornton in his estimate of the effect of the 1793 crisis. It is interesting to notice that Pease's liabilities exceed those of his London correspondents, R & T Harrison by £100,000. Out of sixty firms only four had greater liabilities. Op.cit. Pressnell, COUNTRY BANKING..., p.546-7, Appendix 28.
41. This and many similar bills are recorded in G.H.MSS, L.B.(52-53), which appear to be the letter books of Edward Codd, attorney and Town Clerk.
42. The case of Eggington versus Liddell, 1794, is in W.H.COURT CASES BOX.
43. Maister Day Book.

- 44. Loose ledger sheets, W.H.
- 45. Sheffield Central Reference Library, TIBBITTS, 516-30.
- 46. *ibid.*, 516-11.
- 47. *Op.cit.* Pressnell, COUNTRY BANKING..., p 77.
- 48. H.D.C.L.B., (A), 1774.
- 49. LONDON GAZETTE, Number 9786, 9890.
- 50. *ibid.*, No. 9868.
- 51. *ibid.*, No. 9868.
- 52. *ibid.*, No. 9863, 9870.
- 53. *ibid.*, No. 9869, 9893.
- 54. *ibid.*, No. 9876.
- 55. HULL ADVERTISER, 13 January 1789.
- 56. *ibid.*, 12 March 1793.
- 57. There was, however, a considerable cashing of notes in the year immediately preceding the suspension of cash payments, and credit in Hull was restricted as in the rest of England.

CHAPTER NINE

INDUSTRY IN HULL

Our knowledge of the industrial life of Hull in the eighteenth century is extremely poor, for there is an almost complete absence of material from which a balanced history could be constructed. Not a single business letter, Day Book or account has survived, and we do not possess a single contemporary description of the state of industry in Hull. It is therefore obvious that we cannot do justice to Hull's industries; we may even ignore some of them, or inadvertently underrate their importance in the economy of the town. We certainly will be unable to make comparisons between Hull and the towns which are usually regarded as industrial, and this chapter must inevitably pose as many questions as it answers.

Hull was, first and foremost, the servant of industrial towns rather than a centre of industry itself, and in general it remained aloof from the industries from which it drew its wealth. The industries which flourished in Hull were, firstly, those connected with the mechanics of trade, such as shipbuilding and repairing; secondly, those engaged in the processing of imported raw materials such as oil and sugar; and, thirdly, those small industries which produced goods for the benefit of the inhabitants and, occasionally, for exportation.

(i) Industries concerned with shipping.

Hull was a great port which, like all other ports, depended for its prosperity partly on its ability to provide and maintain the shipping demanded by its trade. Shipbuilding - and repairing - was thus one of Hull's principal industries, providing, as it had done for many centuries, a great deal of the shipping owned in the port, and also ships for other ports - mainly in Yorkshire - and the Admiralty.

The leading Hull shipbuilders were the Blaydes family, at least until the last quarter of the century when they appear to have gone into retirement. As early as 1667 one of them, William, was described as a shipwright;¹ another, Hugh, was practising before 1693, when he was granted a lease of the Corporation's land between the North Gate and the Sally Port,² and both William and Benjamin Blaydes were taking apprentices in 1700.³ In 1720 a Joseph Blaydes agreed with the Corporation to take over a lease of the shipyard after the expiry of the lease, which was apparently now in the name of Benjamin, his father, but in fact it was another Hugh Blaydes who eventually secured the lease in 1721, for nine pounds per annum.⁴ There was, however, continual friction between the Corporation and the Blaydes, probably because the Bench wished to raise the rent. In May 1745 an ejection order was made, but not carried out, and again in April 1749 notice was given "That the Shipyard and Premises belonging to the Corporation of Hull, now in the tenure of Mr Hugh

Blaydes, will be lett at the Town Hall; on the first day of May next...",⁵ but the yard remained in the Blaydes' hands - now at a rent of thirty-one pounds⁶ - until it was sold to the Dock Company for £3,000 in 1775, and then the Bench asked that the Blaydes should be allowed to remain in possession "Whilst the Spring Ships of ye year were fitting out...."⁷

The Blaydes' yards accounted for most of the large ships built at Hull and Hessle, and especially for the Admiralty ships which were built during the war periods. In the period 1740-1747 Hugh Blaydes built nine ships for the Royal Navy, and seven in the period 1756-64; in payment for some of these he received Navy Bills worth £14,560 between 21 December 1757 and 15 February 1759, and £4,822 between 6 May 1763 and 30 May 1764, the periods covered by his bank account in the surviving Pease Bank ledgers.⁸

There was only one other builder at the beginning of the century who could undertake Naval contracts - John Framo, or Freamo, who built at "Hasel Clifts"⁹ - but the industry began to expand in the first quarter of the century as new yards were opened by shipwrights who had served their apprenticeships in the Blaydes' yards and had no ventured to establish their own businesses. There is/evidence that they were immediately successful, and it is probable that they were completely overshadowed by their old masters. The only one of them in the middle of the century who had a large enough business to secure government contracts was John Read, but his finances were

unstable and he was unfortunate enough to be one of the few Hull men to fail during the 1758-9 financial crisis.¹⁰ His business may have been declining for some time, for the sixth rate (452 tons) GLASGOW which he began to build was finished in 1757 by another firm, Hodgson & Bryan. Hodgson & Bryan in turn may have run into difficulties, for although they built a Sloop, NAUTILUS, in 1762, the GLORY (sixth rate, 679 tons) was built in 1763 by "Blaydes & Hodgson", so it looks as if the Blaydes had eventually succeeded to Read's business. (See List of Naval ships built at Hull, Table 59.)

The second shipbuilder who received his training from the Blaydes was Thomas Gleadall, who had been apprenticed with them in 1701. At an unknown date he founded his family business, usually known as Gleadows, but it was not until the last quarter of the century that their yard seems to have done much business. They appear to have been chiefly concerned with ship repairing, which was, of course, just as important and necessary a part of the shipwright's work as the original building, and to have specialised in the fitting out of whalers, which were subject to very heavy structural damage on almost every voyage they made to the Arctic seas; the largest single expenditure of Sparks & Company, owners of the GIBRALTAR and ENTERPRISE, was a repair bill of £600 which they paid to Thomas Gleadow in 1791.¹¹

Another important yard was that belonging to the Walton family. Thomas Walton, like Thomas Gleadall, had been an apprentice of Hugh

Blaydes, between 1743 and 1751.¹² When he started his own yard is unknown, but he no doubt made use of capital which would come to him through his marriage to Margaret Porter, the sole heiress of a great merchant house of that name.¹³ In the eighties there were two firms bearing the family name, Nicholas Walton, Thomas's son, and Bine & Walton,¹⁴ but there are no records of ships built by them. It is possible that Thomas Walton originally specialised in small ships, for the only Naval ship he built was the sloop SHARK, sixteen guns, in 1774.

Yet another builder at the end of the century was William Gibson, who was not originally a Hull man at all. In 1787 the Dock Company informed Benjamin Blaydes, John Barnes, John Peel of Itchener (near Chichester) and Thomas Dixon of Sunderland - which shows the competition - that "They ((viz. the Dock Company)) have accepted of Mr Wm. Gibson of Armino as their Tennant for the Shipyard."¹⁵ Finally there was John Barnes, the man mentioned in the Dock Company's letter, about whom nothing is known. He was presumably the same man as the Mr Baines who was threatened with prosecution in 1782 by the Bench if he did not remove the rubbish and building materials left outside his yard.¹⁶

The shipbuilding industry thus developed considerably during the second half, and particularly the last quarter of the century with the opening of Walton's and Gibson's yards and of the Blaydes' second yard, at Hesslo, and the industry continued to expand during

the following half century, when Hull had a flourishing iron-ship-building industry. Hull was, incidentally, one of the first places to produce a steamship. In the late eighties a native of Beverley, Furnace, and a Hull doctor, Ashton, who had been articled to William Watson Bolton, the whaler owner and surgeon, built a small steam boat which ran between Hull and Beverley, apparently with success.

In 1796 they built a second, larger, boat, which the Prince of Wales acquired as a pleasure launch, allowing Furnace and Ashton an annual pension of seventy pounds.¹⁷

The output of the Hull shipyards was great, but the ships produced in them were not particularly impressive. Large ships could be produced when necessary, but they were always for the Royal Navy, such as the 1,217 ton HUMBER, launched by Framo on 30 March 1693, or the 1,376 ton ARDENT, launched by Hugh and Benjamin Blaydes on 13 August 1764. Merchant ships like the 367 ton PEGGY, built by an unknown builder - presumably Blaydes - for Middleton & Company of Whitby,¹⁸ were probably exceptions, and it may be significant that many of the larger transatlantic merchantmen-cum-whalers were purchased from other ports in England, or from America. Small ships formed the basis of the Hull merchant marine throughout the whole of our period because of the large coastal trade, although many larger ships were employed towards the end of the century on the growing Russian trade.

Thus, the average tonnage of the ships built at Hull during the

last thirteen years of the century - 127 tons - was not very good when compared with that for the other major shipbuilding ports; but Hull compares very favourably with the other ports so far as the total number and tonnage of ships is concerned. Hull was building some thirty-five ships per annum between 1787 and 1799, with an average total tonnage of 4,442 tons, compared with twenty-five ships and 3,766 tons at Liverpool, thirty-two ships and 7,138 tons at Newcastle, twenty-four ships and 4,340 tons at Sunderland, eighteen ships and 4,208 tons at Whitby and forty-four ships and 9,966 tons at London. Thus Hull was second only to London and Newcastle in the tonnage, and second only to London in the number, of ships built. Moreover, the Hull shipbuilding industry had the distinct advantage of being a stable one, with none of the great fluctuations which occurred in all the other ports except Newcastle.

Table 58: SHIPS BUILT AT THE MAJOR SHIP-BUILDING PORTS, 1787-99.

	Hull	L'pool	Newc.	Sund.	Whitby	London
1787	39 5,471	44 5,731	35 5,923	16 2,434	26 2,836	61 16,999
8	47 5,714	40 5,139	35 6,259	15 2,528	16 2,469	48 8,534
9	32 3,717	26 3,166	27 5,087	12 1,588	17 4,432	37 8,280
90	20 1,894	27 4,737	29 6,144	18 2,755	23 4,999	40 9,743
1	36 4,668	18 2,393	30 6,346	7 1,230	22 5,665	56 6,673
2	27 3,844	30 3,509	20 4,998	15 2,507	23 5,957	51 11,003
3	45 5,193	18 2,137	36 8,783	32 5,087	22 5,828	33 4,986
4	39 4,809	18 2,655	28 7,189	19 3,166	15 4,609	22 1,971
5	42 4,564	12 1,463	33 7,984	32 6,203	20 5,295	28 7,122
6	29 4,729	34 5,175	30 7,173	40 8,846	8 1,587	64 22,315
7	31 4,156	20 4,749	34 7,987	34 5,902	7 1,385	65 20,342
8	33 4,170	11 2,201	39 8,730	42 6,967	21 5,372	39 6,763
9	38 4,818	24 5,708	43 10,285	36 7,207	14 4,285	32 4,830

Table 57: NAVAL SHIPS BUILT AT HULL, 1691-1810. 19

DATE	NAME	TYPE	TONS	GUNS	BUILDERS	PLACE	SOURCES
1691	ETNA	fire-ship	258	-	John Freame	Hull	A.
1693	HUMBER	3rd rate	1,223	-	"	"	A,C.
1695	NEWARK	3rd rate	1,217	-	"	"	A,C.
1697	KINGSTON	4th rate	924	-	"	"	A.
1740 (39)	SUCCESS	6th rate	436	20	Hugh Blaydes	"	A,B.
1741 (40)	ADVENTURE	5th rate	683	40	"	"	A,B.
1742 (41)	ANGLESEA	-	-	40	"	"	B,D.
1742 (45)	ALDERNEY	6th rate	504	20	John Read	"	A,B,D.
1743	HECTOR	5th rate	720	40	Hugh Blaydes	"	A,B,D.
1744 (43)	SHOREHAM	6th rate	514	20	John Read	"	A,B,D.
1744	FOWAY	5th rate	709	40	Hugh Blaydes	"	A,B.
1745	RAVEN	Sloop	273	16	"	"	A,B,D.
1745 (47)	GLASGOW	6th rate	504	20	John Read	"	A,B,D.
1746 (44)	POOL	5th rate	706	40	Hugh Blaydes	"	A,B,D.
1746	CENTUM	6th rate	504	20	"	"	A,B.
1746 (49)	GRAMPUS	Sloop	271	16	John Read	"	A,B,D.
1747	TAVISTOCK	4th rate	1,061	50	Hugh Blaydes	Hessle Cliff	A,B,D.
1756 (53)	SCARBOROUGH	-	-	20	Hugh Blaydes	Hull	B,D.
1757 (54)	ROSE	-	-	20	"	"	B,D.
1757 (52)	GLASGOW	6th rate	452	20	John Read/finished by Hodgson & Bryan	"	A,B,D.
1757 (59)	TEMPLE	-	-	70 (74)	Hugh Blaydes	Hessle	B,D.
1760 (54)	TWEED	-	-	34 (36)	"	"	B,D.
1761	MERMAID	6th rate	-	28 (32)	"	"	A,B,D.
1762 (55)	NAUTILUS	-	-	16	Hodgson & Bryan	"Charlestown"	B,D.
1762 (56)	EMERALD	6th rate	681	32	Hugh & Benj. Blaydes	Hessle	A,B,D.
1763	GLORY	6th rate	679	32	Blaydes & Hodgson	"Charlestown"	A,B,D.
1764	ARDENT	3rd rate	1,376	70 (64)	Hugh & Benj. Blaydes	Hessle	A,B,D.
1774 (67)	BOREAS	6th rate	627	32	Blayde & Hodgson	Charlestown	A,D.
1774	DIAMOND	6th rate	710	36	"	"	A,D.
1774	SHARK	-	-	16	Thomas Walton	Hull	D.
1804	COMBATANT	-	-	18	Thomas Steenson	Paull	D.
1804	DAUNTLESS	-	-	24	Peter Atkinson	Hull	D.
1804	VALOROUS	-	-	24	William Gibson	"	D.
1805	OBERON	-	-	24	James Shephers Snr.	"	D.
1807	PORCUPINE	(small)	-	16	"	"	A.
1807 (06)	HYPERION	5th rate	978	-	Owen's Yard	"	A.
1807 (05)	PROSERPINE	6th rate	-	32	William Gibson	Paull	A,D.
1808	OWEN GLENDOWER	5th rate	951	36	Steenson's	Paull	A,D.
1810	ANSON	-	-	74	Sir William Rule	Hull	D.
?	SCOUT	-	-	-	Steenson's	Hull	D.
					Peter Atkinson	Hull	

The figures in brackets are Sheahan's, and their authenticity is extremely doubtful.

since become world famous as "Hall's Barton Ropery". The Halls, and probably the other ropemakers as well, also made sails and tarpauling.

Another small but important industry was the production of pitch, used extensively for caulking ships. The chief pitch producers in the middle of the century were the specialists in American trade, Hamilton & Edge, who were importing large quantities of plantation tar (and Swedish tar) which they distilled and mixed with allum, resin and lime, in their Wincomblee yard.²⁰ Whether they were originally tar producers who entered the American trade because America was a good alternative source of tar, or American merchants who began to process tar because it was obtainable from America is, unfortunately, unknown. Their place was taken later in the century by Howard & Parker and Bourne & Osbourne, but it was probably still customary for many shipowners to make their own pitch.

(ii) Industries concerned with the processing of raw materials.

Although shipbuilding and kindred industries were of vital importance to the port, the largest group of industries was that concerned with the refining of imported raw materials before they were sent into the hinterland.

The oldest of these industries, and one which became world famous in the nineteenth century, was the extraction of oil from

rapeseed and, later, from linseed (flax). As far back as the beginning of the fifteenth century Hull had imported seed oil, and the earliest reference to milling occurs in the early sixteenth century.²¹ There is, however, a dearth of information about the early history of the industry, and we have only the scantiest knowledge of conditions in 1700 or, for that matter, in 1800. Several mills are known to have been in existence at the beginning of the century, one of them belonging to Queen Anne, who leased it to Francis Wyvill of York in September 1705.²² Shortly afterwards the most important Hull miller, Joseph Pease (who is said to have been the first person to mill linseed as opposed to rapeseed) set up the business out of which was to grow the first Hull bank. His family had lived in Holland for many years, and it may have been there that he learned the technique of linseed crushing. Indeed, one of the chief aspects of Pease's business in the early days was the exportation of oil-cakes to Holland, presumably to his old associates.

Several other firms come to light at various times in the century. The Fernleys had two mills in the thirties, one worked by wind and the other by horse power, and Pryme & Co., Daniel Bridges (of Sill, Bridges & Blount, merchants), Christopher Harrison and Pead & Co. had mills in the parish of Sculcoates in the middle of the century.²³

Care should be taken not to over-emphasise the importance of the oil seed crushing industry in the eighteenth century. It was not until the last quarter of the century that the increasing demand

for oil for cloth making processes, for soap, and for paint and putty, encouraged the expansion of milling in Hull. The Maisters bought one, or perhaps two, mills, and several firms came into existence which specialised in seed crushing, including Jarratt & Coates (whose mill was one of the first to have a steam engine); Ritchie & Co.; Magginis Fea; Thompson, Rickard & Co.; George Drant and Richard Tottie.²⁴

Not the least interesting dabbler in this field was Mayson Wright, the manager of the Water Works, who engaged John Smeaton, the engineer, to design for him a crushing machine to be worked by water power, no doubt for use in conjunction with the Water Works.²⁵ But the

greatest firms remained those connected with the Pease family: Pease, Richardson & Co., Brooke, Pease & Co., and Wray & Pease.

Some idea of the value of the larger mills can be gained from the insurance of John Brooke & Co.; in the early years of the nineteenth century their oil mill, fittings and cistern were valued at no less than £12,000.²⁶

While little can be said about individual firms, some indication of the growth of the crushing industry as a whole is contained in the general import and export figures. We know, for instance, that the number of cattle cakes exported in 1717 was roughly 150,000 and that by 1737 the number had risen to just over 400,000 before the method of measuring them changed (52 tons were exported in 1758). We also know that the quantity of linseed imported, mainly from the Baltic, rose greatly, from 1,902 bushels in 1728 to 18,880 in 1758

and over 66,000 in 1783. At the same time oil seed was being brought in from East Anglia (especially from the Wisbech area) in fairly large quantities; the East Riding was developing its own flax-growing industry, stimulated by the government bounties which were distributed by the Hull bankers Smiths & Thompson's, in the last quarter of the century; and seed was coming from the hinterland by canal, the value of seed carried on the Aire and Calder alone in 1792 being almost £10,000.²⁷

Hull was important not only for the seed crushing industry itself, but also for the production of seed crushing machinery. As early as 1776 John Smeaton had applied his genius to the production of "an Oil Mill for Mr Mayson Wright, to be worked by Water raised by a Fire Engine at Hull", a ponderous machine incorporating a wheel some twenty-seven feet in diameter. A year or so earlier the "Old Foundry" was opened by Todd, and soon came to specialise in the production of crushing machinery, eventually becoming, as Rose, Downs & Thompson, one of the greatest firms in the world in this field. Another firm was that started by James Norman, millwright, who contracted for most of the iron work on the Dock, and who may have been one of the partners in the firm of Smithsons & Norman's, engineers and machine makers "where millstones are compounded of French stone", who were functioning in the early nineteenth century.²⁸

Another important commodity refined in Hull was sugar. There was at least one "Sugar House" in Hull in the sixteen-sixties, for in 1673 William Smith and William Cattlin entered into a lease of "One great building of Brick lately called the Sugar House but now occupied for a Rape Mill".²⁹ The next reference to a Sugar House comes in 1731, when Godfrey Thornton of London and William Thornton of Hull built their huge refinery, probably in co-operation with their brother-in-law, Wilberforce, who was one of the executors of Richard Sykes, who had owned the site. At an unknown date the firm was expanded and became known as Thornton, Watson & Company, at least until the end of the century, the union being cemented by the marriage of John Thornton and Lucy Watson.³⁰

The Lime Street Sugar House was a grand affair, the most notable private building in Hull and an early example of eighteenth century factory construction. According to Gent, who published an illustration of it in his History, it was seventy-four feet high, seventy-nine feet long, and forty-six feet wide, and those of the one hundred and thirty-eight windows which are visible in the illustration are arranged in nine rows, which suggests the existence of nine separate floors. The business continued to expand, and its value at the end of the century was great for the times. In 1797 their "Single Refining Sugar House on the South Side of Lime Street Containing 4 pans" and their "double refining House containing two pans", together with their stock, utensils and warehouse, were insured against

fire for no less than £23,000.³¹

Thornton & Watson's was a very important company, but it was not the only refinery in Hull. In 1760 a merchant called Cookson was refining sugar, and was enterprising enough to insert an advertisement in the LEEDS INTELLIGENCER begging leave "to acquaint the public, that for the better Accomodation of his friends, he will soon open a Warehouse adjoining the New Inn, in Briggate...."³² Yet another refiner was Francis Bine, an ex-master-mariner who made £20,000, it is said, out of the American war, and "commenced Merchant and Sugar Boiler having bought the New Sugar House on Wincomblee."³³ The most important firm after Thornton's, however, was Boyes & Co., which in 1797 was known as "John Bassano, John Carlill, John Boyes, and John Levett of Hull, Sugar Bakers." Their premises were insured for £15,000 until August 1797, when the total was raised to £20,100,³⁴ Thus, without much fear of exaggeration, it might be presumed that over £50,000 - and probably a great deal more - was invested as capital in the sugar refining industry.

The Thorntons were also the senior partners in the greatest firm of tallow refiners and soap makers. In this case they joined forces with the Peads, who were the greatest oil producers in Hull, and between them they built the soapworks to the north of their Lime Street site. Besides the Russian tallow and Scottish kelp which they imported, they may have endeavoured to use whale oil

(as well as rape oil) for soap production, for Peads probably operated the first Greenland yard in Hull and was connected with the Hull Whale Fishery Company in the middle of the century.

A second soap making firm was that of Isaac Steer: "Any person that is willing to join in carrying on the advantageous Art and Mystery of Making CASTLE SOAP from Kelp", read an advertisement in the HULL COURANT in 1759, "may apply to Isaac Steer, at Winkamloe, without the Northern Gate, Hull WHERE CASTLE SOAP is sold at 48/- per hundred, which exceeds any that is made in or near that place."³⁵ Needless to say, tallow was also used for making candles by half-a-dozen specialist Chandlers and by firms like Peads.

Another industry connected with the refining of oil, and also with the production of white lead, was the paint making industry, which had a tremendous potential but was of little importance before 1810. One of the oldest known paint firms in England, Tudors, Mash & Company,³⁶ trace their ancestry back to Samuel Tudor, who is reputed to have founded his firm in Hull in 1749, but there must have been colour makers at a much earlier time than this, for there are occasional references to the exportation of paint and colours, presumably made in Hull; as early as 4 September 1703 four boxes of painter's colours were sent to Sunderland.³⁷ In the early days paint seems to have been the concern of oil millers, for Thomas Lee (of Pead & Lee - one of the Thornton/Pead companies) and Joseph Pease were the contractors supplying paint to the Hull Dock Company. (Pease's

position as a linseed producer has already been noted). But the second ingredient of paint is white lead, and it was probably the easy availability of the two main raw materials, together with the importation of colours from Holland, which encouraged the paint industry to grow in Hull. It is sometimes assumed that the existence of firms wishing to produce paint encouraged the white lead manufacturers in Hull,³⁸ but it is more likely that the lead producers were there first. For although Pickard's factory, established in 1791, is said to have been the first in England, Hull had, in fact, been exporting white lead for a very long time - 1,120 cwt in 1737 and 12,903 cwt in 1783; Alderman Boilby certainly had a lead mill in the forties, for one of his workmen hanged himself there, in 1743.³⁹ Pickard's, incidentally, was one of the newer Hull factories employing a steam engine, which was insured for £400 in 1807.⁴⁰

The main development of the paint industry came after the Napoleonic war. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the only producer who is known definitely to have been making paint was Samuel Thompson, merchant, who had a "Horse Colour Mill" at least as early as 1802.⁴⁰ The revolution in the paint industry came with the development in the nineteenth century of Tudors and with the founding of the world famous firms of Sissons (1803) and Blundells (1811).

To anyone living in - or visiting - Hull in the hundred years following 1754, the most obvious industry was the processing of whale blubber, which was distinguishable by its appalling stench. There were, of course, no factory ships in England in the eighteenth century, and blubber had to be cut up on board the whalers, stored in casks, and brought home to be rendered down in one or other of the Greenland yards which were spread along the banks of the Hull to the north of the town.

The first of these yards was opened in the fifties with the beginning of the whaling industry in Hull, but whether it was owned by one of the whaling firms - The Hull Whale Fishery & Co., Hamilton & Co., and Welfitt & Co. - or by an oil merchant, is a matter for conjecture.⁴¹ What meagre evidence there is seems to point to Benjamin Pead & Co. as the likely owners or occupiers. Pead was, as we have seen, an oil merchant, seed crusher, soap maker and tallow chandler, and so would possess some idea of the technique required for the refining of whale oil, whereas the merchant-owners would not. Moreover, whale oil was being processed in Hull long before the local whaling industry was established; blubber as well as oil was imported from America, and it was because of the value of the refined oil that there were so many disputes over the ownership of whales and "large fish" caught or stranded in the Humber, especially in the thirties. It is therefore not surprising to find that Pead - and Pead alone - was making very

heavy payments to the Hull Whale Fishery & Co. in the fifties, which presumably means that he was buying up their entire catch and processing it on his own behalf.⁴² When whaling revived, after the temporary lapse during the Seven Years War, we find once more that it was the oil merchants, not the whaler owners - in this case Samuel Standidge & Company - who ran the Greenland Yard in Wincomblee. For one or two years it was in the hands of a Daniel Williamson, spermaceti chandler, and in 1770 it was once more controlled by Benjamin Pead & Company.⁴³

After the expansion of the whaling industry in the eighties a number of new Greenland Yards were built, but most of the refining was still done by a few important oil firms, such as Eggingtons and Boltons, both of whom were also prominent whaler owners. Whaler owning firms like Sparks & Co. obviously had no interest in the refining of oil, confining their activities to the owning of ships. Thus, in the first decade of the nineteenth century there were dozens of firms engaged in whaler owning, but only seven Greenland Yards, which between them served the entire whaling fleet of the port.

Yet another processing industry with a tremendous potential was tanning, which, like the paint industry, was still in its infancy at the end of our period. In the early part of the century leather had been produced in the hinterland, chiefly around Beverley, both

for use in the English shoemaking and leather trades, and for exportation, mainly to Spain. So long as the hides used were produced locally, Hull tanners had no real advantage over inland tanners, except, perhaps, in possessing a cheaper supply of shumack and other chemicals imported for the tanneries; but when hides produced in the hinterland began to be supplemented by importation, especially from Russia and from the north of England (Newcastle), Hull became important as a tanning centre where raw hides were processed before being sent inland. The tremendous increase in the number of seal skins brought to Hull by the whaling fleet may also have contributed towards the establishment of a flourishing industry in Hull.

We know very little about the actual details of tanning in Hull. Only one freeman tanner is recorded in the 1747 Poll Book, none at all in the 1768 Poll Book, and only one - Richard Patrick - in the 1791 Directory. There were, however, five carriers in the Directory who may also have been tanners, and there may have been some whose names are not recorded because they worked outside the town. Certainly by the end of the century Hull's two greatest tanneries, Holmes' and Hodgson's (now at Beverley) were functioning, and the port was well on the way to becoming a great centre of the English tanning industry.

A great quantity of leather was consumed in Hull itself, for the production of belts, boots, shoes, protective clothing and

saddlery. Shoemaking, which was important because it supplied a flourishing export trade, occupied some fifty freemen in 1747 and twice that number in 1768. Some of them were undoubtedly rich master craftsmen employing many journeymen; one of them, William Todd, owned fifteen houses and three tenements in Hull and a house and granary in Patrington in the first decade of the nineteenth century,⁴³ which indicates a flourishing business if not mass production, for even small investments would be beyond the reach of the ordinary craftsman. Belt making was also becoming very important late in the century as the steam engine became the chief means of power in the newer factories, and as the coach entered its heyday. Finally, the noble art of saddlemaking was flourishing, and in 1791 there were at least eight saddlers practicing in Hull. Many examples of their work found their way to Europe, via the great trade with Hamburgh.

(iii) Industries producing goods for the benefit of the Inhabitants and for exportation.

As in other large towns, there were many people in Hull who were engaged in industries which produced goods for the benefit of the inhabitants, and, occasionally, for the export trade.

The chief of these purely local industries was building, a fact which is so obvious that it is often overlooked. Hull, like many other towns influenced by the industrial revolution, was

practically rebuilt in the second half of the eighteenth century, and a period of great physical expansion was beginning in the eighties.

As is still the custom today, small scale building was probably carried on by individual master craftsmen building to the order of their client, and engaging labour as required. When the Long Jetty was dropping into decay in 1761, for instance, the Bench requested the Mayor "to Contract with Workmen" and have it rebuilt in brick.⁴⁴ Similarly, when a new council chamber was needed, in 1780, the Town's Husband was instructed "to procure from different workmen plans and estimates of the expence of rebuilding the Council Chamber with and without a Bow window, to be roofed with slates including the old materials in such Estimate."⁴⁵

Although the jobbing master still had his place in the industry, the small firms and individuals were ceasing to be of importance in building so far as organisation was concerned, for this side of the business was passed rapidly into the hands of master builders who were specialists in organisation. It is doubtful if a building like the Lime Street Sugar House could have been erected without some kind of contracting and sub-contracting.

The earliest known and most important Hull master builder was Joseph Page, who completed his apprenticeship in 1740. In 1748 we hear of him as an architect drawing plans, and at the same time he was moving in the realms of fine arts, executing the stucco work

in the new Maister House in High Street, and later working for the Grimstons.⁴⁶ Besides being an accomplished architect, builder and interior decorator, Page was also a speculator in the large building schemes necessitated by the development of the port. In 1764 Nathaniel Maister wrote to Thomas Grimston (for whom he acted as agent) that "...the great number of failures we had among our townsmen 3 or 4 years ago had greatly lowered the rents of houses and occasioned many to stand empty. This is wearing off and I hope our town will flourish again and that Page may be induced to cover your ground with good houses."⁴⁷ Again, in 1771, Grimston was informed that Page had "...lately made a purchase of a row of houses at the west end of the High Church belonging to the Corporation for 600 gns and had agreed with the Mayor and Burgesses to open a new street to run from the Trinity House Lane into Fish Street. If you know that part of the town you will easily conceive the improvement it will make and I hope be greatly advantageous to Page himself."⁴⁸ Page may not have been a master builder of the Cubitt type, employing all his own men, but his negotiations with prospective clients were the same as if he had employed his own men, for he included all the expences of a project in one estimate, as is shown in one he prepared for a Customs lazarette to be built at Skitter Creek in Lincolnshire:⁴⁹

"The Estimate Room 517 feet long and 40 ft wide		£	s	d
To Wharfing 75 ft long with fir timber & Plank	-----	112	10	0
To Crane & fixing	-----	20	0	0
To cutting out the haven so as to make a general	-----	80	0	0
To embank one acre with sides 126 Roods @ 5/-	-----	31	10	0
To 344 pcs of Sleepers @ 10/-	-----	172	0	0
To workmanship & freight upon the same to 6sq @ 8/-	-----	18	8	0
To 46 sq of Flouing 2 inch deals @ £2 9s.	-----	112	14	0
To the Quarteren 12 ft high upon ye side 4 x 4				
	954 ft @ 1/6d	71	11	0
1,485 yds of Weather Boarding @ 1/6	-----	111	7	6
175 sqr Roofing & Tilery @ £2 p Sqr	-----	350	0	0
344 Beams or Jyes 6 x 6 & 40 ft long is 3,415 @ 1/-	-----	170	15	0
To labour on do & freight	-----	17	0	0
To 180 Stantions 6 x 6 & 12 ft long	-----	32	0	0
To labour & Sawing	-----	9	0	0
To joints, locks & Incidental expences	-----	60	0	0
To a Centy Box same as I had for the board of work	-----	2	14	6
		1,371 10 0		

Dec. 1770 J. PAGE."

There were several other master builders besides Page, although they were all less important. One of the early ones was Joseph Scott, who was building Corporation houses in Vicar Lane in 1754 and was appointed "to pave and repair the Streets Lanes and Alleys of this Town" - at an agreed price of 2¹/₂d. per square yard - in 1755.⁵⁰

Other builders towards the end of the century were George Pycock, whose plans were used for the alterations to the Charterhouse in 1780,⁵¹ Riddell & Son, and William Settle. The importance of the builders in the nineties is emphasised by the fact that in the 1791 Directory only one bricklayer - Richard Richardson - is mentioned, which leads to the assumption that it was not common for members of the public to have direct communication with individual bricklayers.

The only other important industry providing for the needs of the inhabitants was brewing. Nothing is known about the early development of the industry in the eighteenth century, but by 1791 there were at least seventeen breweries and three distilleries, the chief of them being Richardson & Company. John Richardson of Dobson & Richardson and later Richardson & Terrington brewed in Hull for thirty years or more, and produced one or two books on his trade. His "Thoughts and Hints on the improved practice of brewing Malt Liquors" was published in 1777, and his "Statistical Estimate of the Materials of Brewing" in 1784.⁵² He was also the inventor of an instrument called a "Saccharometer", but what effect it had on the quality of his beer is unknown. The beer must have been fairly good, for Richardson's are the earliest firm in Hull known to have owned tied houses. By 1804 they owned the "Humber Dock Coffee House", recently opened as its name suggests, the "Spread Eagle" in Sutton, the "White Horse" in Bond Street, a house and shop in Scale Lane, the "Angel" in Bourne Street, the "Marriner" in Queen Street, and the "Golden Lion" in Manor Alley.⁵³

The industries which have been listed above were all fairly important ones, employing a large number of men (for the time) and a great deal of capital. Those that remain to be discussed were craftsmen businesses of the kind which one expects to find in all large towns in the eighteenth century. They included the manufacture of many different articles which could be easily produced by small

numbers of men, or for which the demand was not great. Tobacco pipes, for instance, were made in huge quantities by about a dozen men altogether, using clay which was brought coastwise from Poole and from East Anglia. Pipe making was one of the smaller trades which produced extensively for exportation, for clay pipes were in great demand in the whole of the Baltic area with which Hull traded. Some attempt was also made to make pottery in Hull; there is no evidence that much was made, although three men, William Askam, Joseph Mayfield and Richard Eggleston, are recorded as Potmakers in the 1791 Directory. The list of those working with clay might be expanded to include the brick and tyle makers, who were producing both for the home and the Baltic markets.

There can be little doubt that the men who worked with metal and wood were more important than those working with clay. The woodworkers ranged from the numerous furniture and cabinet makers - thirteen in 1792 - to the single coachmaker, Hurstwick, who was doubtless able to fill the requirements of the district, the four gilders and carvers (William Clark, Rouncival Fletcher, Edmund Foster and Joseph Hargrave), and the saddletree maker. There was also one firm - Spence & King - specialising in the production of planes. By the end of the century they were making nearly one hundred types and sizes, and they soon became one of the most important English firms in this field. The metal workers were more important numerically and economically, for besides the six smiths, four shoeing smiths, seven whitesmiths, three braziers and four tanners, there were also two

gunsmiths, three silversmiths, seven watchmakers and one "working Jeweller" in the nineties. The craftsmen producing fine metals luxury goods for the upper classes of Hull and the East Riding were the elite of the industrial class, second only to the heads of the great shipbuilding and processing firms. George Wallis, whose guns were famous throughout the East Riding, had accumulated a private museum of armaments, medals, minerals and other "curiosities" which was one of the sights of Hull, while another of his class, Michael Levi the silversmith, showed his wealth in another way; he first attracted his ^{future} wife by the fine clothes he always wore.

It is generally assumed that all the cloth made in the north came from Lancashire and the West Riding. To deny the general truth of this assumption would be impossible, but it should not be forgotten that small quantities of cloth were probably made in every town. Certainly Hull had a small cloth industry. There were three flax dressers, one weaver, three worsted manufacturers, one wool-sheet manufacturer, as well as a stocking manufacturer, five hosiers (were they makers, or just dealers?), and six silk-dyers. Apparently some linen was also made in Hull or Cottingham, for as early as 1737 Nathaniel Maister informed his brother that "I went to Cottingham on Saturday to hasten the remainder of the Linnens(.) there are about 100 p^s which want drying, if this day holds fair the man expects to have them done, and will bring them and what more he has, hither, by the latter end of the week."⁵⁴ But the manufacture of linen,

despite the easy supply of flax, did not develop until the very end of our period, when Hull had, for half a century or so, a small linen and cotton industry.

Finally there was a group of miscellaneous manufacturers producing umbrellas (1), mustard (2), sealing wax and pens (1), paper (3), stays and other whalebone articles (4), mantuas (2), brushes (1), trunks (1), millstones (1), blue (1) and whiting (1); but none of them are worth more than a mention.

There was one industry which did not flourish in Hull, and in view of the later development of the port this point must be emphasised. It is an almost unbelievable fact that in the eighteenth century Hull had no fishing industry whatsoever.⁵⁵ Fish was regularly brought into the port, and regularly sent inland to places like Sheffield, but it was not caught by ships owned in Hull or even sailing from there. Not even the Corporation bounty prizes of ten, six and four guineas for the three largest catches made any impression, and the boats claiming it were usually from Flamborough and sometimes from Lynn or Yarmouth.⁵⁶ Not until the very end of our period was there any serious attempt to establish a fishing fleet in Hull.

There were many people in Hull who were aware of the need for large fishing smacks to supply the growing industrial towns. An unsigned and undated manuscript (circa 1800) recorded:⁵⁷

"That no fishing Vessels belonge to this Populous town of Hull is but too well known to its inhabitation and the manner it is supplied with this necessary article of Subsistence is Also well known - That it should be better and more regularly supplied leaves no doubt....

"That we are near to the fishing ground is well known as a many of the Southcountry Smacks come and Fish about 7 or 8 Leagues from the Humber's Mouth...."

The group of men who drew up this resolution, led by Daniel Macpherson the whaler-owner, began to make tentative enquiries about conditions in the fishing industry, and in January 1802 Macpherson wrote to "Brother Godbold" of Ipswich for an estimate for "Two forty ton Codsmacks to serve the town of Hull with fish". Godbold replied that the cost would be £1,100 each, and on 2 March 1802 the following notice was posted up in the town:

"At the Guildhall, March 2, 1802, Edward Foster Coulson, Mayor;
RESOLVED:

"That it be recommended to the Inhabitants of this Town to subscribe for one or more Fishing Smacks or Well boats to be purchased and fitted out upon the Plan of Harwich Fishing Boats for the better supplying the Town with Fish...

That the shares be divided in the proportion of £25 for each share with liberty for any Subscriber to take as many shares as he shall choose...

And that as soon as a sufficient number of Subscribers shall be raised to purchase one Smack that it be recommended to them to appoint a Committee to take the management and direction of the business."

(Signed) Edward Codd, Town Clerk."

Appended to the notice was a list of people who had already subscribed to the new undertaking, including Coulson, John Sykes, John Wray, William Bolton, G. & J. Eggington, W.M. Jarratt and Daniel Macpherson, all of whom bought two shares, and Edward Codd

who bought one. The preponderance of men interested in whaling and oil seems to indicate that the first people to consider fishing seriously were men already experienced in whale fishing. It is not clear what came of this proposal, which may have been shelved because of the war; but it does at least show that the present great fishing industry of Hull is entirely modern.

Hull is not usually regarded as an industrial town, either in the past or at the present time, and one looks in vain for any reference to the town in most books dealing with the economic history of our period (one has to look almost as hard for references to Hull's trade). The reason is, quite simply, that there is a general ignorance, even among historians, of conditions in Hull, due to the almost complete absence of easily accessible documentary evidence, and to the fact that there is no reputable history of Hull.

Hull certainly concentrated a great deal of its energy on trade, and took little part in the industries which are usually thought of in connexion with the industrial revolution. This does not mean, however, that Hull had no industries; it simply means that concentrated industry was not the main pillar of the town's economy as it was in Manchester or Sheffield. There were, as we have seen in this chapter, many local industries which merit the attention of the historian; Hull was one of the greatest shipbuilding ports, a great centre of the vegetable and animal oil industries, and an important

producer of sugar, snuff, white lead, paint, leather, and many other similar goods.

Moreover, Hull had its industrialists, like any of the steel or cotton towns, but it is more difficult to recognise them. The most important industries were created and controlled by men who had first made their names and fortunes in trade, and it is not until the very end of our period that we begin to find men concentrating solely on industry. For at least the first three-quarters of the century industry may be regarded as a side-line of the great merchants, but even so, the Peases, Thorntons, and Peads - to mention but a few - compare very favourably with the Darbys, Shores or Wedgewoods. By the end of the century the total industrial capital of these Hull families can hardly have been less than one hundred thousand pounds, and may well have been a great deal more.

Industry thus played a far more important part in the life of Hull than we might suppose from the dearth of evidence about individual industries. Although there were few industries in Hull at the beginning of the eighteenth century, their numbers and importance grew as the century progressed, and in 1800 Hull was on the brink of an industrial expansion which completely changed the atmosphere of the town. The trade of Hull naturally remained the most important aspect of the town's economy, but ~~the~~ nineteenth century Hull deserves to be ranked as one of the industrial cities

of England. Unfortunately its industries have always been - and still are - miscellaneous, and they have therefore been overlooked by the historian

NOTES - Chapter 9.

1. Blashill, EVIDENCE RELATING TO EAST HULL, p.72.
2. B.B.,viii, 338.
3. B.B.,viii,469.
4. B.B.,viii,695 and 700.
5. HULL COURANT, 14 April 1749.
6. Lease in G.H.MSS, M.798.
7. H.D.C.L.B., 10 June 1775.
8. Hugh Blaydes' Bank Account, Pease Bank Ledgers, *Barclay's Bank, Hull*.
9. A silver tankard presented by the Admiralty to mark the launching of the eighty gun HUMBER on 3 March 1693 mentions the location of the yard at Hessele. The tankard is now in Trinity House. See Sheahan, HISTORY..., p.671.
10. LONDON GAZETTE, No. 9890, 24 April 1758. Reed, described as a shipwright, was discharged, but does not appear to have re-opened his business.
11. See Sparks & Co's account in Smiths & Thompson's Bank Ledgers.
12. The apprenticeship agreement is in W.H.MSS.
13. The Waltons probably gained some business through their connections with several shipowning and merchanting families. They were related by marriage (at the end of the century) to the Etheringtons and Blaydes (through Margaret Porter) and the Halls and Eggingtons. See Sheahan, HISTORY...,p.639.
14. Bine and Walton's shipwrights were among those agreeing to vote for Walter Spencer-Stanhope in the 1784 election. Sheffield Central Ref. Library, WSS 1784.
15. H.D.C.L.B., 16 October 1787 (p.120).
16. B.B.,ix,564.
17. See THE JUBILEE OF QUEEN VICTORIA, published in Hull, 1887, by Browns (no author's name), pp.21-22, and Sheahan, HISTORY, p.584.
18. R. Weatherill, THE ANCIENT PORT OF WHITBY AND ITS SHIPPING, p.72. The PEGGY was later returned to Hull and registered there in 1796.

19. The sources for the table are as follows:

- A) Rupert-Jones, J.A., KING'S SHIPS BUILT AT HULL, in Notes & Queries, Vol. 156 (1929), pp.23-24.
- B) List of ships contained in Notes in an interleaved copy of Tickell's HISTORY, in G.H.MSS. There is a similar list in H.C.L.B., passim. This is undoubtedly the most accurate copy, and includes the exact dates of launching.
- C) Gent's HISTORY, passim.
- D) Sheahan's HISTORY. Sheahan's dates differ greatly from those given in the other sources; in which case he is almost certainly wrong, for his work may always be discounted when it clashes with any other source.

20. H.C.L.B., H-C., 26 February 1752.

21. E.M.Sleight, DISSERTATION ON...THE VEGETABLE OIL INDUSTRY..., p.59. Miss Sleight's thesis (copy in Hull Central Ref. Library) sums up the history of the industry in Hull, but unfortunately only quotes secondary sources.

22. W.H.MSS, YORKS DEEDS, N° 112.

23. SCULCOATES PARISH RATE BOOK, The list of Ratepayers, passim. The Wildridge reference is a stray note in W.H.MSS.

24. List in Tickell, p.850.

25. Hull Central Ref. Library, L.665-3/12800.

26. SUN BOOK, passim. *Kindly shown to me by the Manager, Sun Assurance Co., Hull.*

27. Valuation of goods carried on the Aire and Calder in Tickell, p.872.

28. Noted in Turner, DELINEATIONS, 1805.

29. W.H.MSS, EAST YORKS DEEDS, N° 24.

30. Blashill, EVIDENCES..., passim, and Gent, HISTORY..., which contain an illustration of the Sugar House (opposite p.82).

31. SUN BOOK.

32. LEEDS INTELLIGENCER, 6 May 1760.

33. Strother, JOURNAL, fol.27 (30 September 1784).

34. SUN BOOK.

35. HULL COURANT, 20 March 1759.

36. The firm, which is now based on London, with no Hull connexions, has produced a Pamphlet entitled PIONEERS IN PAINT (1949), but unfortunately they do not possess any of their original records.

37. PORT BOOKS, P.R.O., E190/337/3.
38. See, for example, PIONEERS IN PAINT, p.7.
39. Hadley, p.324.
40. SUN BOOK.
41. The SCULCOATES RATE BOOK refers simply to "Greenland Fishery", and gives no owner's or occupier's name.
42. PEASE Bank Ledgers give details of payments.
43. SCULCOATES PARISH RATE BOOK.
44. B.B.ix,323, April 1761.
45. B.B.ix,520, May 1780.
46. This fact is mentioned in a letter from Nathaniel Maister to Thomas Grimston, op.cit., E.Ingram, LEAVES FROM A FAMILY TREE, p.176.
47. ibid.,p.183.
48. ibid.,p.184
49. H.C.L.B.,H-C.,December 1770.
50. B.B.ix,222 and 226. For the houses Scott had apparently had an advance from the Bench while they were still building, for the final payment was of "the balance due to him".
51. B.B.ix,527, 1 August 1780.
52. C.Frost, ADDRESS...,p.49.
53. SUN BOOK.
54. MAISTER LETTERS, Nathaniel to Henry, 6 March 1737/8.
55. This fact is generally unknown. See, for example, G.H.Trovolyan, SOCIAL HISTORY...,p.287, where he says: "Hull flourished on the whaling and fishing industries, and on its importance as the chief garrison town of Northern England" (i.e.,circa 1700). All three of these statements are incorrect.
56. Fish bounty returns are to be found in W.H.MSS, passim.
57. The letters relating to the establishment of the fishing industry are in G.H.MSS, M.477.

SUMMARY

Hull is often regarded as a remote and isolated city, far from the areas of dense population and difficult to reach from the south. By modern standards Hull may be remote, but in the eighteenth century it stood at the head of the only adequate highways in the region -- the rivers flowing into the Humber. Hull's very isolation was in a sense an advantage, for it was the only port in the Humber which had survived from the Middle Ages with wealthy, well-connected merchants and its own Customs House, so that, when the industrial revolution came, Hull's position as the natural link between Europe and the industrial areas of Yorkshire and the Midlands was unchallenged. Hull rose to greatness as the outlet to Europe for the Yorkshire woollen industry centred on the rivers Aire and Calder, the Lancashire linen - and later cotton - industry centred on Manchester, the Sheffield iron industry, the Birmingham hardware industry, the Stoke potteries and the various other industries along the length of the river Trent. On the other hand, Hull was also the chief source of iron, timber and linen yarn, three great essentials of the industrial revolution. At the beginning of the century trade was naturally restricted

by the comparatively small extent of the navigable rivers, but transport facilities were greatly improved by the construction of the river navigations in the early decades of the century, while the great boom in the second half of the century followed closely on the construction of the canals, a fact most noticeable in the tremendous growth in the pottery trade.

There were two quite distinct branches of Hull's trade. On the one hand there was the overseas trade with Europe and America, controlled by Hull merchants who, with a few exceptions, rarely specialised in any particular part of it; and on the other hand there was the coastal trade between Hull and the other English ports - principally Newcastle, King's Lynn and London - which was organised chiefly by direct communication between inland merchants and manufacturers, to the exclusion of Hull merchants. The Newcastle trade was mainly in coal in the first half of the century, but its place was taken by glass, salt and hides after the development of the Midlands coalfield. In the opposite direction there was a continual increase in the quantity of mining equipment and other goods sent for the mining industry. By contrast the goods from East Anglia were predominantly foodstuffs from such places as King's Lynn and Wisbech, and the goods sent to East Anglia were mainly the simple

iron goods - scythes, ploughshares, nails - required by an agricultural community. Newcastle and East Anglia were important, but they were completely overshadowed by London, which dominated Hull's coastal trade. London was the great market for corn and other foodstuffs from the hinterland, and for the products of the rising iron and textile industries. In return London supplied East and West Indian goods and raw wool. Indeed, the chief feature of the development of the coastal trade was the expansion of the London trade in the second half of the century, firstly as the chief source of raw wool for the Yorkshire textile industries, and, secondly ^{as} a tremendous entrepôt trade in goods for or from the colonies, which effectively precluded Hull from a major participation in the transatlantic trades.

So far as overseas trade was concerned, Hull specialised in trade with the Baltic as the chief source of raw materials and northern Europe as the chief market for English manufactures. At the beginning of the century the principal import trades were those with Norway and Sweden, supplying deals and iron respectively, and with Holland and Germany, supplying luxuries and specialised manufactures. As time passed, however, the emphasis in the import trade shifted slowly from Scandinavia to the eastern Baltic with the rapid development of Russia and

Prussia, and the tremendous growth in the timber and iron trades was due in great measure to the meteoric rise of St. Petersburg and Memel. Another development in the import trade was the tremendous growth in the last forty years of the century in the importation of hemp and flax from Russia and Prussia and raw linen yarn from Prussia and Germany, all for the ~~textile~~ textile industry. The growth of the yarn trade coincided with a decline in the importation of finished cloth, which had reached its peak in the middle of the century and declined catastrophically after the Seven Years War. Both Germany and Holland played a great part in the import trade throughout the century, although their comparative importance was declining fairly rapidly in the second half of the century. They were the chief suppliers of processed wooden and metal goods and also of luxuries, besides being, as entrepôts, the source of a great variety of European and oriental products. By the end of the century Hull was by far the most important English outport engaged in trade with northern Europe, and in general little attention was paid to the other areas of Europe, apart from a small steady importation of wine and fruit from Spain and Portugal. More important, perhaps, when we compare Hull with Liverpool, was Hull's apparent lack of interest in the American trade, which prevented Hull

from ever becoming a great entrepôt centre.

The export trade was, if anything, more straightforward than the import trade. Hull was only interested in the exportation of goods produced in its own hinterland, and they were sent to all the places with which Hull traded. The principal countries receiving cloth and iron goods were Holland and Germany, the gateways to the continental hinterland, and the changes which took place in the eighteenth century were in quantities rather than in the direction of trade.

The expansion of Hull's trade took place in three distinct phases, following the three major wars, (1739-48, 1756-63 and 1778-83). The volume of imports, as illustrated by the tonnage of shipping entering the port, remained fairly steady in the first three decades of the century. The expansion in cloth, hemp, yarn, deals and iron which began after 1730 was interrupted by the wars, and the periods of peace were not long enough for a really great expansion to take place, even if economic conditions had been favourable. The export trade, after a fairly steady history in the first half of the century, began to expand in the fifties, with a revival in the cloth trade, the beginnings of the trade in the new Manchester linens, and the growth of the ironmonger's tinned plate and earthenware trades. Like the i

trade, the greatest expansion of the export trade came in the eighties, when the cloth industries began their first gigantic expansion. The great boom was thus due not only to the new inventions and canals, but also to the return of peace, which enabled the raw materials to reach England safely, and encouraged the development of the overseas markets.

The industrial revolution was due in no small measure to the ability and industry of the merchants. The eighteenth century was an age of great merchants, and nowhere is this more apparent than in Hull. For practically the whole of the century the bulk of the port's trade was dominated by a merchant aristocracy of about two dozen houses. Most of them had their roots in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and, with the business passing from father to son for generation after generation, they had the wealth, background, training and business contacts which were so necessary to success. Moreover, they possessed the private staiths along the river Hull without which no house could attain the first rank. The merchant aristocracy was not, of course, a static society. Although only two or three important houses went bankrupt, many of the important names faded

away towards the end of the century as sons, born in luxury and strangers to the counting house, retired on their family's fortune. Sometimes their place was taken by smaller merchants, but more usually by their own clerks or by their junior partners. Surprising as it may seem, few great merchants rose directly from the ranks of master mariners, for whom success within one generation in merchanting was the exception rather than the rule. Although we must not overlook the great importance of the growing number of smaller merchants, it remains true that the most significant feature of merchant organisation in the second half of the century was the change taking place in the composition of the great houses. At the beginning of the century they were all family concerns, but a few of them began to unite in the second quarter of the century as a result of common interests or family unions. In the second half of the century amalgamations became very common, sometimes because of marriage alliances (which were almost as important for the merchant aristocracy as for the landed aristocracy), sometimes because of the rising status of senior clerks, and sometimes because of the desire for the extra capital which came with a sleeping partner. It was not easy for outsiders to break into the established

order of things. There were hardly any foreign merchants residing in Hull, and even at the end of the century goods ordered directly by foreign merchants were still shipped by Hull merchants acting as their agents.

Similarly, there were few inland merchants who managed to by-pass Hull in the import trade, although exports in the second half of the century were increasingly negotiated by direct contact between inland manufacturers and continental buyers. In general, however, the Hull merchants maintained their position either as principals or agents because all goods had to pass through the Hull Customs House.

The life blood of trade was the connexion between merchants and their correspondents. In the case of inland trade there was usually direct communication between Hull merchants and inland customers, either by letter or, in the second half of the century, by the growing number of commercial travellers. Overseas contacts were more difficult to acquire, especially as the Baltic was relatively undeveloped, and in the first half of the century the greatest merchant houses maintained their own rival agencies there. Younger brothers, sent ██████████ to Scandinavian or Russian ports, supplied their principals or anyone who would pay them, but

towards the middle of the century they were gradually replaced by foreign or naturalised firms, and private factories disappeared.

The merchants were not interested solely in trade. They dominated the whole economy of the town, and many activities which today are professions quite distinct from trade were then beginning as side-lines in the counting house.

The most obvious of these side-lines was the provision of the growing quantity of shipping demanded by the trade of the port. The evolution of the specialist shipowner, as distinct from the share-owning merchant or master mariner, is a feature of the second half of the century, when the specialist can first be recognised in connexion with the whaling fleet. Another ^{trend} in shipowning was the ^{increasing number of} small professional men ^{who} purchased shares in ships as a form of investment after the booms in the sixties and eighties, but the merchants remained the greatest shipowners at least until the end of the century. The amount of capital invested by merchants and others in shipping must have been very great. At the beginning of the century the trade of Hull was handled by approximately 8,000 tons of shipping,

and sometimes better ones. In the second half of the century underwriting was fairly popular among the richer semi-retired merchants, who in the nineties formed a Society of Underwriters which regulated conditions and rates more or less like Llgyds, to the delight of ship-owners and merchants alike.

Another of the developments marking the beginning of modern Hull was the organisation of the banking system. At the beginning of the century all international financial business was handled by direct contact between the Hull merchant and his London and Amsterdam agents. By the middle of the century, however, the great increase in business called for the directing of all Hull's financial business through a small number of local intermediaries, whose London correspondents took the place of the correspondents of the individual merchants. In response to this need the Pease family began to act as agents for their fellow merchants and in 1754 they opened one of the earliest country banks in England, soon to be followed by four or five other commercial banks. One of their first and greatest tasks was the discounting of bills of exchange (the chief means of payment used by merchants) and the issue of bills and drafts on their London agents. It was through these

agents, who in turn had corresponding accounts with foreign bankers, that the Hull bankers both received and made foreign payments for their customers, who in consequence found the financial side of their business very much simplified. The banks were also exceedingly important as a source of credit. In the first half of the century the merchants relied almost entirely on their own fortunes, but it was the banks which provided the capital necessary for the trade expansion in the last quarter of the century, when many of the old established families were withdrawing from trade and taking their fortunes with them.

Yet another development with a great potential was in the industry of Hull. Hull is not usually regarded as an industrial town, for it was the servant of industrial towns rather than a centre of industry itself. But Hull's greatness as a port should not be allowed to obscure the fact that it had - and still has - many important industries which developed in the eighteenth century. They were, firstly, those concerned with the mechanics of trade, such as shipbuilding and repairing; secondly, those connected with the processing of imported raw materials; and, thirdly, those small industries such

as brewing, building, and various trades such as mantua making, which produced goods for the benefit of the inhabitants and, occasionally, for exportation.

Shipbuilding obviously played a great part in Hull's development and, as we might expect, Hull was one of the leading English shipbuilding ports. Although the building of small coasters seriously reduced the average tonnage, the total tonnage built in Hull was second only to Newcastle and London, and the total number of ships built was second only to London. Shipbuilding and repairing was a specialised industry and, like building and brewing, it was one of the few things which did not attract merchants, although the most important shipbuilders - the Blaydes - actively engaged in trade.

Apart from shipbuilding the most important industries were those concerned with refining. Sugar refining was important, employing a large amount of merchant capital, but more important for the future was the crushing of rapeseed and linseed imported from the Baltic. Both developed rapidly in the last quarter of the century, and the oil seed industry also encouraged the growth of the crushing-machinery and paint (and therefore white lead) industry, while the greatest industry connected with oil refining was undoubtedly whaling.

Refined whale oil was originally imported from

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America after the development of whaling there in the thirties, and the Hull industry was started by America merchants in 1754 when war interrupted this trade. The industry collapsed when peace came, and, although it revived in the sixties, there were many years of virtual stagnation when Hull played only an insignificant part in the national whaling industry - before the industry expanded rapidly in the eighties. By 1800 Hull was the leading outport in the trade, fitting out approximately 44% of the national total of whalers - over fifty ships with a total of over 15,000 tons. Fishing was expensive, but the high costs were covered by government bounties, and profits were high; for many years the average catch of blubber alone was more than double the quantity required for a saving voyage. The first whalers - converted transatlantic merchantmen - were owned by America merchants and by the specially formed Hull Whale Fishery & Company, but in the last quarter of the century they were owned almost entirely by companies of shareholders drawn from all walks of life and organised by the principal oil merchants and by specialist shipowners, who in many cases had risen from the ranks of master mariner.

The development of whaling coincided with the general burst of activity which took place in the fifties, sixties and eighties, and which led to the greatest physical development in eighteenth century Hull - the building of the first dock. Conditions in the harbour had been gradually deteriorating, until in the fifties it was in a state of chaos during the peak trading and wintering periods. The work of wharfingers and Customs officers was made even more difficult by the absence of public legal quays, goods being checked on board ship and transferred direct to river craft or taken by boat to private staiths along the river bank. Agitation for improvement in the fifties came to nothing because of the war, but the return of peace saw the Commissioners of Customs pressing strongly for a legal quay, and the Corporation - representing the unprivileged and enlightened merchants - pressing for a large public staith independent of High Street. Despite the opposition of the "High Street Interest", these things were combined in a bill which eventually became law in 1774, but at the last minute the Corporation had abandoned its plan to build the dock itself, and so the promised grant of government land and subsidy was vested in a private company consisting of the greatest merchants, including many who had originally fought the bill but who wished

to make sure they controlled the new venture.

Although Berry's nine acre dock was an excellent piece of work, it was too small from the very beginning. It was originally intended for light ships only, but the construction in it of the legal quay, and the congestion in the old harbour, encouraged both light and loaded ships to crowd in. Moreover, it had been designed with a view to past rather than future trade, and it could not cope with conditions after it was opened, when the tonnage frequenting the port rose from 88,000 tons in 1780 to 132,000 in 1786 and 201,000 tons in 1793. With each fresh increase in shipping the merchants and ship-owners - represented by the Bench and by their own "Burgesses Committee" - became more clamorous in their demand for an extension of the dock, but the Dock Company could do little to ease the situation. It was created to build the dock, and it considered its duty as complete and the dock dues as its perennial reward. It had no liquid capital, and was not authorised to raise any, with the result that it simply could not afford to build a new dock, while its possession of the only available site and its legal right to duties effectively prevented the Corporation from building one. With proposals and counter proposals, the intervention of war, and the

endless bitter arguments over finance, nothing was finally settled until 1802, when the people of Hull, in order to secure the new dock which was now absolutely vital to the port's continued existence, were forced to witness the use of public money for the building of a second dock to be owned and exploited by a private company which had already shown a certain amount of indifference to the economic needs of the town.

Merchants dominated the social, political and religious, as well as the economic life of Hull. As Aldermen they ran the town as efficiently as they ran their own businesses, superintending all aspects of the physical growth of the town when it began to expand rapidly in the second half of the century. They controlled urban development, providing streets and pavements, lights, sewers, fire engines and a good water supply. They maintained the poor of the town in a reasonably humane way (though they were harsh to vagrant paupers) and, through their constables and Chief constable they enforced a remarkable degree of law and order in a community of rough seamen who might easily have got out of hand.

The borough was openly corrupt, but no one cared,

for the "life" of everyone was in the hands of the merchants, and it was generally expected that they should be "Ye official parents of the town". Parliamentary elections were as corrupt as aldermanic elections, but here again the best possible people were usually elected by the burgesses of the town who were, of course, greatly influenced by the merchants.

The merchants, shipowners, professional men and rising "industrialists" knew how to live, as well as how to make money, and Hull Society, with its balls, parties, clubs and theatres, was as brilliant as any outside London. The merchants were not, however, without a deep sense of social responsibility, stirred up by the "sound in the main" religious feeling which flourished in Hull from the puritanism at the beginning of the century to the evangelicalism at the end, ^{which} ~~was~~ produced, among others, the Thorntons and Wilberforce.

The developments which took place in the eighteenth century were the most momentous in the history of Hull, for the period witnessed the emergence of the modern port. The first forty years were a period of slow but steady growth, when Hull was finding its feet in the Baltic, but the middle years of the century saw a

growk in

trade which encouraged new activities which in turn prepared the way for further expansion. Merchant houses reorganised themselves along modern lines, and some branched out into broking, underwriting and banking; the rising industries began to take on an air of potential greatness; the newly arrived shipowners began to build up their much needed fleets; and the whole trading community concentrated on the improvement of port facilities and the building of a dock. Thus equipped, Hull was prepared for the boom in trade when the industrial revolution got under way, and it left behind the slow progress of the old world and entered the nineteenth century as a port well able to cope with the tremendous expansion which lay ahead, when Hull and Liverpool between them served the greatest industrial area in Britain.

Appendix 1.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR HULL, 1690-1802.

WILLIAM III

1690 Ald. John Ramsden
Charles Osbourne

1695 Charles Osbourne
Ald. Sir Wm St Quentin

1698 Do.

1700 Ald. Sir Wm St Quentin
Ald. William Maister

ANNE

1702 Do.

1705 Do.

1707 Do.

1708 Do.

1710 Do.

1713 Do.

GEORGE I

1715 Do.

1716 (Vice Maister)
Nathaniel Rogers

1722 Sir Wm St Quentin
Nathaniel Rogers

1724 (Vice Sir William)
George Crowle

GEORGE II

1727 George Crowle
Lord Micklethwaite

1732 (Vice Micklethwaite)
Henry Maister

1734 George Crowle
Henry Maister

1741 George Crowle
William Carter

1744 (Vice Carter)
General Henry Pultney

1747 Lord Robert Manners
Thomas Carter
(@ Richard Crowle)

1754 Lord Robert Manners
Richard Crowle

1757 (Vice Crowle)
Sir Geo. Montgomery Meatham

GEORGE IIIA

1761 Lord Robert Manners
Sir Geo. Montgomery Meatham

1766 (Vice Meatham)
William Weddell

1768 Lord Robert Manners
William Weddell

1774 Lord Robert Manners
David Hartley
(@ Hon. Thomas Shirley)

1780 William Wilberforce
Lord Robert Manners
(@ David Hartley)

1782 (Vice Lord Robert Manners)
David Hartley

1784 William Wilberforce
Samuel Thornton
(@ David Hartley)

1784 (Vice Wilberforce)
Walter Spencer-Stanhope

1790 Samuel Thornton
The Earl of Burford

1796 Sir Charles Turner
Samuel Thornton
(@ Walter Spencer-Stanhope)

(NOTE: '@' denotes unsuccessful candidate in a three-cornered contest).

Appendix 2.

REGISTER OF SHIPS IN THE INLAND NAVIGATION, c.1800.

From	To	Miles	No.	Tons	Crew
Hull -	Sheffield	100	2	91	4
	Greasborough	70	4	191	8
	Tinsley	70	12	561	25
	Rotherham	70	18	821	35
	Leeds	100	58	2602	123
Beverley - Hull -	Leeds	112	14	615	28
Grimsby - Hull -	Leeds	116	1	46	4
Driffield - Hull -	Leeds	130	1	44	2
Glandford - Hull -	Leeds	90	1	45	2
	Wakefield	100	39	1727	88
Beverley - Hull -	Wakefield	112	2	88	4
Ferriby - Hull -	Wakefield	100	1	45	2
Saltmarsh -	Wakefield	50	1	46	2
Malton - Hull -	Halifax	90	1	42	2
	Halifax	122	10	452	22
	Huddersfield	120	2	87	4
	Bradford	120	3	137	8
	Knottingley	80	24	1076	51
	Castleford	85	3	137	8
	Malton	80	5	210	12
	Eland	120	1	42	2
	Doncaster	60	10	478	19
	Gainsborough	50	36	1868	79
Burringham -	Gainsborough	100	2	65	4
Ferriby - Hull -	Gainsborough	50	1	30	2 (Passenger)
	Stockwith	34	5	250	12
	Rawcliffe	50	3	88	6
	Tadcaster	100	2	97	4
	Selby	70	17	884	50
	Boroughbridge	114	6	307	14
	Ripon	100	1	45	2
	Brotherton	80	2	90	5
	York	100	5	237	11
	Driffield	30	3	124	6
	Thorne	50	25	609	55
	Market Weighton	30	5	157	10
	Skipton	130	1	46	2
	Foston Mills	20	3	111	5

Appendix 2 (cont.)

Hull -	Howden	24	4	173	9	
	Stamford Bridge	15	8	338	18	
	Mearclough Mill	170	2	86	4	
	Froddingham . . .	20	2	85	4	
	Grimsby	20	2	72	4	
	Whitgift	22	1	33	2	
	Burton Stather . .	25	1	30	2	(Passenger)
	Garthorpe	25	1	34	2	(Passenger)
	Winteringham . . .	13	6	144	11	(1 do.)
	Louth	40	5	238	12	
	Whitton	15	1	25	2	
Thorne - Hull -	Louth	90	2	98	5	
	Beverley	12	2	71	3	
	New Village	20	2	84	4	
	Leaven	12	1	22	2	
	Patrington	18	3	72	6	
	Spurn	21	25	937	50	(Lighters)
	Paul	8	4	120	9	(Do.)
	Barrow	3	1	25	2	(Passenger)
	Barton	7	5	160	13	(Do.)
Hessle -	Barton	2	2	75	5	(Do.)
	Brough	15	3	62	6	(Do.)
	Wallingborough . .	12	1	22	2	(Do.)
	Skitter Ferry . . .	5	2	83	4	(1 Ferry)
Wintringham -	Brough	3	1	13	2	(Do.)
	Readness	25	3	70	6	(Do.)

Appendix 3.

THE HULL PORT BOOKS

(P.R.O., K190/337-396)

1702	337/3	(b)	1721	354/3	(b)	1752	367/5	(b)
1704	338/2	(d)		7	(c)		368/1	(c)
1705	339/11	(c)		11	(a)		2	(d)
1706	340/5	(c)	1722	355/7	(d)	1753	368/3	(a)
	8	(b)		8	(b)	1754	369/1	(a)
	10	(d)		9	(c)		2	(c)
1707	341/6	(c)	1723	356/8	(d)		3	(c)
	8	(d)		11	(b)	1755	369/4	(c)
1708	342/9	(c)	1724	357/9	(c)		7	(c)
	14	(d)		10		1756	370/1	(c)
1709	343/7	(c)	1725	358/3	(c)		2	(c)
1711	344/7	(c)		5	(d)		4	(c)
	11	(c)	1726	359/3	(d)		5	(d)
1712	345/5	(b)		5	(c)		6	(c)
	7	(a)		6	(d)	1758	371/1	(b)
	14	(c)	1727	359/11	(b)		3	(b)
1713	346/1	(c)	1728	360/3	(b)		4	(c)
1714	347/2	(d)		4	(d)	1759	371/8	(c)
	6	(d)		13	(c)		9	(c)
1715	348/1	(c)	1729	360/9	(c)	1760	372/1	(b)
	6	(d)	1730	361/7	(b)		2	(c)
	12	(d)		8	(d)		3	(c)
1716	349/11	(d)	1731	362/4	(b)		4	(b)
	12	(c)	1732	363/3	(c)	1761	373/2	(e)
	13	(d)	1733	363/9	(b)		3	(c)
1717	350/1	(b)	1737	365/1	(a)		4	(b)
	8	(c)	1738	365/7	(a)	1762	373/5	(c)
1718	351/7	(d)	1740	365/11	(a)		6	(b)
	11	(c)	1750	366/3	(d)	1763	374/3	(d)
1719	352/6	(d)		7	(c)		5	(d)
	8	(c)	1751	367/1	(d)	1764	374/6	(d)
1720	353/4	(d)		3	(e)		7	(d)
	6	(e)		6	(d)		8	(d)
						1765	375/1	(c)
							5	(e)

1766	375/3	(e)	1777	381/3	(d)
	7	(o)		4	(d)
1767	376/2	(d)		5	(e)
1768	376/6	(o)	1778	381/7	(o)
	8	(d)	1779	382/1	(o)
1769	377/1	(o)		3	(o)
	2	(d)		5	(d)
1770	377/4	(c)	1780	383/4	(o)
	6	(d)	1781	384/1	(o)
	8	(d)		3	(d)
1771	378/2	(o)	1782	384/2	(e)
	3	(o)		4	(d)
1772	378/5	(o)		7	(b)
	6	(o)	1783	385/1	(d)
1773	379/1	(e)		2	(o)
	2	(d)		3	(b)
1774	379/4	(d)	1784	385/5	(d)
	5	(o)		6	(c)
1775	379/6	(d)	1785	385/8	(o)
	380/3	(d)	1786	386/4	(o)
	4	(o)	1787	386/6	(o)
1776	380/6	(d)			
	7	(e)			



Appendix 3 (cont.)

THE HULL COASTAL PORT BOOKS

NOTE: The Coastal Port Books are divided into half-years, referred to here as 1 and 2 after the date.

1701	2	337/1	(c)	1721	2	355/3	(c)
1702	1	337/2	(d)	1722	1	355/6	(c)
		4	(c)		2	356/3	(c)
1703	2	338/7	(c)	1723	1	356/7	(d)
1704	1	338/10	(b)		2	357/1	(c)
	2	339/7	(c)	1724	1	359/1	(c)
1705	1	339/1	(c)		2	358/10	(c)
1706	1	340/1	(b)	1725	1	358/8	(c)
	2	341/7	(b)		2	359/2	(c)
1707	1	341/2	(d)	1726	1	359/4	(b)
	2	342/7	(c)	1728	1	360/5	(d)
1708	1	342/2	(b)		2	260/17	(b)
	2	342/12	(b)	1729	1	360/6	(c)
1710	1	343/8	(b)			361/13	(d)
1712	1	345/10	(c)		2	361/9	(d)
		346/4	(c)	1730	2	362/1	(d)
	2	346/11	(d)	1732	1	363/4	(d)
1714	1	347/9	(c)		2	363/8	(c)
1715	1	348/9	(d)	1735	1	364/6	(d)
	2	348/13	(e)	1736	1	364/9	(d)
		349/1	(c)		2	365/5	(d)
1716	1	349/10	(c)	1737	1	365/3	(c)
	2	350/2	(d)		2	365/6	(d)
1717	1	350/4	(c)	1748	2	366/1	(d)
	2	351/1	(d)	1749	1	366/2	(c)
1718	1	351/6	(d)		2	366/5	(c)
1719	1	352/4	(d)	1750	2	366/6	(c)
1720	1	353/8	(e)	1751	2	367/2	(d)
	2	354/2	(c)	1752	1	367/4	(c)

1755	1	369/5	(e)	1772	1	378/8	(c)
	2	369/8	(c)		2	378/7	(c)
1756	1	370/3	(c)	1773	1	379/3	(c)
1757	1	370/6	(c)	1774	1	379/8	(c)
	2	370/7	(c)		2	379/7	(c)
1758	1	371/2	(d)	1775	1	380/2	(c)
		5	(d)		2	380/1	(c)
1759	1	371/7	(c)	1776	1	380/8	(d)
	2	371/6	(e)		2	380/5	(7c)
1761	2	373/2	(e)	1777	1	381/1	(e)
1762	2	373/7	(b)		2	381/2	(e)
1763	1	374/1	(d)	1778	1	381/6	(d)
	2	374/2	(c)		2	381/8	(c)
1764	1	374/4	(d)	1779	1	382/4	(c)
1765	2	375/2	(b)		2	382/2	(c)
1766	1	375/8	(c)	1780	1	383/3	(7c)
	2	375/9	(c)		2	383/1	(d)
1767	1	376/4	(c)	1782	1	384/6	(b)
	2	376/1	(c)		2	384/5	(b)
1768	1	376/5	(c)	1783	1	385/4	(c)
	2	376/7	(c)	1785	1	386/1	(d)
1769	1	377/3	(c)		2	386/2	(d)
	2	377/5	(e)	1786	2	386/3	(c)
1770	?	377/7	(e)	1787	2	386/5	(d)
1771	1	378/1	(c)				



KEY TO CONDITION:

a) Very Good.

b) Good.

c) Reasonably good, but sometimes legible only to students with a knowledge of Port books.

d) Bad.

e) Very bad, damaged, etc.

Appendix 4.

A HULL INSURANCE UNDERWRITER'S ACCOUNT

ROBERT RAMSDEN'S ACCOUNT FOR 1799.

1) Acc't with Anthony Atkinson.

Mar 1,	By Premium	£100	10/10	The Speedwell - - -	£10/10/0
Jul 31,	"	£200	5/5	The Nelly - - - - -	£10/10/0
Aug 21	"	£200	5/5	The Cap't Cook - -	£10/10/0
Aug 27	"	£150	2/12/6d.	The Geo. & Mary - -	£3/18/9

2) Acc't with Richard Rennards.

Jul 16	ESTHER from St Petersburg	£100	Pm	£2/2/0
Aug -	ANN to St Petersburg	£180		£3/15/7
Sep 30	ESTHER to & from Do.	£150		£15/15/0
Oct 14	HERCULES from Gottenburgh	£100		£2/12/6
?Nov 12	BEAVER to Oporto	£100		£10/10/0
?Dec 9	LION from Dover	£200		£3/3/0

3) Acc't with Benjamin Blaydes.

For the ships SAMUEL & BLENHEIM ((No details)).

4) Acc't with Christopher Bolton.

Jan 24	WILLIAMSON,	Jamaica to London	£200	—	£29/8/0
Feb 16	ELIZA	Antigua to London	£100	—	£10/10/0
Mar 11	AREEL	Hull-Breenland-Hull	£100		£9/9/0
Mar 26	LOTTERY	Do.	£100		£9/9/0
Apr 3	ACLAIN	Hull to Hambg & Riga	£200		£4/4/0
Apr 16	HUNTER	Hoknies, Greenland, Hambg	£200		£4/4/0
Apr 16	SYMMETRY	Do.	£200		£4/4/0
Apr 16	LOTTERY	Do.	£50		£1/1/0
May 6	NEPTUNE	Hull to Memel	£200		£4/4/0
May 25	WILLIAMSON	London to Jamaica	£100		£8/8/0
Jul 15	ACLAM	Riga to Lisbon	£100		£6/6/0
Sep 24	HUNTER	Hull to Memel	£100		£4/14/6
Oct 9	LORD MILTON	Hull-Baltic-Hull	£100		£8/8/0
Oct 23	NEPTUNE	Memel to Hull	£100		£6/6/0
Nov 14	NEPTUNE	Danzic to Hull	£100		£6/6/0

5) Acc't with Daniel Boileau.

For the ships AURORA and JOHN & RICHARD.

(Over)

6) Acc't with J.(?W) W. Watson.

Jul 5	MARY & ANN	Hull to London	£200	£2/2/0
Jul 23	AMITY	Do.	£200	£2/2/0
Aug 10	HOPE	Elsinore to Hull	£150	£3/3/0
Aug 23	MARY & ANN	Hull to London	£150	£3/3/0
Dec 2	SARAH	Do.		

7) Acc't with G & J Eggington.

Mar 23	SISTERS	£100	(No further details)	
Apr 8	ESTHER	£150		
Apr 17	FANNY	£100		
"	EGGINGTON	£100		
"	ELIZABETH	£100		
"	ELLISON	£100		
Apr 22	ESTHER	£50		
May 13	PEARL	£100		
Jun 17	EGGINGTON	£100		
"	FANNY	£100		
Jun 20	ELLISON	£100		
"	ELIZABETH	£100		
Aug 2	FANNY	£150		
Sep 2	ELLISON	£100		
"	EGGINGTON	£100		
Sep 23	ELIZABETH	£200		

Appendix 5.

SPECIMEN SHIPOWNING FIRMS, SHOWING ^{TOTAL} NUMBER AND OCCUPATIONS OF PARTNERS.

- ANNJms Hamilton, merchant, sole owner. (1768)
- JOHN & FRANCIS. .Rbt Welborn, merch., s.o. (1769)
- PRINCE OF BRAZIL Jn Voase, merch., s.o. (1797)
- LIVELY.Jn Voase, merch., s.o. (1794)
- SYMMETRY.Wm Watson Bolton & C. Bolton, oil millers & merchs;
& MINERVA Rbt Bell, sperm. candle maker; Jn Bateman, brandy merch.; B.B.Haworth, merch. (1798)
- HEBE.Jn Robinson, shipowner; J.Cockerill, banker's clerk; T. Thompson, banker. (1798)
- HOPE.Jn Terry, shipowner; W.Watson, banker's clerk;
& ACTAION Jn Snowden, master mariner; Wm Etherington of Gainsborough; Rbt Barnes, m.m.; N.Gordon, victualler; I & J Gladwin, cornfactors of Glandford Briggs, Lincs (Brigg).(1798)
- ELIZABETHG & J Eggington, merchs; Wm Watson Bolton,
FANNY surgeon; Eliza Eggington, shipowner; Jn Kicro, ropemaker; Jn Sykes, merch.; Jn Wray & A Hollingsworth, timber merchs & brokers; Rbt Kinder & Wm Lee, tar merchs.; R Turner; D MacPharson; J Overend & Wm Thompson, wharfingers; H Coates, merch.; F Middleton, ropemaker. (1798)
- MARY & OAKHALL
- HULL PACKET . . .Jn Voase, merch.; D Faber, m.m. (1798)
- ARIADNEP Atkinson, shipowner, ?s.o. (1797)
- OVERTONJms Milnes & Wm Bourne. (1798)
- MARIAJn Smith, wharfinger, of Gainsborough, s.o.(1798)
- NEPTUNER Moxon, merch. & banker, s.o. (1798)
- HOGHTONR & A Terry; Wm Hunter, m.m.; T Thompson, merch.;
& WOODHOUSE T Scaling, merch's clerk; B Wright, merch.; J Fox, gent.; H Green, merch's clerk; J Cummings, merch. in London. (1798)
- LONDON.Sm Bramley, m.m.; Jms & Rbt Emmett, grocers; Edm Taylor, wharfinger of Halifax; T Saul, m.m.; T Craske & Wm Appleby, merchs.; Emanuel Silva, insurance broker; Sm Holmes, spirit merch, all of London. (1797)

- LOTTERYWm Watson & Chris Bolton, merchs.; Jn Rose, m.m.;
& ARIEL R Moxon, merch.; T Moxon, shipowner. (1798)
- KINGSTON.Wm Fowler; Geo Appleby; Edw Finley; merchs. in
Hu Hull; Jn Finley, merch. in Jamaica. (1799)
- MINERVAJn Burstall Snr & Jnr; Joel Foster; shipowners;
R Terry, merch.; Fr Ruston, m.m. (1798)
- ENTERPRIZE.Wm Horncastle; Jn Kiero, ropemaker; T Gleadow,
shipbilder; T Horncastle, merch.; Jos Horn-
castle, gent., of London. (1799)
- MINERVAHen Coates, oil merch.; Humphrey Foord, m.m. (1799)
- KINGSTON.Wm Collinson, m.m.; Philip Schofield; Overend &
Thompson, wharfingers. (1794)
- FLAXTONB Dodsworth, seo. (1794)
- CECILIAP Atkinson, ?s.o. (1794)
- LATONA.P Schofield; T Hall, sailmaker. (1794)
- GIBRALTARWm Sparks; T Thompson, banker; Jn Burstall,
& ENTERPRIZE shipowner; R Terry, merch.; Abel Smith, banker.
(1788)
- HUMBER.G Eggington, merch.; P Green, merch. (1777)
- SENEGALIAF Bine, merch.; R Terry, merch.; Hannah Foster;
Jn Hall, m.m.; Jn Burstall, shipowner; Wm Sparks;
T.F. Mingay. (1788)

Appendix 6.

HULL WHALERS, 1754-1800

NAME	TONNAGE	DATE OF FIRST VOYAGE	OWNERS
ADVENTURE		1800	
ALBION	(128) ^a	1786	
ALLIANCE	(428) ^a	1787	R. Moxon (Port Bk. 1787)
ANN & ELIZABETH	(320) ^d	1755	Hull Whale Fishery & Co. (P.B.)
ANNA MARIA		1799	
ARIEL		1799	Boltons (HCLB 25:2:98)
BARTHIAH & MARY	(152) ^a	1787	
BENEDICTION	(177) ^a	1787	Wilson & Co. (HCLB 7:4:87) Blt. Eddington, No. Carolina 1771.
BENJAMIN I	(221) ^d	1771	
BENJAMIN II	(306) ^d	1782	New ship.
BERRY	(315) ^d	1754	H.W.F. & Co. (Port Bk.) S. Standidge, new owner, 1768. (Do).
BLENHEIM		1797	
BOSVILLE		1755	Hamilton & Co. (P.B.)
BRITANNIA	(394) ^d	1768	S. Standidge
BRITISH QUEEN	(350) ^d	1767	S. Standidge
BROTHERS	(377) ^a	1787	R. Hodson 1787 (P.B.)
CAROLINE	(206) ^a	1777	R. Gee (HCLB 7:4:87) Blt. Salisbury, Mass. Bay 1767.
CASTLE	(344) ^a	1785	
CATHERINE		1799	
CAVE		1788	
CHANCE	(279) ^a	1784	D. MacPharson 1782 (HCLB 7:4:87) Blt. Kent County Maryland 1775
COUNTESS HOPETON		1797	

DIANA	(306) ^a	1785	T. Locke (HCLB 7:4:87) Blt. Newbury, Mass. Bay 1774.
EDWARD	(230) ^a		
EGGINGTON	(304) ^a	1787	
ELIZABETH	(322) ^a	1784	Eggingtons (Port Bk 1786) Blt. Whitby 1763-5.
ELIZ. OF SUTTON		1788	
ELLISON	(349) ^a	1787	Allisons (Port Bk 1787).
ENDEAVOUR	(255) ^a	1785	
ENTERPRIZE		1788	Sparks & Co. 1788 Horncastle & Co. 1799
FANNY	(259) ^a	1786	Eggingtons (HCLB 7:4:87) & McKie. Blt. Newbury, Mass. Bay 1772.
FREEDOM	(303) ^a	1775	
FRIENDS	(256) ^a	1787	D. Tong (HCLB 7:4:87) Blt. Portsmouth, New Hamps., 1771.
GAINSBOROUGH		1788	
GIBRALTAR	(307) ^a	1787	Sparks & Co. Taken by French 1796.
GREENLAND	(200) ^e	1788	S. Standidge. Lost 1789
HILLSTONE		1775	
HOPE	(289) ^a	1787	J. Eggleston (HCLB 7:4:87) Terry & Co. (HCLB 26:2:98) Boston, New England 1785
HUMBER	(221) ^d	1769	Eggingtons (HCLB 15:3:77)
HUNTER	(247) ^e	1799	Boltons & Co. 1804 (SUN BK.)
ISABELLA	(91) ^a	1786	
JANE		1800	
JENNY		1769	
JOHN		1795	
JOHN & MARY	(200) ^a	1786	
KING OF PRUSSIA	(334) ^d	1770	
KINGSTON		1775	Fowler & Co. 1799 (HCLB 28:2:99)

LADY JANE		1788	
LEEDS INDUSTRY	(303) ^b	1776	
LEVIATHAN		1754	H.W.F. & Co. (Port Bk).
LONDON		1797	Bramby & Co. (HCLB 29:8:97)
LOTTERY	(334) ^g	1799	Boltons (HCLB 25:2:99)
LYNX		1797	
MANCHESTER	(267) ^{ad}	1770	J. Hamilton, then Staniforth & Foord (HCLB 7:4:87). Blt. New York, 1762.
MARIA		1794	? J. Smith of Gainsborough (HCLB 28:3:98).
MARY	(371) ^a	1784	Eggingtons (HCLB 24:2:98)
MARY OF SUTTON	(330) ^a	1786	
MARY & JANE		1755	W. Welfitt (Port Bk).
MINERVA	(175) ^a	1786	Boltons (HCLB 6:2:98) Burstall & Co. October 1798 Coates & Foord 1799.
MOLLY	(291) ^a	1775	Gilder & Co. (Port Bk 1786) D. Tong (HCLB 7:4:87).
NORTH BRITON		1796	
OAK HALL	(256) ^a	1798	Eggingtons (HCLB 24:2:98)
PALLISER	(348) ^a	1787	? W. Kirkhouse (Port Bk 1786) Jms. Thornton (Port Bk 1787)
PHOENIX	(275) ^a	1786	
POOL		1754	H.W. Fishery & Co. (Port Bk).
RANGER	(309) ^a	1786	J. Gilder (HCLB 7:4:87) Blt. Norfolk, Virginia, 1775.
SAMUEL	(244) ^a	1785	S. Standidge (Do.) Blt. Saco, Mass. Bay, 1774.
SARAH & ELIZABETH	(267) ^a	1784	J. Terrington (Do.) Blt. Swan Creek, Maryland, 1775.
SCARTHINGWELL		1788	
SELBY	(199) ^a	1787	
SOUTHAMPTON		1772	
SYMMETRY	(342) ^g	1790	Boltons 1804 (SUN BOOK).

TRAVELLER		1796	
TRITON		1774	
TRUELOVE	(195) ^e	1784	T. Locke & J. Voase (HCLB 7:4:87) Blt. Philadelphia 1764.
VESTAL		1800	
WHALEFISHER	(232) ^f	1785	
YOUNG MARIA	(98) ^a	1786	
YOUNG RICHARD	(83) ^a	1786	
YORK	(338)	1754	J. Hamilton & Co. (Port Bk.)

SOURCE OF TONNAGES:

- a. H.C.L.B., H-C., 25 September 1787.
- b. Do., February 1776.
- c. Do., 5 March 1775.
- d. Do., 22 March 1772.
- e. Do., August 1788.
- f. Do., 10 March 1786.
- g. 'SUN BOOK'

Source for American Built ships = H.C.L.B., H-C., 7 August 1787.

Appendix 7.

THE WIDTH OF THE DIFFERENT STAITHS AND FRONT-STEADS
NEXT THE RIVER HULL, 1770. From Hadley, p688.

NOTE: Hadley's table starts in the North, by the old gate, and works down the river bank southwards to the Humber. His figures show (a) the Depth from the Street to the River (b) the Width of the street front (c) the Width of the river front.

	(a)	(b)	(c)
At the Stone Chair	31	8	8
Mr Maister's Ground	Do.	425	447
Alderman Blayde's front		73	66
Mr Walton's		87	83
Kirkman's and Holgate's		70	83
ROAD TO THE BRIDGE	141	40	14
Mr Blayde's Yard	140	183	250
Mr Walton's ditto	Do.	100	96
Mrs Fenley's		25	21
Mr Bower's		42	54
Mr Thompson's (Brick)		70	36
Mr Blayde's (B)		46	77
NEW STAITH	161	13	15
Mrs Thompson's	Do.	25	49
Denton's late Lawson's (B)		25	44
Test's		37	0
Alderman Porter's		28	63
Mingay's now Porter's (B)		20	0
Mingay's now Porter's	186	17	18
Standage's & Stockdale's (B)		47	65
Mr Rennard's		42	48
Mr Pease's (B)		51	119
Mr Dixon's (B)	205	45	51
Alderman Perrot's & Collector's (B)		82	90
NEW STAITH	224	9	12
Mr Hanbledon's (B)		50	67
Alderman Wilberforce's (B)		62	46
Mr Kirby's		23	50
Mr Horner's (B)		29	50
Mr Howard's	251	51	23
Mr Bealby's		28	22
Alderman Thompson's (B)		66	66
CHAPEL LAND STAITH	233	13	13
Mr Travis's (B)	Do.	22	19
Alderman Mould's		24	20

Custom-House		46	49
Mr Ray's		26	27
Mr Isaac Broadley's		40	32
Mr Pease's		27	21
THE HAWCK		28	26
BISHOP LANE STAITH	1903	9	10
Captain Keld's		18	0
Alderman Cookson's		24	43
King's		38	28
Mr Sykes's (B)	188	57	58
Captain Coat's (B)		37	37
Mr Williamson's (B)		32	31
SCALE LANE STAITH	192	10	11
Andrew's (B)		26	37
Lambert's		29	34
Alderman Etherington's		49	48
Mr Prime's (B)		22	19
Mr Kirkman's		20	19
Mr Taylor's		18	16
Mr Hickson's (B)	194	15	16
Charter-House (B)		34	34
Mr Bell's		44	33
Mr Lee's Sailmaker		23	20
Mr Master's (B)		42	35
CHURCH LANE STAITH	185	16	13
Mr Neave's (B)		44	18
Corporation's		19	10
Mr Lee's Cork Merchant		13	8
Thomas Broadley's Esq. (B)		56	49
Mr Horner's		24	20
Mr Burrel's (B)		19	18
Mr Wilson's	152	19	14
Mr Watson's		43	41
Mr Shield's	150	21	11
Mr Christian Bell's		20	16
Mr Barrobj's (B)		21	19
Mr Ward's (B)		49	40
Mr Hickson's		33	29
Mr Prymes' (B)		15	18
Mr Etherington's		42	37
ROTTENHERRING STAITH	81	12	21
Charter House	54	67	68
Crompton's		29	43
Ellworth's (B)	49	33	0
HORSE STAITH	45	8	0
Corporation House & SOUTH END	42	197	0



Appendix 9.

DOCK EXTENSION PAMPHLETS

Many of these pamphlets are printed in Hadley's HISTORY... OF...HULL, 1788. When they are the page number is given.

- AN ADDRESS TO THE DOCK CO....('Proprietor') 12/2/86.(p.573.)
THOUGHTS ON THE EXTENSION....('Non-proprietor') n.d.
TO THE MERCHANTS, SHIPOWNERS, etc.('Mercator') 9/3/86 (p.577)
TO THE MERCHANTS, etc.,... ('Civis') -/3/86 (p.580)
AN ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS...('Spectator') 24/3/86 (p.585)
TO THE MERCHANTS, etc.... ('Vigilant') 31/3/86 (p.586)
CASE OF THE MERCHANTS, SHIPOWNERS, AND THE PRINCIPAL
INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN AND PORT OF KINGSTON-UPON-HULL,
AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN THE TRADE AND SHIPPING OF THE
SAID PORT. (Meeting for Extension under the chairman-
ship of Sir Henry Etherington) n.d. (p.587)
REMARKS ON A PUBLICATION ENTITLED ' THE CASE OF THE
MERCHANTS' (By order of the Dock Co.) 2/2/87
CHARGES INTENDED TO BE EXHIBITED IN PARLIAMENT AGAINST
THE DOCK CO. (This was an ironical pamphlet issued by
a supporter of the Dock Co.) n.d. (p.600)
A DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE DOCK CO. AT KINGSTON-
UPON-HULL, (By order of the Company) n.d. (p.603)
AN ADDRESS TO THE CORPORATION OF...HULL...IN ANSWER
TO A PAMPHLET CALLED 'THE DEFENCE OF THE DOCK CO.,
(T. Westerdell) n.d. (p.626)
A PLAN FOR THE FURTHER EXTENSION OF THE DOCK AT KINGSTON-
UPON-HULL, (By order of the Dock Co.) 20/8/87, (p.638)
TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR....('Publicola') 15/9/87
TO THE BURGESSES OF...HULL (Anon.) n.d. (p.645)
CONDITIONS PROPOSED FOR A SUBSCRIPTION TO A NEW DOCK
COMPANY, AT KINGSTON-UPON-HULL (Anon.) n.d. (p.647)
TO THE BURGESSES... (T.Westerdell, Chairman of Committee
for Extension) 3/6/88
LEADS OF A BILL, FOR THE BETTER ACCOMODATION OF THE
TRADE AND SHIPPING OF THE TOWN AND PORT OF KINGSTON-
UPON-HULL.(Committee for Extension) 13/11/88. (p.655)

AN ACCURATE STATEMENT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
GUILDHALL...ON...SEPTEMBER 1789; RELATIVE TO
THE LEVYING A PERPETUAL TAX OF ONE THOUSAND POUNDS
PER ANNUM....(Wm Bell) n.d. (661)

AN ADDRESS OF THE DOCK CO. AT KINGSTON-UPON-HULL TO
THE MERCHANTS SHIPOWNERS AND OTHERS, CONCERNED IN THE
TRADE AND SHIPPING OF THE PORT. (By order of the Dock Co)

15/2/93

(No Title) ... (Observator) 16/2/93

OBSERVATIONS AND REMARKS ON THE ADDRESS OF THE DOCK CO
TO THE MERCHANTS OF HULL (H.Ker, Chairman of Town
committee for Extension) 1/3/93

THE ADDRESS OF THE DOCK CO. ANSWERED AND REFUTED ('A.B')
2/3/93

TO THE PUBLIC ('S') n.d.

SHORT STATE OF THE CASE OF THE DOCK CO. (Dock Co) 3/2/94

CASE OF THE DOCK CO. (Dock Co.) 12/3/94

CASE OF THE PUBLIC INTERESTED IN THE NAVIGATION AND
COMMERCE OF THE PORT OF HULL, WITH RESPECT TO THE
EXTENSION OF THE DOCK. (Probably by a Town Meeting
or the Committee for Extension) 14/3/94

A DIRECT ATTACK ON THE PRIVATE PROPERTY OF THE DOCK
COMPANY AT KINGSTON-UPON-HULL (Dock Co.) 7/4/94

A PLAN FOR THE ACCOMODATION OF TRADE AND SHIPPING.
('Reconciler') 1/2/95.

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MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. British Museum Manuscripts.

The British Museum has three volumes of MSS relating specifically to Hull:

STOW 796 contains MSS concerning Hull Corporation

Add. MS. 24,834 contains translations of Hull Charters

LANSDOWNE 891 contains a variety of material, including the only known copy of the 1724 Poll Book.

EGERTON 2479 is "Strother's Journal" (1784), the only surviving eighteenth century Hull diary

2. Hull Guildhall Manuscripts.

All the official records of the Corporation are stored in the vaults of the Guildhall. The vast collection is, however, only partly catalogued.

THE BENCH BOOKS (viii, ix, x) contain all the official pronouncements of the Bench of Aldermen, and are the best source of information about general conditions in Hull and the administration of the town.

THE CORPORATION CASH BOOKS (really the Town Husband's Account Books) contain a great deal of supplementary information, but are of much less value than the Bench Books.

Miscellaneous G.H.MSS. are:

WORKHOUSE ADMITTANCE BOOK, 1729-56, which records the names of all people entering and leaving the house.

LETTER BOOKS 50-53, which apparently are copy letter books of Edward Codd, either as Town Clerk or in his private capacity as Attorney.

Some of the G.H.MSS. have been numbered, and of these the most valuable for the economic historian are:

D. 936

L. 387, 1386, 1387, 1389

M. 463, 477, 798

3. Wilberforce House Manuscripts.

A large number of MSS. are stored in the Library of Wilberforce House, but many of them are, or were, unsorted. The basis of the Wilberforce House MSS is a miscellaneous collection made at the beginning of the century by T.T. Wildridge in which the original MSS. of all kinds (some of them of little value), together with Wildridge's own notes, are placed in rough chronological order in a series of boxes. I have referred to this collection of MSS simply as W.H.MSS.

There are also several small boxes containing a variety of MSS:

AUTOGRAPH LETTER BOX, which is of little value

COURT CASES BOX, which contains some commercial cases

NUMBERED MSS. BOX, containing, among other things, a number of loose sheets torn from a Maister Day Book of the thirties.

Several collections of Deeds have been deposited in Wilberforce House. The principal sets covering Hull, or referring to Hull, are:

STANEWELL DEEDS

YORKSHIRE DEEDS

EAST YORKSHIRE DEEDS

HAWORTH-BOOTH DEEDS

4. Sheffield Central Reference Library Manuscripts.

Some general information, as well as details of Parliamentary elections, are contained in two sets of letters:

WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE (WSS 1784,5,6) dealing with the 1784 election

WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE MUNIMENTS (WWM,F49(a)), dealing with various matters in the sixties.

5. Trinity House Manuscripts.

THE SCHOOL RECORDS (1787f) give some details of life and vocational training at the end of the century.

B. TRADE

1. National Records

(1) Public Records Office.

THE HULL PORT BOOKS (P.R.O.,E190/337-386) are undoubtedly the best source for the commercial history of Hull in the eighteenth century, since they record the names of merchants and ships, and the amount, destination or origin of merchandise. A list of the surviving books is to be found in Appendix 3. The best books have now been micro-filmed, and may be consulted in Hull Central Reference Library.

The following P.R.O.MSS also contain valuable information:

B.T.,6/94; 6/140; 6/191; 6/230

C.O.,388-9; 388-18; 390-8; 390-9 all contain shipping figures for the beginning of the century.

CUST. 17/1-22 contain details of the "State of navigation commerce and revenue of Great Britain" in the last quarter of the century.

(ii) The British Museum,

Important shipping statistics for the whole century are to be found in:

Add.MSS. 11,255 and 11,256.

Add.MSS 33,344, 33,345 and 33,347 contain references to Hull, and general material of interest.

2. Local Records.

(i). HULL CUSTOMS LETTER BOOKS, HULL TO COMMISSIONERS, and

HULL CUSTOMS LETTER BOOKS, COMMISSIONERS TO HULL greatly augment, and later replace, the PORT BOOKS. They contain a vast amount of information about all aspects of Hull history, and a great deal of it is unobtainable elsewhere. Unfortunately there is no index to the thirty or more volumes, which are at present in the custody of The Surveyor, Customs House, Goole, Yorks. The series of books date from 1748 and 1744 respectively.

LETTER BOOK, 1725-95, contains mainly letters about embargoes, quarantine, illegal trade, etc., in a single volume.

(ii) The local bodies - the Corporations of the town and of Trinity House - also kept some records of trade.

THE WARDENS' ACCOUNTS of Trinity House contain a certain amount of information, but the best MSS are those preserved in the Guildhall in:

PORT DUES BOX.

Three other G.H.MSS also give details of trade:

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE FOR TRADE, c.1780-1800 (1 vol)

MINUTES OF THE CONVOY COMMITTEE, 1757-82 (1 vol)

REGISTER OF INLAND SHIPPING, c.1800, G.H.MSS, M,445.

(iii) Details of goods passing along the Chesterfield Canal are contained in:

CHESTERFIELD CANAL ACCTS, 1777-89, Sheffield Central Reference Library, JACKSON 1255.

C. MERCHANT PAPERS

There is a dearth of merchant papers in Hull, and meagre information is available for only three firms, Maisters, Broadleys and Wray & Hollingsworth.

MAISTER ACCOUNTS, torn from a Ledger or Day Book of the thirties, are preserved in W.H., NUMBERED MSS BOX. They include details of factorage and insurance.

MAISTER DAY BOOK, 1713-23, is preserved in Hull University Library (MS DA 690 H9 M2). It is the most important surviving merchant MS, giving details of all aspects of merchanting in the first quarter of the century.

MAISTER LETTERS, c.1730-50, from Nathaniel to Henry Maister and vice-versa, give information about trade (especially in corn), overseas agents and freighting. They are owned by Colonel Rupert Alec-Smith and are at present in the custody of Edward Ingram, Esq., School House, Sewerby, Yorks. Ingram also holds a number of ACCOUNTS, principally for luxury goods supplied by the Maisters to the Grimston family.

BROADLEY PAPERS, preserved in a package in W.H., contain valuable letters showing the connexion between Hull merchants and their Factors in Scandinavia and the Baltic early in the century.

WRAY & HOLLINGSWORTH LETTER BOOKS, 1791-95, preserved in Hull Central Reference Library, MS L12869. Two volumes contain approximately 1,500 letters, showing the extent of Hull's inland markets and the relationship between merchants and their customers. Unfortunately there is no index to the letters, which are in chronological order.

Several important and interesting sources of general information about merchanting and inland trade are preserved in Sheffield Central Reference Library:

SAMUEL DAWSON'S DAY BOOK, 1713-21, (TIBBITTS 382) is similar to the Maister Day Book, although Dawson, while shipping through Hull, lived in Bawtry.

LETTERS TO SAMUEL DAWSON, 1715-21 (TIBBITTS 516) contain interesting items about overseas agents.

BARKERS' ORE ACCOUNTS (BAGSHAW 491) give details of shipments of lead to Hull.

Another group of useful MSS are:

NEWTON CHAMBERS' ARCHIVES, Newton Chambers & Co., Ltd., Chapeltown, Sheffield. These include a number of letters to Hull merchants, and details of shipment of manufactured goods to the port, circa 1790.

D. FINANCE AND INDUSTRY.

Information about all aspects of banking and finance, merchant and industrial concerns, and Hull life in general, may be abstracted from:

PEASE BANK GENERAL LEDGERS, B and D. All the Ledgers except these two (preserved in Barclay's Bank, Trinity House Lane, Hull) were destroyed at the beginning of the 1939-45 war.

SMITHS & THOMPSON BANK GENERAL LEDGERS, complete series from 1784. The Private Ledgers are unfortunately lost. (National Provincial Bank, Silver Street, Hull)

There are no industrial records at all, but some details can be found in:

"SUN" POLICY COPY BOOK, which records policies in the last decade of the century. Now owned by Miss Ridgway of Butterell & Ridgway, the descendent of the original agent who compiled this book.

SCULCOATES RATE BOOK, 1785-, which records the payments made by the owners of the new factories springing up in Sculcoates. Temporarily in the possession of Edward Ingram Esq., who kindly showed it to me.

Details of the whaling industry are contained in an early nineteenth century MS:

WHALE FISHERY AT HULL and AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE SHIPS AT GREENLAND AND DAVIS STRAITS FISHERIES, 1772-1842. Hull Central Reference Library, MS L281 L665-3/12800. This MS is not free from error, and should be used in conjunction with the Port Books and Hull Customs Letter Books, passim.

E. DOCK MANUSCRIPTS.

MSS relating to the development of Port facilities in Hull are to be found in the following places:

- (i) British Transport Commission Archives, London.
- (ii) The Dock Offices, Hull.
- (iii) The Guildhall, Hull.
- (iv) Wilberforce House, Hull.

Information about the conditions of the Haven, the desire of the merchants for a dock, the desire of the Commissioners of Customs for a Legal Quay, and the negotiations between the Commissioners and the Bench leading to the building of the first dock, is contained in

THE BENCH BOOKS, G.H.MSS

HULL CUSTOMS LETTER BOOKS, Customs House, Goole.

The basis for a study of the dock is provided by

THE HULL DOCK ACT (14 George III, c.56), copies of which are to be found in all the local repositories.

THE HULL DOCK COMPANY COMMISSIONERS' TRANSACTIONS, (B), 1777-82 (British Transport Comm. Archives) contains all the available information about the building of the dock, and

"HUFFAM'S BOOK" (Hull Dock Offices) gives all the statistics relating to the dock and its business. Huffam was the Secretary of the Dock Company in the early nineteenth century who compiled all the information

he could about the financial state of the early Company, the size of the docks, the amount of goods handled, and the record was continued by his successors until the beginning of the present century.

The general running of the dock is recorded in:

THE HULL DOCK COMPANY LETTER BOOK, 1774-88 (Hull Dock Offices) and

THE HULL DOCK COMPANY TRANSACTIONS. Volume B (1779-85) is preserved in British Transport Archives; Volumes C, D and E in Hull Dock Offices. Volume A appears to be missing.

The official pronouncements in the dock disputes are contained in the Bench Books and the Company's Transactions, *passim*.

THE DOCK BOX in G.H.MSS contains the Corporation's record of letters, and of the various town meetings. The pamphlets issued by the various bodies concerned in the dispute are to be found in:—

SCRAP BOOKS, containing miscellaneous material compiled by the Dock Company and kept in Hull Dock Offices, and in bundles in the G.H.MSS and Wilberforce House. A few are also kept in Hull Central Reference Library and in Hull University Library. ~~_____~~

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 HULL PACKET. Complete series, post 178 , in Hull C.R.Lib.
 HULL ADVERTISER. Complete, post 1794, in Hull Cent.R.Lib.
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