

T O T H E
W O R T H Y *and* I N D E P E N D E N T
E L E C T O R S O F W E S T M I N S T E R .

G E N T L E M E N ,

A N E L E C T O R , and a Man of Family, begs of you most sincerely to weigh the Merits of the two present Candidates for the vacant Seat in Parliament, before you promise your Votes and Interest to either of them.

Think whether, as Men of Character and Honor, you ought not to give your Votes to a Man like

L O R D H O O D ,
*Who has nobly Fought and Bled in his
Country's Service,*

And whose Character, both in public and private Life, stands unimpeached :

Or whether you will be justified in voting for a Man like LORD JOHN TOWNSHEND, whose Life has never been distinguished by any *commendable Act*. On the contrary, he has been stigmatized, and now stands upon Record, as a VIOLATOR OF FEMALE HONOR, and the DISTURBER OF DOMESTIC PEACE.

Zetetic Books

Bulletin XXXVI

Ephemera from the Westminster Election of 1788

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Bulletin XXXVI – Ephemera from the Westminster Election of 1788 – October 2019

Cover art adapted from item 05

Between 1754 and 1790 the House of Commons consisted of 558 members, elected by 314 constituencies. Westminster, a 'scot and lot' borough where the right to vote was held by all males who had paid the poor rate, had about twelve thousand voters and was the largest urban constituency in Great Britain.

A number of the voters were members of the political and social elite, but there were also an assortment of professionals and a numerically dominant mass of tradesmen, shopkeepers, craftsmen and skilled artisans and a relatively small number of poorer artisans and menial labourers. The size and social diversity of the electorate ensured that it attracted several radical candidates in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including John Wilkes, Charles James Fox, John Horne Tooke and Sir Francis Burdett.

The election of 1788 in Westminster, where Pitt's government had spent a small fortune trying to keep Charles James Fox out of Parliament in the previous two elections (1783 and 1784), was held when the Tory, Admiral Samuel Hood (First Viscount Hood, 1724-1816), had to stand for re-election after his appointment as a Commissioner of the Admiralty. His opponent was the Whig, Lord John Townshend, a close friend of Fox's, with both men being elected, however Brooke notes that "how much Government spent on this election is not known, but the expenses were such that they were compelled to open a subscription to defray them" (Brooke in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790*). This led to a pact to divide representation between the two parties at future elections



A CHAPTER of the TIMES!

1. **L**ISTEN to the Voice of Truth, O Sons of Westminster!—The Children of Iniquity have arisen again; even the evil Ministers of *Judas* *Ishariot*, whose Wickedness brought on him the Indignation of us and our Brethren.

2. Remember, O let it be remembered! that in the Days of our Just Angel *Judas* was cut off; yet like a Mulberry of the Dunghill, that cometh up in the Morning, and is hewn down before Night. Moreover let it not be forgotten when *FOX*, the Favorite of the People, was chosen among the Elders, how the High Priest of the *Back Stairs* waxed wroth, and was outrageous, seeing ye had not chosen *Judas*.

3. ¶ Now this High Priest had been reputed a Stripling of Virtue, but was one who speaketh Fair and doeth Foul: He carrieth the Face of a Woman, with the Deceit of a Crocodile; and he was like unto an Eunuch: Although he was as a Beaf of Burden in the King's Inner Gate, yet he was as wayward as *Balaam's* Ass, and as unndy as a Mad Ox, against the People.

4. And he arose and said, " Fortasmuch as the Election of *FOX* displeaseth me, I will tax the Sons of Westminster more than any other City; yes I will tax their Shops Ten-fold: For they have not obeyed my Commandments." And he sent the Tax-Gatherers forth with Constables and Bullies, and certain of his own Tribe called *Purifiers*, armed with Sticks and Staves, and they gathered the Tax by Force.

5. And when it came to pass that *FOX* arose many Times, exclaiming aloud, " It is an Abominable and Partial Tax, a Violation to the Land, and ought not to be gathered," that he turned often Times unto his Brother Elder and said, " Wilt thou not assist me, and set thy Face against this Unjust Tax?" And he answered *AYE*; but he shirred not.

6. For since he had been chosen Elder he heeded not the People; moreover he turned *Jacobite*, and, forgetting the Fear of God, inclined his Heart unto the Wicked One, like unto *Judas*, and sold himself for a Tool unto the High Priest: Inasmuch that although he had been Captain over Hundreds and Captain over Thousands, yet, to keep the Favour of the High Priest, he set himself against those who had sustained him in the Great Fight.

7. And lo! when the High Priest saw that Valiant Band attend at the Outer Court, waiting for Preferment, he said, " There are certain Young Men like myself, and those who have torn the Leaves of Truth from divers Log-Books; bring them to the Promotion Court, but drive those Grey-headed ones hence." And he did as the High Priest commanded; and when they threw their Wounds he heeded them not, but uttered dreadful Imprecations, scoffing and reviling them, saying, *The Dogs may lick your Sides*.

8. And the High Priest said, " Well hath thou done—if thou wilt follow my Counsel, as thou hast hitherto, I will make thee a Lord, yes a Lord of the Admirals!" And he knelt down and kissed his Feet, crying out, *Thy Will be done*. And the High Priest put his Hand upon the Head of his Worshipper, and said, " Rise up, NOODLE! Lord over the Admirals."

9. Then Lord *Noodle* came unto the Sons of Westminster, to be again elected one of their Elders; and, seeing the People violent against him, he made them great Promises: But they answered him, " Thou art a Deceiver, an ungrateful Herd! Did we not choose thee in Gratitude for thy Services in the Great Fight? And hath thou not trampled on thy Brother Officers, who were the Means of raising Thee in Our Esteem? Hast thou not conspired with our Enemies to darken our Light, that they might purge us with Rotten Tea, and build Fortifications?"

10. ¶ Get thee hence, thou Amphibious Admiral, thou Double-Faced *Noodle*! For behold there cometh from the House of *TOWNSHEND* One who will support us against thee, and those of thy Gang, who would rob us of our Independence, and our Freedom; behold he cometh with *FOX*, our tried Champion and Defender.

[01] [Westminster Election of 1788] A Chapter of the Times!
 No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 4to. Unbound.
 Broadside. Good. Single sided printed broadside,
 approximately 205mm x 300mm in size. Brownd, especially
 to edges, bottom corners slightly chipped, small tear to right
 hand margin. Mock-Biblical squib attacking Lord Hood (ESTC).
 Bodleian only in ESTC, noting that it was the first of a series
 (see [03] and [16] for possible others) [003470] **£45.00**

LORD JOHN TOWNSHEND.

WHEREAS an infamous Hand-bill has been for some Time past distributed, insinuating that Lord JOHN TOWNSHEND had caused a Butler of his to be brought to trial, for stealing a Bottle of Wine, and that the Offender was, in consequence, publicly whipped :—The Refutation of this Calumny is an easy Task, and cannot, when the Particulars are stated, fail to reflect Honour on his Lordship's *Humanity* and Goodness. The Man was, among other Thefts, committed for stealing a BANK NOTE of Twenty-five Pounds Value, for which he would have been capitally convicted, had not Lord JOHN interfered, and caused the Indictment to exhibit the most trifling Article the Law would admit, that the Man might escape.

The Hand-bill further states, that the Man had a Wife and Five Children.—That Circumstance is without Foundation ;—and a Reference to Mr. Justice ADDINGTON will fully confirm what is herein alledged.

[02] [Westminster Election of 1788] **Lord John Townshend.**
No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 12mo (Oblong).
Unbound. Leaflet. Good+. Single sided printed leaflet,
approximately 210mm x 190mm in size. Slightly browned to
edges, otherwise fairly bright and clean. Printed reply to "an
infamous Hand-bill ... insinuating that Lord John Townshend
had caused a Butler of his to be brought to trial, for stealing a
Bottle of Wine, and that the Offender was, in consequence,
publicly whipped ... The Man, was, among other Thefts,
committed for stealing a Bank Note of Twenty-five Pounds
Value, for which he would have been capitally convicted, had
not Lord John interfered". BL only in ESTC [003464] **£50.00**

T H E

PROVERBS of the TIMES.

REJOICE O ye Electors,
and give thanks O ye
Men of Westminster, your
Dumb Elder is now raised
from his Seat.

2. Ye have cryed unto him
in the sadness of Heart; and
he opened not his Ears at the
voice of your Complaint.

3. He suffered you to be
burthened with Taxes, and
opposed it not, and your
Taxes was even grievous to
be born.

4. The Windows of your
Chambers was darkened by
means of your Taxes, and he
viewed your Distresses as thro'
a HOOD.

5. In your Lower Rooms was
found Trouble and Heaviness,
and the plague of Taxes was
over the Land.

6. He considered not your
Grievances, but was Deaf to
all—*And that was turned to
his own Merit.*

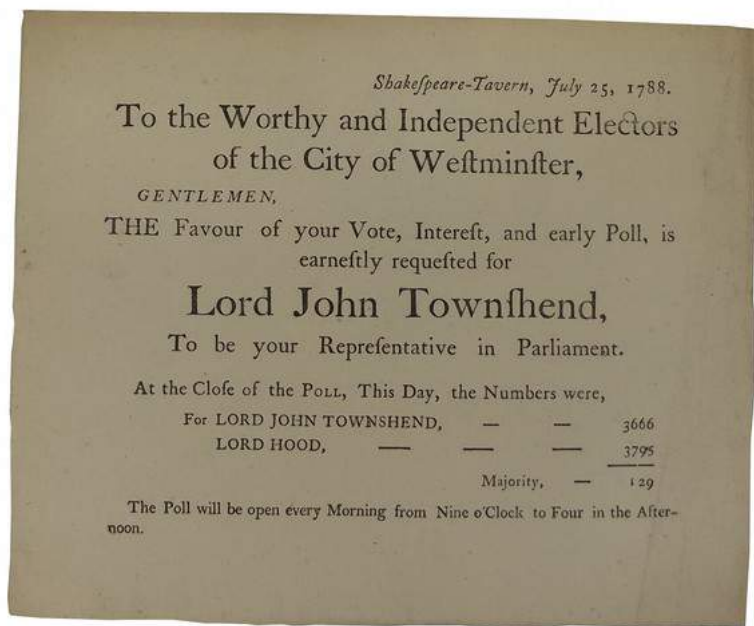
7. Assemble now in Bodies,
and support your Rights; and
let not the Hand of Oppression
overthrow this great City.

8. Choose for your Elder,
a Man of Understanding,
whose Mind is not tainted
with Corruption, nor his hands
with Bribery.

9. Consider your Champion
and supporter of your Rights;
and choose for yourselves a
Man of his Understanding.

10. Let Ministerial Oppo-
sition meet its just Reward, and
may the Sons of Freedom be
always able to support the
Cause.

[03] [Westminster Election of 1788] The Proverbs of the Times. No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 12mo. Unbound. Leaflet. Good+. Single sided printed leaflet, approximately 155mm x 185mm in size, no place but almost certainly London and no date, but almost certainly 1788. Fairly bright and clean. Printed in double column. Anti-Hood leaflet. Not in ESTC [003460] **£35.00**



[04] [Westminster Election of 1788] To the Worthy and Independent Electors of the City of Westminster. London: No Publisher. 1788. First Edition. 12mo (Oblong). Unbound. Leaflet. Good+. Single sided printed leaflet, approximately 210mm x 170mm in size. Fairly bright and clean. Issued from the Shakespeare-Tavern, July 25, 1788, on behalf of Townshend, showing the 'state of the poll' at that point, with Townshend currently behind by 129 votes. He eventually won by 823 votes (6,392 to 5,569). Not in ESTC [003463] **£25.00**



TO THE
WORTHY and INDEPENDENT
ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

GENTLEMEN,

AN ELECTOR, and a Man of Family, begs of you most sincerely to weigh the Merits of the two present Candidates for the vacant Seat in Parliament, before you promise your Votes and Interest to either of them.

Think whether, as Men of Character and Honor, you ought not to give your Votes to a Man like

LORD HOOD,

*Who has nobly Fought and Bled in his
Country's Service,*

And whose Character, both in public and private Life, stands unimpeached :

Or whether you will be justified in voting for a Man like LORD JOHN TOWNSHEND, whose Life has never been distinguished by any commendable Act. On the contrary, he has been stigmatized, and now stands upon Record, as a VIOLATOR OF FEMALE HONOR, and the DISTURBER OF DOMESTIC PEACE.

Think of the two Characters, and, as MEN OF FEELING, you will not hesitate which to prefer.

[05] [Westminster Election of 1788] To the Worthy and Independent Electors of Westminster. No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 4to. Unbound. Broadside. Good. Single sided printed broadside, approximately 195mm x 290mm in size. Lightly browned, slightly creased, but generally fairly bright. Pro-Hood broadside, comparing the character of Hood "Who has nobly Fought and Bled in his Country's Service", with Townshend, represented here as "A Violator of Female Honor, and the Disturber of Domestic Peace" ESTC shows at NYPL only [003471] **£45.00**

To the WORTHY ELECTORS of the City of WESTMINSTER.

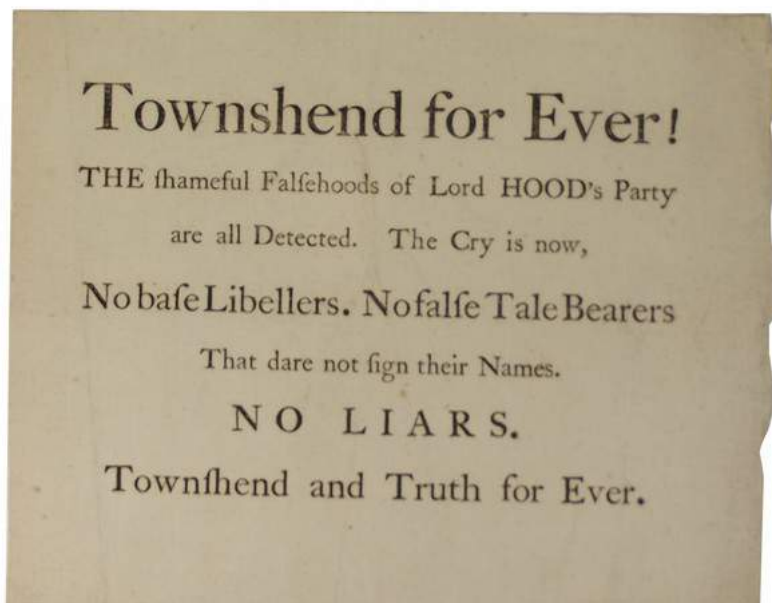
THE INDECENT ARROGANCE with which Mr. FOX has attempted to dictate to his Constituents in the choice of his Colleague, seems likely to be repented as it ought to be by the Independent Electors of *Westminster*. They feel the Insult offered to their hearts and their understandings, in his taking upon HIMSELF to pronounce, that Lord HOOD has forfeited THEIR Confidence, and in his venturing to oppose SUCH a Man as Lord JOHN TOWNSHEND, to one whose PUBLIC and PRIVATE Character is unimpeached, and who, in the whole course of his life, has been distinguished as a Naval Officer, for his successful and glorious exertions in the service of his Country.

Something more than Mr. FOX's ASSERTIONS will be necessary, before Lord HOOD can lose the confidence of Englishmen, and before his Opponent can acquire it. They who think that there is any connexion between the Duties of Public and Private Life, will consider him as most likely to make an upright Statesman, who has shown himself a good Citizen; they will not think it a very flattering compliment to the first City in the World, to be told (as they have been), that a Person, famous for nothing but his Intrigues, known only as the Disturber of the Peace and Honour of great Families, is in all respects properly qualified to be their Representative. Are such pretensions to be supported only by the influence of a few proud Families, falsely calling themselves Whigs, and by the canvas of a Club of Spendthrifts and Gamblers, to be preferred to the Services of the memorable Twelfth of April? If they are, What will be the appearance in the eyes of Europe? What will be the language of those who fled on that day before the Fleets of this Country?

Mr. FOX has not condescended to explain in what particulars Lord HOOD's conduct has been such as "to forfeit" the confidence of his Electors. The Runners of the Party have indeed falsely circulated, that he betrayed their cause by supporting the Shop-Tax; but the falsehood is in gross, for NO ONE, EVEN AMONGST THEM, WILL DARE TO SET HIS NAME TO IT. Lord HOOD has uniformly both IN and OUT of Parliament, opposed the Shop-Tax, with every exertion in his power, and has on every occasion both voted and spoken against it. What then is the cause imputed to him?—That if all other billings except the Shop-Tax, he has supported the present Government. It is true that he has done so; but instead of having lost the Confidence of his Constituents by this conduct, he must indeed have lost it, and most deservedly, had he acted otherwise. He has opposed Government, however he approved their general conduct, in the only instance in which the interest of his Constituents required it, or in which either he or those Constituents thought them wrong: he has supported them in other measures, because in other measures both he and his Constituents have thought them right. The very ground on which he was originally chosen, (in addition to his distinguished services as an Admiral) was, that his Political Principles were known to agree with those of the present Administration. If that was a recommendation in the year 1784, when the Administration were known not so much by their own merit, as by having rescued the Country from the infamous Coalition and the unlimited ambition and rapacity of Mr. FOX and his Party; what will be thought of it now, when we have experienced for four years the effect of a steady and honourable System of Government?

The Finances of the Country, which were then thought almost on the verge of Bankruptcy, have been restored to the most flourishing condition. The National Debt, the source of all the Taxes under which we labour, is in a course of being gradually discharged. Our Commerce and Manufactures are carried to a greater height than at any former Period. A strict Economy prevails in every department of Government. By these means we were enabled last year boldly and successfully to look the Power of France in the face; we have regained our ancient Allies, and recovered our rank and consideration amongst the Nations of Europe. If these blessings have been secured by the measures of the present Administration, to support them in the Senate is as much the duty of an Honest Man, as to face the enemy abroad in the day of Battle: And those who join in resisting the attempts of a restless and profligate Faction at home, render a service inferior only to that which was achieved by Lord ROXBURGH and LORD HOOD, when they dispersed the Fleets of France and Spain, and retrieved the Naval Glory of their Country.

[06] [Westminster Election of 1788] To the Worthy Electors of the City of Westminster. No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. Elephant Folio. Unbound. Broadside. Fair. Single sided printed broadside, approximately 295mm x 410mm in size. Browned and water stained, central horizontal fold, very slightly chipped to edges, probably cropped to margins. Pro-Hood broadside attacking the "indecent arrogance with which Mr. Fox has attempted to dictate to his Constituents in the choice of his Colleague". Not in ESTC [003472] **£30.00**



[07] [Westminster Election of 1788] **Townshend for Ever!** No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 12mo (Oblong). Unbound. Leaflet. Good+. Single sided printed leaflet, approximately 185mm x 145mm in size, no place but almost certainly London and no date, but almost certainly 1788. Fairly bright and clean. ESTC at Bodleian only [003458] **£35.00**



WESTMINSTER ELECTION.
Fair Statement of Public Services.

Lord Hood.

Lord John Townshend.

ON the celebrated 12th of April, LORD HOOD, Second in Command, defeated the French Commander De GRASSE, and took Five Line of Battle Ships.

A Small Public Service!

After the above, on the 19th, as Commander himself, HE, in the most masterly and Seaman-like Manner, pursued and took Two Line of Battle Ships, a Frigate, and a Sloop.

As Commander in Chief, and in the Attempt to relieve St. Kitt's, with an inferior Force he beat the French from their Anchors, took their station, and would undoubtedly have effected that Service, had the Surrender of the Island not previously taken place.

This is no Recommendation!

From the Station of an honest and respected private Gentleman, by *honourable Public Services*, LORD HOOD has raised himself to his present dignified Rank.

This should have no Weight!

GENTLEMEN,

As you are Citizens, Sailors, Soldiers, or virtuous Characters,

REJECT LORD HOOD!

A FEW Years before, Lord John Townshend was received most hospitably in the House of the late Duke of Rutland, who confided to him for a few Moments the Care of his Dutchess. In those few Moments the Virtue of that Lady was attacked, as a grateful Return for the Duke's Friendship, and he might have been more troublesome, had he not been turned into the Dirt by Her Grace's Servants.

A very eminent Public Service!

After the above, he attacked another Friend's Wife, pursued and took her. "He now keeps the Key of the Closet."

Vide I'll Tell you what!

In consequence of the Recommendation of the Duke of Rutland, whom he thus would have injured—He was brought in for CAMBRIDGE.

In consequence of the above atrocious Act, he was turned out of CAMBRIDGE, and he would now repent you.

Any Port in a Storm!

Born to hereditary Honour, and honourable by Birth, he is obliged to trust to others for the smallest Recommendation. He publicly confesses his own Services are "totally inadequate," and hopes you will take him upon trust.

The Duke of Rutland trusted him formerly.

GENTLEMEN,

As you are Citizens, who have Wives that are dear to you! Daughters who are of worth!—Give your Votes to Lord J. TOWNSHEND. He will be your Dutchess, and so will the Opposition.

[08] [Westminster Election of 1788] **Westminster Election. Fair Statement of Public Services.** No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 4to. Unbound. Broadside. Good. Single sided printed broadside, approximately 205mm x 260mm in size. Slightly browned to edges, with some staining to right hand margin, otherwise fairly bright and clean. Pro-Hood, anti-Townshend broadside, noting Hood's war record against Townshend's philandering, claiming that he had been "received most hospitably in the House of the late Duke of Rutland, who confided to him for a few Moments the Care of his Dutchess. In those few Moments, the Virtue of that Lady was attacked, as a grateful Return for the Duke's Friendship, and he might have been more troublesome, had he not been turned into the Dirt by Her Grace's Servants". ESTC at the Bodleian only, one of three variants, all with only one location [003465] **£65.00**

T O T H E A R M Y .

FELLOW SOLDIERS AND COMRADES,

IN the last General Election, the Success of LORD HOOD was in a good degree assisted by the Exertions of the Navy. Why should not we unite now, to support the Son of a gallant and victorious General?

I served myself before QUEBEC. There was not in the whole Army a braver Officer than LORD TOWNSHEND; not excepting our glorious young General himself; and I question if even he was so well beloved. I don't mean to detract from WOLFE, whose Memory I reverence and love; but after he was killed, and MONCKTON shot through the Lungs, who took QUEBEC? Was it not TOWNSHEND?

LORD TOWNSHEND has since been at the Head of the Ordnance. Did he ever think of cooping up all our Troops in Fortifications, as if they were afraid of shewing their Faces; or propose to drill Carpenters on Sundays, as if it was mere Holiday-work to make a Soldier, which were the silly Projects of the present Master-General, whom LORD HOOD supports? No, my Lads! TOWNSHEND knew better what belongs to a Soldier. He learned his Trade, not at a Review, but in a Field of Battle.

Let us then shew, by our Votes for the Son, our grateful Remembrance of the Father's Exploits, and our Contempt for the absurd and degrading Schemes of that Father's Ministerial Successor. Be early at the Hustings, to meet an old Fellow Soldier and Comrade.

A LIEUTENANT OF INVALIDS.

[09] A Lieutenant of Invalids. **To the Army.** No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 8vo. Unbound. Leaflet. Good+. Single sided printed leaflet, approximately 160mm x 200mm in size. Small patch of slight darkening to top left hand corner, otherwise quite bright and clean. Pro-Townshend leaflet, noting his military service in Quebec. ESTC at the BL only [003462] **£65.00**

TO LORD HOOD.

REPRESENTATION is a Trust from the People, for the People's good. He who sacrifices the Public Welfare for his own Private Emolument, betrays his Trust, and forfeits all claim to future Confidence. Lord Hood, have you thus acted? I say, Yes! Lord Hood.

An Independent Mind, is the first Quality in a Member of Parliament. The Man cannot be Independent, who is by Nature a Sycophant, and a Slave by Station. Lord Hood, are you this kind of Man? I say, Yes! Lord Hood.

You have, in the Affair of the Scrutiny, basely and meanly given up the Honour, and deprived us of the Advantage (whatever it might be) of representing us in Parliament for near Two Sessions, for the purpose of enabling a Band of Men (equally rancorous as powerful) to perpetrate the most abandoned Perfection that can be found in the Annals of Iniquity. Had you not been by nature a Sycophant, *thus* you had not acted! Lord Hood.

This Land, is a Land of Trade. When the Trade of this, was about to be bartered for the Liberties of another Kingdom, by that famous jumble of frantic Wickedness, the Irish Propositions, you supported the Minister, and often sat up until Eight o'Clock in the Morning, voting for the detail of a Measure which, had it gone forward, would have absolutely risked a Civil War.

This Land is a free Land; obnoxious to standing Armies, and those Systems of Defence which are suitable only to Countries where the Ocean is no Barrier, and where Liberty is extinct. When the foolish and abominable Job of the *Fortifications* was proposed, (a Plan which would have changed the whole Character of our National Security, and brought direct Slavery upon us,) you, Lord Hood, supported the Measure.

This Nation holds in the highest reverence its Naval Service—it is the real Source of our Glory abroad, and cannot be employed to the Destruction of our Liberties at home. The admirable Principles of Promotion that have at all Times prevailed in that Service, have been the primary cause of all its Fame; those admirable Principles, you, Lord Hood, have subverted in your late Vote against the brave Captains who have been so shamefully passed over; and in so far as depended on you, annihilated that Profession, whence alone you can derive any pretence to notice.—For all these reasons I do affirm, that you, Lord Hood, are by Nature a Sycophant, as you are a Slave by Station; and that your Conduct justifies every Imputation of Servility and Corruption.

There is not one Measure, however atrocious, of the present Ministry, which you have not supported, (one solitary instance excepted.) A single, feeble, fruitless Vote, is ALL you have to oppose against this series of CRIMES.—And do you really, Lord Hood, imagine we are such Gulls as to believe that you would have given *that* Vote against the Minister, if you really thought it could produce a Repeal of that most detestable of all Taxes, the Shop Tax? Lord Hood, if you think so, you are mistaken—there is not one Man amongst us who does not understand that *you* are as well as yourself—

The People, whose Cause you have deserted, despise you. The Navy, whose Profession you have ruined, detest you. We raised you to a high Honour—you sold that Honour for a Place—but depend on it, you shall not sell it a Second Time.

Go—go, then, Lord Hood; and be assured you can only escape our Abhorrence, by retiring from our Notice!

AN ELECTOR.

[10] An Elector. To Lord Hood. No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 4to. Unbound. Broadside. Good. Single sided printed broadside, approximately 205mm x 295mm in size. Lightly browned, probably slightly cropped, otherwise fairly clean. Pro-Townshend broadside, exhorting Hood to "Go-go, then, Lord Hood; and be assured you can only escape our Abhorrence, by retiring from our Notice!". BL only in ESTC [003466] **£45.00**

T O T H E

Free Electors of Westminster.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

A WRIT has been this Day moved in Parliament, for the Election of a Member, in the room of Lord Hood, who is appointed a Lord of the Admiralty; and he will probably call upon you to honour him with the high Trust of again representing you in Parliament. The Friends of Freedom are here called upon, not to lose one Moment in exerting all their Powers to oppose the Re-election of the Man who thinks this great City will degrade itself into a Court Borough.

From the Time we raised him to the Honour of representing us, he has uniformly voted for almost every Measure, however obnoxious, of the present Ministry. IS SUCH A MAN A FIT OBJECT OF OUR CHOICE?—His Claim to our former Favour, resulted from his supposed Merits in the favourite Service of this Country.—Even that favourite Service he has sacrificed to the Court. The Navy is the best Judge of its own Interests; and, upon the late Question concerning the Promotion of Admirals, that respectable Body truly thought their vital Rights at Stake—Lord Hood abandoned their Cause, and spoke and voted against them.—IS THIS MAN A FIT OBJECT OF YOUR CHOICE?

Bribes and corrupt Contracts are coarse Terms. I shall use no hard words, but I will state Facts—Lord Hood, and his Brother, deserted the Cause of the Navy—the one is made a Knight of the Bath, and the other a Lord of the Admiralty. IS LORD HOOD A FIT OBJECT OF YOUR CHOICE?

The first and fundamental Right of Freemen (because the Source of both Liberty and Law) was given up by Lord Hood in the ever-abominable Affair of the Westminster Scrutiny, which, a Verdict of a Court of Law, and the Voice of the Public, have branded with indefeasible infamy.—IS SUCH A MAN FIT TO REPRESENT THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER? that is the Question.

In the Year 1780, by the glorious Efforts of our truly illustrious Representative, Mr. Fox, our City has been redeemed from the base Bondage that before disgraced us.—In the Year 1784, against Calumnies and Clamours that had no Example in History, we maintained that Freedom which we had so nobly acquired, by again returning Mr. Fox to Parliament.—In the Year 1788, what have we to dread when those Clamours are no more; when our favourite Member is the Favourite of Great Britain; and our Cause, the Cause of Freedom and the Constitution?

Arouse, my fellow Citizens, and let us strike a Blow which shall decide the Liberties of Westminster, perhaps for ever. A Victory now secures the Peace of our City hereafter, and the present is a better Time to make the Struggle than when the whole Kingdom shall be convulsed with a General Election. Arouse, I say—a Candidate worthy of us will stand forth, and one Fortnight's vigorous Exertion does the Business. The Law now limits the Duration of Elections to that Period.—Not an Hour is to be lost. Early activity secures a certain and speedy Triumph!

AN ELECTOR.

July the 11th, 1788.

[11] An Elector. To the Free Electors of Westminster. No Place: No Publisher. 1788. First Edition. 4to. Unbound. Broadside. Good. Single sided printed broadside, approximately 205mm x 300mm in size. Brownd, couple of small spots of foxing, some staining to right hand margin. Dated July the 11th, 1788, an anti-Hood broadside, exclaiming "Is This Man A Fit Object Of Your Choice?". Not in ESTC [003468] £45.00

*To the REAL and Independent Electors
of the City and Liberty of Westminster.*

GENTLEMEN,

IT appears by the Poll this Day, that my Opponent has a Majority of 218 Votes; the Means by which that Majority has been obtained, are, I believe sufficiently Notorious.

That a Minority of Electors should at any time seat a Representative in Parliament, I hold a flagrant Violation of the Rights of all; though my chief Opponent is I know of a different Opinion---But I also hold that a Majority obtained by *Fictitious* Electors, is an equal Violation of your Rights, and calls for equal Redress. I must therefore intreat you, Gentlemen, the real Electors of Westminster, to be no more discouraged at an *apparent* Majority, than I am; but to continue your Exertions to the end of the Contest: assuring you that nothing that is worthy of a Man, shall be wanting on my Part, both during and after the Poll, to rescue the City of Westminster from Attempts and Practices almost as degrading to those who suffer as to those who commit them.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your grateful and

Obedient humble Servant,

July 28, 1788.

HOOD.

[12] Hood, [Samuel] **To the Real and Independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster.** London: No Publisher. 1788. First Edition. 4to. Unbound. Broadside. Good. Single sided printed broadside, approximately 185mm x 285mm in size. Brownd, otherwise fairly clean. Dated July 28, 1788, a broadside issued by Hood complaining that the "my Opponent has a majority of 218 votes; the Means by which that Majority has been obtained, are, I believe sufficiently Notorious". Not in ESTC [003467] **£45.00**

Electors of Westminster.

IN a just—in an honourable Cause, ye will be crowned with Success.
The Opponents of Lord Hood are pushed to their last Strike—THE
BLUDGEON—But the Bludgeon must be laid down, and those honour-
able and Right Honourable Men who head the Blue and Berry Mobs
submit to the LAW.

The noble Stand you make against one of the most desperate and un-
principled Factions that ever disgraced this Country, will be an Honour
to the City of Westminster that no Time can efface—You are support-
ing VIRTUE against Vice—raving VARIANS in opposition to false HIRAZIM—
You are giving the Majority of your Suffrages to the Conqueror of
MEN—not to the Subduer of Women—to an approved HERO—not
to a professed Libertine—you are placing in the Senate a VICTORIOUS
ADMIRAL of Great Britain, who is the PRIDE of your Navy, and the
HOPE of every honest Tar—you are not lending to the House of Com-
mons a wretched Tool of Party, whose only Honour is being Son to a
Peer—whose only Exploits are successful Adultery and scandalous Feru-
cation.

Persevere then with Sincerity—and conduct yourselves with calmness
and Prudence—there can be no doubt of your Success—the Majority of
honest Votes is clearly on your Side, and your Enemies know it. Their
Force is exhausted: for who is he, except he is a Man left to all Scolds
of Shame—to every Feeling for public, for private Virtue, and a decla-
red Foe to all which regards the Honour and Welfare of his Country,—
THAT WOULD GIVE HIS VOTE TO Lord John Townshend.

What has Lord Townshend to recommend him to your Choice!—His
public Virtues have no Existence but in the Name of his Ancestry—His
private Actions are indeed recorded in *Dalby's Common*—and on the Jour-
nals of both Houses of Parliament—ACTIONS that have broke through the
strict Commandments of his God—the sacred Ties of Friendship, and the
Holy Bonds of Wedlock—ACTIONS that should make you detest, abhor,
and shun him—ACTIONS only to be APPROVED by the ATHEISTICAL
FACTION, of which he is a sworn Member.

Reject him, therefore, as the most dangerous Enemy to your Happi-
ness, that could sit in Parliament—Reject him, as a Character unfit for
any honest Society, and continue your Suffrages to that Man, who is the
Friend of Virtue, and the true Supporter of all that should be dear to
Englishmen.

THE GHOST OF CHATHAM

[13] The Ghost of Chatham. **Electors of Westminster.** No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 4to. Unbound. Broadside. Good. Single sided printed broadside, approximately 185mm x 290mm in size. Lightly browned, Japanese tissue repair to reverse of bottom left hand corner, otherwise fairly clean. Pro-Hood broadside, labelling Townshend as a 'libertine', with "actions that should make you detest, abhor, and shun him - Actions only to be Approved by the Atheistical Faction, of which he is a sworn Member". At the BL only in ESTC [003473] £75.00

Infamous Libel Refuted!

To WILLIAM ADDINGTON, Esq.

SIR,

FINDING a pointed Attack upon the *Character* of LORD JOHN TOWNSHEND, whom we have had the Honour to propose to the Citizens of Westminster as a fit Person to represent them, circulated with the greatest Industry, and relating to a Transaction, the Particulars of which came under your Cognizance, we take the Liberty of requiring from your Candour and Justice, an authentic Statement of the Fact; as, however convinced we are of the FALSEHOOD of this most ILLIBERAL and MALICIOUS LIBEL, it is but too probable that it may prejudice the Minds of those who have not had a personal Opportunity of knowing the Temper and Character of the Candidate whom we support.

We have the Honour to be, Sir,
Your very Humble Servants,

Thursday, July 24, 1788.
Six o'Clock.

JOHN RUSSELL,
GEORGE CAVENDISH.

To Lord John Russell, and Lord George Cavendish.
MY LORDS,

IN answer to your Lordships Letter, respecting the Report alluded to, I think it my Duty, as the Magistrate by whom the said Servant was committed for Trial, to assure your Lordships, that nothing could be more perfectly ROMAN and GENEROUS than the Conduct therein of LORD JOHN TOWNSHEND; the plain Fact being this—that notwithstanding, by the Evidence, the Servant might have been prosecuted by his Master for the CAPITAL OFFENCE of stealing a BANK NOTE OF FIVE AND TWENTY POUNDS Value; nevertheless, through his Lordships Interference, he was committed by me for stealing only a SMALL QUANTITY OF WINE, in order that, by his Lordships laying the Indictment accordingly, the Offender might *escape* a CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

I am, my Lords,
Your Lordships very obedient
Humble Servant,
W. ADDINGTON.

Clarges Street, July 24, 1788.
Thursday, Nine o'Clock.

To the ELECTORS of WESTMINSTER.
GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE hitherto treated with silent Contempt, an infamous and scurrilous Falshood, which, with many others, have been circulated against me with a most ungenerous Industry. The Contradiction of it, under the Hand of Mr. Justice ADDINGTON, having been shewn to me, I only think it necessary to add, that I am confident you will now no longer give Credit to anonymous Scurrility. And I call on any Gentleman to stand forward and avow a Part in this *gross and illiberal Libel*.

I am, with all Respect and Gratitude,
Your most devoted and faithful Servant,

Bentinck Street, July 25, 1788.

J. TOWNSHEND.

[14] Townshend, J.[ohn] Infamous Libel Refuted!. London:
No Publisher. 1788. First Edition. 4to. Unbound. Broadside.
Good. Single sided printed broadside, approximately 210mm x 300mm in size. Browned, especially to edges, very slightly chipped to right hand edge, probably slightly cropped to head. Broadside, issued from Bentinck Street and dated July 25, 1788, relating to the "illiberal and malicious libel" (also see our #003464), that Townshend had a butler publicly whipped for the theft of a bottle of wine. ESTC shows at the BL and National Archives only, noting that the 'infamous libel' was entitled *The Bottle of Wine and Butler* [003469] **£45.00**

To the Worthy and Independent Electors
of Westminster.

GENTLEMEN,

AN Indisposition which, for the greater Part of two Days, has confined me to my Bed, will, I trust, sufficiently apologize to those on whom I have not waited in Person, for any appearance of Neglect.

After receiving so very flattering a Support from your Kindness, both on the Poll, and in my Canvass, I should hold myself very inexcusable if I could in any Degree fail in that Attention which it is no less my Inclination than my Duty to show. I have now the Pleasure to inform you, that I have recovered my Health so far as to re-assume my Canvass, and shall lose no Time in proceeding to pay my Compliments to those who have not yet polled, and to return my warmest Acknowledgements to such as have already given their Votes in my Favour.

I have the Honour to be,

With all Respect and Gratitude,

Your most devoted and faithful Servant,

Bentick-street, July 22, 1788.

JOHN TOWNSHEND.

[15] Townshend, John. **To the Worthy and Independent Electors of Westminster.** London: No Publisher. 1788. First Edition. 12mo (Oblong). Unbound. Leaflet. Good. Single sided printed leaflet, approximately 210mm x 165mm in size. Slightly unevenly cut to head, otherwise fairly bright and clean. Issued from Bentinck Street, on July 22nd, 1788, with Townshend apologising for "an indisposition which, for the greater part of two days, has confined me to my bed". Not in ESTC [003461] £35.00



A Chapter of the Times.

AND it came to pass in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of George the King, that beheld the people of the land being grievously burthened by reason of their tax matters, in such sort that they cried unto a certain elder to redress their grievances.

2. And behold a certain man one of the elders, who was a Fessie spake unto his brother elder, and said, listen unto the crys of the people, and let us strive to ease them of some of their taxes and he made as if he was deaf & heard no, for behold he was a Hoodie, and cared not for the voice of the people.

3. And it came to pass that a certain Pinte who was a servant in the treasury of the king's household, who had secret influence with his master, spake & said, let us anoint this Hoodie a lord over our admirals and captains, for he is good in our cause, and listeth not unto the voice of the people, and it was so.

4. Now when the people heard what was done they communed with each other, and said, what manner of man is this, that we have chosen for our elder, that heareth not the voice of our complaints, but hearkeneth to the voice of this Pinte, and hath received gifts from his hands?

5. And behold his brother elder, spake and said, thou shalt no longer keep thy seat with me, thou hast accepted of a place, which is contrary to our laws, arise, and leave thy seat, and see thou comest no more here.

6. And low when he had arisen from his seat his face redened with indignation and his nose was as it were a yard long, and he said I will now go forth, and I will declare war against the nine tribes of Westminster.

7. And behold, on the eighteenth day of the month July, that he assembled his army, and came forth to the garden of cabbages, and terrified the people

with his war hounds & fell to the people I will be your elder; & behold many came forth in his intent.

8. And a certain man of the house of Townshend came forth & said, who is this great champion that is come forth thus to terrify the people, I will go forth unto the garden of cabbages and I will give him battle.

9. Now it came to pass when this Pinte heard what was done that he laughed him to scorn, and said, thou art not able thou art but a youth, and he a man of war from his youth, and behold he went forth from his preference and pitched his tent in the valley of opposition.

10. And he assembled the people of the land together and said, go forth with your armies, and support our cause, see that none of you remain in your houses, for behold he that goeth forth I will reward with great gifts.

11. And to the children of iniquity came forth with their slaves, and many of the servants of truth were sore smitten, and the whole garden was stained with blood.

12. And behold there came from the west, certain men of the house of Cavendish, Russell, and Devon, and there was war, and they spake unto the people and said, why strive ye one with another O ye men of Westminster.

13. Harken unto our counsel, let not this man come forth with his armies to terrify you, consider your servant Townshend a lover of liberty and supporter of your rights.

14. And the voice of their men prevailed over the people, and the spirit of rebellion ceased in the garden, and Townshend was returned as the elder of the people; and they shouted and gave thanks and said.

Townshend and Freedom, Fox and the Rights of the Commons for Ever.
W. H.

[16] W.H. **A Chapter of the Times.** No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 4to. Unbound. Leaflet. Good. Single sided printed leaflet, approximately 150mm x 250mm in size, no place but almost certainly London and no date, but almost certainly 1788. Slightly creased to edges with small tear to left hand margin, light foxing, otherwise fairly clean. Printed in double column. Not in ESTC [003459] **£35.00**

L O R D H O O D ' S ,

last Trying Speech to his Mob.

N E I G H B O U R S ! Neighbours come forward ! Exert your best endeavors, consider the 12th and 19th of April. I have nothing else to remind you of.—Come forth ye house-keepers and Lodgers ; even from the garret to the stall come forth. I tell you Gentlemen, he that rents a stall at eighteen pence a week, his vote shall be as good as he that rents a house at forty pounds a year.—Come forward my dear friends ! My beloved friends ! Come forth ye soldiers, sailors, tinkers, taylors ; ye weavers from Spital-fields come forward, lose no time, the cause shall be ours ! Support it with all your strength, or that damned Fox will undo us. Come and dine with me at Mrs. Murphy's, in St. Giles's. I have provided a large quantity of ox-cheeks and legs of beef, and has given me her vote, & has promised to bring me many more. You that can't make a decent appearance, let not that hinder you from coming ; for I have opened three shops and cellars in Monmouth-street, to furnish you with what you stand in need, and proper Officers are to attend you to and from the Hurlings to Jail. It is not as I doubt your honor Gentlemen but you understand me, "Honesty is the best policy."—I do it for your good for as many of you are in great distress, you may be tempted For should any of you come to the bar of the Old Bailey, you may be known by that damned rogue Garrow ! he is in the interest of the enemy, for I would not wish any of you to be obliged to hold up your hands, they may be known by a particular mark, you understand me Gentlemen, the mark I mean is R T.

Good Day Gentlemen.

W. H.

[17] W.H. Lord Hood's Last Trying Speech to His Mob. No Place: No Publisher. First Edition. 12mo. Unbound. Leaflet. Good+. Single sided printed leaflet, approximately 150mm x 170mm in size, no place but almost certainly London and no date, but almost certainly 1788. Fairly bright and clean. The leaflet notes that "he that rents a stall at eighteen pence a week, his vote shall be as good as he that rents a house at forty pounds a year". Not in ESTC [003457] £35.00

