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THE 1841 SOUTH DURHAM ELECTION

CLARE MARGARET RIDER

M.A. THESIS

1982

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM,
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ABBREVIATIONS

D/HH	Durham County Record Office, Hanby Holmes Papers
D/St	Durham County Record Office, Strathmore Papers
D/LO	Durham County Record Office, Londonderry Papers
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers
Poll book	Poll book for the Southern Division of the County of Durham
Slater, <u>Directory</u>	Slater, I., <u>Royal National Commercial Directory and Topography of the Counties of Chester, Cumberland, Durham, Lancaster, Northumberland, Westmoreland and York, 1848.</u>

THE 1841 SOUTH DURHAM ELECTIONM.A. THESIS 1982C. M. RIDERABSTRACT

This study of the election held in the constituency of South Durham in 1841, is based on the records of the Strathmore family, supplemented by the Londonderry manuscripts, the Pease papers and local newspapers. It examines the North-eastern and National background to the election, the issues at stake and the organisation and expenses involved in the election campaign of one of the candidates, John Bowes. An attempt is also made to analyse the voting behaviour of electors in the rural areas and towns and to assess the relative importance of influence, opinion, occupation, wealth, party and malpractice in voting. The conclusions reached are that the politics of influence continued to dominate this constituency despite the existence of a floating vote, open to enticement and the emergence of the exercise of opinion in voting, and that local factors, rather than national issues, were decisive in the final result.

INTRODUCTION

A more comprehensive and consecutive narrative of events in a smaller area may to some extent serve as a corrective to any arbitrariness and distortion in the larger picture. There is another justification. In one sense all politics are provincial politics. What Peel, Melbourne or Russell could do in the Houses of Parliament depended primarily on what happened in the constituencies.⁽¹⁾

In this way, Gash justifies his study of Berkshire politics and invites further research into local history in order to establish a base for the construction of a national picture of nineteenth century politics. Indeed, the study of individual constituencies in a particular general election is essential to an understanding of the election as a whole, since in each, the interpretation and importance of national issues and their interplay with other, localised factors was unique, although all shared some common characteristics.⁽²⁾

Moreover, the reason for selecting the South Durham constituency in 1841 as such a case study lies in the survival of an almost complete series of election working-papers which not only shed light on the extent of national influences on the local context, but also on the whole organisation and nature of a fairly typical post-Reform election campaign, providing to some extent the key for which Moore appeals in order to understand the pollbooks as the election managers saw them.⁽³⁾

These working-papers, relating to Bowes' campaign, are preserved in the Strathmore collection, held at Durham County Record Office, Bowes Museum and Glamis Castle, and have been supplemented by information from the Londonderry papers, also held at Durham County Record Office and the Pease papers at Darlington Library. Unfortunately, the records relating to Sir Harry Vane's election campaign, formerly held at Raby Castle have been 'mislaid' according to the curator although seen by T.J. Nossiter and quoted in his book, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England,⁽⁴⁾ whilst those of the third candidate,



Farrer have never been located.

However, the overall picture can be filled, to some extent, by the local newspapers, the Liberal Durham Chronicle and the Conservative Durham Advertiser and by the writings of William Makepeace Thackeray, who, in considerable financial difficulty at the time, was invited to Streatlam to assist in Bowes' campaign.⁽⁵⁾ Thackeray, whose presence in Darlington during the election is vouchsafed by a hotel bill,⁽⁶⁾ not only wrote political tracts on Bowes' behalf before the election, for example the Firebrand Correspondence, but also, after the contest was over, recorded his experiences in a satire published in Fraser's Magazine.⁽⁷⁾ This account is valuable, not merely for its humour and its portrayal of the festive and disorderly atmosphere of nineteenth century elections, but also for the illumination which it provides of contemporary electioneering practice and the continuing parochialism of local politics.

Statistical analysis has also been employed to a limited degree, although bedevilled with the perennial problems of the small, positively identifiable samples, the danger of mistaken identity in comparisons of two sets of names, the problem of imperfect data and the difficulties involved in interpretation which means that the conclusions can be, at best, only suggestive. However, in certain cases, such as the geographical analysis of the pollbooks, quantitative treatment can prove helpful.⁽⁸⁾

Since even the combination of statistics, correspondence, literary accounts and administrative records will never provide a complete explanation of the motives governing the voting of each elector, any interpretation of the final election result must be speculative. However, the evidence available in a study of the 1841 South Durham election suggests that the politics of influence, money and opinion were all at work during the campaign, and that of the three, influence was foremost in the minds of a majority of the voters.

INTRODUCTION

1. N. Gash, Politics in the Age of Peel, (1960), p.270.
2. See cp. 10.
3. D.C. Moore, The Politics of Deference, (1976), p.3.
4. T.J. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North-east, 1832-1874 (1975).
5. C.E. Hardy, John Bowes and the Bowes Museum, (1970), pp.58-64.
6. See cp. 5 note (51).
7. D/St/Box 146 Bundle 1; Hardy, John Bowes, p.64;
 W.M. Thackeray, 'Notes on the North What-d'ye-callem Election
 Being the Personal Narrative of Napoleon Putnam
 Wiggins of Passimaquoddy', Fraser's Magazine,
 September 1841, pp.352-358, October 1841,
 pp. 413-427.
8. Cf. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, pp.3-5.

CHAPTER 1 - THE NORTH-EAST BACKGROUND

a). The Economic and Social Background

The North-east, and in particular County Durham, was unusual in that not only did the coal-trade form the staple of the economy, but nearly all the great landowners were involved in it, with the notable exception of the Duke of Cleveland, and thus were saved from the worst effects of the agricultural depression of the early decades of the nineteenth century. No stigma was attached to mining and trade and as both reinforced the traditional power of the aristocracy, there was generally no real conflict between industry and agriculture or between urban and rural society. Under normal circumstances, the divisions which existed were, in the main, those between equals seeking to expand their holdings of land, collieries and railways at the expense of their rivals.⁽¹⁾

The 1830 s had been a prosperous decade for the coal trade, and the railways spread ever-lengthening tracks from rival coalfields to competing ports, beginning with the Stockton and Darlington railway, opened in 1825, the main two towns in South Durham, Stockton and Darlington remaining in competitive hostility throughout this period.⁽²⁾ In political terms, the coal alignments were reflected in apparently 'party' opposition so that the principally 'Conservative' Stockton opposed the 'Liberal' Darlington, whilst Tory Londonderry challenged rival Liberal aristocrats such as Bowes. Political representation could prove of vital importance in the passing of railway bills and such like, and therefore it was expected that in return for patronage, the local members of Parliaments would promote the interests of their benefactors.⁽³⁾

Yet, when threatened by government interference or discontented labour, 'party' differences were laid aside, to resist the common enemy, and politically, the coal interests were not really concerned with national policy, except where it touched them.⁽⁴⁾

However, despite the normal association of industrial and agricultural interests, the Corn Law issue of 1841 caused a definite split of interests between the urban and rural industrialists, the former adopting a free trade stance against the latter, who placed their agricultural before their mining interests and became protectionists. This split was mainly based on the fear of the town manufacturers that trade, which had already begun to decline after the heydays of the previous decade, would suffer increasingly if the Corn Laws were not modified or even repealed, as Walker spelt out to Bowes.⁽⁵⁾ The polarisation of town and countryside was noticed by contemporaries who warned Bowes of the danger of loss of support in the towns, and even caused an identification of views between the two rivals, Stockton and Darlington.⁽⁶⁾ However, ultimately, no free-trade candidate coming forward to represent them, the united urban force reverted into its normal 'party' division, Darlington backing Bowes and Vane whilst Farrer polled a majority in Stockton.⁽⁷⁾

A further social effect of the development of the coal trade was the springing up of many small towns and villages which owed their existence solely to the opening up of coalmines in their neighbourhood such as St. Helens Auckland, Willington and Byers Green, whose inhabitants were totally dependent on the pits for their livelihood and who naturally deferred to the coal owners by whom they were employed. In a similar situation were the labourers employed in the next major industry of the region, the iron trade which was expanding rapidly to change the face of the Tees Valley, a development which was to be symbolised by the later mushrooming of Middlesborough, in alliance with the manufacturing, chemical, engineering and shipbuilding industries which depended upon it. There were, in addition, geographically localised industries such as leadmining in Weardale, textiles in Darlington and fishing in Hartlepool, each of which was vital to the economy and resultant social structure of the areas concerned.⁽⁸⁾

However, agriculture was still an important element in the economy, and small market towns which depended largely on the produce of land continued to flourish, as Slater's Directory illustrates in relation to Sedgfield:-

the whole of the adjacent country bespeaks profit to the agriculturalist, and nine-tenths of the population may be said to derive employment from the cultivation of the soil.⁽⁹⁾

Small manufacturing businesses also contributed to the economy of small towns such as shoemaking in Sedgfield, the manufacture of woollen cloth, spades and edge-tools in Wolsingham, whilst the major towns such as Stockton enjoyed a wide diversity of small industries from the making of anchors, sails, china, barrels, bricks, boots and beer to the production of hats, glue, chairs and musical instruments.⁽¹⁰⁾

North-eastern society was dominated by the great land-coal owners who held sway in the rural areas and the rising urban elite, such as the Pease and Backhouse families in Darlington, whose influence was paramount in the towns. Both required a seemingly ever-growing work force, whether to exploit their mines, farm their land or man their factories, and there was a sharp division in wealth and stature between employer and employee, filled only to a limited extent by the shopkeepers and professionals who served them, and the clergy and intelligensia who taught them. This was to prove of some consequence in the pattern of voting in elections.⁽¹¹⁾

In religion, the considerable, if decreasing, hold of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter of Durham and of the established church upon the county was challenged by the rise of the influential Nonconformist movements, of which the Quakers enjoyed the highest social standing and greatest power, being almost solely responsible for the development of Darlington. The Quakers, in combination with the Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Baptists and some, at least, of the Methodists, were strongly Liberal in their political views, the traditional supporters

of religious liberty, and thus religious persuasion was to prove of political as well as social significance.⁽¹²⁾

b). The Political Background

The North-east as a whole was, by tradition, a stronghold of Whiggism/Liberalism, maintaining this loyalty even during the Conservative triumphs of 1841 and 1874. During the nineteenth century, the Liberals never held less than nine of thirteen North-eastern seats and, despite changes in the composition of the electorate, no other district apart from London, remained so faithful to the Liberal cause.⁽¹³⁾

What, then, were the factors contributing to this tradition?

Perhaps the most significant, was the prosaic fact that the Whigs' landed and industrial influence outweighed that of the Tories, reinforced by the unity of interest of agriculture and industry. In addition, Nonconformists were numerous and influential in both town and countryside, the North-east being one of the leading areas of Dissent in England. Liberalism in County Durham was modelled on the moderate reformist policy of the popular hero, Radical Jack, whereas Toryism was thought to centre around the unpopular and obdurate anti-Reformist, Londonderry. Even when the Liberals lost credibility nationally in the 1840 s, and the Durham Conservatives organised themselves into Associations deliberately distinct from Londonderry's Toryism, the traditional Liberal influences of land, industry and chapel negated, at least for a time, the temporary strengthening of the Conservative cause.⁽¹⁴⁾

However, it is dangerous to be too categorical, since one of the apparently solidly Liberal South Durham seats fell to the previously defeated Conservative, Farrer in 1847, albeit in default of a second Liberal candidate, and again in 1865 to the Conservative, Surtees, despite a contest. The reasons behind this success lay in the shifting politics of the Vane and Russell families, the replacement of a Whig

by a Tory Bishop, Charles Baring and, according to Nossiter, the increase of freeholders in Darlington, Stockton and Hartlepool because of industrial growth in the Tees valley.⁽¹⁵⁾

However, the general picture is one of a constituency still very much dominated by the traditional politics of influence, with 'occasional flurries of opinion' from the increasingly assertive and independent urban voters, largely upholding Moore's argument for the continuing importance of deference, against Davis' challenge upon it.⁽¹⁶⁾

CHAPTER 1 - THE NORTH EAST BACKGROUND

1. T.J. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, pp.9-10,13.
For economic background see also D.J. Rowe, 'The Economy of the North East in the Nineteenth Century', Northern History, vi (1971) pp.117-147 and N. McCord, 'Some Aspects of North East England in the Nineteenth Century,' Northern History, vii (1972), pp.73-88.
2. See cp. 3 and cp. 7.
3. See cp. 3.
4. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, p.12.
5. Appendix I.
6. D/St/Box 159. Leng to Bowes, 10 June 1841;
Mewburn to Bowes, 10 June 1841;
Sutton to Bowes, 10 June 1841;
Appleby to Bowes, 11 June 1841;
Mewburn to Bowes, 12 June 1841;
Salvin to Bowes, 12 June 1841.
7. See cp. 7.
8. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, pp.13-14;
Slater, Directory;
I. Bullock, 'The Origins of Economic Growth on Teesside, 1851-1881;
Northern History, ix (1974), pp.79-95.
9. Slater, Directory p.224.
10. Slater, Directory, pp.224, 272, 240-241.
11. See cp. 7;
Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, p.15;
For discussion of the role of the shopocracy in politics see:-
Nossiter, 'Aspects of Electoral Behaviour in English Constituencies, 1832-1868', Erik Allardt and Stein Rokkan (eds.), Mass Politics: Studies in Political Sociology, (1970), pp.160-189.
Nossiter, 'Recent Work on English Elections', Political Studies

xviii, (1970), pp.525-528;

Nossiter, 'Voting Behaviour, 1832-1872', Political Studies,
xviii, (1970), pp.380-389.

Nossiter, 'Shopkeeper Radicalism in the Nineteenth Century',

T.J. Nossiter, A.H. Hanson, Stein Rokkan (eds.), Imagination
and Precision in the Social Sciences: Essays in Memory of Peter
Nettl, (1972), pp.407-438.

12. See cp. 7.

13. Nossiter, Imagination and Precision, p.435.

14. See cp. 5 Notes (29) (30).

Nossiter, Imagination and Precision, pp.435-438;

Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, pp.15-36.

15. Poll book for South Durham, 1865;

The Durham Advertiser, 6 August 1847;

The Times, 25 May 1847;

3 June 1847;

5 June 1847;

2 August 1847;

6 August 1847.

Sir Alfred E. Pease, Elections and Recollections, (1932), pp.36-37.

Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, pp. 52, 55, 58;

This bears out Moore's theory that changes in the results of polls
in one constituency were the result of changes in the orientation,
size and cohesion of electoral 'blocs', see Moore, The Politics
of Deference, p.10.

16. See Moore, The Politics of Deference;

R.W. Davis, Political Change and Continuity, 1760-1885: A
Buckinghamshire Study, (1972).

CHAPTER 2 - THE 1841 SOUTH DURHAM ELECTION

The election of 1841 was the second contest to take place in the South Durham constituency since its formation in 1832, the previous contest having taken place in that year, when Pease, Bowes and Shafto had stood for Parliament, all on a supposedly 'Liberal' platform, although Shafto tended to attract the former Tory support.⁽¹⁾ In the event, Pease and Bowes topped the poll, the former the representative of the strong commercial Quaker interest in Darlington, the latter with extensive coalmining, leadmining and agricultural interests in both south-west and north-east of the county.⁽²⁾

In 1841, Joseph Pease determined not to stand again, mainly owing to family and business responsibilities as he announced in his retiring address, but also, no doubt, because he fell out with his supporters over the Corn issue, Pease remaining in favour of preserving the existing laws to protect the agricultural interest.⁽³⁾

Many Liberals, including the Duke of Cleveland, were anxious to prevent Pease's retirement fearing that no suitable and acceptable replacement could be found for him, but all such pleas proved of no avail.⁽⁴⁾ Neither did Charles Parker's attempt to persuade Joseph's brother, Henry, to come forward as an alternative representative of the powerful Pease interest, meet with any success.⁽⁵⁾

Bowes and Cleveland were equally anxious about the lack of a possible alternative, for as Bowes informed Wheldon after a conversation with the Duke:-

No one of his family can stand as a Liberal or with his consent. He seems not very favourable to Shafto who besides is in Italy; and should Pease really retire I do not know where we are to find any one but Sir. W. Chaytor whom the Duke, like everybody else, laughs at.⁽⁶⁾

However, by June 3 an acceptable, if not wholly suitable, candidate had been found in Lord Harry Vane, the Duke of Cleveland's son, whom the latter agreed to support by finding 'the money and other requisites'. Vane himself was most unwilling to stand, to which he

acquiesced 'merely....in order to gratify his father'⁽⁷⁾. Even Bowes expressed some reluctance in offering himself again for Parliament, but declared that he considered himself 'bound to stand (though much against my will)'⁽⁸⁾.

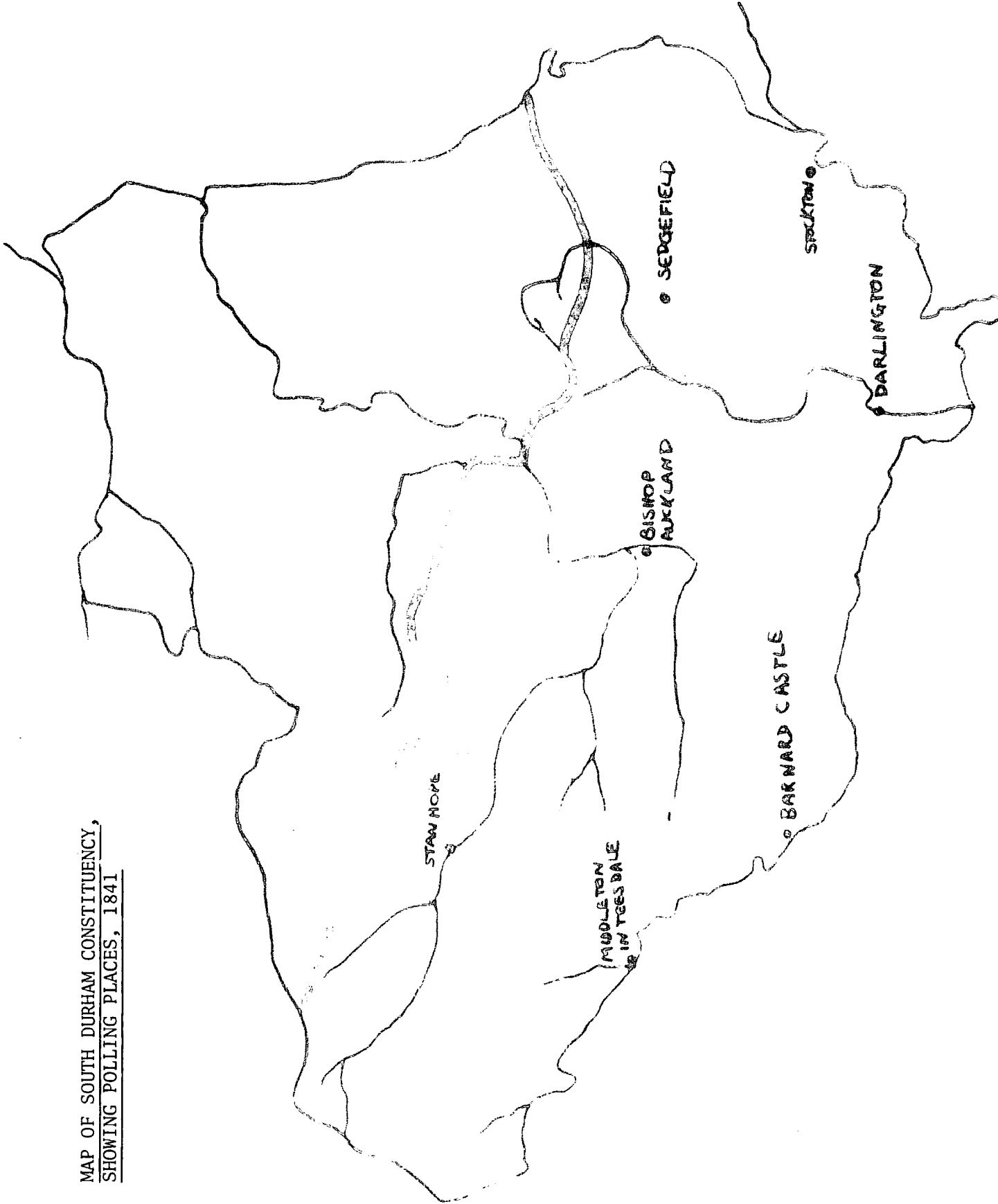
Thus by 3 June 1841, there were two avowedly Liberal candidates prepared to take to the field, although there arose a considerable controversy over the acceptance of Bowes by the free-trade Liberals who, at one stage, refused their support because of his stand on the Corn Laws. However, in the absence of an alternative, they were forced to bow to his opinions and accept him.⁽⁹⁾

Both Vane and Bowes had the advantage of a longstanding tradition of family connection with the area, considerable landed, and in the case of Bowes, industrial interest, combined with local standing and prestige. Thus, despite Bowes' long absences in France and apparent lack of interest in both his constituency and Parliament, and Vane's lack of character, both were felt to be identified with local interests, a point which they took care to emphasise.⁽¹⁰⁾

However, the nomination of a Conservative rival was accompanied by much prevarication. As early as 25 May, Bowes had been given 'a hint privately that the Tories have been trying to get up an opposition in South Durham' and on 8 June, Vane told Bowes that Lord Londonderry had sent to Lord Darlington the previous night and informed him 'that he never saw the county so determined to have a Conservative member, that they had got £4,000 subscribed and were determined to contest it'.⁽¹¹⁾

As was common elsewhere, a considerable number of possible candidates' names were bandied around for example those of Maclean of Whitton Castle, and of Lambton Surtees, whom the Durham Chronicle claimed had been called upon by 'the Tory Jackals', Burrell confirming as late as 20 June, that Surtees in a letter to 'an influential friend' had stated his intention to stand.⁽¹²⁾

MAP OF SOUTH DURHAM CONSTITUENCY,
SHOWING POLLING PLACES, 1841



However, Lord Dungannon, who had resigned his seat for Durham City at the dissolution, was given the full backing of the Conservatives of the South Division, supposedly due to the double-dealing of Lord Londonderry who sought 'to bestow another of his brood on a county in which they swarm already too abundantly'.⁽¹³⁾ In fact, Dungannon's resignation from Durham City had not been part of a plot by Londonderry but the result of a genuine desire on behalf of Dungannon to quit Parliament owing to 'personal and private' difficulties of which he informed his patron in December 1839.⁽¹⁴⁾ The following January he reiterated his views and, during that year, took his name out of the Carlton Club, feeling 'unfit to present myself there or anywhere else'.⁽¹⁵⁾

Despite these obsessive depressions and feelings of unworthiness, Dungannon never could resist the temptation of a Parliamentary seat, and on 5 June his wife replied to Londonderry that she was 'happy' to be able to tell his Lordship that Trevor had consented to stand if a requisition be sent to him, which it duly was.⁽¹⁶⁾ But, timid as ever, Dungannon after flirting with the idea of the South Durham seat, eventually declined his candidature, an act which he inevitably came to regret.

I have committed an act of irretrievable folly, of suicidal madness, I have lost my consequence, my position, everything, I am a useless nonentity, all hopes of the future are at an end, my career is cut short and annihilated, what is to become of me, or how I am going to kill time for the future, God only knows.⁽¹⁷⁾

Dungannon continued to toy with the idea of standing for Parliament, trying unsuccessfully for various seats in the area including Durham City, Ripon and Sunderland, but ultimately he was left to bemoan his folly, lamenting, 'I wish from my heart I could again be in Parliament. How easy it is to do a foolish thing, how difficult to remedy it'.⁽¹⁸⁾

The Durham Chronicle saw Dungannon's withdrawal as a chastising blow to Londonderry, and, in announcing the new Conservative candidate

James Farrer, a relation of Lord Eldon, declared that he would crush the pretensions of the Marquis. However, the same newspaper soon came to accuse Farrer and Eldon of dealings with Lord Londonderry, a fact borne out by correspondence between Eldon and the latter.⁽¹⁹⁾ Indeed, Vane reported to Bowes that Londonderry had, in fact, 'recommended' that Dungannon withdraw and, although Eldon claimed to have been unaware of his half-brother, Farrer's intention to stand until 18 June, on that day he declared his resolution to place his support and influence behind the latter, especially in the crucial Auckland and Hartlepool areas, in combination with that of Lord Londonderry. Moreover, Vane believed that Eldon had been responsible for Farrer's coming forward in the first place, and described his determination and zeal to work for his half-brother's success.⁽²⁰⁾

Despite the disadvantages of Farrer in being seen as a 'stranger' from London without local interests or knowledge and lacking clear policies and character, he did have a strong Conservative backing centred on the Conservative Registration Association in Stockton with their financial reserves, and the advantages brought by the local influence and resources of both Eldon and Londonderry.⁽²¹⁾ In fact his lack of political principles acted in his favour, as Salvin acknowledged to Bowes:-

The Tories in my opinion are to[sic] well experienced in electioneering matters to start a candidate against yr. combined interests unless they can find a non-descript politician that would vote or promise rather to vote in favour of a change in the Corn Laws in direct opposition to their most darling interests and thereby induce the town classes in dispute of every principle, to vote for him.⁽²²⁾

Once the candidates were lined up in the field, the race could begin in earnest.⁽²³⁾ Election addresses were published, canvassing commenced and visits were made by the candidates through countryside and town where speeches were delivered and drowned in noisy outbursts, for, as Henry Pease declared, having been 'hissed out' of two towns in the same

day, 'in these degenerate days, people were fonder of hearing hissing than of hearing sound sense'.⁽²⁴⁾

The newspapers, especially the Conservative Durham Advertiser and the Liberal Durham Chronicle, gave detailed accounts of the progress of the campaign and the reception of the candidates in the places that they visited, biased according to the political leaning of the editor, as Pickwick discovered in Eatanswill.⁽²⁵⁾ Thus, although Weardale was a notoriously 'Liberal' reserve, the Durham Advertiser claimed that Vane and Bowes had received a 'cold reception or outright disapprobation' in Wolsingham, Frosterley, Stanhope and St. John's Chapel, whilst Farrer, on canvassing the same areas was declared to be 'decidedly the most popular candidate in Weardale' and to have entered St. John's Chapel accompanied by 'immense numbers' who had travelled two miles with him and insisted upon taking the horses from his carriage and 'dragging him in to the town' to the music of a band.⁽²⁶⁾

Despite all the disruption and chaos which occurred in the lead up to nomination day, the occasion itself, which took place on Tuesday 6 July 1841, was a more orderly occasion, although there were accusations of packing the hustings.⁽²⁷⁾ Bowes had entered Darlington the previous evening to stay with Henry Pease, whilst Lord Harry Vane and Farrer entered with imposing processions of supporters, bannerman and bands. The candidates went to their respective committee rooms, Bowes to the Sun Inn, Vane to the King's Head and Farrer to the Fleece, and just before eleven o'clock, William Russell of Brancepeth Castle, the High Sheriff, arrived at the hustings which had been erected in front of the Town Hall. Standing beside him, the candidates and the proposers and seconders made speeches in succession, Bowes being proposed by H.T.M. Witham and seconded by his former colleague, Joseph Pease and his father-in-law, William Hutt; Vane by John Allan of Blackwell and George Silvertop of Minster Acres; whilst Farrer was supported by his proposer, Marshall Fowler of Preston Hall and his seconders, D. Maclean of Witton Castle,

all men of local standing and influence.

The traditional show of hands was then taken for each candidate and when pronounced by Russell to be in favour of Vane and Bowes, a poll was demanded by Marshall Fowler on behalf of Farrer, the Durham Advertiser naturally attributing the High Sheriff's adverse decision to the packing of Liberal supporters in front of the hustings, whilst the Conservatives were distributed and in some cases, obscured.⁽²⁸⁾

Polling took place on the Friday and Saturday, the 'two eventful days' which were in the words of Thackeray, 'to decide whether this great county was to be represented by a green candidate, or misrepresented by a pink (at the Bull, next door, the phrase was of course transversed),⁽²⁹⁾ and the results were announced the following Monday morning before the huge gathered crowd.

Mr. Wooler, the Under-Sheriff, produced the sealed pollbooks, counted the votes and presented the votes to Russell who announced them as follows:-

For Lord Harry Vane	2,547
For Mr. Bowes	2,483
For Mr. Farrer	1,739

Thus Vane and Bowes were declared to be elected as Knights of the Shire, and after speeches of thanks from all three candidates, drowned to some extent by the raucous shouts of rival supporters, the two new Members of Parliament were girt with swords and conducted through the town, a traditional rite, interrupted in this case by an untimely thunderstorm which cleared the streets alike of officials and would-be rioters. Grand dinners were held to celebrate the Liberal victory and commiserate with the Conservatives' defeat, champagne 'banged about' and loyal toasts delivered to round off the festival atmosphere of the election in fitting style.⁽³⁰⁾

CHAPTER 2 - THE 1841 SOUTH DURHAM ELECTION

1. Pollbooks, 1832 and 1841; Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, p.68.
2. The State and Result of the Poll, 1832 (D/HH/2/19/23/25/748)

Pease	2273
Bowes	2218
Shafto	1841

Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, p.63
3. 'Sensible that I am unequal to the fatigues and responsibilities of my present position, I could not, with the views I entertain of my personal and home duties, again accept so distinguished a mark of your favour', Address in the Durham Chronicle, 11 June 1841;

Bowes Museum Mss. file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 25 May 1841;

Sir Alfred E. Pease, Elections and Recollections, p.24.
4. Bowes Museum Mss., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 25 May 1841;

D/St.Box 159 J.Pease to Bowes, 25 May 1841.
5. Darlington Library Mss., U415C, Charles Parker to Henry Pease, 13 June 1841.
6. Bowes Museum Mss., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 25 May 1841;

Note: The character of Sir Pitt Crawley in Thackeray's Vanity Fair is thought to be based on Chaytor.
7. Bowes Museum Mss., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 3 June 1841.
8. Bowes Museum Mss., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 5 May 1841; See also Bowes' Election Address, D/St/169/28.
9. See cp. 7.
10. Note: Bowes had no speeches recorded in Parliament - See Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idiom, pp.52-53, 67, 71.

Vane has 'magic in his name', The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841;

Cf. Bowes' Election Address, 1832, D/St/169/18.
11. Bowes Museum Mss., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 25 May 1841;

Bowes to Wheldon, 8 June 1841.

12. D/LO/C/132/2/3 and see cp. 3;

The Durham Chronicle, 11 June 1841;

D/St/171/167.

13. The Durham Chronicle, 11 June 1841;

See also D/LO/C/132/2/5, Maynard to Londonderry, 7 June 1841;

'If anything will spur our opponents to contest [the Northern] Division it is the step which has been taken by us in the Southern more particularly Lord Dungannon being the candidate - it may and will be said that this arrangement was made previously to Lord D.'s resignation from the City. Do not think I condemn the course taken on the contrary I highly approve it because it is my opinion the more determined front we oppose to them the less likely are we to be attacked. Mr. Middleton my partner will take the Sedgefield District, his own [half] yard, and I will find out some place elsewhere where I can be more useful.'

14. D/LO/C/107/21, Dungannon to Londonderry,

'I came to the determination of retiring at the next General Election, I appraised you of such a determination because I felt that had I deferred doing so you might have accused me justly of putting you in a straight at the eleventh hour.

.....Indeed so worried and harrassed am I upon matters of a Personal and Private nature, I mean as to my own affairs, that I am unfit to enter upon general or political matters. In fact I am become quite indifferent to them, depressed in mind and broken in spirit, indeed I feel my mind sinking and I am wholly unfit for my present position or anything else....

I wish to keep out of that Society (London) for which nature never fitted me and be content to remain in that comparative obscurity from which, but for your kind notice, I most probably now should have enjoyed....I am very, very wretched.'

15. D/LO/C/107/22-23.

16. D/LO/C/107/34.

Bowes Museum Mss., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 7 June 1841.

17. D/LO/C/107/29.

18. In Durham City, Dungannon was reelected but disqualified for bribery, D. Large, 'The Election of John Bright as Member for Durham City in 1843' Durham University Journal, xviii (1954-5), pp.17-23;

D/LO/C/107/30,32;

A.J. Heesom, 'The Sunderland By-Election, September 1841',

Northern History, ix, (1974), pp.65-67.

19. 'The Fates frown on Lord Londonderry. What will he now do for a warming pan for his son? The noble Marquis will be taught that, in grasping too much, he has lost all',

The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841;

D/LO/C/132/1/1-3; D/LO/C/132/2/5.

20. D/St/Box 159, Lord Harry Vane to John Bowes, 18 June 1841,

'The new candidate is entirely brought forward by Lord Eldon who is very zealous and is encouraged by the retirement of all the Whig candidates in the counties of the South...';

D/LO/C132/1/1.

21. See Cp. 5 note (29).

Note: Farrer was keen to stress in 1847 that he was no longer a stranger to the constituency, and that he had considerable mining, agricultural and industrial interests there, The Durham Advertiser, 6 August 1847.

22. D/St/Box 159 Gerald Salvin to Bowes, 18 June 1841.

23. 'South Durham Races, 1841', Election Poster (D/St/Box 82).

24. The Durham Advertiser, 25 June 1841;

For an illuminating and amusing account of the procedure and nature of the election campaign, see W.M. Thackeray, 'Notes on the North What-d'ye-callem Election. Being the Personal Narrative of Napoleon Putnam Wiggins, of Passimaquoddy', Fraser's Magazine September 1841, pp.352-358; October 1841, pp.413-427.

25. Charles Dickens, The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club, cp. XIII, XVIII.

26. The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841

27. The Durham Advertiser, 16 July 1841.

28. Description of Nomination Day from The Durham Advertiser, 9 July 1841 and Thackeray, Notes, p.421.

29. Thackeray, Notes, p.421.

(30) The Durham Advertiser, 16 July 1841; Thackeray, Notes, pp.423-427.

CHAPTER 3 - ISSUESa) The National Background

The 1841 General Election was called by a government under siege both inside and outside Parliament, in order to strengthen itself in the House and to regain support in the country for the new policies and promises which it now offered.⁽¹⁾

After the exceptional unity of purpose which had brought about the Reform Act of 1832, the Whigs suffered from the subsequent wave of reaction, as moderate opinion set itself against further reform and radical opinion pressed for ever more progressive measures. Meanwhile, the Tory party, for a while eclipsed as supposed traitors to reform revitalised itself, offering promises of conservative and constructive improvements under the leadership of Peel. Thus the Whigs were confronted by the inevitable dilemma that 'if they attempt little, their friends grow slack and if they attempt much, their enemies grow strong'.⁽²⁾

Even within the cabinet itself, divergent interests caused serious tension and division, resulting in the resignation of Stanley, Graham, Richmond and Ripon as early as 1834, and subsequently others such as Howick, in 1839, whilst the intransigence of the principally Tory House of Lords effectively blocked the majority of measures which the Government managed to get through the Commons, particularly in relation to Ireland.⁽³⁾ The Whigs did succeed in enacting some of their party's promised reforms, such as the abolition of slavery, 1833, the Prisons Act, 1835, the Municipal Reform Act, 1835, and the English Tithe Act, 1836, and, moreover, strengthened itself in Parliament in the short term by its alliance with the Radicals and Irish, following the Lichfield compact of 1835. However, this move alienated some of the Whigs' erstwhile supporters, whilst the Radicals and Irish themselves grew restless as Melbourne failed to implement their proposals or to find them places in the cabinet, and external affairs, especially

relating to Ireland, Canada, Jamaica and the Eastern question, caused serious problems to the Government.⁽⁴⁾ Moreover, the mounting expenditure on colonial and foreign policy, the cost of implementing their reforming measures and the Government's shortcomings in financial and fiscal policy brought about a severe financial crisis, against the background of economic recession which was disrupting trade and causing rising unemployment.⁽⁵⁾

In a desperate attempt to reconstruct the damaged financial situation and faced with a deficit of nearly two million pounds, Baring had increased customs, excise and assessed taxes in his 1840 Budget, hoping that this would increase Government revenue.⁽⁶⁾ However, finding that this failed to produce the desired effect, Baring attempted a 'volte face' in the 1841 Budget, reducing the import duties on three essential items of consumption, sugar, timber and corn, in order to increase revenue by stimulating trade. In this, Baring fell back on the doctrinaire theories contained in Deacon Hume's Report to the Board of Trade in 1840, produced by a committee strongly under the influence of the Free Trade Radicals and their allies.⁽⁷⁾

However, this reversal of policy caused not only some disagreement within the party, but also an outcry both within and without Parliament, with many claiming, in unison with the Conservative Durham Advertiser, that the cabinet had changed face and gone back on its principles just to stay in office.⁽⁸⁾ The party had been sinking in strength and popularity over a considerable period, having suffered severe losses in the constituencies in the 1835 and 1837 elections, and the budgetary proposals did indeed provide a new and radical flag to fight under, as Sydenham observed.⁽⁹⁾

The 1841 Budget, with its complement, a proposed change in the Corn Laws from a sliding scale to a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter on wheat, was prepared for presentation to the House of Commons, but the first part to be put forward, the sugar proposal, was defeated

by 317 to 281. Whilst Russell was preparing to trap Peel into a discussion on the Corn Law proposals, Peel forestalled this by proposing a motion of no confidence in the Ministry, which was passed by one vote. As a result, Melbourne and Russell saw no alternative but resignation, fearing that to call a general election would result in a permanent loss of majority in the House, although other members of the Government were eager to go to the polls, making the budgetary proposals an election platform, in order to reestablish themselves in public estimation and to outmanoeuvre the Conservatives. Indeed, after several days, Russell was won over to this latter view and, although unconverted himself, Melbourne agreed to follow Russell and consequently Parliament was dissolved.⁽¹⁰⁾

Thus the General Election of 1841 must be seen against the background of the growing incompetence of and disillusion with the Whig government, their new proposals for financial and fiscal reform, the revitalisation of the Opposition party, and the effects of the economic recession and of the reforming legislation of the 1830s which were beginning to be felt.

b) The Budget

In South Durham, as in the majority of other constituencies contested in 1841, the budgetary proposals of the Whig government and, more particularly the revision of the Corn Laws, were featured in the speeches and propaganda of the different candidates and were indeed made into an election platform. Nor were they portrayed merely as economic issues, for all were felt to have far wider consequences which raised often hysterical fears and prejudices.⁽¹¹⁾

Thus Maclean of Whitton Castle, M.P. for Oxford, who seconded Farrer's nomination, warned of the drastic social results of alterations to the timber duties:-

We have sent our superfluous population to cultivate the almost impassable wastes of Canada: but in the meantime before that extensive country can be reduced to a state of agricultural cultivation, their whole existence depends on the felling of timber....If, at this moment, we tamper with the Canadian timber, we shall rekindle the passions of the people and probably reorganize that spirit of disaffection which would render it anything but a region we should be glad to send our countrymen to. This....would greatly injure our own brethren and children in Canada, for the sake of taking timber which grows upon the shores of the Baltic, thus arming the foreigner, a second time, with a fearful weapon, by means of which the rulers of the Baltic coasts may prevent us from having any timber for our ships and houses. (12)

Thus it was not simply a case of timber prices at issue, but the fear of the effect that the end of colonial preference would have on the colonial settlers themselves, particularly in the light of the Canadian Rebellion crisis, and on the defence of the mother country should the now cheaper Baltic products become the staple of the British manufacturing industry. (13)

Similarly, the lowering of sugar duties was felt not only to endanger the future of the previously favoured British colonial plantations, but, at the same time, to encourage trade with the slave plantations which could produce cheaper sugar, making a hypocritical mockery of the anti-slavery reforms of the Whig government.

And when we paid twenty millions for the purpose of emancipating the negroes of our own colonies - when we have the assurance that we can grow, in the East Indies, in the Mauritius and in our own colonies in the west, sufficient sugar for the supply of this country, I am greatly surprised that the proposal to increase our commercial relations with slavegrowing Cuba and Brazil, at the certainty of abetting this detestable traffic, should have met with any approbation. (14)

This being the Conservative standpoint, the Liberal candidates were naturally keen to dismiss such fears as hysterical fantasy and to stress the benefits brought to all by cheap timber and sugar.

Bowes declared that the Conservatives who had done nothing when in power to ease the lot of the slaves, demonstrated considerable hypocrisy in denying the poor classes sugar because of their professed horror of slavery and that the sugar supplies from the colonies were, anyway,

inadequate owing to the increasing consumption in this country.⁽¹⁵⁾

Whilst Vane, defending the reduction of sugar duties, confidently predicted that an increased consumption would give rise to an increased revenue, of vital importance at a time when Europe was strong in arms, particularly France, whilst England laboured under a deficit of circa £2 million. As a final rider he pronounced all the anti-slavery fervour irrelevant, since the British already stimulated the slave trade by their manufacture of cotton goods. Similarly he attacked the tenets in Maclean's speech on the timber question, claiming that Baltic timber was often sent to Canada before export to British shores, a system which should have been long since eradicated, whilst announcing that the present government had raised the British naval forces to such an 'admirable state of efficiency' that British naval superiority was enough to remove any apprehension of losing command to the Baltic.⁽¹⁶⁾

Thus the governmental and anti-governmental views on these two issues were attacked and defended in equally specious terms.

With regard to the third and most important of what Vane referred to as the three topics 'of the most prominent public interest at the present day',⁽¹⁷⁾ namely the revision of the Corn Laws, this was far from being a clear governmental/anti-governmental confrontation.

Even the Conservatives were unsure of their position since Peel was expected to advocate some revision of the Corn Laws, himself, and was most reluctant to reveal his views on the new ministerial proposition, thus leaving Conservative candidates without a clear lead. However he told his constituents at Tamworth that although he believed in protection for agriculture, this did not preclude a review of the Corn Laws and that he favoured freer trade but not a fixed duty on corn. Thus Peel was neither forced, as the Whigs hoped, into the position of uncompromising defender of the existing Corn Laws, nor compelled to support the governmental proposal to change them.⁽¹⁸⁾

However, there was no Conservative party-line on the issue and Farrer, at first, made no clear statement of his views save declaring his opposition to the government and to 'those false notions of political economy that trade can flourish by the depression of agriculture'. Thus he provided his Liberal literary opponent, 'Crito' with no fuel with which to attack him on the Corn Law question.⁽¹⁹⁾

However, in Weardale, Farrer came out clearly in favour of protection when, in addressing the lead-miners, he compared the effect of withdrawal of protection from agriculture with a similar withdrawal from the lead trade.

The consequence of doing so would be not only to reduce the price of lead, and necessarily the wages of labour, but also to destroy the market, and throw them all out of employment...ought they not to give that protection to the farmer which was afforded to themselves?⁽²⁰⁾

Marshall Fowler, in proposing Farrer on nomination day foresaw the ruination of agriculture, both 'the bold class of yeomanry' and 'the vigorous race of peasantry'⁽²¹⁾ and the material injuries to manufacturing and shipping interests which would result from a withdrawal of protection whilst Maclean, ever-alarmist, expressed fears felt by many in the country that Britain would lay herself open to the mercy of her enemies by 'placing a dangerous weapon in their hands'.⁽²²⁾

Thus, in South Durham, after an initial lack of clarity, Farrer adopted an uncompromising protectionist stand, opposing any change in the Corn Laws, a position in which he remained firm in 1847, disapproving of the recent repeal of the Corn Laws.⁽²³⁾

Bowes made known his protectionist views from the outset, causing party difficulties in his rejection of the governmental proposal and anguish amongst those who opposed the Corn Laws, both moderates and radicals. His first address made public his opinion on the matter, and it was a view to which he remained firm throughout the election campaign despite the opposition which it generated, preferring not to stand rather than to relinquish it.⁽²⁴⁾

Bowes' fear of the possible damage to agriculture which would result from the government's proposal stemmed primarily from his own considerable agricultural interests, as he himself admitted - 'It may be that, interested myself in landed property, I cannot view this proposal with perfect impartiality' - and his own stand could not be swayed by any notion of party loyalty, indicating that party was not always the prime consideration of the M.P.s of the day. The reason for Bowes' refusal to accept the proposed eight shilling fixed duty was his fear that it did not provide sufficient protection to agriculture, and, whilst he declared himself favourable to a reduction of the present sliding scale, he would have to be convinced that it was high enough to provide this surety.⁽²⁵⁾

Even the editor of the Tory Durham Advertiser admired Bowes for his stand on the Corn Laws:-

Such as his principles are they are openly and candidly avowed. We can admire the honest determination he shews in not allowing his opinions on the Corn Laws to be frittered away, for the purpose of obtaining a few votes in the towns. He tells the electors plainly that so far as he is concerned there shall be no alterations in the Corn Laws - that sooner than give up his well-considered opinions on this measure, he is prepared to resign his seat.⁽²⁶⁾

However, how very different were the 'milk and water' politics of Lord Harry Vane, who was prepared to pledge all or nothing in order to gain as many votes as possible and to avoid the necessity of making up his mind, as the editor of the Durham Advertiser disdainfully pointed out.⁽²⁷⁾

Vane was so ambiguous on the matter that different reporters quoted him of all shades of opinion. Thus a printed Conservative handbill of June 12 claimed that Vane had declared himself in favour of the ministerial measure of a fixed duty of eight shillings on wheat,⁽²⁸⁾ whilst Bowser wrote to Wheldon on 15 June that Lord Harry's letter to Marshall Fowler explicitly stated his opposition to the fixed duty.⁽²⁹⁾ However, Pulman wrote from Stockton on 17 June that 'Lord Harry in his

speech here yesterday stated that he had not nor would he pledge himself on that question'.⁽³⁰⁾

At various points in the election campaign Vane stated his support for a fixed duty with falling scale attached and his belief that a modification of the Corn Laws was 'absolutely essential', but his views seem to have depended more on his audience than his conviction.⁽³¹⁾ The best demonstration of his 'milk and water' politics was his election speech in which he declared:-

I have given no irrevocable pledge upon the subject of a sliding scale, or of a fixed duty. I chose to preserve myself unfettered on that point; but whenever the revision of this great question shall come before Parliament.... I shall consent to no measure which will have the effect of unjustly depreciating an interest in the welfare of which I feel so deeply interested.⁽³²⁾

Thus, even when they had elected him, the voters had no real idea of Vane's future action in relation to this important question.⁽³³⁾

In this time of fervent interest and debate in the revision or abolition of the Corn Laws, there was no candidate in South Durham firmly pledged to either of these courses, and, although there was some talk of a free trade candidate coming forward and much Anti-Corn Law activity in the constituency,⁽³⁴⁾ ultimately the Corn Law issue could not be decisive since all the candidates were, or at least seemed, in favour of agricultural protection.

c). Other National Issues

Like the Budgetary proposals, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was made an issue in the constituencies, the repercussions of which were beginning to be felt by 1841 and had cost the Whigs a previously secure seat in Nottingham at the by-election of that year.⁽³⁵⁾

In County Durham, the introduction of fourteen Poor Law Unions between 1836 and 1837, had met with little resistance owing to the relative prosperity of the region, the small number of able-bodied

paupers residing there and the moderation with which the provisions of the Poor Law were applied. In the 1830 s, the residents of the workhouses, largely the helpless poor, received relatively humane treatment and generous diet, and there was no attempt to use the workhouse system to deter applications for relief. However, the efficient and generous running of the system was to decline during the 1840 s, when economic depression and increasing unemployment combined to harden the implementation of the Poor Law in the county. Stringent economy measures, refusal to afford relief to many able-bodied paupers, the reduction of individual relief payments, economy measures in the workhouses, now seen as deterrents, and the unscrupulousness and incompetence of many of the staff, led to much suffering and opposition to a system which had been relatively popular in the previous decade.⁽³⁶⁾

By 1841, the beginning of the recession, rising unemployment and increasing pauperism were only beginning to be felt, and its implications in terms of poor relief not yet fully apparent, although Farrer, as a Conservative, was quick to set himself up as the challenger of an oppressive Whig measure. The Durham Advertiser naturally supported this role, reporting in emotive terms, his meeting with two aged women from Stockton workhouse, who presented him with a token of their gratitude for devoting his talents to the amelioration of their condition.⁽³⁷⁾ However, the Liberal handbill entitled 'The Poor Man's Friend', was equally quick to pour scorn on the tale, claiming that there was only one aged female pauper in the workhouse, and that she was confined to her bed.⁽³⁸⁾

Bowes and Vane inevitably took the stand that, although the Poor Law needed modification for which they were in favour, it had been brought about from the best of motives and had been supported by both parties, not just by the Whigs, who were not culpable for its abuse.

Bowes, in his nomination speech, upheld the need for 'great amendments' in the measure and for relaxation in the restrictions on

outdoor relief to the infirm and aged poor, pointing out that, in any event, the proportion of outdoor to indoor relief in Darlington lay at 4:1. He agreed with those who claimed that there was no real need for the Poor Law in the North East, but as it had been felt advisable to place the country under one uniform system, he was prepared to uphold it, particularly as it had not been enforced with severity in South Durham. He emphasised his desire to prevent the separation of the aged poor from their wives and children and at all times demonstrated that he was not a strong advocate of the Poor Law as it stood.⁽³⁹⁾

Vane was much more overtly in favour of the Poor Law Amendment Act which 'was thought necessary to meet a great and extensive evil which was generally admitted to be so', although denouncing the harsh clauses.⁽⁴⁰⁾

However, although according to Thackeray the Poor Law issue, like the rural police was one of 'great hatred amongst the people',⁽⁴¹⁾ no candidate produced an alternative policy with which to win support and all promised beneficial reform, merely paying lip service to the subject without making it into a decisive issue. Indeed, all the evidence confirms that the full implications of the hardening of the system had not yet been felt.

Similarly, although Thackeray in his satire made a feature of the hostility felt by many towards the new police force as supposed instruments of tyranny, no mention was made to it in the election speeches of the candidates and the involvement of the police in the actual election proved ineffectual and even somewhat humiliating.⁽⁴²⁾

Neither were religious issues made a significant feature of the election campaign, notwithstanding the inevitable professions in favour of religious liberty by the Liberal candidates, whilst advocating their own personal adherence to the established church in order to win the support of all persuasions, Nonconformists, Roman Catholics and Anglicans alike. Thus Vane announced:-

I have declared myself everywhere a most zealous advocate of religious freedom. Although I am, myself, an attached member of the Church of England, still I think it is my duty to give others the same full liberty of conscience which I claim for myself. (applause) I do not think that religious opinion should have any influence in civil affairs. (43)

whilst upholding, like Farrer, his 'strong attachment to the institution of the country, both in church and state'. (44)

However, although little was said about religion during the campaign, religious factors were important in the way that those of strong religious persuasion, especially the clergy, cast their votes. (45)

The Secret Ballot was one of the few clear-cut issues in the South Durham election, with Bowes coming out openly in its favour, in agreement with Lord Harry Vane and in direct opposition to Farrer. However, although Bowes pointed out that if Farrer wished, as he claimed, to prevent adverse coercion against those anxious to vote for him, he should support the measure, the Conservative Durham Advertiser was equally ready to demonstrate the importance of tied votes to Bowes, and above all to Vane. Once again, although mentioned in keeping the political conventions of the time, this national issue did not seem to cause any stir among the South Durham electors. (46)

d). Local Issues

On a different plane from these national issues, were the local factors which generally proved of considerably more significance to both candidates and electors as Joseph Pease confessed in his resignation speech. (47) Not only did these include the local repercussions of the national measures, such as the effects of a change of the Corn Laws on the agriculture and manufacturing interests of the region, and the fear expressed locally of driving a wedge between the two, (48) but also topics of exclusive importance to the North-east, such as the competitive development of mines, ports and railways.

According to Nossiter, it was the railway question which was the overriding issue of the whole election in South Durham which was, in effect, nothing more than 'a fierce local battle between rival landed and commercial interests for Parliamentary interest over the development of the rail and port communications which would determine who exploited the coal and iron bonanza in the South'.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Its origin lay in the struggles over the Stockton and Darlington railway,⁽⁵⁰⁾ which had been developed originally as a compromise between rival interests which later split, as the Darlington interest built its own port at Middlesborough whilst the Stockton interest developed the Clarence Railway as a direct link between the coalfields and Port Clarence, first used in August 1833. Meanwhile, the Hartlepool railway, running from the Braddyll and the Londonderry pits east of Durham to the new dock at Hartlepool, had become an important factor in the region's economy, transporting over a quarter of the coal in the North-east, and increasing its scope by the addition of the Wingate Junction line to Auckland.

The Hartlepool developers came to blows in a dramatic way with the Stockton interest over the latter's attempt to open up a new port at West Hartlepool in direct competition with the harbour at Hartlepool for, while a bill proposing to extend the Clarence railway to West Hartlepool was in the process of review by Parliament, the Hartlepool interest purchased land needed for the proposed docks in West Hartlepool. However, the Stockton developers had the last laugh, for they not only prevented the Wingate line from crossing theirs without Parliamentary sanction, but also refused to let the Hartlepool contractors on to the land, and in 1847, West Hartlepool harbour was eventually opened, served by an extension of the Clarence Railway.

The 1830's and 1840's were indeed of crucial importance to the development of railways and ports in South Durham and their political

overtones should not be overlooked. Maynard, Londonderry's agent, was convinced that the railway struggle was the main reason for wishing to exclude Pease from Parliament, and, according to Nossiter, although this was achieved by Pease's resignation in 1841, it was the overriding motive for Londonderry's attempt to influence the South Durham election of that year.⁽⁵¹⁾

However, although the controversies over railway expansion were of great significance and the rival interests of Pease, Londonderry, Eldon and their allies were involved in the campaign, it would be misleading to construe the whole election merely in railway terms.

It is true that private Parliamentary Acts could, and did, make or break schemes for railway development, well illustrated by the failure of Edward Pease to get the original bill for the Stockton-Darlington railway passed in 1818 and its obstruction by Parliamentary opposition until 1821 when George Stephenson wrote to congratulate Pease on his success, offering his services in surveying and marking out the line 'within the limits prescribed by the Act of Parliament'.⁽⁵²⁾ Here, we see clearly the importance of Parliamentary legislation, not only in determining the existence or not of a new railway, but closely defining the bounds within which the development must fall. Thus a representative in Parliament, with the persistence and power to force through private bills was crucial to the railway interests, but was it not as essential for passing private bills for other projects? Surely, Bowes, who had no direct involvement in the expansion of the contested railway lines, wished equally for a Parliamentary voice? Thus it is unwise to equate the whole election with one local issue, however important.

Similarly, if the situation of the North-eastern Railways had reached such a critical stage as Nossiter suggests, would not Pease have stood again for Parliament in order to defend his crucial interest in the Darlington railway? Although complaining of 'fatigues and

responsibilities' to which he claimed to be unequal and appealing to his 'personal and home duties' ⁽⁵³⁾ as reasons for his resignation, would not he have put these aside if the fate of the railways, around which issue the election was supposed to revolve, lay in the balance? It is highly unlikely, in such a case, that he would entrust the task of defending them to any of the three candidates of 1841, none of whom professed or held much of a personal interest in the topic, although their patrons did.

On a more concrete basis, an examination of canvass and pollbooks seems to confirm that this issue was not the foremost factor in voting patterns in 1841, at least at a lower level. If it was foremost, one would expect the shareholders in the different railways to vote along the same lines as their fellows, dictated to them by the vested interests in that company. Indeed the canvassing agents believed that this was a possibility, noting that in the town of Stockton voters were 'chiefly shareholders in the Clarence Railway' and that William Wood of 53 Threadneedle Street, London was 'a Conservative but connected with the Clarence Railway company' ⁽⁵⁴⁾

However, Mr. Smith, Secretary to the Clarence Railway, when applied to by Bowes' agent, Pulman for guidance on how the shareholders would vote, declared 'Whigs and Tories' to be equal, whilst Small one of the principal shareholders in asking for Bowes' intended policy towards the Clarence Railway for the sake of two or three shareholders who were withholding their decision until they knew Bowes' sentiments, declared that to him and to others, it was immaterial whether Bowes were 'friend or foe to it' ⁽⁵⁵⁾ Bowes did not even reply to Small, despite his three letters on the subject and the fact that Farrer had promised a favourable policy towards the Clarence, thinking to win votes. However, it seems that although some may have voted for Farrer as professed friend of the Clarence, not all the shareholders followed the same voting pattern, for as the Poll Book for Stockton shows, out of a total of twenty-four

electors qualified by their shares in the Clarence railway, nine voted for Bowes and Vane, one split on Bowes and Farrer, one on Vane and Farrer and thirteen plumped for Farrer.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Although Farrer did in fact poll a majority, the real significance of this result is to show that the shareholders were by no means unanimous in their vote, and thus the railway issue cannot have been all-important to the electors.

Trade and industry, the rivalry between Stockton and Darlington and between protectionists and free traders were all to some extent involved in the election issues, but ultimately voting patterns seem to follow the lead of landlord or employer so that, for instance, the trading interests of Hartlepool were subjugated to the wishes of the Duke of Cleveland.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Thus it was only at this level that local issues were decisive.

e). Conclusion

Such were the issues bandied about by candidates, supporters, newspaper reports and handbills, the local ones receiving surprisingly little attention, whilst the national ones received exhaustive treatment, albeit with little discussion. But how important were they? With the exception of the Corn Laws which caused considerable debate among small cliques in Darlington and Stockton and a few voters expressing individual opinions, the national issues seem to hold little importance to the majority of the electorate, whilst the local ones meant more, but had dubious political significance except at a high level.

In every nineteenth century election a misleading degree of emphasis was placed on the importance of issues and of political opinion, since it was considered socially unacceptable to make overt admission of the importance of influence and treating, and thus speeches, pamphlets and manifestos concerning the politics of the day appear, from the newspaper reports and such like, to have been all important. In practice, such

public declarations were usually drowned by the music of rival bands, the hisses of rival supporters and other disruptions, and of those who did manage to hear, few understood, if we can believe Thackeray:-

Not twenty persons of the thousands who heard this gentleman, understood his talk, and not one cared for it. At a borough election, such expositions of principles might possibly be useful; but here among the farmers, pink and green are the only points and reasoning quite supererogatory. (58)

CHAPTER 3 - ISSUES

1. For national background see:-

B. Kemp, 'The General Election of 1841', History xxvii, (1952), pp.146-157;

R.H. Cameron, 'The Melbourne Administration, the Liberals and the Crisis of 1841', Durham University Journal (N.S.) (1976), pp.83-102;

N. Gash, Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics, 1832-1862, (1965);

J. Prest, Lord John Russell, (1972);

Lucy Brown, The Board of Trade and the Free Trade Movement, 1830-1842, (1958)

For a contemporary Tory view see:-

J.W. Croker, 'The Budget and the Dissolution', Quarterly Review, 1841.

2. Gash, Reaction, pp.1-2, 174.

3. Prest, Lord John Russell, pp.65, 153, 108-110.

4. Prest, Lord John Russell, cp VI-X.

5. Gash, Reaction, p.177.

6. Ibid; Lucy Brown, The Board of Trade, p.219

7. Lucy Brown, The Board of Trade, pp.148, 70-75, 220-224; P.P. 1840, v, (601)

8. The Durham Advertiser, 28 May 1841;

Croker, 'The Budget and the Dissolution', Quarterly Review, 1841.

9. Gash, Reaction, p.164; Lucy Brown, The Board of Trade, p.221.

10. Lucy Brown, The Board of Trade, p.224;

Cameron, Durham University Journal, pp.98, 101.

11. For an exposition of the arguments for and against the lowering of duties and the vested interests affected, see Lucy Brown, The Board of Trade, pp.141-213.

12. The Durham Advertiser, 9 July 1841.

13. See Lucy Brown, The Board of Trade, pp.185-190;
P. Burroughs, The Canadian Crisis and British Colonial Policy
(1972), pp.1-7.
14. The Durham Advertiser, 9 July 1841; See also Lucy Brown, The Board of Trade, pp.185-194.
15. The Durham Advertiser, 9 July, 1841.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Kemp, History (1952), p.151.
19. The Durham Advertiser, 2 July, 1841; D/St/169/21.
20. The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841.
21. The Durham Advertiser, 9 July 1841.
22. Ibid.
23. The Durham Advertiser, 6 August 1847.
24. D/St/169/28; See also cp.7.
25. D/St/169/27; The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841; The Durham Advertiser, 9 July 1841; D/St/170/135.
26. The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841; However, Bowes later relaxed his views on protective duties (See Appendix II) and supported Peel's revision of the Corn Laws, 1842 and his repeal of them in 1846; Commons Division Lists, 1842, 1846; House of Commons Journal, xcvi, 1842; ci, 1846.
27. The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841.
28. D/St/169/24.
29. D/St/170/36.
30. D/St/171/185.
31. The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841;
The Durham Advertiser, 9 July 1841.
32. The Durham Advertiser, 16 July 1841.
33. Cf. Vane's declaration in 1847 that although he had been previously against total repeal, he had changed his opinion in favour of total

repeal after 1842, The Durham Advertiser, 6 August 1847.

He supported Peel's revision of the Corn Laws in 1842 and his repeal of them in 1846; Commons Division Lists, 1842, 1846; House of Commons Journal, xcvi 1842; ci 1846.

34. See cp 7; Cf. N McCord and P.A. Wood, 'The Sunderland Election of 1845', Durham University Journal (1959-60), p.19.
35. Cameron, Durham University Journal (1976), p.94;
Cf. N.McCord, 'The Implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act on Tyneside', International Review of Social History, xiv (1969) pp.90-108.
36. P.Dunkley, 'The "Hungry Forties" and the New Poor Law: A Case Study', Historical Journal, xvii, 2 (1974), pp.329-346.
37. The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841
38. Glamis Mss., Box 186, Bundle 2, 'The Poor Man's Friend'.
39. The Durham Advertiser, 9 July 1841.
40. Ibid.
41. Thackeray, Notes, p.416.
42. Thackeray, Notes, pp.417, 419; See cp.9 Note (2).
43. The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841.
44. The Durham Advertiser, 9 July 1841.
45. See cp. 7.
46. The Durham Advertiser, 9 July 1841.
47. Darlington Library, U415C, 'To the Electors of the Southern Division of the County of Durham', 1841.
48. D/St/Box 159 W. Leng to Bowes, 10 June 1841;
F. Mewburn to Bowes, 12 June 1841;
T.Kilburn to Bowes, 12 June 1841.
49. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, p.65
50. For railway background see:-
R.S. Abley, The Byers Green Branch (1975);
W.W. Tomlinson, The North Eastern Railway (1914);

C.J. Allen, The North Eastern Railway (1967);

K. Hoole, A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain:
IV The North East, (1965);

K. Hoole, Forgotten Railways: North East England (1973)

Darlington Library Mss. Pease papers, including U415E

51. D/LO/C 132/2/6; Nossiter Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, pp.65-66; Cf. Londonderry's opposition to the Clarence Railway, House of Lords, 3 May 1836, Hansard, 3rd series, xxxiii, pp.511-514.
52. Darlington Library Mss., U415, No. 1, 28 April 1821.
53. See note (47).
54. D/St/Box 172 Canvass sheet for Stockton;
D/St/171/268 ix;
Poll book, 1841, p.38. Wood did plump for Farrer.
55. D/St/171/191; D/St/171 Box 159 Letters from J. Small to Bowes,
28 June, 3 July 1841.
56. Poll book, 1841, pp.27-38.
57. See cp. 7.
58. Thackeray Notes, p.421; Cf. McCord and Wood, Durham University
Journal, (1959-60) p.11.

CHAPTER 4 - EXPENSESa). Total Cost

Although John Bowes informed his chief agent, Thomas Wheldon, that 'I am determined that I will put some bounds to expense this time if I have a contest',⁽¹⁾ his optimism proved unfounded for the election cost him about £11,000,⁽²⁾ whilst Lord Harry Vane was forced to expend in the region of £14,000 to secure his seat.⁽³⁾ For, however enlightened and independent the English electorate of the post-Reform period was supposed to be, it regarded the franchise as a financial asset which inevitably brought certain prerogatives with it, in lavish entertainment and over-generous compensation for expenses, if not direct bribes or cash payments, and this treating, when combined with the official and necessary election costs, brought the outgoings into the thousands.⁽⁴⁾

Although many, including the drafters of the Bill, expected the Reform Act to result in a reduction of election costs, enabling men of lesser means to stand for Parliament in fact it had the reverse effect, in widening and clarifying the franchise and therefore, also, the extent of the expected gifts and entertainment, whilst leaving intact the social traditions which ensured the upper class origins of the majority of Members of Parliament.⁽⁵⁾ Candidates had to be of sufficient social standing to prove their worthiness to represent their constituencies and their ability for independent action, whilst the absence of salaries, the long and expensive stays in London during Parliamentary sessions and the thousands of pounds expended on the election itself reinforced this situation.⁽⁶⁾

It is doubtful whether financial means alone could have secured a seat, for other factors such as local standing and influence were of decidedly more importance, but they were, nevertheless, essential, especially for a 'stranger' to the constituency for, as Fitzroy wrote to Londonderry in relation to Farrer's chances in Durham, 'the opinion

here is that he has a fair prospect of success - but he will have to pay heavily'.⁽⁷⁾

What, then, were the 'necessary' expenses?

b). Official Expenses

Firstly, there were the official expenses⁽⁸⁾ of polling booths, clerks, Sheriff and such like, which were shared by agreement between the three candidates. The Sheriff's official bill for the election⁽⁹⁾ came, in total, to £724. 1s. 3½d., of which £241. 7s. 1d. was to be paid by each candidate, with an additional 5 guineas for the successful candidates as the fee for their return. This bill included the expenses of fifteen polling clerks, for their transport and attendance at the polling places, from three to six guineas each, of the fifteen deputy sheriffs appointed to supervise at £21 each and of undersheriffs and sheriffs' clerks. In addition there was the cost of poll books, lists and other stationery, postage, placards, the drawing up of documents, the hiring of rooms for the poll and the construction of polling booths.

For example, £10 was paid to Mr. Kitching for the use of a foundry and to Mr. Brodie for the use of a coach house as polling places, whilst the Reverend J. Good received £12. 10s. 'for the use of the National Schoolroom,repair in forms etc. and schoolmasters remuneration'. John Hutchinson was given £1. 10s. 'as a recompense for the injury he sustained in consequence of the obstruction to his shop caused by the erection of the hustings', whilst Mr. Thompson received £5 for the hire of his schoolroom and for the damage it sustained. However, it is pleasing to note, amidst all this vision of debris, that the housekeeper of the Savings Bank was rewarded with £1 'for her trouble in cleaning the rooms after polling'.⁽¹⁰⁾

However, it would be a mistake to take this as the final figure for official expenses, since ad hoc arrangements were made outside the formal shrieval organisation. As Wooler informed Thomas Wheldon on

9 January 1842, in enclosing the above bill, ' by the agreement with the agents of the respective candidates, it was arranged that each candidate should erect his own polling booth at Stockton, to pay the expense and not draw upon the general fund in the Sheriff's hands',⁽¹¹⁾ this 'general fund' being the pooled deposits of £200 paid by each candidate.⁽¹²⁾

Therefore it is impossible to calculate the exact cost of the official arrangements, but it was probably at most, £450 each, if the whole deposit of £200 was used in addition to the amount paid to the Sheriff, and therefore it accounted for less than 5% of the total cost.⁽¹³⁾

Of greater consequence, was the expense of the registration of voters and of contesting the qualification to the franchise of rivals, whilst upholding that of one's own supporters. Each voter had to give notice of his claim to the overseer of the parish where the relevant property was situate who, if satisfied would enter his name on the official register on receipt of one shilling.⁽¹⁴⁾ Despite the potential privileges and profits ensuing from the possession of the franchise, many qualified voters would not go to the expense and trouble of registration, and therefore it was in the interests of the candidates to do so by paying the fee and the costs incurred, as confirmed by a bill for Bishop Auckland registration expenses.⁽¹⁵⁾ In addition the process of filing notices of objection against opponents and taking or defending cases in the Revising Barrister's Courts, could be a considerable drain on financial resources and was directly responsible for the formation of Registration Associations.⁽¹⁶⁾

In theory, the official expenses were limited by Act of Parliament which, for example, laid down a maximum of £40 for each polling place and one guinea a day for each clerk,⁽¹⁷⁾ but, in practice it was the agreement between the three candidates themselves which determined the actual payments, enabling the polling clerks in this election to

receive between three and six guineas each per day and the deputy sheriffs, fifteen guineas,⁽¹⁸⁾ although even these limits were no doubt exceeded.

c). Unofficial Expenses

Even the unofficial outgoings,⁽¹⁹⁾ namely for refreshing and recompensing the expenses of electors and the employment of bands, bannermen, runners and bellringers were subject to the limits set by mutual agreement between the candidates, although, once again, the figures laid down were not always strictly observed.

(i) Refreshment. The 'agreement entered into by the agents of the three candidates at Darlington' on 3 July 1841⁽²⁰⁾ laid down that the expenses of refreshment and conveyance of all electors who divided their votes was to be split equally between the candidates for whom they polled 'according to a scale to be fixed upon' by the candidates' agents.

For defraying such expenses each candidate was to deposit £700 in the Darlington District Stock Bank which fund, if insufficient, was to be supplemented by the candidates. The document then went on to specify the terms of the provision of refreshment, proving conclusively that this type of treating had become not merely politically necessary but also widely acknowledged and regulated. One person on behalf of each candidate was to be posted in each poll booth to give refreshment vouchers to electors who had voted for their candidate, and these vouchers were to be exchanged in the Ticket Room for tickets which would then be traded for food and drink.⁽²¹⁾ An example of a printed voucher demonstrates this process,⁽²²⁾

VOUCHER TICKET FOR REFRESHMENT			
No. 2077	B	V	F
Mr. John Cousin	-	-	
<p>This ticket is to be given to the Voter after he has polled, who must take it to the Ticket Room of the Committee of either of the candidates for whom he has voted, and receive his Refreshment Ticket there.</p>			

whilst the ticket, itself⁽²³⁾ was addressed to the innkeeper and had to be authorised by the finance committee:-

Ticket
No. _____
on Register
Let the Bearer Mr. _____
have refreshment as per agreement.
_____ Ticket Agent.

or the alternative form:-

Ticket
_____ No. To Mr. _____ Inn
_____ Name
Entertain the bearer

It is important to note that no amount is mentioned on the tickets, thus leaving them open to abuse, particularly by the publican who welcomed the increase in trade brought by the election and was tempted not only to exceed the rates laid down in the agreement but also to provide refreshment without authorisation, which the candidates rarely dared to dishonour, fearing loss of influence the next time that they required support.

Thus Thomas Harrison wrote an angry, scrappy and undated note to Wheldon, 'Do you allow Potts in his drunken moments to give drink away

in Mr. Bowes' name? He gave between 20/ and 30/ last night at the Black Bull - snub him - a silly dog'.⁽²⁴⁾ Similarly, Charlton Elliot reported that William Raine, a publican at Crook claimed that the Witton Committee had told him that the electors were 'to have what they wished and not limited',⁽²⁵⁾ whilst Wilson and Faber tried to justify the situation from the publican's point of view, in this case, Palphramand, an innkeeper at Stockton:

It is all very fine in theory to tell an innkeeper during the warmth of a hotly contested election that he is only to provide for so many voters, but we have lived long enough to know that even a candidate himself, much less an innkeeper cares not to refuse an unpolled voter any quantity of refreshment. As with most of your gentlemen who require so much refreshing, the step from Liberalism to Conservatism is so very short that a few glasses of grog may turn a flaming Liberal into a staunch Tory!⁽²⁶⁾

Thus, although the candidates went to the extent of causing the publicans of Bishop Auckland to sign a pledge to 'take no advantage of any arrangements that may be made by the respective candidates' regarding refreshment of the Bishop Auckland electors after the poll, the tickets for such refreshment not to exceed seven shillings, such attempts at limitation were to prove futile.⁽²⁷⁾

Similarly, in the agreement of 3 July 1841⁽²⁸⁾ strict arrangements were laid down for the regulation of refreshment. In theory tickets were only to be given to those residing outside the polling district, who were allowed seven shillings to obtain food and drink for themselves with an additional seven shillings if they rode their own horses and four shillings should they need to stay the night.

Those arriving by horse from within the polling district were to be allowed five shillings for their horses, but it was specifically stated that no refreshment tickets were to be given to voters resident in the polling town. However this last clause was not observed since in practice every voter could receive a ticket⁽²⁹⁾ and a further, undated agreement between the candidates seems tacitly to acknowledge

this, declaring that the candidates' representatives should give vouchers to 'any voter who wishes'.⁽³⁰⁾

The modification of the 3 July agreement in Bishop Auckland, moreover stressed the need to ensure that only those polled received vouchers and insisted on the filing of lists by name of party as future evidence of the tickets issued.⁽³¹⁾

(ii) Travelling Expenses

The other main area of regulated expenditure was that of travelling expenses of outvoters.⁽³²⁾ The agreement of 3 July,⁽³³⁾ as we have seen, included the allowance of five shillings for voters riding their own horses from within the district and seven shillings for those from outside and four shillings for an overnight stay. In addition, special arrangements were made for London voters, who according to a memorandum, also of 3 July,⁽³⁴⁾ were to receive £12 whilst anyone residing 'elsewhere' should be given 'sufficient to cover his expenses', leaving a loophole for overgenerous claims, if not outright dishonesty.⁽³⁵⁾ However, an examination of the many travelling expense accounts in the Strathmore collection reveals that, generally, the payments were fairly standard at five or seven shillings for local people, with outvoters receiving amounts in proportion to the distance travelled. Thus Joseph Willis of Aberdeen was given £11. 2s. for his journey, whilst the majority of the London voters received between £6 and £15 each.⁽³⁶⁾

In addition, the candidates provided chaises, phaetons, coaches and horses and gigs for the transportation of electors to the poll, the charges for which were divided between candidates in the case of split votes as recorded in a series of bills amounting to £415. 3s. 6d. to be halved between Vane and Bowes.⁽³⁷⁾

The payment of travelling expenses was vital for securing votes since most outvoters would not stir themselves to make the journey to exercise their rights without due recompense, for example James Gumbridge of 42, Poland Street, London 'says he will not leave Town

unless he has £20', whilst a later canvass sheet noted that he would plump for Bowes, 'but must be paid for it - cannot be depended upon'.⁽³⁸⁾ Even those more local insisted that they should not stand the cost themselves and, as George Hardcastle wrote to Thomas Wheldon from Sunderland, 27 June 1841, outstanding debts were a political liability, for George Thompson claimed to be out of pocket for travelling expenses at the last election and 'cannot be brought up unless his arrears are paid'.⁽³⁹⁾

(iii) Other Expenses

Quite apart from the necessary expenditure on the conveyance and refreshment of voters, were the apparently more frivolous outgoings on such items as banners, bells, bands and ribbon. However, as Dean advised Wheldon, although he would keep strict accounts, they 'must not be shabby in the face of our gentlemanly friends up street',⁽⁴⁰⁾ whilst Rymer was most emphatic that arrangements would have to be made to effect for Mr. Bowes 'as imposing an entrance as possible' into Darlington.⁽⁴¹⁾ A show of magnificence was thus expected of the candidates to demonstrate their wealth, generosity and worthiness to represent their constituents, as well as to provide an enjoyable and entertaining spectacle to the populace.⁽⁴²⁾ It also promoted publicity, since the papers devoted a considerable amount of space to the detailed description of such events.

Ribbons and rosettes were handed out freely at an average of approximately 2s. per rosette and 2d. to 1ld. a yard for ribbon,⁽⁴³⁾ and it is clear that the pressure for such outlays came from the manufacturers and recipients rather than the candidates, as Charles Walker wrote to Wheldon from Stockton concerning a questioned draper's bill:

During the canvass, complaint was made that little or none ribbon had been given to the voters and a wish having been expressed by Capt. Dinsdale and others that the same should be procured, I went to

the above shop [Messrs. Elliott of Hartlepool] and got a few yards for the voter's wife in whose house we had visited and other ribbon in the course of the morning....[on returning in the afternoon] I found the shop full of suppliants (Fishermen's wives and others) for ribbon and learnt that ribbon had been given to them....they [Messrs. Elliott] stated that they were compelled to give the women ribbon in consequence of their importunities and refusing to go away unless some was given to them.(44)

Obviously, allowance must be made for exaggeration by the drapers to justify the bill for which they eventually took legal action against Charles Walker,⁽⁴⁵⁾ but the general demand for ribbons is supported by other accounts such as Thackeray's description of Bouncer's (Farrer's) canvass.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In addition, there were banners and flags to be made bearing such mottos as in Thackeray's Stuffington (Darlington) "Britton (Bowes) and Independence", "Britton, the Farmer's Friend", "Britton the Good Landlord", "God Save the Queen", "Corn, Colonies and Commerce" and other apophthegms.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The bannermen who held these standards had to be paid and refreshed, and compensated for the damage suffered in the course of their duty as a memorandum of 23 June illustrates:

Munday one coler Destroyed by the Reds.
 Tho^s Wallas Coate tore of his Back and Destroy'd
 Wm Waistle Hat lost
 Wm Scarlet Black Silk Ankerchief lost and shirt
 torne to peacies with protecting his coler
 Ed Johnson hat lost 5/-
 W Waistle " " 5/-
 Tho^s Wallace coat 10/-
 Wm Scarlett Handkf & shirt 8/- (48)

The bandsmen similarly expected not only payment for their services at between 15s. and £1 7s. 6d. per person per day as the account with the Bowes Band of 23 June illustrates,⁽⁴⁹⁾ but also to be well supplied with ale to which the numerous publicans' bills in the Strathmore collection bear witness. The bands usually comprised an average of twenty players, as in the case of the Bowes and Darlington bands and therefore the total expense of hire of all the numerous bands employed proved substantial, especially when they insisted on payment for time

lost in not playing. Thus the Darlington Band demanded money for Tuesday as well as Monday, 'for although not actually employed on that day, yet we were ordered out by Mr. Bragg - and kept in waiting the whole day', making a total of £119 10s. Od., a considerable sum.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The bellringers also required payment and refreshment⁽⁵¹⁾ as did runners, messengers, postboys, ostlers, coachmen and all other assistants employed during the election, not only to forward the campaign but also to win support by the provision of temporary employment.⁽⁵²⁾

Broadsheets, handbills and songs added to the festival and theatrical atmosphere of the election, as well as providing an easily digestible form of propaganda, the titles of some illustrated by a printers bill of 19th July 1841:

	£ s. d.
500 songs "Here's a health to him that is true"	- 7. 6.
" " "Wandering Jammie"	- 7. 6.
500 paper ribbons "Bowes for Ever"	-12. 6.
" songs "Farrer you're not wanted"	- 7. 6.
200 " "Haste awa' Jammie"	- 4. 6.
200 " "Should we forget thee"	- 4. 6. (53)

In addition, Thackeray's more erudite satire, the Firebrand Correspondence was produced in favour of Bowes, although he himself was apparently cynical about the effect of such writings on voters, 'no squib, however witty, or song, however melodious and apt turning the voters one way or other; and so the candidates might have spared a deal of printers' bills'.⁽⁵⁴⁾

There were also various handbills in a more serious vein with such titles as 'What have the Reformed Parliament done?', 'Resolutions of the Central Committee', 'Addresses to Voters' and 'No Coalition' as contained in a Bishop Auckland printer's bill,⁽⁵⁵⁾ in addition to the expenses of entering announcements in the newspapers, particularly the Durham Chronicle and Durham Advertiser.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The Address was circulated to the majority of the local newspapers in order to reach as many potential electors as possible, the Newcastle Courant charging £5.6.0. for printing it in the editions of June 11th,

18th and 25th and July 2.⁽⁵⁷⁾

In addition, the stationery bills included not only paper but also the printing of refreshment vouchers, poll books for canvassing and 'check books' for checking off voters in poll booths.⁽⁵⁸⁾

The expenses of the central and sub committees, including the hire of committee rooms and staff and the fees of law agents before, during and after the election, formed a considerable, yet essential portion of expenditure.⁽⁵⁹⁾

In addition, expenses were paid to those who helped to canvass, for example to John Ford of Brancepeth who claimed for three days canvassing with Shafto on Bowes' behalf since Shafto had told him that he 'should be paid for my trouble'.⁽⁶⁰⁾

After the election itself, the system of employing lawyers to object to unfavourable votes and to defend favourable ones was a great drain on financial resources as William Baty pointed out. Acknowledging that Pulman's idea of employing a young barrister to accompany the revising barrister on his circuit to be a good one, he added, 'but it is rather a serious question whether the fund of the Registration Society yet in embryo will afford the expence'.⁽⁶¹⁾

The legal disputes arising from election bills were even more protracted and costly. For example, the controversy over a bill for ribbons claimed by James Barron of Sedgfield and produced for payment 30 June 1841, lasted until 26 July 1850 when Barron's solicitors, Watson, Wood and Robinson agreed to accept £30 on Barron's behalf although still maintaining that Bowes' committee owed Barron the £50. 3s. 8d. which he had been claiming throughout.⁽⁶²⁾

Similarly, there was a long and heated argument about Palphramand's refreshment invoice.⁽⁶³⁾ The Strathmore papers are full of demands, pleas and legal proceedings for repayment, the failure to honour which could result in lost votes and influence in the future.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Thus Burne

informed Wheldon 24 June 1841:- 'There is a voter which Mr. Kidson wrote to you about, voted for Mr. Bowes, last election and is willing to vote for him again, but he says he never got his expenses allowed him and loss of time, say about 2/- which Burne promised to pay since by that means you secure his vote'.⁽⁶⁵⁾ This letter, in addition, raises the unresolved question of whether voters should be compensated for loss of time, an issue unclear even to the party officials at the time, as Stanton, Bowes' agent in Newcastle admitted.⁽⁶⁶⁾

It is hardly surprising that there is no evidence of direct bribery in the 1841 election, particularly because of the unwisdom of this course in the political climate of the time, a new Bill for the prevention of bribery at elections being under review in Parliament,⁽⁶⁷⁾ and Wheldon feeling it wise to wait to settle the tavern bills until after the meeting of Parliament.⁽⁶⁸⁾ However the Durham Chronicle dismissed 'all such Bills and Election committees in the House' as 'a mere throw of party, perhaps loaded, dice'⁽⁶⁹⁾ and, in fact, direct bribery was probably unnecessary with all the laxity which could be applied to the more acceptable and legal expenses. Thus although James Gumbridge's vote depended on payment, this could have been interpreted as his travelling expenses.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Neither, of course, is there direct evidence of payment for violence or bullying although the newspaper reports, Thackeray and the candidates themselves accused rivals of so doing.⁽⁷¹⁾ However, it is clear that rewards were offered for noise-making as a bill of 10 July records, paying a named group at 1/- per 'booe'.⁽⁷²⁾ In addition, the distribution of ale, not merely to the voters but to the general populace is proved by evidence from various bills, for example the payment for 18 gallons of 'ale to the populace' provided by Isabella Hutchinson of Middleton and supported by Thackeray's writings.⁽⁷³⁾ Compensation for the damage encouraged by such gifts of ale and promises of cash had to be raised by the

candidate's financial committees despite denials of their liability and thus a new hat was provided by Bowes' direction for one of the flagmen whose hat has been torn to pieces when Bowes was canvassing Darlington,⁽⁷⁴⁾ whilst landlords received restitution for breakages in inns, such as the glass broken in the Sun Inn, Darlington.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Then there were celebration dinners to be financed, as well as a consolation one for Farrer,⁽⁷⁶⁾ and money to be collected for the new registration campaign to arm in readiness for the next election.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Thus throughout the whole campaign from conception to fruition, the fulcrum about which all revolved was money, the possession and expenditure of which was essential for success at the polls. Well might Napoleon Putnam Wiggins cry 'O vanitas vanitatum' at the influence of finance on the proceedings,⁽⁷⁸⁾ and Thomas Wheldon in a letter to Pickering of Hedley Hall hope optimistically for a time when such considerations should no longer bear weight:-

it can hardly be expected that candidates for the representation can be expected to squander immense sums of money to no useful purpose in order to obtain a seat in Parliament which according to recent experience may eventually fall into the hands of any man able and willing to waste his money as opportunities arise for doing so. Depend upon it, this evil will remedy itself⁽⁷⁹⁾

CHAPTER 4 - EXPENSES

1. Bowes Museum Mss., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 5 May 1841;
Cf. D/LO/C/132/1/3 - Maynard endeavoured to keep down Londonderry's expenses.
2. Appendix III (Bowes' Election bills excluding agents' bills were at least £10,038 and agents bills at least £952).
3. Appendix IV.
4. D.W. Gwyn, Democracy and the Cost of Politics, (1962), pp.19-20;
N. Gash, Politics in the Age of Peel, 1830-1850, (1960), cp.5;
McCord and Wood, Durham University Journal, (1959-1960), pp.12-13.
5. Gash, Politics, p.106; Gwyn, Democracy, pp.42, 95.
6. Gash, Politics, pp.105-110; Gwyn, Democracy, pp.95-100;
McCord and Wood, Durham University Journal, (1959-60), p.11.
7. D/LO/C/132/3-4; Cf. D/LO/C/132/2/12.
8. For discussion of official expenses of returning officers,
See Gwyn, Democracy, pp.21-28.
9. D/St/170/116iii
10. Ibid
11. D/St/170/116.
12. D/St/171/204.
13. I.e., c.3% Vane's total of c. £14,000, c. 4% Bowes total of £11,000;
Cf. Gwyn, Democracy, p.23. Average cost per candidate in counties =
£100 - £200.
14. See cp. 5 and The County Electors Manual (D/St/Box 166)
15. D/St/170/84; Cf. Londonderry spent c £30 in registration in Durham City alone in 1841, D/LO/C/132/2/13.
16. See cp.5.
17. Gash, Politics, p.113; Gwyn, Democracy, p.21.
18. D/St/170/116iii.
19. For discussion of unofficial expenses see Gwyn, Democracy, p.36.

20. D/St/Box 172, Agreement, 3 July 1841.
21. D/St/171/280.
22. D/St/169/11.
23. D/St/Box 171, Bundle of tickets.
24. D/St/171/56.
25. D/St/171/219ii
26. D/St/170/55
27. D/St/170/132.
28. See note (20).
29. D/St/171/146.
30. D/St/170/132.
31. D/St/170/136.
32. Travelling costs could be very high cf. Gwyn, Democracy, p.499.
33. See note (20).
34. D/St/171/263; D/St/170/120i
35. Gwyn, Democracy, p.65.
36. D/St/169/23; D/St/169 List of London voters.
37. D/St/170/100' D/St/169/23.
38. D/St/Box 172 Canvass sheet; Cf. P.P. 1835, v, p.95.
39. D/St/171/47; see also D/St/171/1.
40. D/St/171/24.
41. D/St/171/198.
42. See cp. 7 note (54).
43. D/St/Box 172. Bundle of bills, Dinsdale and Cooper.
44. D/St/171/227.
45. D/St/171/51
46. Thackeray, Notes, p.413.
 Cf. Gwyn, Democracy, p.41. Ribbons were a significant cost e.g.
 1826 Northumberland Election £6,000 spent on ribbons;
 Cf. A.J. Heeson, 'The Sunderland By Election, September 1841,'
Northern History, ix (1974), p.74.
47. Thackeray, Notes, p.414.

48. D/St/Box 172, memorandum, 23 June 1841.
49. Ibid
50. D/St/Box 172, John Kirton, leader of Darlington Brass Band to Bowes' Finance Committee, with accompanying bill, 13 July 1841.
51. e.g. D/St/V735 Bellringing alone cost fl 10s. in Sedgefield.
52. Gwyn, Democracy, pp.41, 64.
53. D/St/171/269xi.
54. Thackeray, Notes, P.421.
55. D/St/171/84
56. D/St Box 172 Newspaper bill, 3 July 1841.
57. D/St/ Box 172 Newspaper bill, 2 July, 1841; Farrer's address was also printed in the national, London based Tory papers such as The Standard 18 June, 1841.
58. E.g. D/St/170/127.
59. See cp. 5; Appendix III & IV; Farrer maintained committee rooms in London as well, The Standard, 21 June 1841.
60. D/St/170/72.
61. D/St/171/247.
62. D/HH/H 3872-5, 3869-71, 3876-86.
63. D/St/169/19; D/St/170/55; D/St/171/182; D/St/171/217.
64. D/St/Box 172 Burnett to Wheldon, 25 Nov. 1841;
D/St/171/259.
65. D/St/171/9.
66. D/St/171/121.
67. The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841.
68. D/St/V731, Wheldon to William Baley, 3 August 1841.
69. The Durham Chronicle, 11 June 1841.
70. See note (38); Gwyn, Democracy, pp.64-65; see cp.6 note (48).
71. E.g. The Durham Chronicle, 2 July 1841; Thackeray, Notes, p.415.
72. D/St/170/86.

73. D/St/170/86; See also D/St/Box 172 John Dixon's bill; Thackeray, Notes, p.417.
74. D/St/171/270 see also note (48).
75. D/St/170/85; D/St/Box 172, Wilson's bill, Sun Inn, Darlington, 8 July 1841.
76. Thackeray, Notes, p.427; The Durham Advertiser, 16 July & 13 August, 1841.
77. The Durham Advertiser, 16 July 1841.
78. Thackeray, Notes, p.414.
79. D/St/v731 Wheldon to Pickering, 14 October 1842; Cf. Gwyn, Democracy, pp.89-92.

CHAPTER 5 - ORGANISATION

The management of the 1841 election on behalf of the Liberal candidates exemplified the rudimentary political organisation of the traditional, pre-Reform type, relying on the candidates' estate agents to mobilise the electorate with the assistance of ad hoc committees chosen only after the possibility of a contest arose.

a) Agents

Bowes' campaign for the 1841 election, as in 1832, emanated from the activity of his chief agent, Thomas Wheldon to whom he delegated his authority and to whom he wrote as early as 5 May:-

I suspect the Government will be beat on Friday on the sugar Duties - whether Peel comes in or not a dissolution must take place before the end of the year. I have had a hint privately that the Tories have been trying to get up an opposition in South Durham, hitherto without success. I think you had better if you please keep your ears open on this subject, and as I consider myself bound to stand (though much against my will) whatever may happen; I would be much obliged by your turning over in your mind what steps might be taken as to agents etc in the event of my being suddenly called into action.(1)

A month later, on 8 June, Bowes could write that things were in 'fighting order', although Vane was still not prepared and Bowes suspected that his own committees would consist of 'very different people to those we had with us before'.(2)

Thomas Wheldon's letter book demonstrates the way in which Bowes' orders were substantiated and carried into effect.(3)

Although not certain of the likelihood of a contest, Wheldon wrote to potential agents on 5 June, offering them a retaining fee (of £5 5s.) which they could accept or refuse.(4) Agents were selected from the personal acquaintances and schoolfellows of Wheldon himself such as Kidson for Sunderland, friends of Bowes such as Spark, tenants such as Lawson, those recommended by influential persons such as Crawhall and those with the ability to influence others such as Rymer, representative of the Methodists, Wooler, Russell's man of business and Stagg's son-in-law,

because 'his father and father in law will appreciate the compliment',⁽⁵⁾
 But while many were pleased by the offer of a retainer, others refused to accept, either through conviction like Thomas Bell of Hartlepool, previous commitment to another candidate like William Hodgson of Staindrop, already engaged for Vane, or through prior knowledge of the hard work and lack of recompense of which the agents who accepted complained repeatedly. 'Electioneering services (which are certainly of the most irksome and disagreeable nature) are less amply remunerated than the more common and easy duty of an attorney's practice', bemoaned John Garwood after the election, in 1842.⁽⁶⁾

Wheldon then wrote to Bowes with an outline of his proposed network of agents on 8 June, although his original plan had to undergo some modification⁽⁷⁾, and on the same day, informed Fairbank, one of the agents in Darlington, of Bowes imminent arrival at Streatlam, having ascertained the certainty of Lord Dungannon's standing. Indeed by the next day a contest seemed unavoidable and thus it was time 'to buckle on your armour and look about you' as he told Stanton.⁽⁸⁾

Then, having engaged a sufficient number of agents in each district albeit with some difficulty, Wheldon sent them copies of the election address for distribution, lists of voters and instructions, whilst himself sending copies of the address for publication in the local newspapers.⁽⁹⁾

Wheldon encouraged and assisted in the formation of Bowes' central committee in Darlington, first mentioned in his letter book on 10 June, and of committees elsewhere, most notably Stockton, where he felt the need for fervent activity to be greatest, apologising to Pulman that his assistance was so limited - 'I know your duties must be arduous and I only wish I could get you further professional aid but I fear anything efficient can hardly be obtained'.⁽¹⁰⁾

Although Wheldon warned all his agents to be in readiness for an immediate canvass, he hoped to reach agreement with the other

candidates as to 'when, where and how it is to be carried out by the parties so as to aid each other and not throw unnecessary obstacles in the way' and therefore was most annoyed to find that Lord Harry Vane's people were canvassing around Middleton 'with vigour, without our having the slightest information of anything of the sort being agreed on'.⁽¹¹⁾

In each district a principal agent was appointed to supervise the proceedings under the overall direction of Wheldon, their main duties being the registration of voters, the printing and distribution of election manifestos, the hiring of rooms, officials and assistants, attendance at meetings of electors, the formation of district committees and the return of reports on their progress and, most important of all, arrangement of the canvass, transport, treating, polling of voters as the accounts of William Rymer well illustrate.⁽¹²⁾

Their duties certainly do appear to have been arduous, Ornsby pointing out that on 29 June they were canvassing at Croft Bridge as late as 11 p.m. having commenced work at 9 a.m., that 21 June, when at a 'late hour in the evening' a committee had been formed at Darlington, albeit with great difficulty, had been 'a most harrassing and fatiguing day' and that on 25 June he had journeyed to Sedgefield, Bishopton and Little Stainton despite the fact that 'It rained incessantly the whole of this day and I believe no other agent of any party was out'.⁽¹³⁾ Indeed their duties varied from the routine task to the important mission, from the postage of a parcel to liaison with the Anti Corn Law Deputation as a study of their accounts and correspondence clearly illustrates.⁽¹⁴⁾

Wheldon himself, throughout the campaign and polling, initiated, coordinated and decided the various election arrangements, in agreement with the agents of the other candidates 'to settle upon some uniform plan for conducting the election',⁽¹⁵⁾ organised Bowes' visits to towns and personal canvass when the latter finally arrived at Streatlam on 11 June⁽¹⁶⁾ and the efforts of his agents to win the support of local landowners such as the Bishop, Dean and Chapter and George Crawhall

(Beaumont's agent), and after the election was over, assisted in the formation of the Registration Association and the resolution of lengthy legal disputes over the payment of bills.⁽¹⁷⁾

b). Committees

The Chief Agent and his subordinates were assisted by district committees, the central one at Darlington and subsidiary ones in the outlying districts such as Stanhope, Sedgefield and, most importantly, Stockton. Sometimes it proved a problem to find personnel willing to man the committees, Ornsby having considerable difficulty in persuading Parker, Pease, Nixon and 'several other parties in Darlington' to serve in view of Bowes stand on the Corn Laws⁽¹⁸⁾ but, as Wheldon wrote to Bowser, 'the arrangement of committees is a very important measure and requires great and instant attention'.⁽¹⁹⁾

Each committee hired a room, usually in an inn, from which to work and although in Stockton there was some confusion caused by the double-dealing of Lord Londonderry who, ironically, secured the Vane Arms for himself,⁽²⁰⁾ there was usually no shortage of offers from publicans who saw the advantages to be gained from the increased custom which such an arrangement brought. Thus Mr. Hunt of Barnard Castle, in offering his House as a committee room, told Wheldon that he would 'feel obliged if it meet with your approbation' whilst Mr. Murray of the Black Lion Hotel, Stockton, begged 'to solicit the honor of your support in making my house your headquarters'.⁽²¹⁾ Sometimes this arrangement proved reciprocal with the publican securing guaranteed votes in return for the advantages he gained, as Crawhall and Roddam pointed out - 'we engaged the house entirely for your supporters. The Farrer party were very anxious to have got it as there are several votes indirectly connected with it.' ⁽²²⁾

The committees' main tasks were the authorisation of election

documents and bills and the discussion and implementation of the election arrangements in alliance with the agents. Some insight into their daily working is provided by Thackeray, albeit 'tongue in cheek':-

[Mr. Thompson] instantly took his seat with a great air of business before piles of papers; but, though being a stranger and anxious to acquire all the information possible about English customs, I attended several of these committees, - I believe it is next to impossible to say in what they were engaged. In the first place honour forbids. In the next, fancy a warm debate of one hour whether John Sorrochs will give his half Vote, or whether his landlord will make him plump on the Pink? - whether Tom Trotter's gig will hold three or four? - how Higgins's men are to come up? and so on. All these matters were deeply discussed in the committee-room, and the electors' list scanned over and over again. (23)

c). Finance Committee

The Finance Committee was a separate entity from the others, supervising expenses during the campaign, but featuring mainly after the election in sorting through election bills, paying those authorised by the agents and committees which were of reasonable proportions and rejecting or modifying those which they considered unacceptable.

There arose some dispute between Bowes and the Finance Committee concerning the powers of the latter, and it reached such a pitch that Weymouth-Hurrell wrote to Wheldon on 21 September 1841 that the committee refused to go into any examination of the accounts until they felt 'at liberty to exercise their own judgement'. Although he urged that the only reason for going through the accounts with them was to be informed of any overcharges in or decided objections to bills, and simply to take their 'sounded opinion' generally upon accounts, Nixon replied that since they would render themselves 'liable to the talk of the town by this step' they would refuse to go into the accounts unless they had the money before them with which to pay the claimants.⁽²⁴⁾

However it appears that a 'modus vivendi' was reached since the bills

were eventually dealt with, although the arguments over challenged amounts continued until at least 1847 when Wheldon declared the election accounts at the bank to be finally 'closed'.⁽²⁵⁾

The accounts and the observations made upon them by the committee show the care with which each detail was checked,⁽²⁶⁾ whilst the lengthy disputes reveal the tenacity with which such decisions were upheld.⁽²⁷⁾

d). Registration Associations

Although the 1841 election campaign was organised on a mainly ad hoc basis in South Durham, it is misleading to ignore the beginnings of the registration organisations there at this albeit early stage in their development.⁽²⁸⁾

As early as December 1837, John Cartwright of Norton could confidently state to Lord Londonderry that 'a Conservative Association is not merely in embryo in Stockton - it is really hatched',⁽²⁹⁾ and although Londonderry had considerable links with it, the Association had its own momentum, as Cartwright soon discovered. When he suggested that the 'right course' would be to request Londonderry to accept the presidency and to appoint three or four of the most 'respectable' of the party to become vice-presidents, he was informed that they had already decided on their own course.⁽³⁰⁾

Thus the Conservative Association was already in existence in South Durham prior to the 1841 election and active in the registration of voters there, although it did come across considerable obstacles in finding a suitable candidate to reap the benefits of the growing and increasingly consolidated Conservative backing, and, according to Maynard, lacked efficient management.⁽³¹⁾

In common with the rest of the country, the Conservative organisation in the North-east was far in advance of that of the Liberals, who were forced to rely solely on the more primitive ad hoc methods of the pre-

Reform era, but as soon as the 1841 election was over, the South Durham Liberals took steps to form their own rival Association. As early as 15 July 1841, Wheldon informed Crawhall of the formation of the so-called Reform Registration Association in Darlington the previous Monday in order to insure the registration of all potential supporters, acknowledging that considerable numbers had been lost from 'inattention to this in former years'. Almost a year later Weymouth Hurrell ordered Burrell to charge an outstanding claim to the Secretary of the Registration Association which was 'formed immediately after the termination of the late election expressly to meet the expences consequent upon the Registration which was near at hand'.⁽³²⁾

e). Registration

The 'raison d'etre' of these newly formed Associations and one of the fundamental aims of the pre-Association election agents was to ensure the registration of all potential supporters of their respective candidate and to exclude as many rivals as possible, denying their right to the poll.

Although the Reform Act of 1832 broadened the franchise, however slightly, it did not automatically enable all qualified electors to vote. In county constituencies, such as South Durham, to vote it was necessary for all who professed a right to the franchise to send a formal claim to their parish overseer who compiled a list of those who registered their names with him. The annual list of claimants, together with the existing list of voters, had to be exhibited in public and could be challenged by anyone who gave notice of his objection to both the overseer and the claimant. The latter could then appeal against the objection to the revising barrister's court and was entitled to costs should the objection prove frivolous or unsupported by the appearance of the objector. This meant that not only did the onus and cost for registration lie with the claimant but also the obligation to insist

upon his right before the revising barrister, if challenged. Similarly, anyone wishing to object to a vote had to initiate the proceedings and stood to lose financially should his claim be deemed unworthy. In addition, there was a fee of 1/- for registration annually renewable on payment of a further 1/- a year if not challenged, and therefore it was far from surprising that due to apathy, indifference or desire to be spared expense, many who had a right to the franchise failed to register and thus lost their vote. This, as we have seen, led to the development of organised movements to encourage registration of supporters, backed by funds made available not only to furnish the necessary fees but also to finance legal disputes over claims and objections.⁽³³⁾

The Liberal Reform Association, for example, was particularly careful to serve notices, signed by Witham as President of the Association, on all whom they wished to exclude from the Register of electors and to play these off against the Conservative party's objections. Thus Garwood wrote to Wheldon from Hartlepool on 21 August 1841, enclosing his notices of objection for signature by Witham, having purposely delayed serving them until the latest moment 'as I see no stir among the Tory party here and am desirous of postponing the attack until the time is past for retaliation'.⁽³⁴⁾

Many lists of objected votes still remain among the Strathmore papers, for example a list of those for Barnard Castle township. This includes 17 votes which the Liberals intended to challenge whilst the Conservatives served notice on as many as 54, presumably in a desperate bid to make progress in this strongly Liberal area in the next election. The main reasons given by both sides for their challenge were insufficient or total lack of interest in the property on which the voter's claim was based, too recent possession or overvaluation of rent or worth. In addition there are four bankrupts, various trustees of the chapel and several whose names appear twice such as John Stubbs of Barnard Castle Moor. However, to complicate matters further, the

Liberals denied the validity of many of the Conservative objections owing to insufficient notice.⁽³⁵⁾

f). Canvassing

Having secured the registration of as many favourable voters as possible, the next task of the election machinery was to ensure that they polled the right way and to win over any doubtful, indifferent or wavering electors by thorough canvassing in one of the following ways, the letters or personal canvass of the candidate himself, and of those of his agents, tenants or helpers.

John Bowes had a standard letter which was posted together with a copy of his election address and read as follows:-⁽³⁶⁾

Sir,
Mr. Farrer having commenced his canvass for the division, I shall feel deeply indebted by the honor of your vote and support at the approaching election and have the honor to remain,

Sir,
Your obedient servant,

John Bowes

Streatlam Castle
21 June 1841.

These letters prompted a large quantity of replies, most favourable although some not, for reasons of policy, party, previous commitment or adverse pressure, although usually these refusals were couched in polite and cautious terms for fear of causing offence.⁽³⁷⁾

Personal canvassing by the candidates was considered of vital importance although at first Bowes seemed doubtful about the idea and Vane tended to try to avoid it.⁽³⁸⁾

However the electors clamoured for a personal appearance for example at Hartlepool whence Garwood wrote:

I cannot urge too forcibly the imperative necessity of Mr. Bowes' immediate appearance in Hartlepool: almost every elector I have seen has asked why he doesn't come....I am quite sure his non appearance is operating to his prejudice.

Whilst Salvin pleaded for a visit by Bowes to Sedgefield since many, such as Wright and his tenant Robinson, 'will not promise, but would do so if seen by Mr. Bowes'.⁽³⁹⁾

Since personal appearance had such an impact, Bowes was anxious to concentrate his attentions on the areas where his support was weakest, such as Stockton and Hartlepool, and thus on 21 June wrote an address to the electors of the more secure area of Barnard Castle, that although he had intended to pay his 'personal respects' to them the next day he was now engaged on an 'active, personal canvass' in the eastern part of the Division 'where is said to be the power and strength of our Tory opponent'. However, even in the Liberal Weardale district, the voters took it amiss that Bowes had not paid them a visit as Helmer declared:

The voters here are most anxious to see Mr. Bowes...
as they consider they have been neglected and I find if he
comes here it will be the means of putting all right.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The agents, themselves spent a considerable amount of time canvassing, often at great personal discomfort, and sent detailed reports to Wheldon on electors' voting intentions, recommending action to secure the support of wavering and apathetic voters.⁽⁴¹⁾

Although in some cases canvassing was not felt worthwhile, as with the tenants of a well known rival landlord, no vote potentially favourable was considered unworthy of attention and thus Helmer told Wheldon that although Blanchland and Edmund Byers were ten miles distant and only contained a maximum of ten voters, Crawhall had sent two canvassers there to try to secure them.⁽⁴²⁾ Even some of those duty-bound to support Farrer were visited in order to try to obtain at least a split vote and Hardcastle, in asking for a list of Sunderland electors declared that he would not like one to be missed and 'where we find a man must vote for the Tory, we obtain the other half of his support for Mr. Bowes'.⁽⁴³⁾

In addition tenants and helpers were employed to assist in the canvass, the latter expecting to be paid for their services.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Agents aimed to canvass the areas where the majority of voters

lived, even as far as London, and there is evidence of links of mutual benefit with agents of candidates of a similar persuasion elsewhere such as Cayley, one of the candidates for the York election, whose agent, Munby, and Chairman of committee, Worsley, wrote to Wheldon begging the latter's 'immediate assistance' in canvassing his neighbourhood on Cayley's behalf, presumably in return for a similar favour for Wheldon.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The main functions of canvassing were providing proof of the accessibility of the candidates to the electorate, winning over doubtful votes, exploiting influence and giving some idea of the strength of support in the various areas and, as it acted as the central pivot of the whole electoral campaign its importance cannot be over-emphasised.⁽⁴⁶⁾

g). Polling

The preparations for polling day included not merely the securing of votes, but also tasks of a more mundane nature such as the provision of polling booths and the staff to man them,⁽⁴⁷⁾ one booth for each candidate at each polling place at his own expense, and the transportation and entertainment of the electors, 'systematic arrangements' for which were agreed upon by the central committee.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Ribbons, banners, bands, processions, food, drink and such like had to be provided to have an 'imposing effect' on both electors and non electors, all of which entailed a considerable degree of organisation and expense.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Even the engagement of a band was not a simple matter and involved not only defeating rival claims by the other candidates, but also entering into formal agreements once their services had been procured, for example George Salkeld's agreement with Bowes' committee to engage the services of the Odd Fellows Brass Band, 22 June 1841:-

I hereby undertake, on behalf of the Odd Fellows Brass Band of Bishop Auckland, to play exclusively for Mr. Bowes

and his party during the present election at the undermentioned rates:-

For playing within the Town of Bishop Auckland 15s. per day

For playing out of the Town of Bishop Auckland 21s. per day

For playing in an evening after six o'clock 5s.

The above prices include all expences.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Runners, postboys and messengers needed to be engaged, fed and paid, particularly in the light of the importance of providing temporary employment in the winning of votes, colourmen and bannermen provided with flags and wages, bellringers procured, accommodation arranged, for example for Thackeray himself.⁽⁵¹⁾

There is no evidence of direct bribery or deliberately organised criminal violence,⁽⁵²⁾ although both newspapers and rivals were naturally anxious to pronounce foulplay, but there is proof of the incitement of disruption and the intentional display of physical strength both to influence the voting behaviour of electors and to prevent rival speeches from being heard and unfavourable votes from being cast.⁽⁵³⁾

All this had to be arranged and implemented as indeed, did the measures to be taken against such behaviour. Thus Joseph Pease was prepared to hire 200 men at his own cost, to prevent his 'being overawed by a venal mob' and the windows of Darlington Town Hall were removed and the building guarded to prevent the intrusion of non electors, whilst Mayor Wemgiss consulted with the magistrates as to providing a 'strong force of rurals', Rymer supposing that 40 or 50 of them would be in attendance on nomination day.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Impersonation and double-voting did occur but it appears not to have been officially organised, the candidates fearing charges of corruption for such practices, although they were quick to claim foulplay against their opponents.⁽⁵⁵⁾

During the election itself, agents tried to manipulate the timing of the polling of their supporters in order to gain the best advantage and to guide the splitting or plumping of votes according to the state

of the poll. Thus Garwood wrote that arrangements were necessary in Stockton 'as to keeping back such as we are sure of, until the second day, until it be seen how the plumpers are to be dealt with' and Wheldon was informed that in Middleton. 'The Duke's Tenants and ours are kept back and have been directed as was requested', although such 'arrangements' were not always possible as Brignal found with the Hart voters.⁽⁵⁶⁾

After the election there was a great deal of clearing up to be done, financial, legal, political and practical. Bills were to be examined, disputed or paid, votes protested against or supported and the damage to property made good.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Thus the role of both agents and committee members in the election was indeed hard and illpaid but the weeks of feverish activity proved worthwhile, at least as far as Bowes and Vane were concerned, and were acknowledged as such by Bowes' father-in-law, Hutt, who told Wheldon, 17 July 1841, that 'the election was well managed, when one knows what a piece of complicated and delicate machinery the election arrangements for a county necessarily are'.⁽⁵⁸⁾

CHAPTER 5 - ORGANISATION

1. Bowes Museum Mss, file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 5 May 1841.
2. Bowes Museum Mss., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 8 June 1841.
3. D/St/v 731.
4. D/St/v 731, 5 June 1841.
5. D/St/v731, 5-9 June 1841.
6. D/St/171/152; D/St/170/33; D/St/170/75.
7. D/St/v731 Wheldon to Bowes, 8 June 1841;

D/St/170/111 [? Final list]:-

Barnard Castle District		- Wheldon
		Richardson
		Helmer
Darlington	"	- Rymer
		Fairbank
		Ornsby
Stockton	"	- Pulman
Hartlepool	"	- Garwood
		[Bilk]
Sedgefield	"	- Ord
Auckland	"	- Bowser
		Heppel
Durham	"	- Burrell
		Hutchinson
Newcastle, Gateshead & Shields		- Stanton
Sunderland		- Kidson
D/St/171/238		
Richmond		- C Tomlin (junior)
Auckland		- Thompson
Durham		- Brignal
Darlington		- Myers
?		- Hepworth

Cf. Vane's agents (D/St/171/271)

Barnard Castle	- Watson
	Barnes
Darlington	- Nixon
	Robinson & Hodgson
	Peacock & Young
Stockton	- Bayley
Hartlepool	- Belke
Auckland	- Trotter
Durham	- Allan
	Marshall
Newcastle	- Harle
	Hoyle
Sunderland	- Robinson
Stokesley	- Sowerby
Stanhope	- Coulthard
Wolsingham	- Bates

8. D/St/v731, Wheldon to Fairbank, 8 June 1841;
Wheldon to Stanton, 9 June 1841.
9. E.g. Durham (Chronicle and Advertiser), York (Herald and Gazette),
Gateshead (Observer), Newcastle (Chronicle and Journal) and
Sunderland (Herald), (D/St/172. Newspaper bills)
10. D/St/v731, Wheldon to Pulman, 10 June 1841.
11. D/St/v731, Wheldon to Wharton, 10 June 1841.
12. D/St/171/270, Rymer's account.
13. D/St/171/270, Ornsby's account and Stanton's account.
14. See notes (12) and (13); D/St/v731.
15. D/St/Box 172 Agreement, 3 July 1841.
16. D/St/v731, 11 June 1841' [Bowes] now sits beside me hard at work'.
17. D/St/v731.

18. D/St/171.270, Ornsby's accounts, 21 June 1841.
19. D/St/v731, Wheldon to Bowser, 11 June 1841.
20. D/St/171/182.
21. D/St/171/57; D/St/171/76; Cf. P.P. 1835, v, p.91.
22. D/St/Box 172, Crawhall and Roddam to Bowes, 2 Feb. 1842.
23. Thackeray, Notes, pp. 421-422.
24. D/St/Box 172, Weymouth-Hurrell to Wheldon, 21 Sept. 1841.
25. D/St/v731, 6 April 1847. However some disputes continued after 1847 see cp. 4 note (62).
26. E.g. D/St/169/29 'Minutes taken by R.W. Hurrell upon examination of accounts by the respective committees'.
27. See cp. 4.
28. Cf. Nossiter Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, p.64
29. D/LO/C/447/1.
30. D/LO/C/447/2; Cf. Londonderry's differences with Durham City Conservative Association, D. Large, Durham University Journal (1954-5), pp.17-23.
31. See cp. 2; D/LO/C/132/2/6, 9, 10:-

All is I hope going on well now for the Southern Division although I was obliged to go there last Monday to organise them, being in a perfect state of confusion', 24 June 1841 (D/LO/C/132/2/9)

South Durham was in a very great confusion until I set them up on a system of management , 25 June 1841 (D/LO/C/132/2/10).
32. J. Prest, Politics in the Age of Cobden (1977), p.23;

D/St/v731, Wheldon to Crawhall, 15 July 1841;

Weymouth-Hurrell to Burrell, 24 May 1841.
33. J.A. Thomas, 'The System of Registration and the Development of Party Organisation, 1832-1870', History,xxxv, (1950), pp.81-98.

Prest, Politics, pp.19-22.

The County Electors Manual, 1835, (D/St/Box 166).

34. D/St/170/17; D/St/170/19.
35. D/St/170/4.
36. D/St/170/114.
37. E.g. D/St/Box 159, Garthwaite to Bowes, 15 June 1841.
38. E.g. Bowes Museum Mss., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, (Friday) 1841.
39. D/St/171/158; D/St/171/98.
40. D/St/170/129; D/St/171/51.
41. D/St/Box 172, canvass sheets; D/St/171/270 agents' accounts.
42. D/St/171/150.
43. D/St/171/47; Thackeray, Notes, p.420.
44. See cp. 4 note (60); D/St/171/170.
45. D/St/171/84; D/St/171/145.
46. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, p.64.
47. D/St/171/270 agents' accounts; D/St/170/116;
 Cf D/St/Box 167, 'Instructions of Agents of Mr. Bowes' 1832.
48. D/St/170/172; D/St/171/25; see cp. 4.
49. D/St/171/82; D/St/171/198; D/St/171/24; see cp. 4.
50. D/St/170/84.
51. See cp 4;
 D/St/Box 172, Wilson's Bill, Sun Inn, Darlington, 28 June 1841.
 - entry of 2s. for Mr. Thackeray's bed.
52. See cp. 9
53. Ibid
54. D/St/Box 159, Joseph Pease to Bowes, 4 July 1841;
 D/St/171/204.
55. See cp. 9 note (13).
56. D/St/171/161; D/St/171/277;
 D/St/Box 172 Brignal to Chairman of Bowes' committee, Darlington,
 10 July 1841;
 D/St/Box 172, Wheldon to Holmes, 7-8 July 1841.

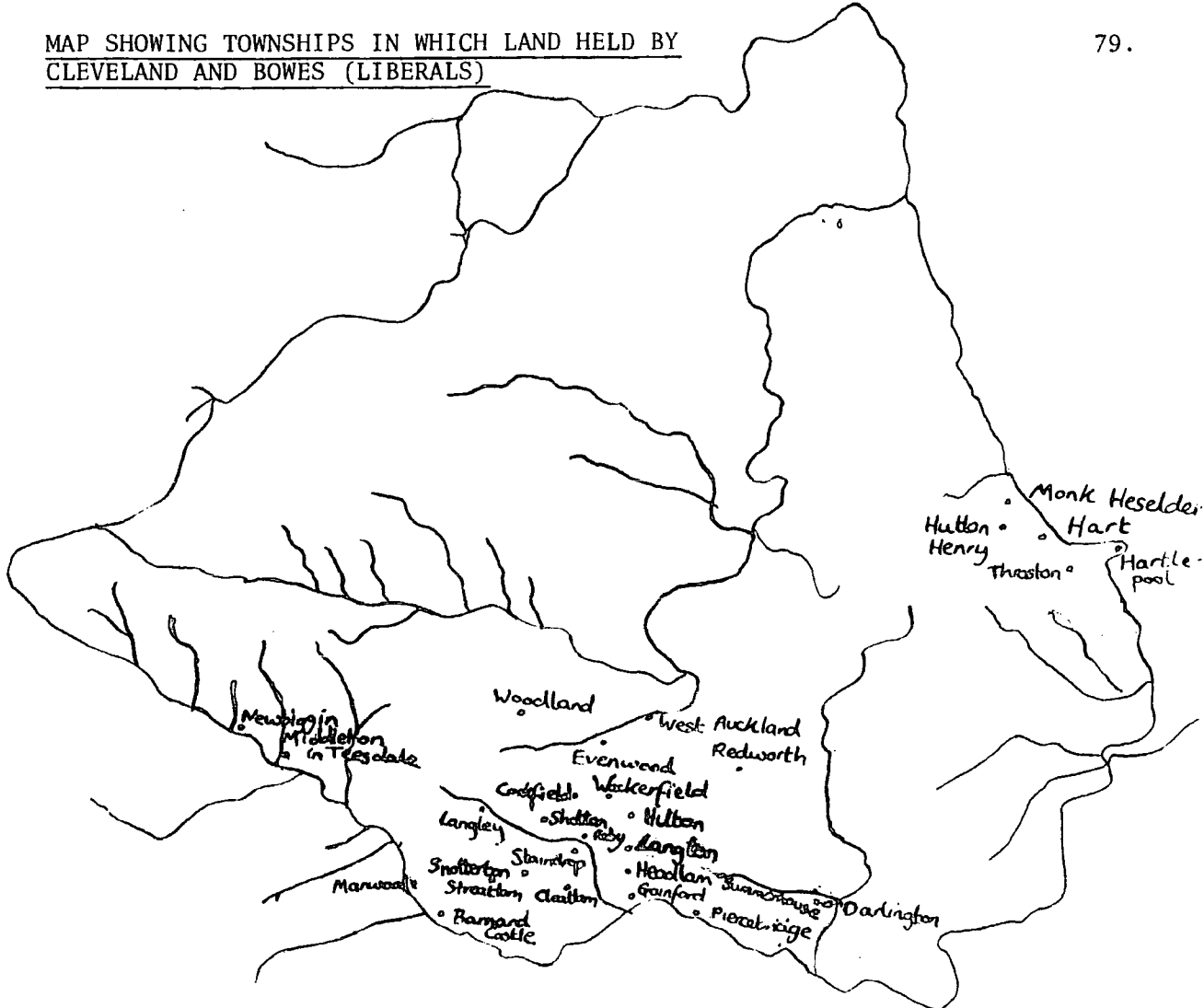
57. See cp. 4; D/St/171/64 William Hutt to Wheldon re. protesting against fraudulent votes.
58. D/St/171/60.

CHAPTER 6 - VOTING PATTERNS - RURAL AREAS

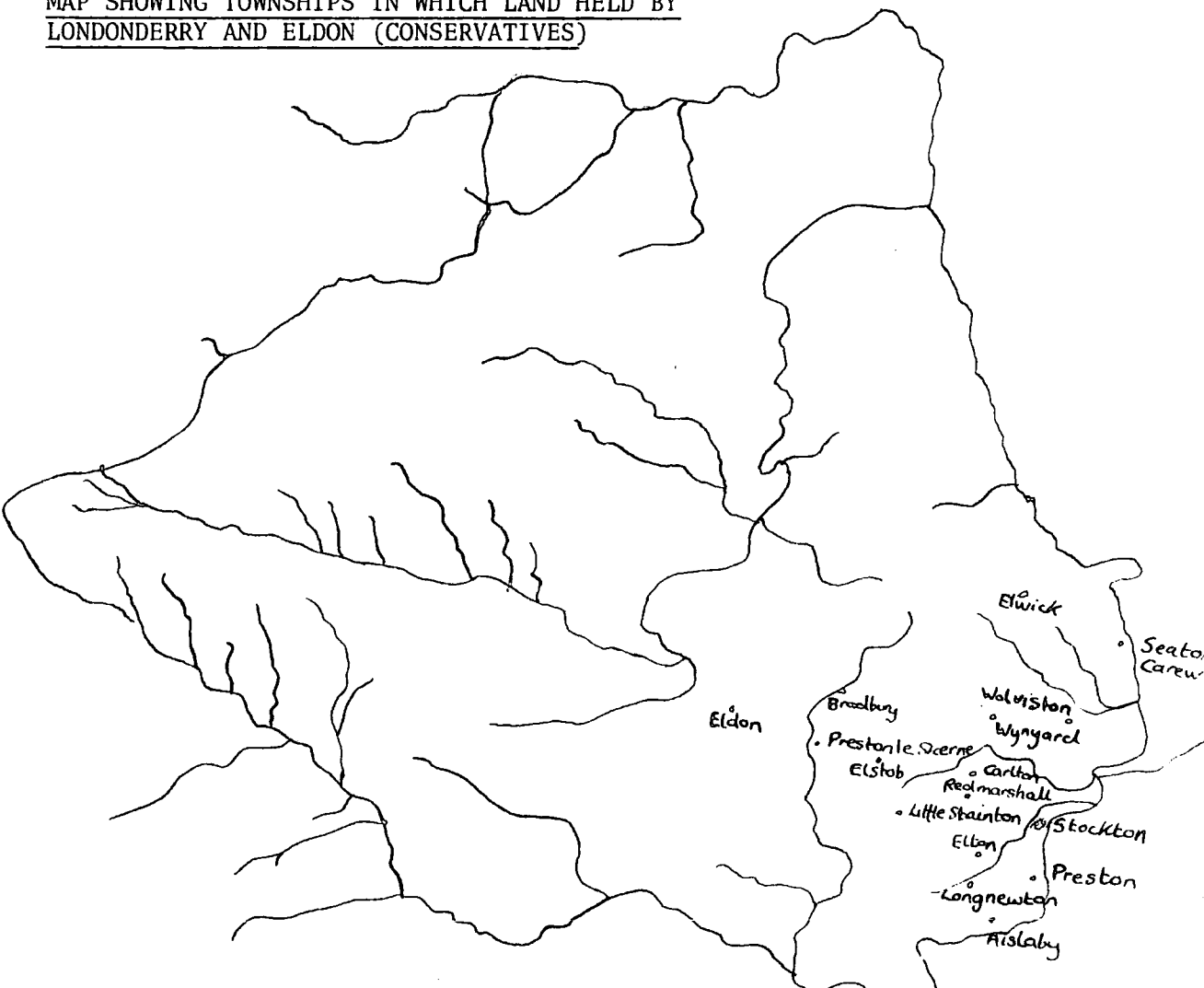
Just as today many cast their votes along traditional party lines, without thought to specific policies or personalities, so did many a nineteenth century elector come to the poll with no real knowledge of nor interest in the issues at stake, to vote the way that loyalty to landlord, employer or family dictated. Essentially, then as now, people tended to vote ultimately in their own interest and intimidation was generally unnecessary to influence the voting behaviour of dependents for whom it was clearly beneficial to support the source from which their livelihood derived. Indeed, as Gash observed, influence was all the more effective 'because it was not based on a crude relationship of tyranny and subservience but on a more complex tie of mutual interest and obligation'.⁽¹⁾ These ties of obligation were not confined to landlord - tenant, master - servant and manufacturer - employee relationships, but also applied to the less tangible bonds between shopkeeper and customer, client and solicitor, brewer and publican and clergy and congregation.⁽²⁾

It is true that direct threats of eviction or withdrawal of custom did occur, as Londonderry's cavalier behaviour in Durham City confirms,⁽³⁾ but generally it was unnecessary, especially in the rural areas, where the situation remained 'semi-feudal' and following the landlord's lead was regarded as a 'kind of political service'.⁽⁴⁾ As Joseph Parkes observed in 1835, 'a great many county voters are persons without any decided opinion' and the individual feeling among farmers 'is that their vote is their landlords''. Indeed the rural part of the South Durham constituency does, to a large extent, reflect Parkes' opinion that political influence in county constituencies 'applies so much to the tenantry that the poll book is almost a topography of estates'.⁽⁵⁾ Thus, comparing the results of the 1841 poll with the pattern of land-ownership gleaned from the tithe apportionment surveys, one can see a significant concentration of support for Bowes and Vane in the Middleton

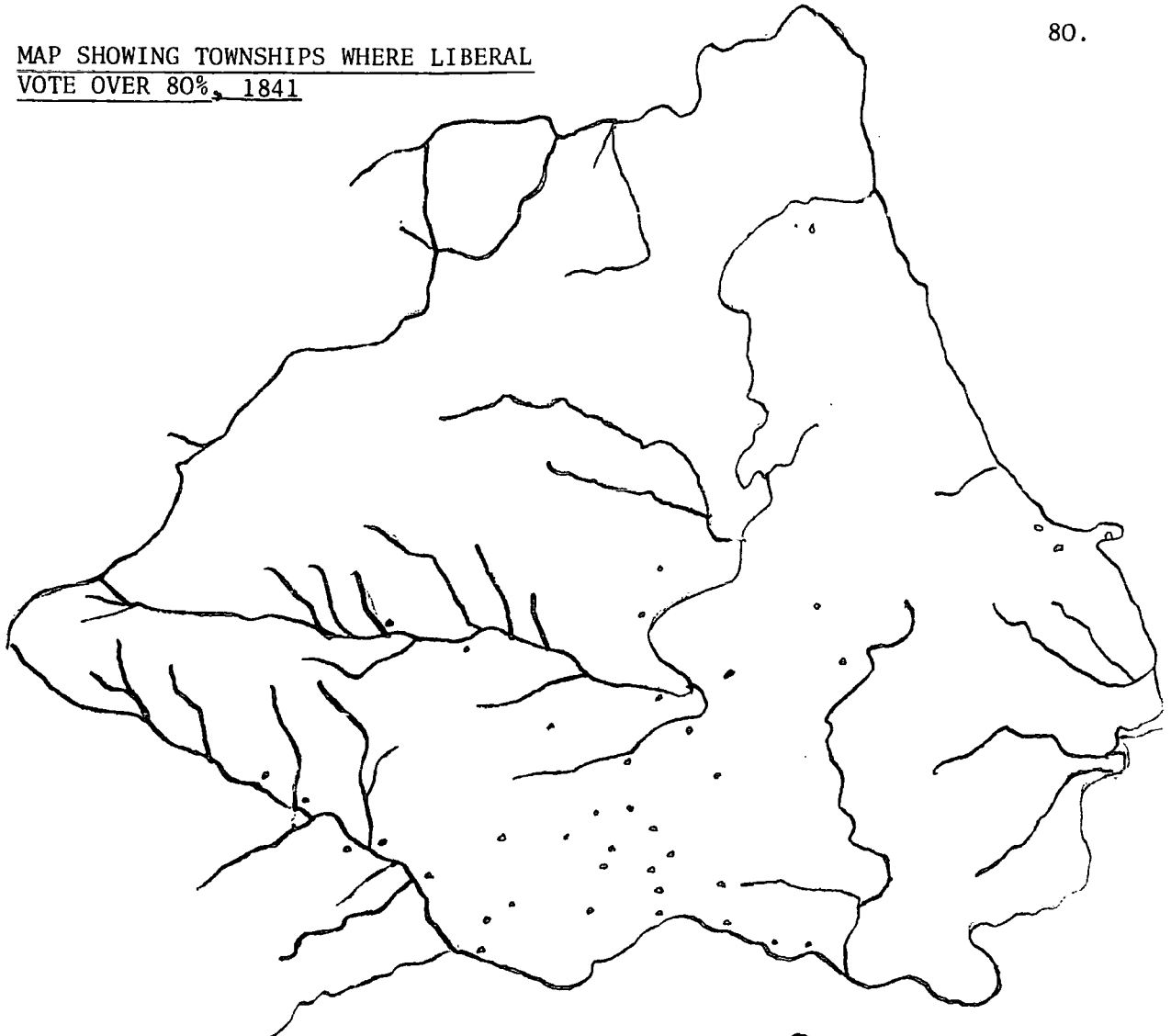
MAP SHOWING TOWNSHIPS IN WHICH LAND HELD BY
CLEVELAND AND BOWES (LIBERALS)



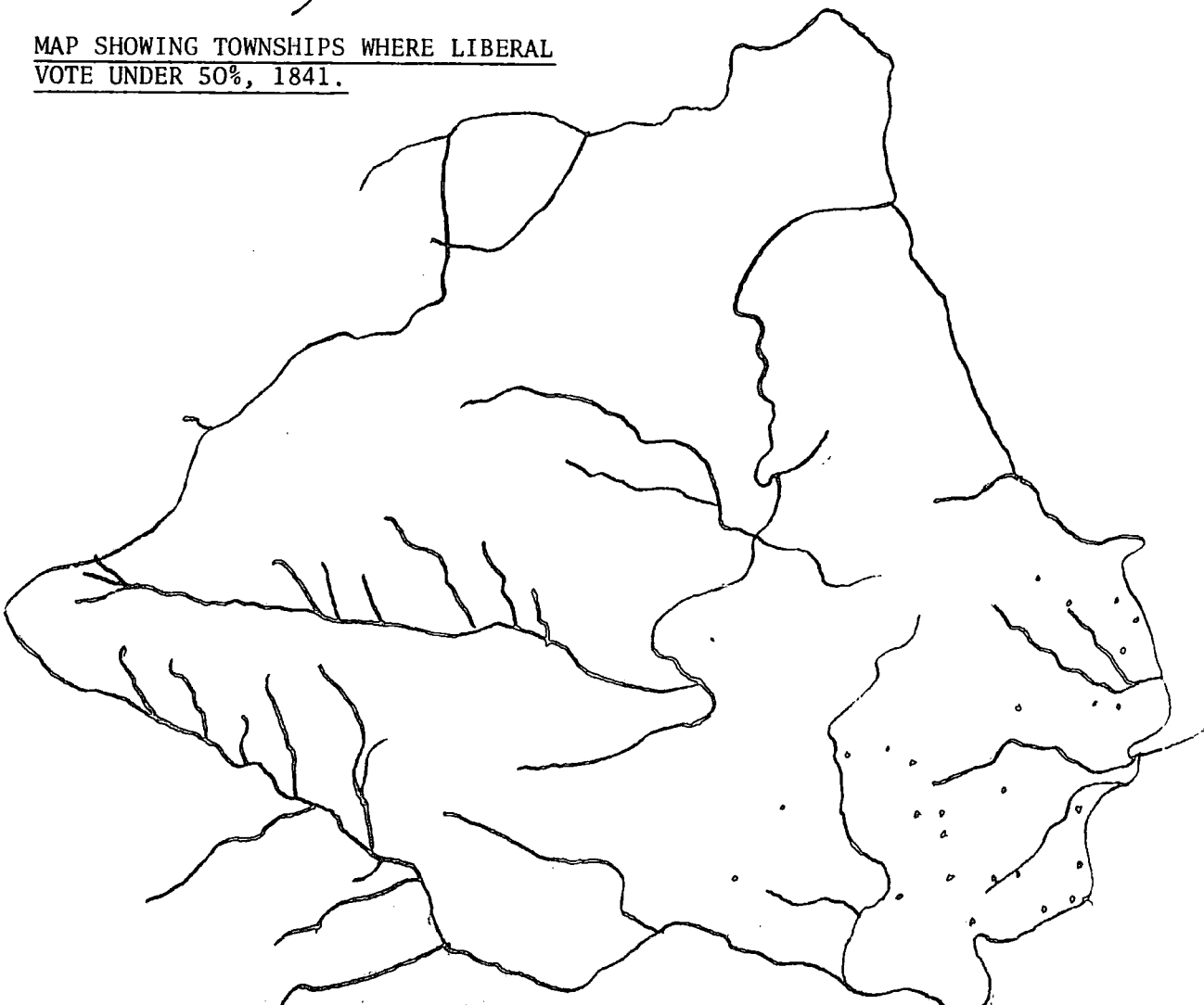
MAP SHOWING TOWNSHIPS IN WHICH LAND HELD BY
LONDONDERRY AND ELDON (CONSERVATIVES)



MAP SHOWING TOWNSHIPS WHERE LIBERAL
VOTE OVER 80%, 1841



MAP SHOWING TOWNSHIPS WHERE LIBERAL
VOTE UNDER 50%, 1841.



in Teesdale, Barnard Castle, Staindrop, Stanhope and Hart areas, whilst Farrer had a sizeable majority only in the Stockton District, where the estates of Eldon, Londonderry and Fowler lay.⁽⁶⁾

However, even in the landlord-dominated areas, it was not always a clear-case of direction from above. William Russell of Brancepeth Castle, for example, had an enormous tenantry under his influence, and the canvassers carefully noted the fact beside a large number of electors, especially in the Brandon, Brancepeth, and Willington areas, none of whom would pledge their vote until they had received instructions from Russell.⁽⁷⁾ Confusion reigned for, whilst Bowes' and Vane's supporters expected Russell to uphold the Liberal cause, Crofton had 'been going about the Tenants' saying that Russell was favourable to Farrer, thus securing the votes of some, such as Thomas Gregson of Brandon Hall, using Russell's name.⁽⁸⁾ Meanwhile, the candidates, their agents and their patrons including Londonderry, tried desperately to obtain audience with Russell to secure his backing, but by 27 June, Brignal was still writing to Wheldon that Russell's tenantry must be 'put right' immediately since they were still 'holding back'.⁽⁹⁾ Russell, it seems, did not wish to be involved in the election other than in his official capacity as High Sheriff and although he stated that, should he vote, he would support Bowes 'as a friend', his name is not included in the poll book and he specifically refused to influence the voting behaviour of his tenants.⁽¹⁰⁾ In the event, the majority of the latter followed Russell's preference for Bowes, for, out of a sample of twenty tenants in Brandon, Brancepeth and Willington, seventeen voted for Bowes (five plumpers, five splits with Vane and seven splits with Farrer) whilst only three plumped for Farrer, one of whom was Thomas Gregson. Moreover, it is significant that the Reverend John Shafto of Brancepeth Rectory plumped for Bowes against the general tendency of Anglican clergy to vote Conservative.⁽¹¹⁾

However, normally landlords made their opinions clear to their dependents, although not all were as explicit as Lady Jane Peat of Villiers Street, Sunderland, who had the following letter duplicated and sent to all her tenants:-

This is to let you know that you must be in readiness to vote for Lord Harry Vane and Mr. Bowes of Gibside. The days of polling are next Friday and Saturday - and please to vote for these Gentlemen on Friday early - Mr. English of Sunderland will let you know in due time the place you must go to vote.

I am your friend,

Jane Peat⁽¹²⁾

A letter from W.I. English of Bishop Wearmouth gave Wheldon a list of Lady Peat's tenants, compiled from talking to her, but since her memory was bad, and the letters were written so late that Anthony Moore had to send them to Wheldon to distribute, the tenants, although willing to comply, may not have received their instructions or, alternatively, not been qualified to vote. Indeed, although a few of Lady Peat's tenants, such as Nicholas Lowes of Hedley Hope Hall did go to the poll and vote for Bowes and Vane as required, the remainder apparently did not vote at all.⁽¹³⁾

Few historians would deny the existence of the political influence wielded by the great landowners in nineteenth century elections, and even Davis, who sets out to prove this less crucial than usually supposed, admits that such tenants, at the least, followed the general political line of their landlords.⁽¹⁴⁾ However the evidence of correspondence, canvass sheets, handbills, cartoons and newspaper reports seems to bear out Moore's thesis that contemporaries felt such influence to be decisive, and that Davis overstates his case.⁽¹⁵⁾ Thus a contemporary cartoon shows a 'Patent Plumper Press' operated by the several forces of Wynyard, Eldon, Raby and Brancepeth.⁽¹⁶⁾

It was, for example, an undisputed fact that the Duke of Cleveland's tenants would be expected to vote for Lord Harry Vane,

who stood only reluctantly to gratify his father, the only point in question being whether or not they would be instructed to split with Bowes.⁽¹⁷⁾ Burrell was concerned that they would not split, fearing that Bowes would not do well in the rural districts around Hartlepool and Stockton because they had been canvassed by the Duke's tenants, whilst Dent saw it as a triumph for Bowes that the Duke was not liked at Cockfield.⁽¹⁸⁾ Indeed, it seems that, at first, the Duke's tenants were instructed to plump for Vane, and only later requested to split with Bowes,⁽¹⁹⁾ although Vane himself insisted that he neither asked for plumpers for himself nor for votes for both himself and Bowes, but merely for the first vote of his dependents.⁽²⁰⁾ There was even some confusion during the poll itself, for Brignal wrote from Sedgefield, 10 July 1841:-

I am sorry to inform you that all the Hart voters have plumped for Lord Harry with the exception of three who had promised. You will therefore decide whether our friends who are unpolled should plump on Bowes or divide. About 20 or upwards of our Bishop Middleham voters divided on Lord Harry which we could have got to plump. What does Lord Harry say to this?⁽²¹⁾

The cause of this confusion was the desire of the candidates, particularly Bowes, to avoid the appearance of a coalition, a source of considerable unpopularity. However, although the candidates and their agents took great pains to deny it, circulating handbills entitled 'No coalition' and polling the voters carefully according to Wheldon's tactics to stem 'the Coalition Cry', there was little doubt in the minds of the opponents that Vane and Bowes had coalesced.⁽²²⁾ In fact, it seems that the coalition was deliberately kept to a rather casual ad hoc arrangement of mutual assistance, in keeping with Bowes wish to keep 'separate' expressed both to Wheldon and to Vane himself.⁽²³⁾ Indeed, Story entered into this spirit in his canvass of Chester le Street, informing Wheldon that he had only asked for one vote, leaving the other open but had 'hinted' Vane, intending to add that he 'hoped'

they would support Vane as well as Bowes.⁽²⁴⁾ The success of Wheldon's tactics at the poll can be seen from the large proportion of Bowes-Vane splits in the final poll (61.60% of the total votes) and, more especially, from a study of the voting behaviour of known tenants of the Duke. Out of a sample of ten, nine split on Bowes and Vane, the other plumping for Vane.⁽²⁵⁾

Another factor adding to the confusion was the generally held gentlemen's agreement that it was not acceptable to canvass the tenants of another landlord. Thus Joseph Parkes, although a radical, declared that it was 'not always an act of propriety to canvass among the tenants of a landlord on either side without having the landowner's leave', and Vane wrote to Londonderry's son, Lord Seaham, 'I need not say that during the limited time which I could devote in the neighbourhood at Stockton, I studiously abstained from canvassing any of the Wynyard tenantry'.⁽²⁶⁾ Nor was it always out of mere conventional courtesy that canvassers tended to avoid visiting the tenants of another landlord. Usually it simply would not repay the effort involved, for as Witham told Wheldon, 'I would go amongst Sir C. Clifford's tenants, if I could do good, but I know I cannot'.⁽²⁷⁾ Lord Eldon's tenants were a case in point, for as chief patron and subscriber to Farrer's cause, there was little doubt as to the lead he would take within the bounds of his estates, for example around Seaton, Elstob and Preston le Skerne, whilst Redmarshall, Carlton, Wolviston, Elwick Hall and their surrounds were acknowledged as Londonderry's preserves.⁽²⁸⁾ Similarly, since Beaumont was known to hold 'sovereign power' in Weardale, Bowes and Vane felt unwilling to interfere in the district which they acknowledged to be 'so perfectly and exclusively your own', and went to great lengths to get assurance of support from Crawhall, Beaumont's agent, which they received after much anxiety and delay.⁽²⁹⁾

The Bishop of Durham may have very studiously denied any

dictatorial powers in a printed reply to the chairman of Farrer's committee who had solicited his assistance,⁽³⁰⁾ but it was well known that the Bishops of Durham had always had considerable political influence, reversals occurring in the voting behaviour of their dependents with changes of incumbent, and although this influence was more carefully disguised after the unpopularity of the Bishopric in the 1830's, it was nonetheless extant in 1841, as agents such as Bowser were well aware.⁽³¹⁾ Indeed the Bishop made it clear that he wished it to be 'generally known to all with whom my opinion and wishes are likely to have weight, that I am most anxious for the success of the Liberal candidates Mr. Bowes and Lord Harry Vane' and that they would 'oblige him by voting for his Friends', and even requested the services of Rayne, one of Bowes' agents, to 'see to his Tenants'.⁽³²⁾ The influence of the Bishop accounted for the large number of Bowes-Vane splits in Bishop Auckland in 1841, and for the changing allegiance of Bishop Auckland under the different incumbents of the see, analysed in the table below:-⁽³³⁾

TABLE I

<u>CONSERVATIVE VOTING IN BISHOP AUCKLAND</u>				
<u>POLLING DISTRICT, 1832-1865</u>				
<u>Election</u>	<u>Bishop</u>	<u>% Conservative</u> <u>Bishop Auckland</u>	<u>% Conservative</u> <u>South Durham</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1832	Van Mildert (Conservative)	45.56	29.07	+ 16.49
1841	Maltby (Liberal)	25.87	25.66	+ 0.21
1857	Longley (Liberal)	28.89	29.03	- 0.14
1865	Baring (Conservative)	41.81	33.56	+ 8.25

Similarly, the Dean and Chapter of Durham were anxious to emphasise their refusal to intervene in the election, and suffering from changes of personnel and differences of opinion, allegiance varied from member to member and election to election.⁽³⁴⁾

The Strathmore estates naturally lay within the power of Bowes as a source of potential political strength, his tenants in the Barnard Castle, Evenwood, Streatlam, Teesdale areas forming the main base of his support, although it angered Lady Strathmore that Farrer had even been able to get a hearing in Barnard Castle, and she was anxious to know how many votes he had managed to obtain there.⁽³⁵⁾

Of the other major landlords, Mrs. Anne Surtees of Mainsforth left her tenants a free choice, William Salvin of Croxdale reserved the votes in his power for Bowes on hearing of Londonderry's machinations, Shafto promised support to Bowes on the understanding that Bowes upheld the landed interest, Lady Durham instructed her tenantry at Dinsdale to vote Liberal, whilst Marshall Fowler exerted his considerable influence around Preston in favour of Farrer.⁽³⁶⁾

Thus, from these examples, it is clear that the political influence of the great landlords was indeed a significant force, nor was this influence confined to a few important aristocrats. Davis rests much of his thesis on the supposition that smaller landholders did not determine the votes of their tenants,⁽³⁷⁾ but, in South Durham at least, the canvassers were anxious to obtain the support of those who may only have wielded influence over one or two others. Since every individual vote counted in the final poll, no trouble was spared even for a seemingly insignificant case, so that Salvin did not hesitate to ask Wheldon to send a man to Thomas Wright at Low Coniscliffe, since Wright's tenant at Sedgefield, William Robinson, declared that he would 'vote the same as his landlord', an effort rewarded by securing both votes at the poll.⁽³⁸⁾

In the areas dominated by several small landowners of different political bias, it is indeed difficult to trace the political consequence of such landownership and to trace the geographical 'blocs' defined by Moore, as he himself admits, but the fact that these

influences cancel each other out does not disprove their existence. Indeed it is to be expected that in a township such as Norton, where there were several landowners of different political persuasions, that there would not be an overwhelming majority for either, the slightly Conservative bias being explained by the slight superiority in numbers of Conservative owners. Thus a geographical analysis of townships would seem to bear out Moore's thesis, revealing that townships dominated by one major landlord tend to show a clear political bias according to the owner's lead, whilst those under several influences were of mixed political views.⁽³⁹⁾

In addition, in the rural areas, the landlords were often also coal and lead mine owners, such as Bowes, and the employer-employee influence was similar to that of landlord-tenant. Therefore the canvassers astutely noted down employees, agents and lessees in the mining business as an indication of the way in which they would cast their votes. Thus in Middleton in Teesdale, in the heart of leadmining district, they remarked that Philip Raine acted as 'agent of lead company', whilst Lancelot Walton would plump for Vane, being a 'lessee of one of the Duke's mines or would have divided with Bowes'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Indeed the conventions of non-interference within another's estate seem to have been carried over into industry, for the canvass sheet for Middleton notes that John Thompson 'being constantly employed for the Duke of C., the gentlemen did not like to interfere'.⁽⁴¹⁾ The influence of the coal companies was often like that of the various landlords, sufficient to overrule personal preference so that Joseph Sheville of Sunderland, a registered elector in Barnard Castle, 'would be against, but won't vote being under Hetton Coal Co.' and Mark Nicholson of Forcett Valley, head servant to Mrs. Hodgson would plump for Bowes although he would rather have split on Bowes-Vane since he 'seems to be under the influence of both these parties in the collieries'.⁽⁴²⁾

Servants were expected to follow the lead of their master or mistress and the canvass records confidently that George Brown of Melsonby will plump for Farrer, being 'servant to Mr. Barnby, a Tory,' as indeed he did.⁽⁴³⁾ However, it appears that there were exceptions to the rule for Mark Nicholson, although head-servant to Mrs. Hodgson, seems to have been more under the influence of the 'parties in the collieries' than his mistress,⁽⁴⁴⁾ and Dean wrote that 'Mr. Addison (Miss Lees agent) gave me W. Green, Cocklebury as V. and F., the latter to please Movick, but he has a servant lying pending to vote for Bowes - James Higeltine. Addison says he ought to be looked after, but cautiously as Movick does not know he has a vote'.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Thus it seems that, in some cases at least, servants could be enticed to vote independently of their employer, however only in somewhat exceptional circumstances.

Family pressures could also be decisive as the canvassers were careful to note, whilst Stephenson informed Bowes' committee in Darlington that although 'almost certain' of half of John Chapman's vote, 'he has a brother in Aycliff which is a very warm friend of Mr. Farrer had got him to promise a plumper for Farrer as him being joiner promised to get him employ next at Wynyard Hall'.⁽⁴⁶⁾

It seems, then, from a survey of the rural areas, that voting patterns largely follow the traditional lines of the politics of deference, the canvassers seeing votes in terms of the influence which could be brought to bear on them. The majority of rural voters were subject to a relatively small number of large land or mine owners as their tenants or employees, and even those beholden to lesser owners tended to look to the latter for guidance in exercising the franchise, and to follow the lead given to them. Although some, such as Russell and Anne Surtees, allowed their tenants genuine freedom of choice, even then it appears that the rural community, with little interest in the actual issues except as they affected their superiors, fulfilled the political

service which they felt was owed to their landlord. There are few indications in the canvass sheets that the voters had their own independent preferences, but one or two examples do appear. William Hodgson of Hedge Holme, for example, told canvassers that he would split between Bowes and Vane 'if Lord Harewood do not interfere' but ultimately, doubtless under the influence of Harewood, he plumped for Farrer. However, Joseph Clement of Hill Top, whose wife thought he would vote for Bowes and Vane 'if Lord Harewood's influence was not used' recorded his vote according to his own wishes.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Thus it would be misleading to claim that none of the rural voters held political views or deviated from the path laid out for them by their superiors, but the election correspondence, canvass and poll prove that in a vast majority of cases, the politics of the countryside equated to the politics of influence, as Thackeray substantiates:-

There was neither bribery nor coaxing of electors as far as I saw - no undue coaxing, that is; and perhaps for the very good reason that the electors had already made up their minds (or rather had their minds made up for them) which way they should vote....In the rural districts, the tenants on both sides voted with their landlords; and when Farmer Jones said that he was Squire Smith's tenant, as a matter of course it was known that he would adopt Squire Smith's colour. Sometimes a man, who had half a vote at his disposal, would give it to a Liberal, though he gave the other to a Conservative, and visa versa. And if Jones said he was Smith's man no further questions were asked of him, as all such would have been in vain. (48)

CHAPTER 6 - VOTING PATTERNS - RURAL AREAS

1. Gash, Politics, p.177
2. Gash, Politics, p.175; Cf. P.P. 1835, v, pp.92-93.
3. D/LO/C 148(127);
Cf. Mathison to Reed, 25 Nov. 1859, Newcastle Library, Cowen Mss.
c 1588.
4. Gash, Politics, p.177.
5. P.P. 1835, viii, p.105; Cf. Moore, The Politics of Deference, p.5
See maps and Appendix VI.
6. See Appendices VI and VII;
Poll book, 1841;
See also The Durham Advertiser, 28 May 1841
- figures for distribution of votes, 1832.
7. D/St/Box 172, Canvass sheets;
D/St/170/49, Bowser to Wheldon,
' [Shafto] gives a very fine report of his district with
the exception of Russell's Tenants who will not promise
till they hear from him'.
8. D/St/ Box 159, Vane of 12 Regent St. to Bowes, 12 June 1841
'I think therefore that you will get his tenants to vote for you';
D/St/ Box 172, Canvass sheet:-
' Thomas Gregson Brandon Hall F(+) This vote obtained by the influence
of J. Crofton using Russell's name.'
Poll book, 1841, p.43 - Gregson plumped for Farrer.
9. D/LO/C 132 (i) no. 2; D/St/171/10
10. D/St/Box 159, Vane to Bowes, 12 June 1841;
D/St/v731, Wheldon to Burrell, 21 June 1841.
11. D/St.Box 172 Canvass sheets;
Poll book, 1841, pp.39-43;
see Cp. 7 re Anglican Clergy.
12. D/St/170/83.

13. D/St/171/34; D/St/171/72; Poll book, 1841, p.54.
14. Davis, Political Change and Continuity pp.155, 177.
15. Moore, The Politics of Deference, p.12.
16. D/St/169/31.
17. D/St/171/162 - Garwood re electors of Hart and Thirston, 28 June 1841:- 'They are nearly all tenants of the Duke of Cleveland and will doubtless vote as they are directed. If good faith be kept they will split with Bowes.'
18. D/St/171/169; D/St/171/170; D/St/171/27.
19. Raby Castle canvass book - Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idiom, p.48.
20. Seaham to Vane, 1 July 1841;
Vane to Seaham, July 1841:- 'The principle upon which I have uniformly acted, has been to ask for votes for myself without reference to the second vote....My agents have been instructed never to ask to influence a second vote'. Raby Mss., quoted in Nossiter, Influence Opinion and Political Idiom, p.48
D/St/Box 159 Vane to Bowes, 2 July 1841:-
'There is no coalition, at the same time I have avoided asking for plumpers....I told them I only asked for one vote, of course leaving them to give the other to you as I knew they wished'.
21. D/St/Box 172, Brignal to Chairman of Bowes Committee, Darlington, 10 July 1841.
22. D/St/Box 172, Wheldon to Holmes, 7 July 1841;
Wheldon to Chairman of Middleton Committee, 8 July, 1841;
The Durham Advertiser, 16 July 1841;
The Durham Chronicle, 2 July 1841.
23. Bowes Museum Mss ., file 3, Bowes to Wheldon, 5 June 1841.
24. D/St/171/101-102.
25. D/St/Box 172, Canvass sheets; Poll book, 1841.

26. P.P. 1835, viii, p.105;
The Times, 14 July 1841.
27. D/St/171/127.
28. D/St/171/188; D/St Box 172 Canvass sheets;
 D/St/Box 159, Vane to Bowes, 16 June 1841,
 Morton to Bowes, 24 June 1841;
 D/St/171/161;
 See Appendix VI.
29. D/St/v731 correspondence 17 June - 22 June 1841;
 D/St/171/270 Stanton's accounts, 19 June 1841.
30. D/St/169/29:- 'I never have considered myself at liberty to
 constrain any tenant or dependent to vote in a way opposed to
 his unbiased opinions'.
31. Nossiter, Influence Opinion and Political Idioms, p.55;
 D/St/Box 159, Bowser to Bowes, 8 June 1841.
32. D/St/170/48; D/St/171/71; D/St/171/32.
33. The State and Result of the Poll, 1832;
 Poll book, 1841;
 Poll book, 1865 (includes State of the Poll, 1857).
34. D/St/v731 Wheldon to Burrell, 19 June 1841;
 D/St/Box 159 Waddington to Bowes, 19 June 1841;
 Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, pp.122-123.
35. D/St/171/63.
36. D/St/Box 159 Mrs. A. Surtees to Bowes, 12 June 1841;
 Salvin to Bowes, 11 June 1841;
 Morton to Bowes, 24 June 1841;
 Hutt to Bowes, 27 June 1841;
 Vane to Bowes, 20 June 1841;
 D/St/171/63; D/St/171/172;
 See Appendix V for return of principal landowners, 1873.

37. Davis, Political Change and Continuity, pp.157, 177.
38. D/St/172 Canvass sheets record many small landlords with only a few votes in their command e.g. Harrison, Capt. Dinsdale, Miss Buss;
D/St/171/98; Poll book, 1841 pp. 25, 76.
39. For geographical analysis of townships See Appendix VII;
Moore, The Politics of Deference.
40. D/St/ Box 172 Canvass sheets;
Poll book, 1841, p.61 - Walton plumped for Vane;
Cf. Londonderry's coalmining interest in the City of Durham elections:-
D/LO.C132/2/2 Maynard to Londonderry, 'I have written to Longstaff today to put the colliery votes on their guard and to promise plumpers to Capt. Fitzroy and only give Sheppard a split when they see Capt. F. safe.'
41. D/St/ Box 172 Canvass sheets.
42. D/St/Box 172 Canvass sheets; D/St/171/110.
43. D/St/Box 172 Canvass sheets; Poll book 1841, p.64.
44. See note (42).
45. D/St/171/23.
46. D/St/171/105;
Other examples D/St/Box 172, Canvass sheets. e.g. Thomas Collinson 'will see Mr. Bowes - his father and brother vote for Mr. B. and Ld. H.V. It is most probable Thos. C. will do the same'.
47. D/St/Box 172 Canvass sheets;
Poll book, 1841, pp.66, 64.
48. Thackeray, Notes, p.240;
Cf. P.P. 1835, viii, p.97, 'In counties I should say that bribery in a direct sense was rarely known or practised' (Parkes).

CHAPTER 7 - VOTING PATTERNS - TOWNSa) General

Voting patterns in the towns were similarly subject to the politics of deference, although evidence of the increasing expression of opinion was emerging as a factor in elections.

The exercise of influence was, as in the rural areas, mainly along the lines of landlord-tenant and employer-employee relationships which are, in practice, far more difficult to trace in town than countryside,⁽¹⁾ but there were, in addition, many less obvious networks which were important in the exercise of the franchise. Shopkeepers, desiring to win or retain the patronage of an important customer might think it politic to follow his lead in voting, publicans might feel obliged to adopt the political line of the brewer on whom they depended, congregations might follow the advice of their ministers, solicitors, their clients, sons their fathers, brothers or uncles and so forth. In the majority of cases such political links will remain unknown being unrecorded in any source, but contemporary correspondence and canvass books offer illumination in a few cases. Thus John Garwood wrote to Wheldon from Hartlepool that it would be wise to print handbills in Hartlepool itself, since 'Mr. Procter of this place, printer, and his family have several votes which might be secured by a little patronage', whilst Crawhall and Roddam in apologising for the dispute concerning Rymer's bill explained that there were several votes indirectly connected with it.⁽²⁾

The influence of the great families who dominated the towns was such that contemporaries could designate 'party titles' to each one, according to the political leanings of the foremost families in each. Thus Darlington, under the sway of the Liberal Peases and Backhouses, and Hartlepool under the Lordship of the Duke of Cleveland were seen as bastions of Liberalism, whilst Stockton, within the influence of Lords

Eldon and Londonderry and the Conservative manufacturing interests, was described as a Tory stronghold, although of course none held a monopoly of votes in either.⁽³⁾

In addition, there is evidence of the emergence of the politics of opinion, perhaps most clearly illustrated on the Corn Law question, from which arose a strong Anti-Corn Law movement and in the mention of an, albeit very small, Chartist element.

The formation of an Anti-Corn Law group was a very common national phenomenon in 1841, but it does illustrate the existence of voters with individual opinions on the Corn Law issue, despite its domination by the major manufacturing groups in the towns. At the time, contemporaries tended to deny to it any independence of mind, seeing the movement as part of a deliberate plan by the Quakers of Darlington, Hardcastle bemoaning the fact that if Bowes lost the election it would be 'through the intermeddling of the Darlington clique, whose doings have done damage even here (Sunderland)', and Matthew Culley regretting that 'the Quakers have made a point of the Corn Law Question and by that means may throw Bowes overboard'.⁽⁴⁾

However, although some of the Darlington Quakers may have taken a leading role in the Anti-Corn Law Movement, including Henry Pease and Charles Parker, it was not merely a Quaker 'clique', since other members of the prominent Quaker families, such as Edward and Joseph Pease remained in favour of agricultural protection, the Anti-Corn Law activity spread to non-Quaker Stockton and Hartlepool,⁽⁵⁾ and there is considerable evidence from election correspondence that independent opinions were reached on the Corn Laws on the basis of self-interest or principle, as the sentiments expressed in Charles Walker's letter illustrate.⁽⁶⁾

Unlike many of the Anti-Corn Law groups in 1841, including those in Walsall and Bradford,⁽⁷⁾ the South Durham group did not even contemplate

an alliance with the Conservative party in support of Farrer but, instead, sought Bowes' resignation in exchange for an alternative Liberal candidate who opposed the existing Corn Laws. Many, in fact, were not in favour of a total repeal, but just wished for a candidate who would support the ministerial proposal for a fixed duty, assurance of which was desired from Bowes by a deputation to him.⁽⁸⁾

However Bowes' intransigence on the issue led both the fixed-duty supporters and total repealers to seek a new candidate, resolving at a meeting, 17 June 1841;

It is the opinion of the meeting that it is the paramount duty of the electors of this division to return to Parliament men who will support Her Majesty's Ministers in carrying out their proposed measures for relieving the burdens of the people and placing the property of the nation at large upon a solid basis.⁽⁹⁾

However, in the event it proved impossible to find a free-trade Liberal candidate, in default of a suitable person to stand and of the means to back him as Pulman pointed out as early as 12 June.⁽¹⁰⁾ However a week later, Bowser reported that the people of Sedgefield still believed in the promise of a free-trader, and would follow anyone who declared himself in favour of a fixed duty, and Garwood in Hartlepool was concerned that although Farrer 'alone' would not have much chance of success 'the introduction of an Anti-Corn Law candidate would assuredly cause a great gap through which the Conservatives might contrive to wriggle'.⁽¹¹⁾

Despite the failure of the free-traders to fulfil their aims, resolving eventually to support Bowes and Vane 'rather than cause the return of a Tory candidate to Parliament',⁽¹²⁾ their movement was of sufficient strength seriously to threaten Bowes' support in the towns and to cause considerable difficulties during the campaign by their fervent activity and insistent demands.⁽¹³⁾

To say he will not support an alteration in the Corn Laws, is to say I will support monopoly to its extreme extent. If you had said you did not agree with Lord John

Whats^r it might have been quite right and that it required serious consideration what the duty should be, then he would have had room for his resolve after discussion, but to say that no alteration is to take place where so large a portion of Her Majesty's subjects are affected is as bad as the expression of the Duke of Wellington at East Redford. (14)

lamented Witham, demonstrating that even moderate and easily-satisfied opinion was put out by Bowes' intransigence on the Corn Law issue.

The Chartists, in contrast, had very little following or importance in South Durham, mentioned only as participants in disturbances during public meetings in Stockton and Hartlepool, and for displaying a green flag in Stockton bearing the inscription 'The Charter may it speedily become the law of the land!'.⁽¹⁵⁾ They were not a strong organised force as in North Durham where a deputation was sent from the Gateshead Charter Association to Mason of the Newcastle Chartists to request his standing for Parliament in opposition to Hutt, who was swift to denounce them as 'uproarious rogues'.⁽¹⁶⁾ In addition, the Anti-Corn Law movement in the South deliberately disassociated itself from the whole Chartist cause, the meeting of the former unanimously applauding Henry Pease's sentiments that 'If any man opposes the good of his country because he cannot get what is called the Charter, I can only say that I don't go with him'.⁽¹⁷⁾

However the mention of the Chartists, however brief, in the contemporary sources, demonstrates the existence of opinion in favour of the Charter, and for that reason alone has significance.

In contrast to Chartism, religious factors seem to have played a decisive role in voting in the South Durham election. Church of England clergymen almost exclusively voted for the Conservative candidate, as the representative of the established Church party and out of a total of twenty-four Anglican ministers identified by the designation 'Reverend' in the poll book for Stockton and Darlington Districts, twenty-two plumped for Farrer,⁽¹⁸⁾ whilst William Hutt, well aware of the lack of support to be expected from them, advised Bowes to quote

Sir R. Inglis' intended Parliamentary grant for the building of new churches, advice which seems to have gone unheard, to Bowes' loss.⁽¹⁹⁾

The Non-conformists and Roman Catholics, on the other hand, seem to have voted for the two Liberals, traditionally the upholders of religious liberty and equality, as Jonathan Backhouse made clear in a letter to Bowes,⁽²⁰⁾ whilst the majority of Methodists, also, in the main, keen defenders of the Establishment, supported Farrer, Bowser writing from Auckland that the Wesleyans were canvassing there for Farrer.⁽²¹⁾ However the Methodists seem to have been divided, since John Bowes wrote to Wheldon that he expected the assistance of Rymer in Darlington as representative of the Methodists, and Farrer was introduced in Weardale by a Primitive Methodist Preacher, George Race, although the Primitives were traditionally the anti-Establishment wing of the movement.⁽²²⁾ However this latter anomaly is understandable in the light of the Liberal domination of Weardale which made support for Farrer appear anti-Establishment if not anti-Established Church.

Thus, it seems that generally religious views were of importance in voting although on the surface little was made out of religion as an election issue.⁽²³⁾

However, although the evidence derived from correspondence, newspaper reports and canvass sheets proves that to some, at least, voting was a 'free choice' based on political or religious ideals, it seems that their number was relatively small.⁽²⁴⁾ Moreover, there existed in the towns, and, to a lesser extent, in the countryside, a group of floating voters of no real decided opinion or obligation, ready to offer their votes to the highest bidder, sometimes by direct sale, sometimes in politically motivated orders for goods and sometimes the issue of meal tickets and other prerequisites.⁽²⁵⁾

Ironically, the idea of votes as a saleable commodity had increased considerably since the 1832 Reform Act, and as J.S. Mill wrote,

the old property qualification 'only required that a member should possess a fortune; this (system) requires that he should have spent one' ⁽²⁶⁾

As is to be expected, there is no evidence of overt sale of votes, but there are examples of politically orientated patronage, ⁽²⁷⁾ favourable treatment in financial disputes, ⁽²⁸⁾ overgenerous compensation claims, temporary employment and gifts of rosettes and vouchers, which, combined with the more dubious practices detailed in chapter 9, provided means by which those with no decided political opinion could be wooed to one side or the other by material interest. ⁽²⁹⁾ In addition, candidates, once elected, were expected to find places for those whose votes had been recorded in their favour. Thus John Garthorne of North Shields wrote to Bowes, 'when returned again to Parliament, as I make no doubt you will be, be careful not to forget my young friend James Stephens' whilst Farrer won votes on the basis of favours promised or previously conferred by Lord Eldon. ⁽³⁰⁾

Although it is not possible to evaluate exactly the percentage of this floating vote, it is clear from a comparison of voting patterns in 1832 and 1841, for example in Darlington district, that, in itself, the vote of a man in 1832 gave no definite indication of the choice he would make in 1841.

TABLE II

DARLINGTON POLLING DISTRICT - COMPARISON OF VOTING 1832 & 1841

1832	1841						TOTAL
	B	V	F	B & V	B & F	V & F	
P	6	7	30	73	4	9	129
B	1		5	10	1	1	18
S		1	26	8		4	39
P & B	4	6	30	30	6	12	88
P & S		5	25	10	4	6	50
B & S	1	8	31	19	4	5	68
	12	27	147	150	19	37	392

P Pease (Lib)

B Bowes (Lib)

B Bowes (Lib)

V Vane (Lib)

S Shafto (Lib/Conservative)

F Farrer (Conservative)

It is to be expected that a large proportion of Pease's plumpers were split between the two Liberals, Bowes and Vane, in 1841 (56.6%), but it is more surprising that as many as 23.3% of Pease's plumpers went to Farrer. Similarly, it is noteworthy that the same number of splits between Pease and Bowes in 1832 should go to Farrer as to Vane, namely forty-eight each. Thus, although this table in itself does not prove anything definite about floating voters, it does imply their existence.

Various other forms of poll book analysis have been attempted by historians such as J.R. Vincent who claims the overriding importance of occupational analysis of poll books in tracing 'the main structure and substance of political behaviour', only in 'the most extreme cases' nullified by influence or corruption. Aiming to prove that there was homogeneity in the political behaviour of occupational groups, he employs examples such as Nottingham in 1831 when shoemakers voted for Reform by a ratio of 5:1 against the opposition of gentlemen, lawyers and publicans, whilst butchers were generally Tory and grocers, Whig, although stressing that party preference was 'classless', at least in a colloquial sense.⁽³¹⁾

However, although this occupational homogeneity may have existed in exceptional circumstances, for example when one group was striving for superiority over another, or was threatened as a whole by a particular policy or action, as a rule people do not appear to have voted as members of a trade or profession, and, as Moore points out, the poll books tend to show the lack of correlation between electoral behaviour and occupation.⁽³²⁾ Thus, comparing the 1841 South Durham Poll Book with Slater's Directory, since the occupations are not given in the former, one can produce statistics of voting patterns of those whose professions can be deduced from the directory, limited in use because of the small number identified for each occupation, the difficulty

in proving the correlation between the two sets of names and because of the fact that the figures totally ignore existent knowledge of the influence and other factors behind many of the votes.⁽³³⁾ It is true that some trends can be made to appear, for example that bootmakers in Darlington voted 4:1 Liberal (disregarding one split between Vane and Farrer), 5:3 Conservative in Stockton and 3:0 Conservative in Bishop Auckland (disregarding two splits between Vane and Farrer), but this does not prove that bootmakers in general were either Conservative or Liberal, but rather that it varied from place to place, from bootmaker to bootmaker and by inference from influence to influence. The fact that three of the above sample split between the two parties reinforces the idea that the profession did not have a clear party line to follow, and, although in each place there appears to be a trend in favour of one or other party, this could be attributed to the general political leaning of the place or to the political bias of the customers rather than of the profession as such.

To take another example, the butchers, who according to Vincent were habitually Tory, seem to vary from each other even within the same town.

TABLE III

<u>THE VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF BUTCHERS, 1841</u>				
	B	V	F	Total votes identified
Darlington	4	4	2	10
Stockton	6	4	5	15
Bishop Auckland	6	3	4	13

Thus there is an obvious division of opinion among the butchers identified, and any preference shown is towards the Liberal, not Tory candidates, particularly in Liberal Darlington.

Moreover, if the different professions are grouped, as in the table below, it is clear that, apart from the Anglican clergy who were mainly Conservative,⁽³⁴⁾ the trade groups were politically divided,



showing slight bias towards the political leaning of the town in which they operated, including the artisans and retailers, whose importance Nossiter stresses as the core of Radicalism.⁽³⁵⁾ However, Nossiter does concede that in the rural areas and smaller market towns they were subject to external pressures, and the fact that there was no Radical candidate nor real Radical movement in South Durham in 1841 explains why his urban-based theory would not appear to apply to this constituency, despite its three important towns.

TABLE IV

VOTING BEHAVIOUR BY OCCUPATION, 1841

Darlington

	B	V	F	Total votes identified
Gentry & nobility	20	17	10	47
Clergy (Anglican)		1	11	12
Professional	2	2	3	7
Brewers & wine merchants		3	3	6
Publicans	5	6	5	16
Artisans & retailers	37	49	24	110
Industrial business				0
Agricultural business	1	1		2
Unskilled labour	1	1		2
	66	80	56	202

Stockton

	B	V	F	Total votes identified
Gentry & nobility	8	8	9	25
Clergy (Anglican)	1	1	11	13
Professional	2	5	6	13
Brewers & wine merchants	4	2	4	10
Publicans			1	1
Artisans & retailers	43	44	50	137
Industrial business	4	4	5	13
Agricultural business	1	1	3	5
Unskilled labour		1	3	4
	63	66	92	221

TABLE IV (contd)

Bishop Auckland

	B	V	F	Total votes identified
Gentry & nobility	10	12	5	27
Clergy (Anglican)	4	2	10	16
Professional	3	3		6
Brewers & wine merchants	2	2	1	5
Publicans				
Artisans & retailers	33	32	24	89
Industrial business	3	3	1	7
Agricultural business	7	7		14
Unskilled labour	1	1		2
	63	62	41	166

Moreover, Moore not only dismisses occupational categories as irrelevant to voting behaviour, but also electoral qualification, except as far as it reveals an urban/rural split between mainly urban 40s. freeholders and rural £50 tenants-at-will.⁽³⁶⁾ From a study of the qualifications of electors in the Stockton Polling District, which polled overall in favour of Farrer, it is indeed apparent that a high proportion of occupiers of land and those with copyhold houses or freehold land polled Conservative, presumably following rural influences, in contrast to the owners of freehold houses and buildings whose vote was more evenly distributed between Vane, Farrer and Bowes. However, once again, the figures cannot be conclusive since they fail to show other factors which guided voting.

TABLE V

VOTING BY ELECTORAL QUALIFICATION IN STOCKTON POLLING DISTRICT, 1841.

Qualification (from Poll Book)	B	V	F	Total
Freehold Land	25	28	40	93
Freehold House/Building	188	208	201	597
Land as occupier	46	61	128	235
House as occupier	13	14	10	37
Copyhold Land	12	10	13	35
Copyhold House	22	16	52	90
Shareholders	18	18	15	51
Leasehold Land	15	15	26	56
Leasehold House	9	7	11	27
Redeemed Tax			1	1
Glebe & Tithes	1	2	1	4
Annuity	1	1		2

In default of ratebooks and of census returns with details from which wealth can be gleaned, it is difficult to assess the correlation between wealth and voting behaviour, but using the Report to the General Board of Health which quotes the proportion of deaths per thousand of population in the different streets in Darlington, it is possible to gain an idea of relative poverty of the different areas in Darlington and to compare this with voting.⁽³⁷⁾

TABLE VI

VOTING BY STREET IN DARLINGTON, 1841 SHOWING THE NUMBER
OF DEATHS PER THOUSAND AND THE AVERAGE AGE ATTAINED IN
EACH STREET

Street	No. of deaths in 1000	Average age of death Yrs.Mths.		Votes			Total votes identified	% Liberal
				B	V	F		
Prebend Row	47.63	33	10	2	3	1	6	83.33
Park Street	35.13	22	1	6	8	8	22	63.64
Skinnergate	33.45	34	4	6	7	3	16	81.25
Priestgate	29.32	33	11	7	10	7	24	70.83
Bakehouse Square	28.58	16	½	2	1	2	5	60.00
Bondgate	27.11	26	6	5	8	7	20	65.00
Northgate	26.96	34	8	20	21	5	46	89.13
Clay Row	26.38	28	8	4	5	1	10	90.00
Tubwell Row	25.92	26	8	3	5	5	13	61.54
Freemans Place	25.69	35	9	10	5	7	22	68.18
Post House Wynd	25.14	38	5	-	-	1	1	0.00
Horse Market	24.37	30	5	2	3	3	8	62.50
Houndgate	22.12	17	1	3	6	3	12	75.00
King Street	21.38	32	1	2	2	-	4	100.00
Hope Town	19.78	31	11	2	2	-	4	100.00
Queen Street	19.48	48	10	1	3	1	5	80.00
High Row	18.37	27	9	10	12	9	31	70.97
Bank Top	17.24	19	6	8	11	4	23	82.61
Blackwell Gate	15.73	29	11	14	15	5	34	85.29
Grange Road)								
+ Wellington Place)	14.39	51	5	3	4	3	10	70.00
+ Northumberland Place)								
West Terrace	13.33	44	6	-	1	1	2	50.00
Mount Pleasant)								
+ Belle Vue)	11.74	56	7½	3	5	-	8	100.00
High Terrace	7.12	44	0	1	1	-	2	100.00
Paradise Row)								
+ Paradise Terrace)	4.57	53	3	2	3	2	7	71.43

However, there seems to be little correlation between proportion of deaths and age at death and percentage Liberal vote, implying that wealth or poverty of area did not, in itself, influence voting behaviour.⁽³⁸⁾

b) Hartlepool

Hartlepool was a growing market town and seaport within the Stockton District which owed its importance to its suitability as a shipping point and as a base for fishing as Slater describes:-

Hartlepool owes its rapid rise chiefly to its southern outlets, the want of which is so much felt at Sunderland. This fortunate position has been in some measure seconded by the Dock and Railway Company who now have a floating dock of twenty acres, where they can load five thousand tons of coal a day; while the entrance is allowed to be one of the most easy of access of any of the tidal harbours along the coast....

The exports of coal are now greatly facilitated by the completion of the various railways in connexion with the collieries.....

The demand for fresh fish has for many years been progressively increasing and the City of Durham and the counties of York and Lancaster now take large quantities off weekly, London also is indebted to this port for turbot. (39)

Before the rapid development of the town after the coming of the railway, the fishermen had been the dominant element in town, causing much disorder because of the lack of civil government, the position of mayor and councillors being an empty honour for the gentry of County Durham, and being 'a law unto themselves'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The rapid rise of population, which increased from a mere 1,330 in 1831 to 5,256 in 1841, and the increasing emphasis upon the export of coal, led to some decline in the predominance of the fishermen in the town, but they were still an important political force in 1841, and numerous propagandist pamphlets were issued in their name, although not written by them. Indeed their support was not only sought in this election, but also in 1844 in the campaign against the West Hartlepool Dock Scheme, a clear indication of their continuing importance in the town,⁽⁴¹⁾

Moreover, Bowes' canvassers continually referred to the fishermen as an influential group, witnessed by Burrell's delight in obtaining promises of a split vote for Bowes from twenty six of them.⁽⁴²⁾

However, politically, the fishermen acted as tenants of the Duke of Cleveland, the Lord of the manor, who was acknowledged to have

'completely overwhelming' influence there, and thus Vane was guaranteed of their support although 'his sentiments remain undeveloped to the fishermen of this Galilee' despite a five minute speech to them.⁽⁴³⁾

This was realised by Bowes' assistants who annotated the canvass book for Hartlepool as follows:-

This voter [Michael Coulson of Hartlepool] is a Fisherman and one general remark had better be made here which will apply to the great majority of the Fishermen. Most of them have promised plumpers to Ld. Vane with an understanding that to split on Mr. Bowes if his Lordship be safe. This being their almost unanimous intention, it was thought adviseable not to canvass them: but Mr. Burrell collected a few together who promised to split. Those who have not done so will be marked 'Fishermen'.'⁽⁴⁴⁾

In the event, as with the majority of the Duke's tenantry, the fishermen were told by Vane that they could use their second vote as they wished, knowing that they were in favour of splitting with Bowes, and thus Burrell could assure Bowes that all but one of the fishermen had promised him half a vote.⁽⁴⁵⁾ At the poll, of a sample of seven electors designated as 'fishermen' on the canvass sheet, all seven split between Bowes and Vane.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The other elements in the town seemed, on the whole, as indifferent to the issues of the day as were the fishermen, despite the heated contest raging between the Hartlepool Dock and Railway Company and the West Hartlepool Company concerning the development of the latter. Little mention was made to the controversy in the 1841 election campaign although it was to become the centre of large amount of publicity and activity in 1844 when the Stockton and Hartlepool Railway interest placed its Bill before Parliament for the construction of the West Dock.⁽⁴⁷⁾

It is true that out of the total of eight voters entitled to vote in the Stockton District by virtue of their shares in the Hartlepool Dock Company, six split on Bowes and Vane, one plumped for Bowes and only one split on Farrer and Vane, but this followed the general trend of voting in the town and cannot be attributed solely to the dock issue.⁽⁴⁸⁾

In addition, there were some elements of Anti-Corn Law feeling and

Baty reported that the three electors who had conversed with Oxly and Parker had declared a general feeling in favour of a fixed duty and felt that if a candidate was brought forward with those principles, the electors of Hartlepool would vote for him 'to a man'.⁽⁴⁹⁾ However the fact that only three electors gave this view and Parker and Oxly did not feel it worth their while to call a free-trade meeting there, implies a lack of enthusiasm, a fact borne out by Garwood's observations. 'People, hereabouts, are very apathetic, and don't like being stirred up twice when once would do'.⁽⁵⁰⁾

However, Garwood felt that an immediate personal appearance by Bowes was essential, every elector he had seen asking for one, and that an address by Joseph Pease in Bowes' support would produce 'a very great effect' showing that the influence of the Pease family extended to the town.⁽⁵¹⁾

Garwood had difficulty forming a committee for Bowes in Hartlepool because Vane had already engaged 'the most respectable folks' for his committee, and when formed it was, at best, 'well meaning but not effective'. Pulman's optimism that Bowes was 'all right in that quarter' was somewhat unfounded.⁽⁵²⁾

However Bowes gained nearly all his votes as splits by Vane's supporters and out of the 133 voters identified in the Stockton Division with residence in Hartlepool, 77 split between Vane and Bowes, 10 plumped for Vane, and 22 split between Vane and Farrer. Significantly no plumpers were recorded for Bowes, whilst Farrer received 22.⁽⁵³⁾

TABLE VII

VOTING BY HARTLEPOOL VOTERS, 1841

	<u>Bowes</u>	<u>Vane</u>	<u>Farrer</u>	
Plumpers	-	10	22	
Splits	77	77	-	
Splits	2	-	2	
Splits	-	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>	
	79	109	46	234 Total Votes

However, the voters of Hartlepool felt aggrieved by the lack of recompense for their loyalty to Vane and Bowes as 'An Independent Elector' explained to Bowes after the election:-

A war cry is at present raised how shabby "Bowes and Vane" are, they neither think of the rich man nor poor friend after their votes are tendered - and we shall never see their faces more in Hartlepool. Advantage is taken of the ignorance of the lower orders who are very strong here, which often produces ill effects. Now I think were you and Lord Harry Vane to unite and give a Dinner and Ball to the more respectable part of the electors and a more humble fare to the fishermen, I am convinced it would materially strengthen your position and render your cause secure for the future. A popular demonstration would render the name of Bowes and Vane immortal. (54)

c) Darlington

This Division I consider is fairly entitled, and ought always to return to Parliament one Member connected with Mining, Shipping, Manufacturing and General Commercial interests of the Division - Admit this position, which I think cannot be denied, then who has so strong a claim to represent, watch over, and protect these interests as a member of your family? What family has done One Hundredth part as much to promote the interest of this District as your family has done? - Indeed I know of no thing great or good that has been done but your family have been the great movers in it. (55)

Thus wrote Charles Parker to Henry Pease in 1841 in an attempt to persuade him to stand for Parliament in place of his brother, and it was with foundation that he attributed a large portion of the greatness of Darlington to the Pease family, whose involvement in banking, textiles, shipping and the Stockton to Darlington railway had laid the foundations for much of the town's growth and prosperity.

In the eighteenth century, Darlington had been a small market town, whose industrial development was inhibited by poor communications with the coalfields and the sea, but after the opening of the Stockton and Darlington railway in 1825, a project supervised, financed and promoted by the Pease family in the face of considerable opposition, trade boomed. By 1831, Darlington had its own coalport, Middlesborough, to which the

railway was extended, a move brought about by Joseph Pease in direct competition with the rival town of Stockton. The building of the railway and new port not only brought about a dramatic change in the coal trade, but also led to the expansion of other industries such as textiles, iron and engineering, and by the 1850 s, the town's population had doubled from c. 12,000 to c. 25,000. The town of Darlington and the whole of the Tees Valley had been transformed, and the chief agents in this were the Quakers, as John Steel acknowledged in his 'Friendly Sketches' of 1876.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The Quaker movement was numerically small and socially almost entirely middle class,⁽⁵⁷⁾ but it held sway in the town out of all proportion to its numbers and unique in England. Even as late as 1876, Steel could write that 'they still largely constitute the purse and the governing bodies of the town',⁽⁵⁸⁾ and thus it is hardly surprising that they wielded considerable political influence as well.

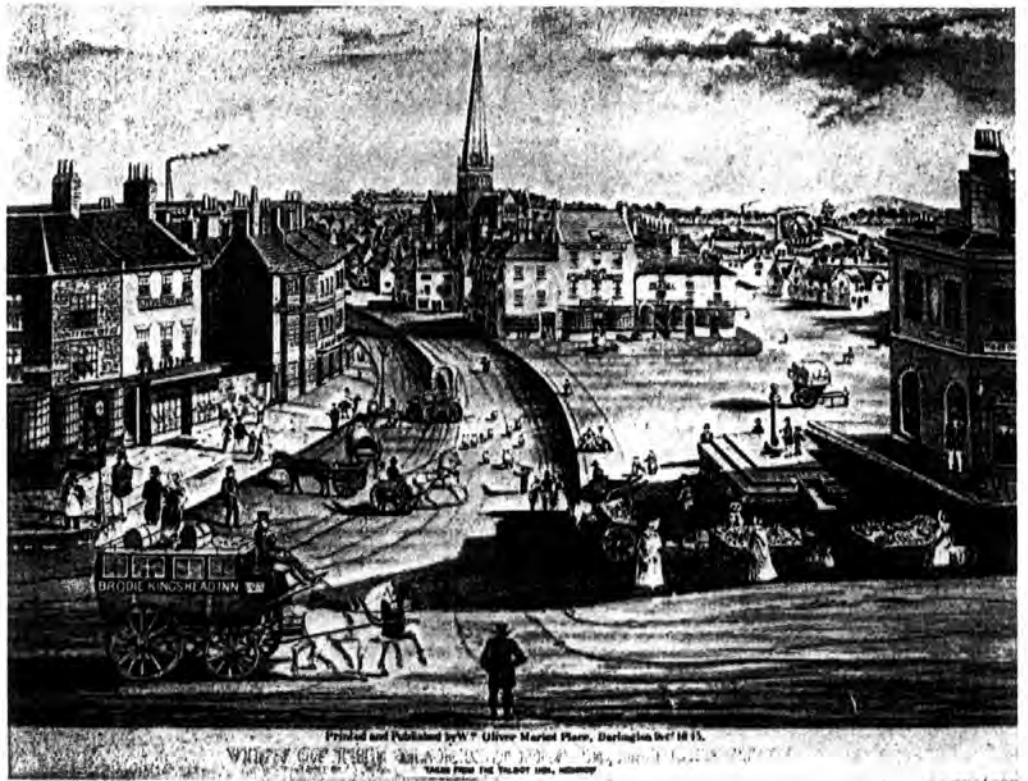
At first, the Friends had been doubtful about the propriety of their involvement in politics, and long debates arose amongst them as a result of Joseph Pease's decision to stand for Parliament in 1832.⁽⁵⁹⁾

However, having agreed to this step, albeit under the stipulation that 'displays' of popular feeling, drinking, lampooning and even canvassing were to be prevented, the Quakers took an active part in politics, placing their considerable influence and resources behind their chosen candidate. It is hard to evaluate the exact extent of this influence, but it is clear that it extended beyond the small circle of Friends who, as Non-Conformists, inevitably favoured the Liberals as the party of religious liberty, to the large number of workers employed in the firms run by the Pease and Backhouse families and the retailers who served them and no doubt felt it politic to vote the way that their respective employers or customers were known to prefer.

Pease's introduction of Bowes in Darlington was known to be a



PRINT OF STOCKTON HIGH STREET, 1790



PRINT OF DARLINGTON MARKET PLACE, 1843

'some service' to the latter and even in the rival towns of Hartlepool and Stockton, the influence which Pease could exert was called upon in Bowes' favour.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Thus the support of Joseph Pease and his supporters was of considerable importance to Bowes, and although at first the former felt that he ought to preserve silence because of the 'delicate' situation, by 19 June he was prepared to speak out 'more persuasively' and to send out 'letters of an earnest kind, pleading with my friends in the town constituencies for union and work'.⁽⁶¹⁾ Pease's former 'party' promised its support to Bowes, including that of the chairman, and although it was this group which was to lead the challenger against Bowes on the Corn Law question, their eventual support was placed behind Bowes and Vane and testified by the poll book.⁽⁶²⁾

d). Stockton

Stockton, once the 'Queen of Teeside',⁽⁶³⁾ was a great centre for the coal trade, a role substantiated by the coming of the railways. Having quarrelled with Darlington over the direction and use of the Stockton and Darlington railway, the Stockton promoters built their own line, the Clarence Railway, which came to boost the town's industries, including the wide range of manufactures described by Slater, just as the Stockton and Darlington railway had done for Darlington's.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Despite the temporary slump in trade and the rivalry of Middlesborough, Stockton and its rich suburb, Norton, a retreat for the wealthy,⁽⁶⁵⁾ was still a prosperous and important coal port in 1841 and was described as 'one of the third-class seaports of the British empire' by Thackeray.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Politically, Stockton was traditionally a Tory 'stronghold' and the centre of the newly formed Conservative Association, probably because of its longstanding rivalry with Darlington and the influence of the Tory Londonderry and Eldon whose estates lay in its vicinity.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Indeed, Londonderry tried to set up the town as a Parliamentary borough in 1832

In the final poll, as to be expected, Farrer obtained the greatest number of votes in Stockton town, namely 128, with Bowes and Vane polling 86 and 72 votes, respectively, following the general Conservative trend of the whole Polling District.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Comparing the results of both 1832 and 1841 elections in the Stockton District, it is noteworthy that there was a considerable shift of votes from Pease and Bowes to Farrer.⁽⁷¹⁾

TABLE VIII

STOCKTON POLLING DISTRICT
COMPARISON OF VOTING, 1832 & 1841

1832	1841						Total
	B	V	F	B & V	B & F	V & F	
P	5	4	37	42	7	3	98
B	-	-	13	5	5	3	26
S	-	2	19	8	1	5	35
P&B	3	1	50	17	8	8	87
P&S	-	-	18	10	3	6	37
B&S	-	7	24	18	7	3	59
Total	8	14	161	100	31	28	342

1832

P - Pease (Lib)
B - Bowes (Lib)
S - Shafto (Cons/Lib)

1841

B - Bowes (Lib)
V - Vane (Lib)
F - Farrer (Cons)

CHAPTER 7 - VOTING PATTERNS - TOWNS

1. However P. Joyce shows that poll books can be used in certain industrial towns to reveal the influence of factory owners on the votes of employees living in the neighbourhood of their factory, bearing out John Morley's observation on Lancashire in the 1860 s:-

'As a rule in the cotton districts.....the man in truly feudal spirit, takes part with his master and wears his political colour'.

P. Joyce, 'The Factory Politics of Lancashire in the Later Nineteenth Century', The Historical Journal, xviii, 3(1975), pp.525-553;

Cf. Moore, The Politics of Deference, p.9:-

'The differences (between countryside and town) would appear to have been more of degree than kind!'

2. D/St/171/154; D/St/Box 172 Crawhall and Roddam to Bowes, 2 Feb. 1842.
3. E.g. D/St/171/79.
4. D/St/171/47; D/St/171/19.
5. Sir Alfred E. Pease, Elections and Recollections, p.24; D/St/171/240.
6. Appendix I;
- For other examples see D/St/Box 159 Hagg to Bowes, 14 June 1841;
- Richardson to Bowes, 24 June 1841.
7. Kemp, History (1952) pp.152-153; D.G. Wright, 'A Radical Borough: Parliamentary Politics in Bradford, 1832-1841', Northern History iv (1969), pp.146-7.
8. D/St/171/195. 'They point to the latter part of Mr. Bowes' address which affords him an opportunity of honourably retiring'; D/St/170/99.
9. D/St/170/134; D/St/170/135.
10. D/St/171/78 - Henry Pease's name was put forward as the only suitable candidate but was struck out;

D/St/171/183, 'I think there is not much to fear from them....

they cannot bring forward a repeal candidate, they lack the means'.

11. D/St/171/40; D/St/171/158.
12. D/St/171/136, Resolution of 'the Anti-Corn Law and Liberal electors of Stockton', 18 June 1841.
13. D/St/171/182; D/St/v731; D/St/171/270 Agents accounts e.g. Rymer's; The Durham Advertiser and The Durham Chronicle, June - July 1841.
14. D/St/171/124.
15. D/St/171/184, Pulman re Stockton, 16 June 1841,

'All went off tolerably well excepting some little interruptions from the Corn Law repealers and two or three Chartists';

D/St/Box 159, Vane to Bowes, 16 June 1841 re Hartlepool,

'I was a good deal hissed by the Chartists';

The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841.
16. The Durham Chronicle, 11 June 1841;

D/St/Box 159, Hutt to Bowes, 27 June 1841.
17. The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841; Cf. Lucy Brown, 'The Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League', in Asa Briggs, ed., Chartist Studies (1959) pp. 342-371.
18. Poll Book, 1841, pp.16-38.
19. D/St/Box 159, William Hutt to John Bowes, 27 June 1841.
20. D/St/Box 159, Jonathan Backhouse to John Bowes, 12 June 1841.
21. D/St/170/41.
22. The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841.
23. See Cp. 3; Cf. T.J. Nossiter 'Voting Behaviour, 1832-1872', Political Studies xviii (1970) p.384.
24. See Cp. 3(e) Conclusion.
25. See Cp. 4.
26. G. Himmelfarb (ed.), Essays on Politics (New York 1963) p.311; Cf. D/LO/C 132/2/12 Maynard to Londonderry

'If those annual payments are not continued as heretofore

your Lordships' influence and interest in the City of Durham will be irretrievably ruined'.

27. See note (2)

28. D/St/171/259, Armstrong's bill for £17 3s.

'of which £12. 3s. is wholly unauthorised. He is a voter and his brother was on the committee and was very active and useful: it would therefore be impolitic to risk offending him. Mr. Richard Hunter's bill of £13 is also too bad: but the slightest attempt to diminish it would set not only him but a numerous clan of fishermen (all voters) in determined hostility for the future';

See also Cp. 4.

29. See Cp. 4 and Cp. 9.

30. D/St/171/40; D/St/171/105;

D/St/Box 172, Hutchinson to Wheldon, 30 June 1841;

Cf. D/St/171/59

'The two Rystons of Cornforth and the Joplins of Ferryhill expressed some dissatisfaction at Mr. Bowes for having neglected, as they avowed to get some friend into the Excise'.

31. J.R. Vincent, Poll Books: How Victorians Voted (1967), pp. 5, 11, 23, 27.

32. Moore, The Politics of Deference, p.5

33. Appendix VIII.

34. See above.

35. T.J. Nossiter, 'Voting Behaviour, 1832-1872', Political Studies, xviii (1970) pp.381-382; See Cp. 1 note (11).

36. Moore, The Politics of Deference, p.4.

37. Report to the General Board of Health ed. H.J. Smith, Darlington 1850, pp.21-22.

38. Cf. Nossiter, 'Voting Behaviour, 1832-1872', Political Studies, xviii (1970), pp.383-384:-

Using the census returns and ratebooks for Gateshead, 1852 Nossiter proves that the more successful voted Whig or Tory and the least successful voted Radical, although admitting that the results are too small to be more than 'suggestive guidelines'.

However in the case of South Durham, there was no Radical candidate and the aristocracy, gentry and lesser men were divided between Liberal and Conservatives.

(See above)

39. Slater's Directory, p.210.
40. R. Wood, West Hartlepool, pp.26-27.
41. Ibid. pp. 30-33.
42. D/St/171/169.
43. Wood, West Hartlepool, p. 29; D/St/Box 159, Wheldon to Bowes, 9 June 1841; D/St/171/155; Cf. D/LO/C 132/2/6.
44. D/St/Box 172 Canvass sheet for Hartlepool.
45. D/St/ Box 159, Vane to Bowes, 2 July 1841:-

'At Hartlepool, some of the Fishermen told me that it was their wish to divide with you but that they would plump upon me if I wished, and I was told that this was their general feeling. I told them that I only asked for one vote, of course leaving them to give the other to you as I knew they wished';

D/St/Box 159, Burrell to Bowes, 28 June 1841.
46. Poll book, 1841, pp. 27-38; D/St/Box 172, canvass sheet.
47. Wood, West Hartlepool, pp. 32-33.
48. Poll book, 1841, pp. 27-38.
49. D/St/171/240.
50. D/St/171/158.
51. Ibid.; D/ St/171/160.
52. D/ St/171/158; D/St/171/159; D/St/171/191.
53. Poll book, 1841, pp. 27-38.
54. D/St/Box 159 'An Independent Elector' to Bowes, 12 July 1841.
55. Darlington Library Mss. U 415 c, Charles Parker to Henry Pease, 13 June 1841.
56. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, pp.129-130;
 J. Steel, Friendly Sketches (1876), p.92;
 Darlington Library Mss., U418E, 'An Historical Outline of the

Association of Edward Pease, Joseph Pease and Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, with the Industrial Development of South Durham and North Yorkshire, and with the Creation of the Railway System';

W.H.D. Longstaffe, The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Darlington (1854), p.333.

57. The Quakers numbered 'barely 200' in 1850 - Ed. A.E. Pease, The Diaries of Edward Pease, (1907) p.281.
Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms, p.131
58. Steel, Friendly Sketches, p.92
59. Ed. A.E. Pease, The Diaries of Edward Pease, p.65.
60. D/St/Box 159, Charles Walker to Bowes, 20 June 1841;
D/St/171/242; D/St/171/160.
61. D/St/Box 159, Joseph Pease to Bowes, 19 June 1841 and 21 June 1841.
62. D/St/Box 159, Wheldon to Bowes, 8 June 1841.
63. P.A. White, Portrait of County Durham, p.39;
See also Debate, 5 March 1832, 3 Hansard, x, p.1118.
64. See Cp. 3; Slater's Directory, pp. 240-246;
S. Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of England (1844), pp.212-214.
65. White, op.cit., p.40.
66. Thackeray, Notes, p.421.
67. See Cp. 5 notes (29-30); Cp. 6.
68. The Durham Chronicle, 10 March 1832; Debate, 5 March, 1832,
Hansard, 3rd series, x, pp.1118-1121; 21 May 1832, Hansard 3rd series, xii, pp.1094-6.

I am indebted to A.J. Heesom of the University of Durham for these references.

69. D/St/Box 159 Charles Walker to Bowes, 20 June 1841;
D/St/171/79.

70. See Appendix VII, Stockton town;
 Cf. Stockton District Poll, 1841

	B	V	F
Plumpers	18	27	386
Splits	282	282	-
Splits	58	-	58
Splits	<u>-</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>77</u>
Total	358	386	521

71. Poll Books, 1832 and 1841.

CHAPTER 8 - VOTING PATTERNS - PARTY

....An ignoramus to ask whether Mr. Smith was a Whig or Tory; whether he believed in the opinions of Lord John Russell, or acquiesced in the doctrines of Sir Robert Peel? Smith was green and white, as other men in the country were pink; and I do believe the candidates might have changed their opinions, and a vast body of electors would have been pink and green and white still⁽¹⁾

Thus wrote Thackeray about the importance of party considerations to the voters of South Durham in 1841, illustrating the parochialism of many of the constituencies and the local significance which supposedly national parties took on.

In fact the candidates, bowing to a long tradition of aversion to overt party connexion, denied any party alignment. It was the contemporary ideal that a politician should be independent in opinion and votes, divorced from all dictates of party or connexion, and although all knew of the divide between ideal and reality, the legend lingered, and therefore Farrer offered to the electors his vote 'unfettered by party'.⁽²⁾

However, Bowes although denying any party connexion in his address of 1832, by 1841 was prepared to associate himself with the Liberal party 'with which I act' and whose policy until 1841 enjoyed his 'constant support'.⁽³⁾

Party ties, whether admitted or denied, were indeed of some importance in the adoption of national policy but should not be overemphasised, for on the fundamental issue of the Liberal Corn Law proposals Vane and Farrer were unsure at first and Bowes was not prepared to compromise his own interests for those of his party.⁽⁴⁾ Indeed in many constituencies the candidates totally failed to comprehend the nature of the national party line.⁽⁵⁾

Nor were the Parliamentary party leaders important figureheads in the constituencies and the supposition made by Croker that the 1841 election was really a simple contest for "Peel or not Peel"⁽⁶⁾ is

demonstrably wrong. As Thackeray shows, the names of Peel, Russell and presumably, Melbourne bore no real significance to inhabitants of the North-east and were barely mentioned in the election addresses, speeches and manifestos. Although the policies and actions of the government were at times debated and its proposals on the Corn Laws were supposed to be the platform on which the election was fought, it seems to have been seen more as an administrative institution than an instrument of party.

Moreover, Peel gave no clear lead on policy, particularly in relation to the Corn Laws and no one had any real idea of how his government would act, should the Conservatives come to power. Supposedly Conservative policies varied throughout the country and no real guidance was given to individual candidates such as Farrer.⁽⁷⁾

However what the Tories lacked in policy they made up in organisation, and although there was little guidance on election issues, a strong lead on the mobilisation of the electorate came from the Carlton Club and the local registration associations. Not until after the second Reform Act were the constituency associations able to contribute to central party policy and solidarity, but in the intervening period between local and central party organisation, the political club acted as a means of supervising the organisation and conduct of elections.⁽⁸⁾ One of the points held against Farrer was his association with the Carlton Club of which he was a member, in itself a 'badge of allegiance' to the Conservative party.⁽⁹⁾ In addition Farrer had his own London committee which sat daily at 5 Suffolk Place, Pall Mall East, under the chairmanship of H.C. Blakett.⁽¹⁰⁾ One of the most momentous, albeit unexpected results of the first Reform Act was the effect of registration on party organisation and J.A. Thomas supposes that the whole system of party organisation in Britain owes its origin, 'not to an understanding of the need for political parties in a Parliamentary system of government, but to political partisanship which detected in the imperfections of an ill conceived electoral system an opportunity to advance party interests'.⁽¹¹⁾

In this way, the Conservative Registration Association in Stockton, formed c. 1837, and the Liberal Registration Association in Darlington, created in 1841, helped to crystallise the existence of the rival parties in the South Durham constituency.⁽¹²⁾

Thus party organisation can be seen to have existed outside Parliament, although lacking in solidarity and nationally dictated policy, but how important were party considerations in the placing of votes in 1841?

To the electors of South Durham, party loyalties did seem to play some part, so that Robert Harvey could write to Bowes, 'Had you been a Conservative, you most assuredly should have had my vote and interest' and John Green of Wolsingham, although strongly disagreeing with Bowes' views on the Corn Laws, promised him half a vote in the absence of any other Liberal candidate since Bowes' principles were generally in agreement with the government and 'I cannot support a Tory'. He also proclaimed a general feeling, in Wolsingham at least, for 'the triumphant return of two staunch supporters of Liberalism'.⁽¹³⁾

That there existed a strong party rivalry in the county is undeniable, enhanced not only by the reform associations but also by the partisan newspapers, the Conservative Durham Advertiser and the Liberal Durham Chronicle, and is substantiated by the voting patterns themselves, the majority either plumping for Farrer or splitting between Bowes and Vane. There was relatively little cross-splitting or plumping for one Liberal candidate as shown in tables below:-⁽¹⁴⁾

TABLE IX

1841 SOUTH DURHAM ELECTION, FINAL POLL

	Bowes	Vane	Farrer
Plumpers	126	146	1148
Splits	2087	2087	-
Splits	277	-	277
Splits	-	314	314
Total	2490	2547	1739

TABLE X

1841 SOUTH DURHAM, FINAL POLL SHOWN AS
% OF TOTAL VOTES

	Bowes	Vane	Farrer
Plumpers	1.86%	2.15%	16.94%
Splits	30.80%	30.80%	-
Splits	4.09%	-	4.09%
Splits	-	4.63%	4.63%

However, although some, in common with John Green,⁽¹⁵⁾ appear to have considered the Parliamentary implications of voting for particular candidates, and some seem to have given one vote for principle even if the other was dictated by interest,⁽¹⁶⁾ the majority, like Thackeray's Mr. Smith of Stuffington apparently had no real idea of party beyond the loyalty to a certain colour or name. Those under the influence of landlord or employer had little chance of expressing any party feeling of their own, and those whose loyalty changed with their beer presumably had none.⁽¹⁷⁾

Usually allegiance to a particular colour was a longstanding tradition of family, business, profession or religious belief, but in some cases the changing alignments of bishops or landlords caused reversals to take place.⁽¹⁸⁾ Thus, at this level, since the aristocracy and country gentry tended to provide leadership for the two 'parties', party was important and issues could be decisive as Davis suggests in his attack on Moore's 'general picture of non-party factional politics'.⁽¹⁹⁾ Moreover, the intelligensia had the chance of a more fully informed political decision, although personal interest rather than party policy tended to obviate the need for choice. However, the less well-educated seem to fit well into Thackeray's model, showing the danger of overstressing, like Davis,⁽²⁰⁾ the importance of political principles to individual voters:-

Here among the farmers, pink and green are the only points, and reasoning quite supererogatory .(21)

Thus South Durham bears out Gash's observations in relation to Berkshire, 'interest, class, religion and personalities - these rather than party loyalties were the ingredients of local politics'.⁽²²⁾

CHAPTER 8 - VOTING PATTERNS - PARTY

1. Thackeray, Notes, p.355
2. The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841.
3. D/St/Box 167, Address to the Electors, 17 April 1832;
D/St/169/28.
4. See cp. 3.
5. E.g. Bradford - see cp. 10.
6. Kemp, History (1952) p.150.
7. Kemp, History (1952), p.151
8. Gash, Politics, p.394.
9. Thackeray, Firebrand Correspondence (D/St/146 Bundle 1);
D/St/169/21; Gash, Politics, p.398.
10. The Morning Herald, 22 June 1841
11. J.A. Thomas, 'The System of Registration and the Development of
Party Organisation, 1832-1870', History, (xxxv, 1950) p.98.
12. See cp. 5.
13. D/St/171/46; D/St/171/41.
14. 'The State and Result of the Poll', Poll book, 1841.
15. See note (13)
16. See cp. 6 note (48); Cf. Davis, Political Change and Continuity, p.101.
17. See cp. 4.
18. See cp. 1.
19. Davis, Political Change and Continuity, pp.93-97;
D.C. Moore, 'The Other Face of Reform', Victorian Studies, Vol V,
no. 1. pp.12-13.
20. Davis, Political Change and Continuity, pp.100-101.
21. Thackeray, Notes, p.421.
22. Gash, Politics, p.320.

CHAPTER 9 - MALPRACTICEa) Violence and Bribery

In passing through the town, I observe nearly all the windows in the Town Hall are broken by the riotous inebriates of last night. Oh, the wickedness of contested elections.(1)

Thus lamented Edward Pease the day after the fight described so vividly by Thackeray and by the Durham Advertiser, in which the police who had come to quiet the riot, became themselves the object of the stone throwing and were forced to flee into the station house from which they only escaped by dressing in plain clothes, breaking a panel in the door and retreating through the newsroom.(2)

In fact, although N.P. Wiggins was sure at this stage that the crowd, 'peacefully smashing the town hall windows' were in perfect good humour, 'having no enmity but against the glass and the policemen', he soon came to feel 'no small alarm' when he himself became an object of the mob. Pease felt it necessary to arm himself against it and some were even kept off the streets by fear of attack.(3)

But was this violence deliberately organised? The newspapers were quick to attribute blame to their rivals, the Durham Chronicle claiming the disturbances were caused by Conservative agitators, 'mercenary howlers, hired and inflamed by drink' and although difficult to prove legally the responsibility of Farrer's committee, 'who else can be pointed out as being at all likely to have provided the miserable rabble with money, drink and ribands?'. Whilst the Durham Advertiser reported that the 'Whig Radical anti-corn law clique' had raised the passions of the populace, although acknowledging that the clique had lost control of these passions once aroused.(4) Mewburn similarly attributed the violence to 'hired ruffians', employed by Farrer at 1s. per head and an abundance of drink to cause disruption during the speeches of Bowes and Joseph Pease, and, indeed, there is evidence of payment of the same amount per head by Bowes for 'booes', whilst money was given to supporters

to provide a display of magnificence and strength.⁽⁵⁾

However, although the campaign organisers may have been behind the payment for vocal disruption, the actual rioting resulted from the willingness of the publicans to provide the populace with ale. It is impossible to prove whether such directions came from above or from the publicans' self interest but, although Thackeray implies that it was the former, the examination of accounts by the Finance Committee suggests otherwise.⁽⁶⁾

It is not the voters who usually engage in electioneering affrays, as I am given to understand, but a lower class of persons, who are.....more violent and boisterous than the regular voters are. If there are factories about an electioneering town, there will always be found among the workmen some ardent politicians who generally side with the weaker party, be it Pink or Green, and who, though entirely disowned by the leaders, will do their work in spite of them; will beat for instance, the Green voters, will prevent the constables from keeping order, and will get drunk, and for nothing too; they have not a shilling to themselves, and yet no lord can be more intoxicated. Who gives them drink?I am induced to believe, such is the electioneering ardour and purity of this country that the landlords of the alehouses leave their cellars open during electioneering time, and gratuitously refresh the patriots of their neighbourhood. At least, if the landlords do not furnish the liquour it is impossible to say who does, for the electioneering committee repel with scorn the idea of bribery.⁽⁷⁾

In addition to the refreshment given to the non electors, who appear to have been primarily involved in the disruption and violence, were the treating and favours endowed upon the voters themselves as an incentive to exercise their franchise in the service of their benefactor. In South Durham this form appears to have been the only sort of bribery practiced, generally felt acceptable in the elections of the period, although Bowes' committee thought it wise to delay payment of such bills until after the meeting of Parliament.⁽⁸⁾ However it is impossible to prove whether any votes were actually bought and so it would be misleading to discount the possibility of direct bribery in addition, although as Thackeray points out, the numbers of voters were great enough to make such a course almost impossible.⁽⁹⁾

b). Other Malpractice

After the election, the Conservatives naturally were swift to claim foul play and to denounce the 'Liberal trickery' by which their opponents had defeated them.

The screw was put upon all those tenants whom the Whig landlords had under their control - every means was used to induce the electors to break their promises - an unblushing coalition was formed - personation of voters was resorted to and even dead men were called from their graves to record their votes for the coalition candidates. The influence of the Duke of Cleveland and Mr. Beaumont was divided to a man between Lord Harry Vane and Mr. Bowes, and we have heard that even the Bishop of Durham's tenants got a private hint to oppose Mr. Farrer.(10)

Indeed, all these charges, were to some extent justified, since the exercise of influence and the existence of a quasi-coalition are undeniable⁽¹¹⁾ and impersonation did occur, as Brignal confessed.

You will see by the cheque papers that a person who is unknown to all of us personated one of Farrer's voters. I regret this much because there was no occasion for any such step. Farrer has personated a dead man, but that is no reason.(12)

In addition, there is evidence of double voting about which William Hutt made a formal complaint against the Conservatives, and of the buying of freeholds specifically to gain votes.⁽¹³⁾

However, there is no evidence of intimidation by landlords as the Durham Advertiser claimed and although, once again, lack of evidence may not be sufficient proof, other indications suggest that direct threats were on the whole unnecessary in this constituency.⁽¹⁴⁾

In fact, all these dubious practices were integral to the normal election procedure of the period and were practised by both parties throughout the country. It was only in cases of proven and overt bribery or corruption, demonstrably traceable to the candidate that an appeal against him could be accepted, at least until the Bribery Act at the end of 1841⁽¹⁵⁾ and the Conservatives of South Durham made no attempt to initiate legal proceedings against the Liberals, feeling it wiser to work towards a future victory, achieved by the development

of favourable circumstances in both 1847 and 1865.

CHAPTER 9 - MALPRACTICE

1. E. Pease, Diary, p.178.
2. Thackeray, Notes, pp.419-420;
The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841;
F. Mewburn, The Larchfield Diary, Extracts from the Diary of the
late Mr. Mewburn (1876), p.57.
3. Thackeray, Notes, pp. 420, 422, 425-427; See also cp. 5 note (54);
D/St/Box 159, Moyle to Bowes, 24 June 1841. 'I have not been in
the street since the bustle commenced'.
4. The Durham Chronicle, 2 July 1841;
The Durham Advertiser, 2 July 1841.
5. Mewburn, Larchfield Diary, p.57; cp. 4 note (72);
D/St/Box 159 Joseph Pease to Bowes, 1841.

'Farrer is here [Darlington]. He made a fitful
appearance with some 12 or 20 Eldon tenantry on
horseback, plenty of music and ribbons - I am told
there was to be 5s. per man given to drag it in, but
it could not be managed'.
6. See cp. 4 note (73); cp. 5 note (26).
7. Thackeray, Notes, p.417.
8. See cp. 4 note (68); D/St/v731.
9. Thackeray, Notes, p.420.
10. The Durham Advertiser, 16 July 1841.
11. See cp. 6.
12. D/St/Box 172 Brignal to Chairman of Bowes' Committee, Darlington,
10 July 1841.
13. D/St/171/64i-ii; D/St/171/277;
D/St/Box 172 Brignal to Chairman of Bowes' Committee, Darlington,
10 July 1841;
D/St/Box 159 A.L. Potter to Bowes, 25 June 1841

'Having bought my small farmhold's for the express
purpose of obtaining Liberal members for the Southern
Division.'

D/St/Box 172, List of persons voting twice, Stockton;

Cf. The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841, Advertisement entitled 'Votes for North Durham' relating to sale of 3 freehold cottages at Framwellgate Moor.

14. See cp. 6.

15. A.J. Heeson, 'A Corrupt Election Compromise in 1842', Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland (N.S.), IV, (1978), p.55.

CHAPTER 10 - THE 1841 GENERAL ELECTION - THE CONSTITUENCIES.

The Elections - Free Trade Agitation.

- Never amid the bewilderment of election-gossip did uncertainty seem so universal. The Tories are confident in assertion; but they appear to boast at random, relying on some vague impression that the registrings will be in their favour, and there is a sort of reaction somewhere. The Whig candidates hardly know whether they can best procure themselves to be received as sincere Freetraders by making appendage to their party promises or by making party subservient to Free Trade (The Spectator) (1)

The 1841 election was held on a platform of Free Trade, an issue which, however, caused much confusion among the constituencies. In some, such as the City of London, the Liberal candidates adopted a clear free-trade policy, Lord John Russell, 'frankly and explicitly [putting] the election on the right issue - anti monopoly or restriction',⁽²⁾ in some such as Windsor, the Liberal members resigned from their seats because of their difference with the Ministers on the issue,⁽³⁾ in some including Bradford, the Liberals misinterpreted the Government's proposals, believing them to be in favour of total repeal,⁽⁴⁾ whilst in others, including South Durham, the Liberal candidates continued to stand despite their overt refusal to accept the Ministerial policy. Meanwhile their Conservative opponents lacked any clear lead on the issue at all, their leader '[exulting] in having no budget to produce'.⁽⁵⁾

Similarly, the other main issues at stake varied in interpretation according to the individual candidates, the majority having no alternative solutions to offer for the problems arising from the present Poor Law and system of police, although claiming anxiety to modify the present situation in the way that would best please the people.⁽⁶⁾

The predominant issue in each individual constituency and its adaption depended on local circumstances, so that in industrial towns suffering badly under the poor law system, for example, Nottingham and Salford, the Poor Law itself became the central focus of attention.⁽⁷⁾ In the majority of cases the Corn Laws did feature, but under different interpretations, as we have seen, and with the added qualification that

in South Durham, for example, the candidates did not present a clear Liberal-Conservative confrontation on the matter.

In some constituencies, such as Nottingham and Salford, the Conservatives were greatly assisted in their fight by alliance with the Radicals against the Liberals, whilst in others, such as South Durham, the radicals, at least, the Anti-Corn Law movement, remained firmly Liberal.⁽⁸⁾

In addition, local factors relating to the distribution of political patronage and influence and the social make up of the electorate were important in deciding the final result in each constituency, as was the degree of bribery, persuasion or intimidation used in each case. Thus the existence of a considerable, if diminishing, working class vote in Preston, the influence of land and coal owners in South Durham, the use of 'treasury gold' in Sudbury and Ipswich and the dominance of manufacturing interests in some towns such as Bradford should not be ignored in assessing the election results as a whole.

Overall there were some spectacular gains obtained by the Conservatives in 1841 in manufacturing towns such as Liverpool, Hull, Leeds, Blackburn, Bradford, Nottingham, Bristol and City of London, some exceptional losses to the Liberals in the rejection of Whig territorial families with a traditional right of representing their counties such as Lords Morpeth and Milton in West Yorkshire, Stanley in North Cheshire, the Earl of Surrey and Sir Charles Cavendish in Sussex and Lord Howick in Northumberland,⁽¹⁰⁾ but each case must be examined before conclusions can be reached about the reason for these reversals. The Corn Laws and Poor Law may have been at the centre of the majority of conflicts, but local circumstances were responsible for determining the importance and interpretation of these issues and of the outside factors also affecting the final poll.

CHAPTER 10 - THE 1841 GENERAL ELECTIONS - THE CONSTITUENCIES

1. The Spectator, quoted in The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841.
2. 'The City of London Election ' quoted in The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841.
3. Gordon resigned from Windsor. The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841.
4. D.G. Wright, 'A Radical Borough: Parliamentary Politics in Bradford, 1832-1841', Northern History, iv, (1969), p.146
5. Cp. 3; The Durham Chronicle, 18 June 1841.
6. Cp. 3; D.G. Wright, Northern History, (1969), p.146
7. Cameron, Durham University Journal (1976), p.94
Kemp, History, (1952), pp. 153, 155-156.
8. Ibid; cp. 7.
9. Ibid; D.G. Wright, Northern History (1969), p.149;
The Durham Advertiser, 16 July 1841.
10. Kemp, History (1952), pp.151-2, 156.

CONCLUSION

The South Durham election of 1841 provides a useful illustration of the continuation of the politics of influence and of the primary importance of local factors in the post-Reform era.

Although the drafters of the Reform Act envisaged South Durham as a rural constituency, it contained three towns of ever-increasing economic significance, Darlington, Stockton and Hartlepool, and the growth of their manufacturing industries, in combination with the expansion of ports and railways and the continuing importance of mining made this supposition inaccurate. However, the alliance of industrial and landed interests was longstanding and despite a temporary difference over the Corn Laws, there was normally no sharp division between the two. Thus the powerful manufacturing and banking families in the town did not adopt a deliberately opposite stance from the rural land and coal owners, and whilst the Peases and Backhouses of Darlington allied with the Liberal Bowes and Vane, the Stockton interests combined with the Eldon and Londonderry families to support Farrer.

The three candidates represented three of the important landed families in the County, all standing with some reluctance in order to forward their interests in Parliament. Bowes was rarely resident in the county preferring France, Vane, unlike his father, lacked interest in politics and Farrer neither knew the area nor had much personal interest in it.

None of the candidates expressed strong opinions on any of the main political issues except for Bowes who made a strongly intransigent stand on the Corn Laws which almost lost him the seat. Admittedly, he adopted this view to protect his own interests, but the tenacity with which he held to it shows that to him, apparently unlike the other candidates, policy was important, although he later came to modify these views.

The reaction of the people to the candidates' speeches and the actual system of electioneering fits into the traditional early Victorian pattern. Views were expressed in favour or disagreement with the policies set forth and a relatively small proportion of the electorate, particularly in the towns, did reveal their own opinions in the declarations made to canvassers and candidates, the formation of an Anti-Corn Law movement and in the exercise of the vote. However, a majority were more concerned with their own short-term material interests, voting in the way directed by their superiors or by those who offered them drink, temporary employment or other enticements. It was pressure from the latter that embroiled the candidates in such great expense rather than a deliberate policy of bribery on their part.

In the rural areas, a higher proportion of the electors fell within the influence of their landlords than in the towns and therefore the 'floating voters' were fewer in number, but even in the urban areas, influence of landlords, employers, customers, family and religious leaders was considerable. Men tended not to vote so much by class or occupation as by networks of interdependent connexions or out of mere material interest. Geographically, the overall voting trends follow, above all, the distribution of the estates of the different landowners so that the Strathmore-Cleveland-Bishop-Pease dominated areas of the west tended to remain Liberal, whilst the Londonderry and Eldon estates of the east were Conservative.

Despite the national swing towards the Conservatives in 1841, it is not surprising that the South Durham constituency returned two Liberals to Parliament despite the more advanced organisation of the Conservatives, since, in effect, the contest was one between rival towns and agricultural and industrial interests, in which the combined forces of Eldon, Londonderry and Stockton were not sufficiently strong to challenge the existing hold of Cleveland, Strathmore, Bishop and

Pease. Moreover, when the Cleveland and Russell houses reversed their loyalty, a Conservative was returned for the first time in a contest in South Durham, reinforcing this hypothesis. In 1841, despite the national platforms of Corn Laws, Poor Law, Ballot and Police, in each constituency these issues were adapted by local conditions as indeed were interpretations of party. Therefore, ultimately, each constituency, including that of South Durham, must be regarded as an individual case, although still to be seen within a national context.

APPENDIX ILetter from C. Walker to John Bowes [D/St/159]

Stockton 11 June 1841

Sir,

I have to express to you the deep regret here experienced at that part of your address in reference to the Corn Laws.

Many of the electors who have hitherto supported you and approved of your general parliamentary conduct will I fear in the present election withdraw from you their support unless there be some circumstances to qualify your opinion on the Corn Laws as expressed in your address.

Our ships are wanting freights, and our manufactures, employment for their artizans; and our Corn Laws say, you shall not export the produce of your labour, in exchange for the necessaries of life - For want of employment our ships are unprofitable, and sailors obtaining little more than half their usual pay - The manufacturer is compell^d to discharge his men or give them the lowest possible wages if employed - Yet in your address you tell us; that the increase in labour, or what is the same, the increase of manufactures by the facilities afforded to trade 'would inevitably be attended with a fall in wages'!!

We are foolish enough to think that wages depend on the demand for labour - The greater the demand the greater the wages. The less demand for labour; with the inevitable result the less remuneration for work.

On referring to the statistical tables we find no connection between the price of Corn and the price of wages, but that they depend entirely on the demand for labour. Therefore we conclude that an increase of trade must be attended with a proportionate increase of wages and national prosperity - You admit a change in the Corn Laws would increase our manufactures.

You admit then, the great and fundamental principle for which we

contend: increased demand for labour, by an alteration in these baneful Corn Laws and all its attendant consequences - increase of wages and of national wealth.

Instead of exporting our superabundant population, we should beneficially employ them at home, and thus inhance the consumption of the produce of the land: which as in the other case would proportionally raise the value of food and the labourer be provided with increased means for purchasing it.

You are aware that the quantity of corn that could possibly be shipped into this country is so small in comparison with the great consumption that its effect on the markets could only be trivial and could not by any possibility produce the ruinous consequences which the advocates of this direful law seem to suppose - but I have done and must ask your pardon in presuming to argue the question with you. I had not the most distant intention of thus entering into the subject when I began this letter, but merely to state to you, how much disappointment and regret was experienced in Stockton at your Corn Law address - and that a preliminary meeting of the friends to repeal, will be held to consider the purport of your address and with a sincere desire to give you their interest and support if they can consistantly do so.

APPENDIX IIExtract from Bowes' Address to the Electors of the Southern Division
of the County of Durham, 7 February 1846. [Bowes Museum Exhibition]

I need hardly remind you of the peculiar circumstances under which you last elected me as your Representative, a large body of the constituency approving of the Whig scheme of Financial Reform, for which I stated to you as far as it regarded the Corn Laws I could not vote, supported me because they approved of my views on other matters of general policy and because on the particular question there was no second candidate whose sentiments more nearly approached their own. To this part of the constituency I presume that the present measure, if not altogether acceptable, will be not distasteful: but I also received the support of a large body of Electors, who thought, like myself, that owing to the undue amount of public burthens pressing on it, as well as on other grounds, the Agricultural Interest was justified in expecting protection more considerable than that accorded to other great interests. To this portion of the constituency, I must beg to be considered as now more addressing myself. I have given the scheme of Financial Reform propounded by the Government my repeated and most serious consideration....unbiased by any selfish influence.

If the principle of a reduction of some, and an extinction of other protective duties be advisable, the Agricultural Interest may in fairness expect a further adjustment of the public burthens....in return for their abandonment of all protection....

The system of Free Trade is advocated by almost every eminent statesman of the present day, so few are those opposed to it that the Duke of Wellington (no willing Free Trader himself) has declared that it would be impossible to form an efficient administration supporting a protective policy. The Agriculturalists may reject the terms now offered to them, they may force the Government to dissolve, they may even obtain

a majority in a New Parliament, but do not let them believe they can long resist the rapidly increasing force of public opinion.

The most politic course for the Agriculturalists would be, not to oppose the Government measure, but to endeavour to obtain some further adjustment of the taxation pressing more severely on them, and seeing the great mass of the interests of the country united in a desire to enforce the principles of Free Trade, I shall feel it my duty to act on this my conviction when called on to vote in the House of Commons....

If it is clearly shewn to me that the majority of the constituency disapprove of my resolve and desire that I should resign my seat in Parliament, I shall be prepared at once to take the necessary steps in order to comply with their wishes.

APPENDIX III

1. Estimate of the Election Expenses of John Bowes, 1841 [D/St/v735]

<u>Totals</u>	<u>Claimed</u>			<u>Paid</u>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bishop Auckland	1721.	7.	8½.	1503.	18.	10½
West Auckland	84	9.	2.	84.	9.	2.
Wolsingham	526.	7.	3½.	461.	17.	1.
Coundon	17.	0.	7.	17.	0.	7.
Crook	42.	14.	11.	31.	4.	2.
Etherley Lane	3	13	6.	3.	13.	6.
Bishop Wearmouth	41.	0.	6.	41.	0.	6.
Witton le Wear	86.	5.	2½.	84.	3.	0.
Hamsterley	67.	6.	9.	67.	0.	0.
Sildon	100.	4.	7.	91.	1.	2.
Darlington	3058.	17.	2½.	[2713.	2.	3.]
Hartlepool	286.	2.	6¾.	269.	0.	11½
Stanhope	837.	2.	5½.	762.	3.	6.
Middleton	257.	17.	4	257.	2.	4.
Durham	938.	14.	2½.	869.	15.	4.
Barnard Castle	793.	12.	11½.	753.	8.	9.
Sedgefield	859.	9.	8½.	[c859.	9.	8½]
Bishop Middleham	46.	0.	0.	42.	9.	8½
Ferryhill	54.	11.	8.	45.	11.	9.
Staindrop	171.	7.	9.	169.	7.	9.
Stockton	1106.	10.	6¾	999.	7.	2.
Newcastle	97.	7.	6.	78.	19.	6.
London	136.	13.	0.	136.	13.	0.
				[c.10341.	19.	6½]

2. Bowes' 'Agents (Law) Bills During Election' [D/St/v735]

<u>Agents</u>	<u>Claimed</u>			<u>Paid</u>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
J. Hutchinson	43.	1.	0.	43.	1.	0.
Mr. Rymer	94.	16.	1.	94.	10.	0.
J.H. Stanton	63.	0.	0.	63.	0.	0.
Mr. Fairbank	15.	0.	0.	15.	0.	0.
H. Ornsby	77.	14.	6.	63.	0.	0.
C. Tomlinson	25.	0.	0.	25.	0.	0.
Mr. Garwood	122.	7.	0.	79.	16.	0.
Mr. Ord	22.	1.	0.	22.	1.	0.
T. Richardson	42.	0.	0.	42.	0.	0.
J.S. Helmer						
Kidson & Son						
Mr. Pulman	94.	10.	0.	94.	10.	0.
W. Hepple	71.	10.	6.	63.	0.	0.
Richard Thompson	52.	10.	0.	43.	1.	0.
William Brignal	43.	1.	0.	43.	1.	0.
Mr. Bowser	100.	16.	0.	100.	16.	0.
Mr. Myers	301.	13.	9.	94.	10.	0.
Mr. Hepworth	50.	0.	0.	50.	0.	0.

3. Summary of Bowes' Election Accounts [D/St/Box 152]

(Note: Endorsed with note that the account is not fully checked and that it does not include agents' accounts).

	Amount claimed			Amount paid			Amount outstanding		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bishop Auckland	1711.	3.	8½	1494.	13.	10½			
West Auckland	84.	9.	2.	65.	3.	0.	13.	0.	
Wolsingham	526.	7.	3½	461.	17.	1.	2.	8.	
Coundon	17.	0.	7.	17.	0.	7.			
Crook	42.	14.	11.	30.	11.	5.	12.	9.	
Etherley Lane	3.	13.	6.	3.	13.	6.			
Bishop Wearmouth	38.	16.	0.	19.	17.	0.			
Witton le Wear	86.	5.	2½	84.	3.	0.			
Hamsterley	67.	6.	9.	67.	0.	0.			
Sildon	100.	4.	7.	85.	7.	7.	5.	15.	7.
Darlington	3053.	17.	2½	2708.	2.	3.	86.	10.	0.
Hartlepool	286.	2.	6¾	254.	0.	11½	15.	0.	0.
Stanhope	837.	2.	5½	615.	8.	11½	147.	10.	0.
Middleton	257.	17.	4.	257.	2.	4.			
Durham	917.	15.	2½	778.	4.	4.	60.	10.	0.
Barnard Castle	745.	2.	11.	706.	15.	10½			
Sedgefield	778.	10.	5½	665.	1.	9.	72.	0.	0.
Bishop Middleham	46.	0.	0.	42.	9.	6.			
Ferryhill	54.	11.	8.	45.	11.	6.			
Staindrop	171.	7.	9.	169.	7.	9.			
Stockton	1106.	10.	6¾	936.	17.	2.	62.	10.	0.
Newcastle	97.	7.	6.	78.	19.	6.			
London	136.	18.	0.	136.	18.	0.			
	11030.	7.	4½	9587.	8.	11.	451.	2.	0.

Total 9587. 8. 11.

451. 2. 0.

10038. 10. 11.

Cash 11030. 7. 4½

Saved 10038. 10. 11.

991. 16. 5½

Note: Total of £10038. 10s. 11d. does not include agents bills.

4. Accounts of Bowes' Professional Agents, 1841

[D/St/171/738] Note: incomplete

	£.	s.	d.
Rymer (Darlington)	94.	10.	0.
Fairbank (Darlington)	21.	0.	0.
Ornsby (Darlington)	52.	10.	0.
Ord (Stockton)	22.	13.	0.
Helmer (Weardale)	57.	15.	0.
Pulman (Stockton)	94.	10.	0.
Brignal (Durham)	36.	15.	0.
Myers (Darlington)	94.	10.	0.
Stanton (Newcastle)	63.	0.	0.
Tomline (Richmond)	73.	10.	0.
Garwood (Hartlepool)	73.	10.	0.
Richardson (Barnard Castle)	42.	0.	0.
Kidson (Sunderland)	63.	0.	0.
Heppell (Auckland)	84.	0.	0.
Bowser (Auckland)	79.	16.	0.
Total	£952.	19.	0.

5. Detail of Bowes' Election Bills for Staindrop, Wolsingham, BishopAuckland. [D/St/v735]

	<u>Staindrop</u>	<u>Wolsingham</u>	<u>West Auckland</u>
Inns	177. 4. 0.	291. 1. 9.	93. 9. 8.
Ribbons	48. 10. 9.	5. 10. 0.	8. 17. 4.
Bands		23. 0. 0.	
Banners & flags	5. 5. 11.	4. 18. 6.	8. 6.
Messengers & runners	3. 13. 6.	11. 4. 6.	
Bellringers	1. 10. 0.		
Transport		19. 0. 0.	1. 1. 0.
Printing	4. 11. 1.		
Canvassing	3. 2. 6.	25. 3. 2.	3. 5. 6.
Post	1. 14. 0.		0. 5. 0.

APPENDIX IV1. General Abstract of Election Bills Paid by Lord Harry Vane in the South Durham Election, 1841 (Nossiter p.210)

	Inns	Posting & Carriage	Bands	Bell ringers & runners.	Clerks	Printers	Contingen- cies	Total
Auckland	912	31	102	103	86	27	337	1916
Barnard Castle	295	130	61	36	3	21	2	627
Darlington	1171	378	207	505	103	250	418	3285
Durham	80	262	32	31	85	99	140	820
Hartlepool	180	34	30	4		7	23	355
M. in Teesdale	221		31			3	49	364
Staindrop	278	107		31	16	19	45	633
Stockton	569	135	176	114	39		110	1363
Sedgefield	329	70		1	149		156	746
Stanhope	665	4		19			77	850
Wolsingham	284	119	100	16	15		93	692
Total	4985	1271	1737	857	497	427	1450	11652
Agents								1479
Sheriffs								257
Sundries								519
Grand Total								13917

(Figures rounded to nearest pound)

2. Accounts of Vanes' Professional Agents (D/St/171/271)

Note: Excludes post election business

<u>Agent</u>	<u>Guineas</u>
Trotter (Bishop Auckland)	120
Bayley (Stockton)	100
Watson (Barnard Castle)	150
Allan (Durham)	60
Nixon (Darlington)	80
Robinson (Darlington)	55
Peacock (Darlington)	90
Young (Darlington)	60
Belke (Hartlepool)	45
Barnes (Barnard Castle)	45
Harle (Newcastle)	50
Hoyle (Newcastle)	30
Marshall (Durham)	105
Robinson (Sunderland)	50
Sowerby (Stokesley)	50
Hodgson (Darlington)	50
Coulthard (Stanhope)	160
Bates (Wolsingham)	70
	<u>1370</u>

APPENDIX V

Extract from Local Government Board, England and Wales Exclusive of the Metropolis. Return of Owners of Land, 1873, C1097 - 1097I, 1875:

Landowners with interest in South Durham and over 1000 acres in County

Durham.

<u>Name of Owner</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Extent of land (acres)</u>	<u>Gross Estimated Rental (£)</u>
Allen, R.H.	Blackwell	1,476	3,444
Bishop of Durham	Durham	1,142	1,079
Blenkinsopp, Col. G.	Hamsterley	1,163	826
Bowes, John	Streatlam Castle	8,313	15,788
Bowes & Co.	Washington	2,571	16,654
Boyne, Viscount	Brancepeth Castle	15,310	74,776
Burdon, Rowland	Castle Eden	4,565	7,994
Clavering, Sir Henry	Axwell Park	5,179	6,794
Clavering, John	Greencroft	1,588	1,022
Cleveland, Duke of	Raby Castle	55,837	29,219
Crew, Lord	Denham	4,093	1,957
Crofts, Archdeacon	High Coniscliffe	1,256	1,595
Davison, J.R.	Stillington	1,551	1,225
Dean and Chapter of Durham	Durham	8,089	23,305
Durham, Earl of	Lambton Castle	14,664	63,929
Ecclesiastical Commissioners	Whitehall	26,868	63,181
Eden, John	Beamish	5,480	9,838
Eden, Sir William	Darlington	6,096	10,191
Eldon, Earl of	Seaton Carew	11,841	12,897
Fowler, Marshall	Preston Hall	1,133	1,777
Greenwell, William	Broomsfield	1,174	1,062
Gregson, John	Tadcaster	2,859	3,931
Grey, William	Norton	2,009	2,304
Hardinge, Sir H.	Coatham Mundeville	1,172	1,295
Londonderry, Marquis of	Seaham Hall	12,823	56,825
Milbank, Frederick		3,734	17,279
Milbank F.A.	Yorkshire	1,177	856
Ord, Mark	Ferryhill	1,625	2,123
Ravensworth, Lord	Ravensworth	6,393	27,240
Salvin, H.T.T.	Croxdale	2,340	2,638
Salvin, Marmaduke	Durham	1,190	7,741
Shafto, Robert D.	Whitworth Park	5,154	10,457
Simpson, E.H.	Lynesack	2,420	268
Smith, E.T.	Lanchester	2,464	1,749
Standish, William C.	Chorley	1,879	4,357
Surtees, Charles	Ferryhill	1,201	1,212
Surtees, John	Ware, Herts.	4,374	4,142
Sutton, John S.	Elton Hall	2,523	2,488
Todd, Anthony	Ankside	1,138	593
Townley Col.	Burnley	2,258	4,531
Trotter, W. (Executors)	Bishop Auckland	1,032	1,129
University of Durham	Durham	2,759	6,133
Wilkinson, Anthony	Castle Eden	7,082	7,473
Wilkinson, B.	Durham	1,162	2,325
Wilkinson, Revd. G.P.	Harperley Park	2,713	4,549
Williamson, Rev. R.H.	Darlington	2,079	2,378
Wooler, W.E.	Wolsingham	1,533	1,432

APPENDIX VI1. Voting in Townships in which Land held by Bowes (Liberal), 1841.

Township where land held	B	V	F	B&V	B&F	V&F	Total votes identified	% Liberal votes
Barnard Castle	8	5	9	116	7	7	282	91.84
Cleatham		1		8			17	100
Cockfield		5	1	23			52	98.08
Evenwood				3			6	100
Gainford			3	14		4	39	82.05
Houghton le Side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marwood	1	1	1	8			19	94.74
Middleton in Teesdale	1	2	7	48		2	110	91.82
Stainton	2	1	1	17			38	97.37
Streatlam	4			6			16	100
Woodland		1	3	11	1	1	30	83.33

2. Voting in Townships in which Land held by Duke of Cleveland
(Liberal), 1841.

Township where land held	B	V	F	B&V	B&F	V&F	Total votes identified	% Liberal votes
Barnard Castle	8	5	9	116	7	7	282	91.84
Cockfield		5	1	23			52	98.08
Forest & Frith				4		1	10	90.00
Gainford			3	14		4	39	82.05
Hart		6				1	8	87.50
Headlam		2		5			12	100.
Hilton		4		6		1	18	94.44
Houghton le Side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hutton Henry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Keeverstone		1		4			9	100.
Langley & Shotton		5		11			27	100
Langton		2		2			6	100
Marwood	1	1	1	8			19	94.74
Middleton in Teesdale	1	2	7	48		2	110	91.82
Monk Heselden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newbiggin (Teesdale)		1		6			13	100.
Piercebridge		2		5		1	14	92.86
Raby	1	2		5			13	100
Redworth		1				1	3	66.67
Snotterton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Staindrop	1	6		41		1	91	98.90
Summerhouse		5	1	4			14	92.86
Throston		4					4	100.
Wackerfield		3		4			11	100
West Auckland	1	1	3	17	6	3	57	78.95
Woodland		1	3	11	1	1	30	83.33

3. Voting in Townships in which land held by Eldon (Conservative) 1841.

Township where land held	B	V	F	B&V	B&F	V&F	Total votes identified	% Conservative vote
Aislaby			3				3	100.
Eldon			3				3	100.
Elstob			2				2	100.
Little Stainton			3	1	1		7	57.14
Middridge Grange			1				1	100.
Newbiggin (Heighington)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Preston le Skerne			3				3	100.
Seaton Carew			9	3	4	8	39	53.85
Stainton le Street			1		1		3	66.67
Woodham	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

4. Voting in Townships in which Land held by Londonderry (Conservative) 1841.

Township where land held	B	V	F	B&V	B&F	V&F	Total votes identified	% Conservative vote
Carlton	1		3	2			8	37.5
Elwick & Elwick Hall			5	1		3	13	61.54
Long Newton			12			1	14	92.86
Middleton One Row			5		1		7	85.71
Newbiggin (Bishopton)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Redmarshall			4				4	100.
Wolviston			12	6	6	1	38	50.

5. Voting in Townships in which Land held by Russell, 1841.

Township where land held	B	V	F	B&V	B&F	V&F	Total votes identified	% Liberal
Bishop Middleham	6	1	2	7	4	2	35	77.14
Blakiston	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[Bradbury]				3	1		8	87.5
Brancepeth	2				5		12	58.33
Brandon & Byshottles		1	1	6			14	92.86
Cornsay	1		1	8	1		20	90.
Foxton cum Shotton			1	2		1	7	71.43
Helmington Row					1		2	50.
Hett			1	4	3		15	73.33
Sedgefield			9	28	2	7	83	78.31
Stockley	1						1	100.
Willington	1		1	7			16	93.75

6. Voting in Townships in which Land held by Fowler (Conservative) 1841.

Township where land held	B	V	F	B&V	B&F	V&F	Total votes identified	% Conservative
Long Newton			12			1	14	92.86
Middleton One Row			5		1		7	85.71
Preston upon Tees			2				2	100.

APPENDIX VII. VOTING BY TOWNSHIP, 1841

1. Barnard Castle

Township	Principal landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Barnard Castle	Bowes (Lib) Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	131	128	23	282	91.84	74.34	+ 17.50
Cleatlam	Bowes (Lib) Countess of Strathmore(Lib)	8	9		17	100	"	+ 25.66
Cockfield	Bowes (Lib) Duke of Cleveland(Lib)	23	28	1	52	98.08	"	+ 23.74
Evenwood	Bowes (Lib)	3	3		6	100	"	+ 25.66
Gainford	Bowes (Lib) Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	14	18	7	39	82.05	"	+ 7.71
Headlam	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	5	7		12	100	"	+ 25.66
Hilton	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	6	11	1	18	94.44	"	+ 20.10
Ingleton	William Hutchinson (? Lib)	12	11	1	24	95.83	"	+ 21.49
Keverstone	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	4	5		9	100	"	+ 25.66
Langleydale & Shotton	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	11	16		27	100	"	+ 25.66
Langton	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	2	4		6	100	"	+ 25.66
Lynesack & Softley	Many small owners	12	14	10	36	72.22	"	- 2.12
Marwood	Bowes (Lib) Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	9	9	1	19	94.74	"	+ 20.40

1. Barnard Castle (contd)

Township	Principal landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Newsham	Robert Campion Thomas Dale William Skinner John Rowntree James Watson	6	6	1	19	92.31	74.34	+ 17.97
Raby	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	6	7		13	100	"	+ 25.66
Staindrop	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	42	48	1	91	98.90	"	+ 24.56
Stainton	Bowes (Lib)	19	18	1	38	97.37	"	+ 23.03
Streatlam	Bowes (Lib)	10	6		16	100	"	+ 25.66
Wackerfield	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	4	7		11	100	"	+ 25.66
Westwick	Frederick Webb	1	1	2	4	50	"	- 24.34
Whorlton	P.H. Stanton (Lib) Archdeacon Headlam (Cons)	6	2	3	11	72.73	"	- 1.61
Woodland	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	12	13	5	30	83.33	"	+ 8.99

2. Bishop Auckland

Township	Principal landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Auckland, Bishop	Richard Bowser (Lib) Bishop of Durham (Lib) Rev . George Watson	72	69	39	180	78.33	74.34	+ 3.99
Auckland, St. Andrew	Heirs of Rev. Robert Spencer Francis Johnson	9	5	6	20	70.00	"	- 4.34
Auckland, St. Helen	Sir Robert Eden (Cons) Sir George Musgrave Sir Thomas Clavering (Lib)	10	11	4	25	84.00	"	+ 9.66
Auckland, West	Duke of Cleveland (Lib) Sir William Eden (Cons) Smith's Charity	21	24	12	57	78.95	"	+ 4.61
Bedburn, South	Rev. Thomas Bright		1	1	2	50.00	"	- 24.34
Bolam	Guisborough Hospital Gerald Wharton Robert Surtees (Cons) Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	4	6	6	16	62.50	"	- 11.84
Brancepeth	William Russell	7		5	12	58.33	"	- 16.01
Brandon & Byshottles	William Russell	5	6	1	12	91.67	"	+ 17.33
Byers Green	R.E.D. Shafto (Lib) Bishop of Durham (Lib) Anthony Wilkinson (Cons) William Russell and others	3	2	14	19	26.32	"	- 48.02

2. Bishop Auckland (contd)

Township	Principal landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Counton	Sarah Wharton Bishop of Durham (Lib) and others	16	14	19	49	61.22	74.34	- 13.12
Eldon	Duke of Eldon (Cons)			3	3	0	"	- 74.34
Escomb	Sir Gordon Drummond Margaret Colpitts and others	11	9	2	22	90.91	"	+ 16.57
Evenwood	Bowes (Lib)	19	20	5	44	88.64	"	+ 14.30
Etherley		7	6	11	24	54.17	"	- 20.17
Hamsterley	Robert Surtees (Cons) and others	21	20	15	56	73.21	"	- 1.13
Helmington	Mrs. Robert Spencer Henry Spencer and others	1		1	2	50.00	"	- 24.34
Hett	William Russell Jeffrey Salvin (Lib) William & John Williamson Anthony Wilkinson (Cons)	7	4	4	15	73.33	"	- 0.01
Merrington	Sir Robert Eden (Cons) William Farrow Thomas Smith J.W. Beckwith and others	12	10	3	25	88.00	"	+ 13.66

2. Bishop Auckland (contd)

Township	Principal landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Midridge	Elizabeth Halhead Mary Ord	9	2	11	22	50.00	74.34	- 24.34
Midridge Grange	Earl of Eldon (Cons)			1	1	0	"	- 74.34
Old Park	William Lloyd Wharton	1		2	3	33.33	"	- 41.01
Pollards Lands	Bishop of Durham	-	-	-	-	-	"	-
Shildon	Robert Surtees (Cons) Thomas Marley	32	28	22	82	73.17	"	- 1.17
Stockley	William Russell	1			1	100.00	"	+ 25.66
Westerton	John Davison George Tweddell	3	2	1	6	83.33	"	+ 8.99
Willington	William Russell Thomas Wilkinson	8	7	1	16	93.75	"	+ 19.41
Witton le Wear	Donald Maclean (Cons) R.E.D. Shafto (Lib)	16	16	18	50	64.00	"	- 10.34

3. Darlington

Township	Principal landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Aycliffe, Great	Archdeacon Thorp and others	6	5	11	22	50.00	74.34	- 24.34
Aycliffe, School	Elizabeth Hallhead Ralph Page (Duke of Cleveland)	2	1	2	5	60.00	"	- 14.34
Blackwell	Robert Allan William Allen	7	11	5	23	78.26	"	+ 3.92
Brafferton	A. Wilkinson (Cons) R. Shaw F. Hardinge J. Ord	6	5	6	17	64.71	"	- 9.63
Cockerton	Ralph Page George Richmond William Stowell Thomas Topham	5	7	18	30	40.00	"	- 34.34
Coniscliffe, High and Low	P.H. Howard M. Millbanke G. Coates Rev. R. Croft	15	17	2	34	94.12	"	+ 19.78
Darlington	Many	134	157	100	391	74.42	"	+ 0.08
Denton	Matthew Culley		1	4	5	20.00	"	- 54.34
Haughton	James Crowe John Richmond Margaret Wally James Walters	1	1	13	15	13.33	"	- 61.01

3. Darlington (contd)

Townships	Principal Landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Heighington	Robert Surtees (Cons) Archdeacon Headlam (Cons)	5	10	26	41	36.59	74.34	- 37.75
Hurworth	Robert Appleby George Burrell William Chilton John Jackson William Robinson Belsis Estate	24	27	24	75	68.00	"	- 6.34
Middleton One Row	Londonderry (Cons) Marshal Fowler (Cons)	1		6	7	14.29	"	- 60.05
Neasham	William Grey	4	4	4	12	66.67	"	- 7.67
Piercebridge	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	4	7	1	12	91.67	"	+ 17.33
Redworth	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)		2	1	3	66.67	"	- 7.67
Sadberge	Sir William Pennymann John Richmond	3	5	17	25	32.00	"	- 42.34
Sockburn	H.C. Blackwell	1	1	2	4	50.00	"	- 24.34
Summerhouse	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	5	10	1	16	93.75	"	+ 19.41
Walworth	Thomas Hopper	3	2	1	6	88.33	"	+ 8.99

4. Middleton in Teesdale

Township	Principal Landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Egglestone	T. Hutchinson Proprietors of common	9	8	1	18	94.44	74.34	+ 20.10
Forest & Frith	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	4	5	1	10	90.00	"	+ 15.66
Mickleton	Bowes (Lib)	6	4	0	10	100.00	"	+ 25.66
Middleton	Duke of Cleveland (Lib) William Barnes Anthony Todd John Bowes (Lib)	49	52	9	110	91.82	"	+ 17.48
Newbiggin	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	6	7		13	100.00	"	+ 25.66

5. Sedgefield

Township	Principal Landowner	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Bishop Middleham	William Russell Anne Surtees	17	10	8	35	77.14	74.34	+ 2.80
Bishopton	Elizabeth Croft J.M. Davison	5	9	16	30	46.67	"	- 27.67
Bradbury	Richard Wright Earl of Eldon (Cons) William Russell	4	3	1	8	87.50	"	+ 13.16
Butterwick	William Salvin	2	2		4	100.00	"	+ 25.66
Cornforth	Jane Bates Charles Garthorne Thomas Haswell	11	11	2	24	91.67	"	+ 17.33
Dalton Piercy	Queens College, Oxford Robert Coleman James Jobson		1	3	4	25.00	"	- 49.34
Elstob	Earl of Eldon (Cons)			2	2	0	"	- 74.34
Elwick	Joseph Collin (Cons) Charles Power (Cons) Marquis of Londonderry (Cons) and others	1	4	8	13	38.46	"	- 35.88
Ferryhill	Dean of Durham Thomas Arrowsmith Bryan Salvin James Raine Christopher Wilkinson	13	9	5	27	81.48	"	+ 7.14

5. Sedgefield (contd)

Township	Principal Landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Fishburn	Many including Dean & Chapter of Durham	9	10	10	29	65.52	74.34	- 8.82
Foxton & Shotton	William Russell	2	3	2	7	71.43	"	- 2.91
Hart	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)		6	1	7	85.71	"	+ 11.37
Mainsforth	Anne Surtees and others	3	3		6	100.00	"	+ 25.66
Morden	William Russell Richard Wright Thomas Robinson	2	1	5	8	37.50	"	- 36.84
Newbiggin, East & West	Bryan Harrison Ralph Lambton John Bright Marquis of Londonderry (Cons)	4	4		8	100.00	"	+ 25.66
Preston le Skerne	Earl of Eldon (Cons)			3	3	0	"	- 74.34
Sedgefield	William Russell Thomas Davison	30	35	18	83	78.31	"	+ 3.97
Stainton le Street	Earl of Eldon (Cons) Sir William Pennymann	1		2	3	33.33	"	- 41.01
Stainton, Little	John Bright Earl of Eldon (Cons)	2	1	4	7	42.86	"	- 31.48
Stillington	Merton College, Oxford	4	4		8	100.00	"	+ 25.66
Thrislington	Rev. Robert Hopper Williamson		1	1	2	50.00	"	- 24.34

6. Stanhope

Township	Principal Landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Cornsay	William Russell Sir Thomas Clavering (Lib) Taylor family	10	8	2	20	90.00	74.34	+ 15.66
Frosterley		12	13	4	29	86.21	"	+ 11.87
St. Johns Chapel		5	3	3	11	72.73	"	- 1.61
Stanhope	C. Rippon R. Hildyard T. W. Beaumont (Lib) W. Atkinson (Cons) Rev. E. Johnson (Cons)	17	18	10	45	77.78	"	+ 3.44
Wolsingham	Lord Barrington Thomas Bowes (Lib) Jonathan Backhouse (Lib)	45	38	15	98	84.69	"	+ 10.35

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7. Stockton

Township	Principal Landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Aislaby	Earl of Eldon (Cons)			3	3	0	74.34	- 74.34
Billingham	Robert Appleby (Lib) George Burrell William Chilton John Jackson Belsis Estate Elizabeth Peacock	9	6	7	22	68.18	"	- 6.16
Carlton	Rev. Edward Davison Henry Ellis Thomas Hutchinson Robert Wardell Marquis of Londonderry (Cons)	3	2	3	8	62.50	"	- 11.84
Cowpen Bewley	Dean of Durham Ralph Atkinson (Cons) and others	2	2	7	11	36.36	"	- 37.98
Egglescliffe	Thomas Waldy William Waldy Thomas Meynell Standish Hall Rev. John Brewster	2	2	10	14	28.57	"	- 45.77
Elton	William George Sutton (Lib) Faber (Cons)	3	3	4	10	60.00	"	- 14.34
Greatham	Greatham Hospital (main lessee Ralph Atkinson (Cons))	4	11	22	37	40.54	"	- 33.80

7. Stockton (contd)

Township	Principal Landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Hartlepool	Corporation of Hartlepool Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	79	109	46	234	80.34	74.34	+ 6.00
Long Newton	Marquis of Londonderry (Cons) Marshall Fowler (Cons)		1	13	14	7.14	"	- 67.20
Newton Bewley	Revd. John Ogle John Lisle James Lisle Christopher Shepherd William Sheraton and others	2	2	3	7	57.14	"	- 17.20
Norton	Christopher Anstey John Anstey William Grey Thomas Grey Thomas Hogg and others	28	27	37	92	59.78	"	- 14.56
Preston on Tees	Marshall Fowler (Cons)			2	2	0	"	- 74.34
Redmarshall	Marquis of Londonderry (Cons)			4	4	0	"	- 74.34
Seaton Carew	Earl of Eldon (Cons) Robert Dixon George Wilkinson	7	6	16	29	44.83	"	- 29.51
Stranton	Anne Surtees Duke of Cleveland (Lib)	3	8	14	25	44.00	"	- 30.34
Stockton	Many owners	86	72	128	286	55.24	"	- 19.10

7. Stockton (contd)

Townships	Principal Landowners	B	V	F	Total votes identified	% Liberal	S. Durham % Liberal	Difference
Throston	Duke of Cleveland (Lib)		4		4	100.00	"	+ 25.66
Wolviston	Marquis of Londonderry(Cons) Stephenson (Lib) Appleby (Lib) Bell (Lib)	12	7	19	38	50.00	"	- 24.34

APPENDIX VIII

VOTING BY OCCUPATION [Poll Book and Slater's Directory]

1. Darlington

	B	V	F	B & V	B & F	V & F
Nobility, Gentry	3	-	10	17	-	-
Hatters	-	-	1	2	-	1
Cornfactors	-	-	-	1	-	-
Capmakers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Surgeons	-	-	3	1	-	-
Cartwrights	-	-	3	1	-	1
Chandlers	-	1	1	-	-	1
Publicans	-	-	2	4	1	2
Civil engineers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Bootmakers	-	-	1	4	-	1
Timber trade	-	-	-	-	-	1
Blacksmiths	-	-	1	1	-	-
Glovers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Watchmakers	-	-	-	1	-	1
Joiners	-	-	-	5	-	-
Booksellers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tailors	-	-	-	-	-	1
Painters	-	-	-	2	-	-
Builders	-	-	-	1	-	-
Leather traders	-	1	2	-	-	-
Stocking drapers	-	-	-	2	-	-
Wine & spirit merchants	-	1	2	-	-	-
Brewers	-	1	1	1	-	-
Grocers	-	2	1	4	-	-
Sadlers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Stonemasons	-	1	-	1	-	-
Shopkeepers	-	1	2	1	-	-
Ironmongers	-	-	-	3	1	1
Gamedealers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tanners	-	1	1	1	-	-
Fruiterers	-	-	1	-	-	-
Drapers	-	-	1	-	1	-
Haberdashers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Bricklayers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Clergy (C. of E.)*	-	1	11	-	-	-
Clergy (R.C.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Parish clerk	-	-	1	-	-	-

* Clergy (C. of E.) from Poll Book.

2. Stockton

	B	V	F	B & V	B & F	V & F
Nobility, Gentry	-	-	7	7	1	1
Attorneys	-	-	1	1	-	1
Gunsmiths	-	-	1	-	-	-
Hatters	-	-	1	-	-	-
Gardeners	-	-	-	1	-	1
Surgeons	-	-	1	-	-	1
Cartwrights	-	-	3	1	-	1
Publicans	-	-	1	-	-	-
Bootmakers	-	-	3	5	-	-
Timber trade	-	-	-	3	-	-
Blacksmiths	-	-	-	2	1	1
Joiners	-	-	3	-	-	-
Booksellers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tailors	-	-	1	1	-	-
Painters	-	-	-	2	-	-
Builders	-	-	2	3	1	3
Bankmanagers	-	1	1	-	-	1
Wine & spirit merchants	-	-	3	1	1	-
Brewers	-	-	1	1	1	-
Grocers	-	-	8	4	1	3
Braziers	-	-	1	-	-	-
Stonemasons	-	-	1	-	-	-
Millers	-	-	3	1	-	-
Shopkeepers	-	-	3	1	1	1
Ironmongers	-	-	1	3	-	-
Butchers	1	-	2	3	2	1
Curriers	-	-	-	2	-	-
Docks	-	-	1	2	-	-
Haberdashers	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brickmakers	-	-	3	-	-	-
Bricklayers	-	-	-	-	-	1
Carver & guilder	-	-	-	-	1	-
Coopers	-	-	-	2	-	-
Ship & boat builders	-	-	1	2	-	-
Schoolmasters	1	-	-	-	-	-
Bakers	-	-	1	-	-	-
Plumbers	-	-	-	1	1	-
Clergy (C. of E.)*	-	-	11	1	-	-

* Clergy (C. of E.) from Poll Pook

3. Bishop Auckland

	B	V	F	B & V	B & F	V & F
Nobility, gentry	1	1	3	9	-	2
Surgeons	-	-	-	1	-	-
Cartwrights	-	-	-	1	-	-
Chandlers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Engineers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Bootmakers	-	-	3	-	-	2
Blacksmiths	-	-	1	4	-	1
Glovers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Watchmakers	-	-	1	-	-	-
Joiners	-	-	-	2	-	1
Booksellers	-	-	1	-	-	-
Tailors	-	-	-	2	1	-
Builders	-	-	-	1	-	-
Leather	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tanners	-	-	-	1	-	-
Wine & spirit merchants	-	-	-	1	-	-
Brewers	-	-	1	1	-	-
Grocers	-	-	2	2	-	-
Sadlers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Stonemasons	-	1	-	1	-	-
Millers	-	-	-	7	-	-
Shopkeepers	-	-	2	2	2	-
Ironmakers	-	-	-	2	-	-
Butchers	-	-	1	3	3	-
Drapers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Attorneys	-	-	-	1	-	-
Gardeners	-	-	-	1	-	-
Ironfounders	-	-	-	1	-	-
Carpenters	-	-	2	-	-	-
Spinners	-	-	-	1	-	-
Coalmine owner	-	-	1	-	-	-
Toolmakers	-	-	-	1	-	-
Coopers	-	-	1	-	-	-
Clergy (C. of E.)*	1	-	9	2	1	-

* Clergy (C. of E.) from Poll Book.

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