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Journals and Supplements Wanted

F.H.S. would be glad to receive, and in some cases to buy unwanted copies of the following. Address to F.H.S., The Library, Friends House, London, N.W.1.

Journal: Vol. 37 (1940); Vol. 46, No. 1 (1954).

The London (Quaker) Lead Co. By Arthur Raistrick. 1938.

Psychical Experiences of Quaker Ministers. By John W. Graham. 1933.

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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Editorial

BY the time our readers see these words in print they will have received a new Supplement, No. 28, to the *Journal*, being the Presidential Address to the Society delivered by Thomas E. Drake in September, 1958, and published as *Patterns of Influence in Anglo-American Quakerism*. A full review was printed in *The Friend* of 12th September, and members who were unable to be present in London to hear the address will have been looking forward to reading the full text in order to appreciate and understand the development of the similarities and differences which distinguish Quakerism on both sides of the Atlantic, and their mutual influences upon each other through three centuries. It would be easy to suppose that during most of the period the influence must have been in one direction, but in fact it has been "two way traffic" since the eighteenth century. Many of the distinctive characteristics among Friends are the product of the different social and geographical conditions in our two countries. In fostering an understanding of the processes which have been at work, Thomas Drake has also rendered a service to the cause of Anglo-American co-operation among Friends. The address, which has been distributed to members of F.H.S., is published at 1s. 6d.

Supplement No. 29, *Some Quaker Portraits, Certain and Uncertain*, by John Nickalls, is the substance of the Presidential Address given in December, 1957. In this address is collected together for the first time evidence on the portraits which have from time to time been claimed to represent George Fox, James Nayler and William Penn.

The portraits discussed, together with pictures of William Dillwyn (from the original at Friends House) and Willem Sewel (from a contemporary engraving), are illustrated in 16 plates, so that for the first time Friends have before them evidence of the personal appearance of some of the founders of Quakerism with a critical appreciation of the authenticity of the representations which have come down to us. Friends' Historical Society is able to produce this Supplement with the co-operation of Friends' Historical Association in America, which publishes it jointly with us. It has not been distributed to members of F.H.S. and is published here at 3s. 6d.

Economic history figures in this, the concluding number of *Journal* volume 48. William H. Marwick contributes an extended outline study of some Quaker businesses of the nineteenth century in a wide range of commercial and industrial activity, and there is a study by Russell Mortimer of King's briefs for collections in aid of the victims of disastrous fires, inundations, or religious persecution, as reflected in Friends' records in Bristol up to the end of the reign of Queen Anne.

Leonhard Friedrich writes on Friends in the neighbourhood of Bad Pyrmont from the end of the eighteenth century. Leonhard Friedrich has gathered the particulars for his paper from widely scattered sources, and he would be glad to have any further information which readers may be able to supply from documents in their possession or from references in their reading. Hugh Doncaster supplies a note on William Singleton, of Loxley, near Sheffield, whose deep interest in African welfare provides a link in the slender chain which joins the missionary activity of early Friends to the nineteenth century rebirth of such activity under the auspices of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, April 1958, vol. 82, p. 176-185 includes an article by Leo A. Bressler on "Peter Porcupine and the Bones of Thomas Paine" in which the author mentions Cobbett's strictures on Friends' refusal to have Paine buried in their burial ground in New York. Ten years after Paine's death in 1809, Cobbett obtained permission to disinter his remains from their resting place in a field on his farm at New Rochelle, New York, and have them brought to England in 1819. The article tells of the subsequent history of these remains of one who was once a Quaker.

Some Quaker Firms of the Nineteenth Century

THE contribution of Friends to the Industrial Revolution is well known, and has been competently and sympathetically studied by Isabel Grubb and Arthur Raistrick.¹ Ordinary textbooks of economic history record the activities of the Darbys of Coalbrookdale, the Lloyds of Birmingham, the Peases of Darlington, and other pioneers of metallurgical industry. The prominence in banking of the Barclays, Hoares, Gurneys, Backhouses and other families is conspicuous and well appreciated. The Victorian period has been less explored, though the dominance of cocoa and chocolate manufacture by the Frys, Cadburys and Rowntrees is a commonplace. Interesting notes on various well-known firms of Quaker origin appeared in Paul Emden's *Quakers in Commerce* (1940). The following article is largely an expansion of some of these, and deals with eleven firms—Albright & Wilson, Carrs, Fox Roy, Friends' Provident Institution, Gray Dunn, Harrisons & Crosfield, Huntley & Palmer, Jacobs, Montserrat Company, Richardsons, Sturges. Of these, six are primarily manufacturers (two, chemicals and four, biscuits), three are merchants and one an insurance company. Two are Irish and one Scottish.

ALBRIGHT & WILSON AND J. & E. STURGE

The first group comprises the two firms of Albright & Wilson and J. and E. Sturge, closely related in location and personnel as well as in type of product, and the Montserrat Company, which is linked to them by business and family ties.

John Sturge (1799-1840), younger brother of the more noted Joseph, commenced the manufacture of chemicals at Bewdley in 1822. The role of chemistry in industrial progress has until recently been less realized than that of physics;² the varied technological applications of this science were in the early nineteenth century offering opportunities for rapid

¹ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and industry before 1800* (1930); A. Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry* (1950); *Dynasty of ironfounders: the Darbys and Coalbrookdale* (1953).

² A. and N. L. Clow, *The chemical revolution* (1952).

expansion. John was joined in 1830 by another brother, Edmund (1808-93) thus founding the firm of J. and E. Sturge.

The works were removed to Selly Oak, Birmingham, in 1833. On John's early death, his place was taken by Edmund's brother-in-law, Arthur Albright. In 1844 the making of phosphorus was undertaken and bone ash was imported from South America. The association was severed in 1855, when Albright continued this newer part of the enterprise. Edmund Sturge retained control till he retired in 1868. He shared the reforming views of his more famous brother Joseph, and was particularly interested in negro freedom and welfare. He was in later life for a decade chairman of the British Anti-Slavery Society; and showed his concern practically through the foundation of the Montserrat Company.¹

The business was purchased by his cousin Charles Dickinson Sturge (1839-1915), eldest son of Charles (1801-88), who had carried on the corn merchant business of his father and uncle, and Francis C. Clayton (1843-1928). Charles Dickinson Sturge's brothers, Joseph Marshall Sturge (1828-1916) and Wilson Sturge (1834-99) also became partners. All three brothers were Friends. Probably the most active in Quaker affairs was Wilson, who was engaged in the relief mission of Friends to Finland, and lived for some years in Russia. He later organized emigration of Doukhobors from Russia, and died on a voyage from Cyprus, where he had arranged for the settlement of a party of them.

In 1887 the business was again sold, this time to Henry Lloyd Wilson (1862-1941) and his brother Alfred, sons of John Edward Wilson, the co-founder of Albright and Wilson. The personal link between the firms was thus restored and was continued by H. L. Wilson's son Anthony, who became a partner in 1921.² The firm became a private limited company in 1917. Henry Lloyd Wilson was Clerk of London Yearly Meeting from 1904 to 1910; his son left Friends for Congregationalism. Among other directors associated with the Society have been Roland B. Gibbins (1908-17) and A. Peter Wilson, son of Alfred (1922).

¹ J. and E. Sturge Ltd., centenary booklet (1923); *Annual monitor*, 1894; *The Friend*, 7.vii.1893.

² *The Friend*, 20.x.1899 and 2.v.1915; *The Times*, 19.i.1916; *Annual Monitor*, 1901.

Arthur Albright (1811-1900), sixth child and second son of William Albright, a grocer and merchant at Charlbury, was apprenticed to a chemist in Bristol in 1827. On the dissolution of his partnership with Edmund Sturge, he established a works at Oldbury near Birmingham, in collaboration with John Edward Wilson (1834-1907), of a well-known Friend family of Kendal, thus constituting the firm of Albright and Wilson. He had already adopted the Schroetter process for phosphorus, and entered into relations with the Lundstroms, the Swedish match manufacturers, for the supply of material for the then new "safety" matches; he had received an assurance that his product would not be used for military purposes. This remained a speciality of the business, and has resulted in close relationship with the British match industry, in which the firm of Bryant and May, also of Quaker origin, has been prominent.¹

The business, which became a limited company in 1892, expanded rapidly and became an international concern, founding subsidiaries in New York (1896) and Canada (1902). In 1932 it absorbed several kindred firms. Since the first World War it has developed the line of food phosphates. It has remained largely in the hands of the two families whose name it bears.

Arthur Albright, the founder, was active in Quaker and kindred concerns. He participated in the work of the Relief Committee set up to aid victims of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71; he was Hon. Secretary of the National Freedman's Aid Union, and promoted trade union opposition to the threatened war with Russia in 1877.² His son, William Arthur Albright (1853-1942) became a partner in 1877, and was chairman till 1915, when he and Henry Lloyd Wilson, son of the co-founder, a director since 1892, retired owing to scruples about acceptance of war contracts.³ John W. Wilson (1859-1932), brother of the latter, then became chairman; he was also a director of the Great Western Railway Company and of Bryant & May. He sat in Parliament from 1895 to 1922, serving as a chairman of Committees of the Commons,

¹ R. E. Threlfall, *The story of 100 years of phosphorus making, 1851-1951* (1952); P. H. Emden, *Quakers in commerce* (1940); 166-7; *The Times*, 15.iii.1948; *Annual monitor*, 1908.

² *The Friend*, 13.vii.1900; *Annual monitor*, 1901.

³ R. E. Threlfall, *op. cit.*

and becoming a Privy Councillor in 1911.¹ His nephew, Kenneth H. Wilson (b. 1885) succeeded him as chairman, and held that office until 1956; he attended the Quaker Employers' Conference of 1928. William Beaumont Albright (b. 1907) grandson of the founder, became managing director in 1942.

William A. Albright, especially after his retirement from business, took an active share in the work of the Society. He served as Clerk of Warwickshire Q.M.; he was a regular attender at Meeting for Sufferings and other committees; he was for over thirty years treasurer of the Home Service Committee, and the first chairman of Friends' War Victims Relief Committee (1914-16).²

THE MONTSERRAT COMPANY

The Montserrat Company was a by-product of the life-long interest of Joseph Sturge (1794-1859) in the negro population of the West Indies, particularly his concern for their employment after emancipation, fully described in the account of his visit with Thomas Harvey (1836-37).³ In 1857 he purchased a sugar estate in Montserrat in the Leeward Islands, which he named Elberton after his birth-place. His intention was to cultivate sugar by free labour, and to sell plots to native workers. The original plan was handicapped by his own death and that of his manager, Edward Bennett, and frustrated by the decline of the cane sugar industry.⁴

Already his younger brother Edmund, then in partnership with Arthur Albright, had taken a mortgage on the plantation of Woodlands in the same island (1852) from Francis Burke (1800-62), a planter who had incurred obloquy among his fellows by his opposition to slavery. Joseph had made his acquaintance during his visit, and used his services as attorney for his sugar estate. Burke contracted to plant lime trees and supply the juice for the purposes of the chemical works in Birmingham, as a substitute for the failure of the crop in Sicily. A few years after Burke's death, the estate was purchased from his family by Edmund Sturge

¹ *Who's Who*.

² *The Friend*, 24.vii.1942.

³ J. Sturge and T. Harvey, *The West Indies in 1837* (1838); H. Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (1864), ch. VII, IX.

⁴ S. H. Hobhouse, *Joseph Sturge* (1919), 47-48, 180.

(1866) and several adjacent estates were leased or bought during the 1850's and 1860's. Joseph Marshall Sturge (1828-1916), nephew of Joseph and Edmund, acted for a time as resident manager; he married a daughter of Burke, and was a member of the Montserrat Legislature. He later became semi-paralysed, and lived in retirement in England.¹

In April, 1869, Sturge's Montserrat Company was incorporated with a capital of £30,000 in 600 shares, to take over the estates. John Edmund Sturge (1842-80) eldest son of Edmund, became local manager, and was Crown nominee for Montserrat on the Leeward Islands Council. His brother Francis Albright Sturge (1845-1925) was also for some time concerned in the management; he became a Congregationalist.² John H. Waterfall (1847-73) of a Bristol Quaker family was employed on the estate till his early death.³

The company was voluntarily liquidated in December, 1875, and a new one constituted under the name of the Montserrat Company, "merchants, planters, and manufacturers of lime juice". Further land was acquired by sale or lease, including (1876) the Elberton estate, which had deteriorated to a "low second class" property, owing to the slump in sugar. The directorate included several members of the Sturge family, Arthur Albright, and George Baker (1825-1910) a Birmingham blacking manufacturer, sometime mayor of that city and described as a "Ruskinian"; he was for many years chairman.⁴

This association has continued; William A. Albright was latterly chairman and Joseph Sturge, junior, managing director. Thomas Twyman (1879-1956), sometime chairman of the Industrial and Social Order Council, was managing director from 1926.⁵ Roger Clark is another noted Friend who has served on the board.

It may be appropriate to treat next of a firm also associated with a section of the chemical industry.

Fox Roy

A branch of the prolific west country family of Fox was engaged in general trade in Devon and Cornwall from about

¹ Montserrat Company MSS; Mary Sturge Gretton, *Recognitions* (1951), 5-6, 59-60; *The Times*, 19.i.1916.

² *The Friend*, 8.i.1926.

³ *Annual monitor*, 1874, 1896.

⁴ *The Friend*, 28.i.1910.

⁵ *The Friend*, 18.v.1956.

1720. Charles Alfred Fox (1848-1929), a great-grandson of the founder, after some experience as an insurance broker in London, established about 1870 a business in Plymouth. He received financial aid from his brother and his father, who had transferred his interests to banking. In 1873 he took as partner David Roy (d. 1903), a Scot from Fife, and developed the import and distribution of phosphates, nitrates, potash, oilcakes, and China clay. The firm ultimately concentrated on agricultural fertilizers. A branch was opened in Bristol in 1876, under the management of William Booth Waterfall (1850-1915), afterwards of the Avon Manure Company (now merged in Fisons). A London office was also established.

Charles A. Fox (who was also chairman of the Devon and Cornwall Bank, now absorbed by Lloyds), though not taking an active part in Quaker affairs, was a consistent upholder of Friends' principles. He was known in business circles for his "integrity and fearlessness", and it was said of him that, shy and diffident by nature "he lived his religion without voicing it". He conducted family prayers regularly, and read his Bible every night before going to bed.

His sons Charles Reginald Fox and Edward Bonville Fox (1886-1944) succeeded to the control of the business, which became a limited company in 1913. The latter remained an active member of the Society, served in the Friends' Ambulance Unit in the First War, was an elder and clerk of Quarterly Meeting. He was director of a gelatine factory in Belgium, and acted for some years as Belgian consul in Plymouth. His elder brother C. Reginald Fox joined the Church of England on his marriage; his son C. W. C. Fox is now a director and secretary of the company. Peter Bruce Fox, also a director, resigned his membership in 1939 "owing to incompatibility with the Society's views on conscientious objection [to war]". The last Quaker director, Harry Cottrell of Bristol, retired a few years ago.¹

HARRISONS AND CROSFIELD

The reduction by William Pitt of the exorbitant duties on tea diminished smuggling and encouraged popular consumption of that beverage. The abolition of the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade in 1833 afforded

¹ Information from C. W. C. Fox; *The Friend*, 29.xii.1944; *The Directory of directors*.

opportunities to the private dealer, and the nascent Temperance movement perhaps stimulated Friends to embark in this as well as in the cocoa trade, whereas in earlier days brewing had been a reputable Quaker occupation (Barclays, Lucases, Millers, etc.). The Tukes and their successors the Mennells, and the Hornimans, offer well-known examples.¹ Here we trace the expansion of a firm from petty trade in Liverpool to world-wide commercial transactions.

Daniel Harrison (1795-1873) of Wensleydale origin, was for some years a dealer in tea and coffee in Liverpool in partnership with Octavius Waterhouse, who retired in 1840. On New Year's Day, 1844, he entered into partnership with his youngest brother Smith Harrison (1818-83)—the youngest of seventeen children—and Joseph Crosfield (1821-79), third son of a wholesale grocer in Liverpool, and a former employee, who with an advance of capital from his father, obtained a three-tenths share in the profits. Liverpool was a main importing centre for China tea, but the new firm also bought at the fortnightly auctions in Mincing Lane, London. Coffee amounted to about one-fifth of turnover; profits rose from £3,000 in the first year to £6,400 three years later. In July, 1854, a London office was opened, on the site of the present headquarters in Great Tower Street. Charles, eldest son of Daniel, entered the firm then.

The original partners were strict Friends, who used the Quaker way of speech even in their business correspondence, and emphasized the idea of service to their customers. Joseph Crosfield, whose wife was a Backhouse, was particularly active in the Society, and was engaged in relief work in the Irish famine of 1846 and again after the Franco-Prussian War; he was Clerk of Yearly Meeting from 1864 to 1869.

Tea plantations were by this time being established in India; the Assam Company, in 1839, was the earliest. From the 'sixties, India tea gradually outstripped Chinese in the British market, especially as the growing of tea was substituted for that of coffee in Ceylon. When Daniel Harrison retired in 1863, the capital of the firm amounted to £140,000, and the return averaged 6 per cent.; their annual turnover of tea was over 60,000 chests. Smith Harrison remained head

¹ Collin Brooks, *Something in the City* (1931), ch. XV; R. O. Mennell, *Tea* (1926); C. R. Fay, *Great Britain from Adam Smith to the present day* (1928), 35-36, 132-33.

of the firm for another twenty years until his death in 1883. Thereafter it fell into the control of the second generation of both families. Charles Harrison, who was active until he retired after 60 years' connexion in 1915, is described as "one of the handsomest and nicest natured men ever seen in Mincing Lane". John Mason Harrison, son of Smith Harrison, was a partner from 1878 till his death in 1898. James Backhouse Crosfield (1848-1928), eldest son of Joseph, was chairman when he retired in 1911; his younger brother George Theodore (1849-1927) retired a year earlier. Both were well-concerned Friends; the former was chairman of the Friends' Temperance Union.¹ The Harrisons did not maintain contact with the Society.

In 1894 two younger men, who had been employees for some time, were admitted to partnership—Arthur Lampard (1861-1916), and Charles Heath Clark (1860-1926) who resigned from the Society in 1914, as he "dissented from the Quaker view of non-resistance";² "he had a wonderfully even temper, level judgment and profound wisdom; he was diligent, generous, and careful to help others in such sort that they should learn to help themselves."

The capital had been reduced to less than £60,000 owing to the withdrawal of older partners, but thanks largely to the new blood, considerable expansion took place. The blending and packeting of tea (said to have been pioneered by the Hornimans) was introduced. A subsidiary, Crosfield Lampard & Co., was established in Ceylon in 1895, under the managership of an Aberdonian, George Croll (1870-1922), subsequently chairman. Export to southern Europe and South America was developed, and in 1899 the first tea estate was purchased. The "Nectar" brand of tea was publicized, but ultimately transferred to the associated firm of Twining, Crosfield & Co. (1916). Offices were opened in New York and Montreal in the first years of the twentieth century, when profits averaged £24,000.

At this period also the firm entered the novel rubber industry, which began as a plantation culture in Malaya in the 1890's. They became agents for a Rubber Estates Syndicate promoted in 1903 by Herbert W. Brett, who had business associations with them; and subscribed a small

¹ *The Friend*, 17 and 24.vi.1927; 18.v. and 22.vi.1928.

² *The Times*, 2.ix.1926; *The Friend*, 17.ix.1926.

portion of the capital. During the rubber boom which followed, the firm invested considerably in other estates, particularly those administered by the Anglo-Malay Rubber Company (1905) and Rubber Estates of Johore (1906); they also acquired rubber estates in Sumatra (1907) and tea plantations in South India (1907).

In May, 1908, the firm was transformed into a limited company with a working capital of £300,000, James Crosfield becoming chairman. The third generation was represented by Hugh Crosfield (1883-1944), son of G. Theodore Crosfield. He was a director of the parent company, and afterwards a managing director of Twining Crosfield. He was a director of the Friends' Provident Institution, and served the Society and particularly Croydon Meeting in many capacities, including that of Monthly Meeting clerk, and a governor of Leighton Park School.¹

Harrisons and Crosfield is now world-wide in scope, with agencies and subsidiaries in all the continents, and was headed for many years by Sir Eric Miller (1882-1958). The capital is now two and a half million pounds. Tea and rubber remain the chief interests. With the death of Hugh Crosfield in 1944, the original family and Quaker connexion ended.²

FRIENDS' PROVIDENT INSTITUTION

Hugh Crosfield provides one of many personal links between Quaker firms and the unique undertaking which is our next topic.

The Friends' Provident Institution was of Yorkshire origin. The prime mover was Samuel Tuke (1784-1857),³ who became the first chairman. He was a member of the York family of tea merchants, and grandson of the founder of "The Retreat". He inherited the Quaker and humanitarian interests of his forbears. Actively associated with him in this venture were John Hustler (1768-1842), third of the name, a "woolstapler" in Bradford;⁴ James Ellis and his brother-in-law, John Priestman (1805-66), also both of Bradford, who had abandoned malting for worsted;⁵ and

¹ *The Times*, 15.xi.1944; *The Friend*, 24.xi.1944.

² *100 years as East India merchants* (Harrisons & Crosfield, 1944).

³ C. Tylor (ed). *Samuel Tuke* (1900); *D.N.B.*, lvii, 301.

⁴ H. R. Hodgson, *The Society of Friends in Bradford*, (1926).

⁵ *Ibid.*; *D.N.B.*, xlvi, 377; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1867, pp. 344-56.

Samuel Gurney (1786-1856) of Overend Gurney & Co., the bill brokers.¹

Tuke was impressed by the need for annuities for teachers in particular, and his project was guided by the advice of a Mr. Newman, of the Yorkshire Fire and Life Assurance Co. The scheme was inaugurated at a General Meeting held at Ackworth School on 29th September, 1831, when a committee was appointed to prepare rules. Thus the Friends' Provident Institution was launched, and was registered under the Friendly Societies Act of 1830. The original prospectus emphasized the duty of Friends "to sacrifice a portion of present income to secure the future", and refuted the view that this implied disregard of divine providence. It also noted the frequently observed longevity common among Friends. No capital was initially subscribed; "solvency was guaranteed by a bond entered into by several trustees" chiefly of noted Friend families, some of whom retained connexion for generations. Insurance was for about eighty years confined to members of the Society or those closely associated with it; these were at first classified as Honorary and Ordinary members of the Institution, the former subscribing at least £50. Its purpose was later defined as that of a "mutual life assurance association for the Society of Friends and those connected therewith by marriage, descent, religious profession or partnership in business".

The first policies were issued on 7th November, 1832; of the first 100, 56 were whole life policies. Funds were invested in the National Debt. The directors, originally numbering twenty, were unremunerated until 1853, when £500 was divided among them. Benjamin Ecroyd, a Bradford conveyancer, was appointed Secretary, at £300 per annum, and business was at first carried on from his office. Premises were acquired in Darley Street in 1862, and rebuilt in 1874-76; the head office was there until 1919. On Ecroyd's death in 1857 he was succeeded by Joseph J. Dymond, who also served as actuary from 1869 until he retired in 1904; he was from the 'eighties associated with John Bell Tennant (1840-1904). Agents were appointed; a Book of Instructions issued in 1863 specifies their duties in obtaining proposals, collecting premiums, and paying annuities. Frederic Seebohm, the

¹ *D.N.B.*, xxiii, 366.

historian, son of a founder, was for a year employed as a book-keeper.

The annual meeting was held at Ackworth until the 'eighties; thereafter usually in London. That of 1879 was described as consisting of "a somewhat elderly staid-looking set of men, evidently full of facts; assuredly a conservative body".¹ Funds then amounted to nearly £1½ million, and over 5,000 policies were operative.

Limitations on policy holders were removed in 1915, and the Institution was incorporated by special Act of Parliament. Henry J. Tapscott, who had marriage connexions with Friends, was appointed manager, and under his direction the Institution "developed from being a small specialist mutual life office to a large composite insurance group with world-wide connexions". By 1918 accumulated funds were about £3 millions, and annual income over £300,000. In this year, an amalgamation was arranged with the Century Insurance Co. of Edinburgh, founded in 1885; and the name was changed in 1920 to Friends Provident and Century Life Office. The head office was removed to London, and since 1928 has been at 7 Leadenhall Street. In May, 1958, a new office housing several departments was opened at Dorking at the time of the 125th annual meeting. Branches have been established throughout the British Isles, and agencies overseas. Several subsidiaries have been acquired.²

Friends have throughout been strongly represented on the directorate, among them scions of the founding families. Among chairmen have been three of the Priestman family—John (1828-1906), Frederick (1836-1934) and Henry Brady (1853-1920); Harold J. Morland (1869-1939) Clerk of London Yearly Meeting, 1928-33; Hugh E. Seebohm (1867-1946) (son of Frederic); and Herbert G. Tanner of Bristol, whose son-in-law, Sir Oliver Franks, is the present chairman. Frederick Priestman, who became almost a centenarian, was mayor of Bradford 1882-83, and a member of the council for twenty-four years. He received the freedom of the city in his ninetieth year and was specially concerned with the welfare of the blind.³ His cousin Henry was also active in

¹ *A narrative of the proceedings at the Centenary of Ackworth, 1879.*

² Archives at 7 Leadenhall St.; A. Rowntree, *100 years of the Friends' Provident*; Stock Exchange Year Book, 1900; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 4th Mo., 1895; *Friends' Provident & Century Insurance Offices, 1832-1957.*

³ Information from R. M. Priestman; *The Friend*, 11.1.1907.

Bradford municipal life and served as Clerk of Yearly Meeting.¹ Another example of longevity was given by Henry W. Crossley (1809-99) also of Bradford, who was a director for 64 years;² and for a time deputy chairman. He was a tea merchant and later manager of a foundry. Henry Tuke Mennell (1835-1923) tea merchant, a grandson of the founder, was for some years deputy chairman.³

RICHARDSONS OF BESSBROOK

An example of a more familiar type of Quaker business which has remained largely a family concern in Quaker hands for generations is given by Richardsons of Bessbrook. Linen was almost the only flourishing industry of eighteenth century Ireland, being tolerated as non-competitive with English manufacture. It tended to become concentrated in Ulster.⁴

John Richardson (1719-59) opened a bleaching green at Hilden, co. Armagh. in the mid-eighteenth century, and founded the firm of J. & J. Richardson. He was descended from a Warwickshire man who migrated to Northern Ireland in the early seventeenth century, and whose son Jonathan was a convert to Quakerism. There were family connexions with the Christys, Aberdeenshire Quakers, who were pioneers of bleaching in Ireland and Scotland. Another Jonathan (b. 1756), son of the founder, established the Glenmore Bleachworks, Lisburn, in 1800. The bleachers of Ulster were at this period acquiring a position enabling them "to dominate the whole linen industry",⁵ acting as well as middlemen and exporters; "the existing trade fell rapidly into the hands of a few great firms",⁶ of whom Richardsons was one. They had a large trade with England, America and the West Indies, and were assisted in financing it through the rise of private banks in Belfast. They absorbed the neighbouring bleach greens of R. & A. Williamson, established a finishing station at Lisburn, and employed over 400 handloom weavers.⁷

On the Charlemont estate, near Newry, co. Armagh, John

¹ *The Friend*, 3.xii.1920.

² *The British Friend*, 2nd Mo. 1899.

³ *The Times*, 12.xii.1933; *The Friend*, 21.xii.1933; R. O. Mennell, *Tea*.

⁴ C. Gill, *Irish linen industry*; E. R. R. Green, *Lagan Valley*, passim.

⁵ Green, *op. cit.*, 70.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 71-75.

Pollock had in 1761 established a bleachfield and spinning mill; the property acquired the name of Bessbrook. James Nicholson Richardson (1782-1847), son of Jonathan, with his seven sons and John Owden, a non-Friend of Huguenot descent who became a partner in 1825, constituted the firm of Richardson, Sons & Owden. He was also a founder of the Inman Steamship Line, Liverpool. Shortly before his death, the firm, desiring to develop the manufacturing side of the industry, which was now becoming mechanized, purchased the Bessbrook estate.

A spinning mill was erected in 1846 and power looms were introduced in the next decade. The "Bessbrook" loom for damask weaving, an invention of Henry Barcroft, a relation by marriage, was adopted in 1869. The Craigmore weaving factory was acquired in 1868. Communications with Belfast and Dublin were improved through the building of the Craigmore viaduct by the Junction Railway Company (1849-52), and an electric tramway constructed between Bessbrook and Newry by a company promoted by the Bessbrook directors (1884-85). Flax was imported from Belgium.

John Grubb Richardson (1815-90) the second brother, was the chief promoter of the model village of Bessbrook which inspired the later creation of Bournville. New Lanark was not the only example of benevolent patriarchalism in the Industrial Revolution. There had been abortive experiments in Ireland also.¹ In 1863, John Grubb Richardson became sole owner of the entire business works and village of Bessbrook; and in 1878 the manufacturing part of the firm was constituted a limited company as the Bessbrook Spinning Company, of which he was chairman till his death. The formula of the village was: "No Public House, Pawnshop or Police". The plan included houses, pleasure garden, allotments, schools, and later an Institute.

James Nicholson Richardson III (1846-1921) succeeded his father as chairman. He was Member of Parliament for the county, 1880-85, and advocated tenant right and land purchase. He was author of *Friends in Ulster* (1911). His brother-in-law, Richard Henry Stephens Richardson (1869-1957), a descendant of the first John, became chairman of both the Richardson and Bessbrook companies, and his son

¹ G. Camblin, *The town in Ulster*, esp. ch. x.

John is now a managing director. The family and Quaker tradition has thus been maintained. They have for generations been associated with Moyallon, co. Down, where a meeting house was established by the Christys in 1723. It has long been a centre of Evangelical activities.¹

CARRS OF CARLISLE

The last group consists of four firms of biscuit manufacturers, all still familiar names in that industry. First in chronological order is the firm of Carrs of Carlisle. It was founded in March, 1831, by Jonathan Dodgson Carr (1807-88) son of a Kendal grocer. Thanks partly to his inventiveness in installing the first doughmaking and biscuit-cutting machinery (according to some accounts, also the packing of biscuits in tins), the business flourished rapidly, and in 1841 received a royal patent. It is noted that on his last fatal journey in the East (1862), H. T. Buckle, the historian of civilization, and his party "at eleven refreshed themselves with Carr's biscuits".²

J. D. Carr established four flour mills, partly to supply his factory, and owned bread bakeries, a small fleet of coasting vessels, and a number of depots serving N.W. England and S.W. Scotland. He set up a joint committee of managers and workmen, organized works excursions, and provided free hot baths near the factory. A school, reading room and library were attached.

The annual output reached 400 to 500 tons by 1845. It was at this time described as "one of the largest baking establishments in the world", and commended as an example of co-ordination and economy of effort. There were then less than a hundred employees; work started at 5.15 a.m. and ended at 6 p.m., with meal intervals constituting an 11-hour day. The weekly adult male wage was 17s.³

For some years his younger brother John was his partner, but left in 1858 to join Peek Freans' biscuit works, Bermondsey, London. Since then his descendants have been connected with the latter firm to the fourth generation. It is now, in conjunction with Huntley and Palmers, controlled

¹ *Bessbrook* (Centenary Booklet, 1945); Charlotte Fell Smith, *J. N. Richardson* (1925); *The Friend*, 28.X.1921.

² G. St. Aubyn, *Victorian Eminence*, 90.

³ *Chambers's Journal*, Aug. 1, 1846.

by Associated Biscuit Manufacturers.¹ Philip Carr (b. 1884) was chairman of both until 1957.

Jonathan Carr was "a strict Quaker". In his three sons, James Nicholson (1838-1901), George Thompson (1837-1902) and Thomas William (1840-95), "the smooth quiet stream of Quakerism changed into the rushing torrent of the mid-Victorian Evangelical movement. . . . They were great men, but not great business men, and their religious activities caused them to neglect the very rapid developments in industry towards the end of the nineteenth century"—particularly the introduction of roller milling which revolutionized flour production.² James conducted revivalist meetings; George later devoted his attention to stock breeding, in which he had been a pupil of the famous Aberdeenshire Friend and cattle rearer, Amos Cruickshank.³

"The crisis produced the man" in William Theodore Carr (1866-1931), grandson of the founder. He had technological gifts as well as business acumen. He secured the necessary capital from friends, disposed of three of the now old-fashioned mills, completely re-equipped one at Silloth (1905) and established a separate company, Carr's Flour Mills Ltd., in January, 1908, remaining chairman of both companies until his death. He was M.P. for Carlisle, 1918-22.⁴

Carr & Co. became a private limited company in 1894, and a public one in 1927. Most of the present directors of both companies are descendants of the founder, but are not now connected with the Society. Other Friends connected with the business include Richard Bowman Brockbank (1824-1912) known both as a cattle breeder and an itinerant "minister";⁵ and Ernest Hutchinson, who came as a buyer in 1885, and was responsible for the introduction of a printing department in the works, having been apprenticed to that trade under John Bellows of Gloucester. Ernest Hutchinson also introduced the use of margarine in the factory early this century; he eventually became a director, retiring in 1933. His son Maurice, active in Carlisle Meeting, retired from the directorate in 1957 after 47 years' association with the company.⁶

¹ Stock Exchange Year Book; Emden, *op. cit.*, 181.

² "Carrs of Carlisle" (typescript, 1951).

³ *The Friend*, 11.iv.1902; *Annual monitor*, 1903.

⁴ *Who's Who*; *The Times*, 3.ii.1931; *Glasgow Herald*, 22.vi.1908.

⁵ *The British Friend*, 2nd Mo. 1912.

⁶ Information from Maurice Hutchinson and R. Allen Carr.

HUNTLEY AND PALMERS

Thomas Huntley, a Friend, established a confectionery business in Reading in 1826. He was joined in 1841 by George Palmer (1818-97), who shared a common ancestry with the Clarks of Street, and had experience as a miller and baker. The manufacture of biscuits was commenced; it is said that almost the only biscuits then known were "firm as adamant, and very dear"—at a penny each.¹ Some 400 varieties were eventually introduced, including the "Breakfast Biscuit", wheatmeal, Abernethy, lunch, etc. Employees increased from an original 50 to some 5,000 by the end of the century. Thanks to Palmer's knowledge of mechanical engineering, machinery was introduced to the works, and has continued to be manufactured for its own use by the firm.²

On the death of Huntley in 1857, Palmer's brothers, William Isaac (1824-93) and Samuel (1820-1903) became partners. In 1866 the biscuit department of Reckitt & Sons, the Quaker starch firm of Hull, was acquired.

The three brothers, all active members of the Society, took a prominent part in public life. George was mayor of Reading in 1857, and represented the borough in Parliament from 1878 to 1885.³ William was chairman of the National Temperance League, and President of the University Extension College, which thanks partly to the benefactions of the firm has now developed into the University of Reading.⁴ Samuel left about £1 million.

George William (1851-1913) eldest son of the founder, was like his father mayor and M.P., and became a Privy Councillor in 1906; he resigned from the Society in 1898.⁵ His younger brother (Sir) Alfred (1852-1936) joined the Church of England in early life, but is said to have retained many Quaker characteristics;⁶ he was also a benefactor of the University College, now Reading University. Samuel's son of the same name was raised to the peerage in 1933, chiefly in recognition of his munificence to the Royal College of Music.⁷ Eustace Exall Palmer (1878-1931) eldest son of

¹ Huntley & Palmer Souvenir (? 1895).

² Emden, *op. cit.*, 180-81.

³ D.N.B. Suppl.—I, iii, 245; *The Friend*, 27.viii. 1897.

⁴ *The Friend*, 13.i.1893.

⁵ *Who's Who*; *The Times*, 9.x.1913; *The British Friend*, 9th Mo. 1898.

⁶ *Who's Who*; *The Times*, 21.v.1936.

⁷ *The Times*, 10.xii. 1948.

Alfred, was chairman of the company, which became a subsidiary of the holding company, Associated Biscuit Manufacturers, on its formation in 1921, with a capital of £2½ millions.¹ Control is still largely held by members of the Palmer family, but there is apparently now no Quaker connexion.

GRAY DUNN

John Gray (1811-54) belonged to an old Quaker family in Aberdeenshire, who for generations had farmed near Inverurie. He came to Glasgow in early life, and became the local agent of Huntley and Palmers. He made the acquaintance of the partners of a flour milling firm, and eventually they decided to embark on biscuit making, partly as an outlet for their flour. One of these, Peter Dunn, joined in 1853 with John Gray in founding the present firm at Kingston, Glasgow, producing at first mainly hand-cut biscuits.

John Gray died within a year (August, 1854) a victim to the cholera epidemic of 1854. His younger brother William (1812-80), who had meantime found occupation in London as agent for Morlands, the Quaker sheepskin firm, took over his part in the business, which despite limitations of capital, expanded and had an assured position by the time of Peter Dunn's death in 1865. The bakery was transferred in 1862 to Kinning Park. After a fire the present factory at Stanley Street was built in 1875.

Dunn's death involved the paying out of his capital to his trustees. A substitute was found in James Thompson of Kendal, a quarry owner, who arranged for his brother John (1808-98) to represent him; the latter became a partner in 1875, along with James Henry (1853-1901) William's eldest son, and for the next fifteen years the firm was for the only time entirely in Quaker hands. All were active in the Society. William was Clerk of General Meeting for Scotland 1864-80, and was engaged in public life as a Police Commissioner for Pollokshields, and known as an advocate of peace and temperance.² John Thompson was Provost of Govan, 1880-83³.

During the 'eighties, the firm suffered from growing

¹ Stock Exchange Year Book; W. H. Beable, *Romance of Great Businesses*, I, 183-187.

² *Glasgow Herald*, 2.ii.1880; Minutes of Scotland General Meeting.

³ *Glasgow Herald*, 19.i.1898; *Glasgow and Lanarkshire* (1903) 26; T. C. F. Brochie, *History of Govan*, 193.

competition in the baking trade and profits were reduced. Consequently in 1890 a new partnership was made, on the retirement of the Thompsons, with the brothers Bilsland, who owned a prosperous Glasgow bakery. The family is now represented by the leading Scottish industrialist, Lord Bilsland. Considerable additions to machinery and warehouses were made, and new lines of products added; the firm received a royal warrant in 1891, and was registered as a private company in 1894.

James H. Gray, who had recently become an elder in the Society, died prematurely in 1901. His younger brother, William Gray II (1860-1940) became chairman. He was Provost of Kinning Park and chairman of the Victoria Infirmary,¹ and was the only Quaker director until his nephew William Gray III joined the board in 1913. Although there are members of the fourth generation of the Gray family still in the management, none is a member of the Society. The company in 1925 became associated with Rowntrees of York, and the late Arnold Rowntree was for a time a director. William Gray III (1882-1958) retired in 1947. Donald Gray, sometime headmaster of Bootham, was a grandson of William I.² Arthur Harriss Catford (1865-1935) of a well-known London Quaker family, was in the London depot of the firm before coming to Glasgow in 1890. He became secretary of the company and served for a time as clerk of Glasgow P.M.³

W. & R. JACOB

Our final example is Irish. William Beale Jacob (1825-1902) of a well-known Quaker family associated with flour milling and brewing in Waterford, commenced the manufacture of biscuits in that town in 1851, but removed to Dublin two years later. He took into partnership his brother Robert and later G. J. Newsom, a connexion by marriage, and William F. Bewley (1847-1922). The firm pioneered technical improvements; "it led the way in the use of gas for heating" and of "travelling ovens". Internal tram lines were laid down in the factory, and biscuits packed in "skips".

W. B. Jacob ruled as a benevolent autocrat, hence much criticism by trade unionists, notably Louie Bennett, the

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 1.v.1940.

² V. W. Alexander, *Donald Gray*.

³ Information from Wm. Gray; *Weekly Scotsman*, 14.6.1958; E. Vipont, *Arnold Rowntree*.

pioneer of women's organization in Ireland.¹ He promoted welfare schemes, a refectory, rest room, swimming bath, technical training and vocational selection, ambulance and medical services, and a choral society. Ultimately works committees were set up to administer social activities.

Cream crackers, puff cracknel, wafers and chocolate biscuits were among the specialities introduced; fruit cakes were also baked. About 1,000 male and 1,800 female workers were employed. A considerable export trade to Great Britain and overseas was built up. Depots were established in London and Liverpool, and eventually a factory was built at Fazakerley in the latter city, giving employment to some 2,000. This was long managed by Albert Edward Jacob (1858-1929), third son of the founder, who became a city councillor and M.P.² A separate company was constituted after the creation of the Irish Free State.

Albert Jacob's brothers, George N. and Charles Edwin (1859-1941) remained in control in Dublin. The latter was active in the Society, becoming chairman of Friends' Foreign Mission Association and serving as an elder and as clerk at Leinster Q.M. Albert Maitland Jacob, grandson of William, is now chairman; Samuel Pim, son-in-law of Charles, a director; and Edward and William Bewley, grandsons of William F., are associated with the company, which became a private limited one in 1883, and public in 1928. It now employs about 10,000 and the annual value of the output exceeds £3 millions.³

CONCLUSION

It is hoped to pursue the subject further as opportunity may be afforded. Meantime, although the range of evidence is too slender to permit of conclusive generalizations, a few suggestions may be hazarded.

One is that of the special attraction to Quaker entrepreneurs of the manufacture and sale of pure and wholesome beverages and foodstuffs, in days when adulteration and unhygienic conditions, almost unchecked by law, were

¹ R. M. Fox, *Louie Bennett*, 26-27.

² *The Times*, 27.ii.1929.

³ *Jacobs* (brochure, 1958); *Leaves from the Biscuit Plant* (c. 1931); *Welfare Work* (1913), and other publications of W. & R. Jacob & Co.; information from Helen Jones and Wm. E. Jacob; *The Friend*, 29.xii.1922 and 24.x.1941.

rampant.¹ A second is the recurrence of pioneering efforts in welfare work, both for employees and for citizens generally, associated with a thrift and abstinence in way of life, an avoidance of "conspicuous waste and ostentatious leisure". A third feature, of less happy omen, is the tendency for succeeding generations to be alienated from the Society, even when they retain pride in the original connexion. It is often deplored that Quakerism fails to appeal to the proletariat; it would seem that it also fails to hold the capitalist.

The historian cannot give the explanation; he can only surmise that, whether as cause or effect or interaction, the increasingly large-scale depersonalized character of modern business is not so easily reconciled with the Quaker temperament as one in which personal relationships can readily be maintained. In a recent estimate of the Quaker role in eighteenth-century economic development, it is suggested that "though economic success was no part of their creed, it did in many cases prove to be the by-product of their conscience . . . the Quaker insistence on the most careful and exact performance of personal obligations and responsibilities made the matter of keeping careful accounts almost a religious duty. . . . A Quaker setting up in business could be sure of the help and advice of the brethren. . . . Quaker enterprises tended to be joined together by family ramifications. The result was to impart a certain toughness and coherence to the Quaker business world. . . . Where Quaker employed Quaker, a common attitude towards life and work knit together the employer and the workman, the one avoiding exploitation and the other giving of his best".²

This statement is probably still true of some surviving "family" firms; but the conditions postulated have largely disappeared in modern industry and commerce. Hence perhaps the frequently noted likelihood for the modern Friend to be typically not a business man, but rather a professional worker, a sphere in which personal relationships still have a paramount place.

It may be noted in conclusion that some of the critics of the Victorian industrial order were of Quaker origin. William Farrer Ecroyd (1827-1915) of an old Quaker worsted spinning firm, and Robert Bird, a Glasgow solicitor, were opponents

¹ J. C. Drummond and A. Wilbraham, *The Englishman's food*.

² D. Marshall, *English people in the 18th century*, 225-27.

of *laissez faire* and early champions of the return to Protection.¹ Arthur Priestman (1856-1918), a founder of the I.L.P.,² Edward Pease, long secretary of the Fabian Society, and S. G. Hobson, spokesman of National Guilds,³ expressed diverse forms of the socialist alternative, which was taken up by the Socialist Quaker Society (founded c. 1898) early in the present century,⁴ and contributed to the formation of the Industrial and Social Order Council after the First World War.

WILLIAM H. MARWICK

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¹ B. H. Brown, *Tariff reform movement in Great Britain; Who's Who in Glasgow* (1909); *The Times*, 10.xi.1915.

² F. Brockway, *Socialism over 60 Years; Life of F. W. Jowett*, 60; *The Friend*, 8.ii.1918.

³ S. G. Hobson, *Pilgrim to the Left*.

⁴ *The British Friend*, 7th Mo. 1902 *et seq.*

Accounts for the year 1957 and *Journal*, vol. 48, Nos. 3 and 4

EXPENDITURE				INCOME			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>Journal of Friends' Historical Society</i> , vol. 48,				Balance brought forward	83	10	2
parts 3 and 4..	208	6	1	Subscriptions ..	190	9	11
Stationery ..	12	16	4	Donations ..	104	3	0
Expenses including postage ..	15	4	2	Sales ..	22	17	8
Reserve Fund ..	20	0	0	Advertisement ..	1	16	0
Balance carried forward to 1958 ..	146	10	2				
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£402	16	9		£402	16	9

There is a Reserve Fund in the Post Office Savings Bank of £351 18s. 1d., representing Life Membership subscriptions £317, and interest accrued (1950-1957) £34 18s. 1d.

Examined with the books of the Society and found correct.
5.viii.58.

BASIL G. BURTON.

Friends around Pymont in the early Nineteenth Century

THE beginnings of Quakerism in Germany date back to the years 1656-57 when William Ames from England visited some European countries including Germany. Around 1677 there were also visits from George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and others. They came to Holland and lower Germany. George Fox visited Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, Bremen, Münsterland, Hamburg and Friedrichstadt. William Penn and Robert Barclay were in Herford, where they made the acquaintance of Princess Elisabeth, daughter of the Elector Palatine, Frederick V. Afterwards she corresponded with William Penn and George Fox. The Princess was impressed with the ideas and thoughts of the Friends, and so was her companion the Countess Horn, but they did not join Friends. However, she was a great help to Friends, who were suffering on account of their faith. William Penn visited many places, amongst them Paderborn, Kassel, Frankfurt/M., Kriegsheim (where he found a little group of Friends, which had been started by William Ames), Cologne, Cleve, Emden, Wesel, Düsseldorf, Mülheim, Duisburg. From most of these places German Friends emigrated to America, mostly to Pennsylvania. Many groups were formed there, but they had a hard time because they refused to pay church-dues or war-taxes, refused oaths, objected to military service, etc. Conditions of life for Friends were most uncomfortable and many emigrated—others joined the Mennonites. In Friedrichstadt Friends had their own Meeting House; however, in 1771 there was no longer any Friends' Meeting. The Mennonites used the Meeting House and it is reported they kept it in good condition through the help of English Friends. The house was sold in 1860.

In 1786 Sarah Grubb and Joshua Beale from Ireland and George Dillwyn from England brought their message to a small group of people in Pymont, who had quite separated from the Church and held their own religious meetings. Also in the neighbourhood of Pymont, Sarah Grubb and her Friends paid many visits, and the Governor of Rinteln,

General von Lassberg, is especially mentioned. He already knew of Friends and was impressed by their principles.

The spiritual leader of this little group in Pyrmont was Ludwig Seebohm, who had had to leave Prussia on account of his religious views and had settled in his birthplace Pyrmont again. The liberal-minded Prince Friedrich of Waldeck gave permission for him to settle just outside Pyrmont with his two brothers in a little valley, which they afterwards called Friedenstal. The name can be translated into "Vale of Peace". They were even supported by the Prince with money and building materials and built themselves houses. They were also allowed to enjoy coffee, which was otherwise the monopoly of Pyrmont. Very soon they were joined by others. A man named Schüttemeier from Hohenrode b/Rinteln is mentioned. He was much liked by the community, and he refused to submit to the church regulations and to let his child be baptized. All friendly persuasions were without success and he was fined and sent to prison, but this had no effect either and in the end his property was sold and he and his family had to leave the district. A similar fate befell a man called Schöning of Rinteln and both came to Pyrmont, where they received a warm welcome from the Pyrmont Friends at Friedenstal.

In 1790 Ludwig Seebohm was summoned, because he criticized the Church authorities and their regulations. Also Heinrich Meier, who refused to pay the Christmas dues and who insisted on working on a Feast Day. Both were supposed to be turned out of their homes, but to the great surprise of everyone concerned came the verdict of the Prince Friedrich von Waldeck (1791) that he was not willing to punish good and industrious citizens with deportation, and that he acknowledged the Quakers as a special church but with the instruction that they had to pay the general Church dues, as before. Nothing was mentioned of an exemption of military service or war taxes. They refused to pay these but bailiffs collected value in kind. To this the Friends made no objection; they were helpless in this case.

On 25.11.1789 Georg Ludwig Seebohm married Julianne Antoniette von Borries from Minden. They had altogether nine children. His wife died 22.4.1807. Ludwig Seebohm then (in 1815) married Henriette Eisel from Rinteln and by this marriage he had four more children. During the visits

of Queen Louise of Prussia to Pyrmont in 1798 and 1804 she visited Mrs. Seeböhm very frequently, and it is known that she helped her by knitting and mending stockings for the large family.

In 1794 there arrived at Pyrmont John Pemberton from Philadelphia with his companion Alexander Wilson. Pemberton helped very much in consolidating the Meeting and he advised them to unite with the London Yearly Meeting. Many of the Pyrmont Friends had had this idea before, but several were very much against the proposal, because they did not wish to have the material advantages, which might come out of it. However, they did join London Yearly Meeting and this caused the first split in the group. Five of the Friends left the little Meeting, amongst them being the above-mentioned Schüttemeier and Schöning. This happened in 1795. Pemberton came to Pyrmont in a very weak state of health but his health improved and he visited many places in the neighbourhood. At Lemgo an inflammation of the lungs obliged him to return to Pyrmont, where he died on 31st January, 1795. He was the first to be laid to rest in the newly acquired Friends' burial ground. After being reminded by the Church-Official to pay taxes due, Alexander Wilson wrote a long letter of protest in a very unfriendly way. A number of the Friends did not agree with him. The Official who was attacked by Wilson gave a suitable reply, but stated that he would renounce the right to his dues so far as he was concerned, but he could not say anything about his successors.

In 1795 there came another good addition to the little Meeting in David Frank from Exten, near Rinteln, where he had a forge, which he had built up through hard work and industry. He was suffering very much under the Church. His conscience would not let him submit and so he, too, decided to go to Friedenstal, to join the little group. In company with Ludwig Seeböhm and his brother Friedrich Seeböhm David Frank started a forge again, which made good progress. In 1817 it was taken over by another Friend, Heinrich Mundhenke from Pyrmont who continued it until his death. About 1825 it came into the hands of other Pyrmont people, but on account of hard competition and other misfortunes, the forge stopped work in 1878. In 1912 it was destroyed by fire and today another private house

stands in its place. A Friend, who knows Sheffield, England, very well told me there was a firm of steel manufacturers of the name of Seebohm in Sheffield, who in 1914 at the beginning of the first world war, went out of business rather than to supply steel for war purposes.

Ludwig Seebohm was the owner of a cotton spinning and weaving mill, erected in 1797 with the help of English and American Friends, which however, had to be liquidated seven years later in consequence of the war. Old English Friends visiting Friedenstal have told me that in the olden days it was considered unseemly for women to work in the fields as they were doing in Friedenstal and so the mill was set up to provide work for the women. They also told me that the wool came from John Bright's mills at Rochdale to go through some processes here and then was returned to Rochdale to be spun. There was also a soap factory, which was managed by a Judith Bawier, who came from Schwaben and was married in Graubünden, Switzerland. She was a widow, but was attracted very much by the Friends and their belief and made her home here; she did not become a member. After some time she saw that this factory was not very remunerative, and she thought her abilities worthy of better things than a soap factory, so she came to Pymont and started a boarding school for girls, teaching them reading, writing, arithmetic, English, French, housework, etc. There were also printing works, in which many of the Friends' publications were printed. Seebohm wrote various school books for their own school, and marbled paper was printed, which had a good sale. But as they were very strict, and would not print any worldly papers or books, they could not get enough work for their printing press. Ludwig Seebohm was an intelligent all-round man and had plenty of initiative. He had also a school under his direction. It was founded in 1797 with Friedrich Schmidt as teacher and he worked there for thirteen years. The school was in the house of Friedrich Seebohm. In July, 1798, there were 25 children in the school. Later on Theodor Maschhausen, a very intelligent man, continued the same work. He was so taken with the ideas of the simplicity of Friends, that he gave up his music; of which he was very fond; he did not play again.

In 1796 came Friends George Dillwyn and his wife from London, David Sands from New York, William Savery and

Benjamin Johnson from Philadelphia. These Friends tried to clear up all the differences, which had been caused through Alexander Wilson, and they asked him to leave Pyrmont.

In 1798 Sarah Harrison from Philadelphia, Charity Cook from South Carolina, Maria Swett from New Jersey and William Farrer from Liverpool arrived. Amongst other things they had an opportunity to bring their message before a large company of people in the Kurhaus. Ludwig Seeböhm translated all the speeches.

In the year 1800 the Meeting House, adjoining the burial ground in the Bomberg Allee, was built and finished. At the dedication on the 6th of July, 1800, more than 1,000 attenders were present. The ground was about 3,000 square yards, which cost 300 thalers. The building costs were about 4,000 thalers including a wall around the burial ground. Most of the money came from English friends and as the expenses were higher than expected, some difficulties arose, but at the end everything was put in order.

In 1801 came Richard Jordan from North Carolina, whose services were very much appreciated.

At that time many of the Kur-Guests in Pyrmont came to the Meeting House and attended Meetings for Worship. Among them were Queen Louise of Prussia, later her son and his wife, and Wolfgang Goethe. Wolfgang Goethe was not impressed. He wrote that he visited the Friedenstal Forge of the "einsilbigen" Quäker (I think that this can be translated as "simple" Quakers) and then he went several times to their meetings at the Meeting House. These he could not accept after the first time and still less after a second time, as being inspired, and said "it is a sad thing that a religious institution of any kind can never be quite free of hypocrisy, if it becomes a custom in a certain place and time".

It is reported that in the year 1805 the Meeting consisted of 24 to 26 families, of whom most lived in Friedenstal; several were in Pyrmont and Löwensen, one in Sonnenborn and another one at Bückeburg; the latter attending mostly the Minden Meeting.

Stephen Grellet intended to visit Pyrmont in 1806, but he was prevented and wrote to the Friends, asking them to exercise more love and to keep better unity with the hope that he would be coming soon. And this promise was kept in 1814; he helped the group very much to get everything

in their community in good order and also did his best to straighten the rather strained connection with the Minden group. Eventually a Two-monthly Meeting between the two groups was formed. When Stephen Grellet left he took with him young Benjamin Seebohm, fifth child of Ludwig Seebohm, as an interpreter. Benjamin became the famous English historian.

Luke Howard in 1816 describes the Meeting: "We are at the Meeting on the first day in their large Meeting House, where the members of our Society are lost (during the season) in a crowd of strangers, whom curiosity for the most part attracts to the show of a Quaker Meeting. Their behaviour was on the whole becoming—a little whispering and circulation of snuff-boxes in the time of silence, but no further levity or disturbance. There were persons of some condition with military men and (we understand) Moravians among them." Luke Howard visited all the Friends, also at Minden and other places.

In 1818 it is reported that there is new life in the group, which consisted of 28 members although four of the older members have died. At the same time Friedrich Schmidt bought a house in the Linden Allee in which he placed a room at the disposal of Friends for meetings. English Friends gave him a grant of £70.

In 1820 John Yeardley with Thomas Shillitoe arranged special Reading Meetings for young people in Friedenstal.

1826 saw a ten days' visit from Maria Middleton, Hannah Middleton, Ann Alexander and Cornelius Hanbury from England.

In 1840 and 1841, Elizabeth Fry, then sixty years of age, came to Pymont on both of her last European journeys. She writes enthusiastically about the true German hospitality of the humble Friends, with whom there was a perfect understanding without words. They reminded her of the Friends in Congenies, though she found them "more entirely Friends". While here she influenced the leading authorities in Pymont to establish a "Society for Nursing and Caring for the Poor".

By this time the small group of Friends was greatly declining in strength. Difficulties, mainly brought about by their attitude towards military service, caused many families to emigrate to America. After 1870 no more meetings were held in the Pymont Meeting House. Louis Rasche, a Minden

friend, reported in 1885 to London, that the Meeting House and burial ground were in good order. He was responsible for settling all the affairs connected with the house with the London Office of the Society. The Colonial and Continental Society rented the Meeting House for their services during the season, and also the Reformed Church used the Meeting House for their services and paid a rent.

The garden was taken over by a member, H. Nettelmann, who later emigrated to America. In 1891 the Churches which used the Meeting House for their services made an offer to buy the house, but it was considered to be too low; however, two years later both stopped using the house as the Reformed Church built a church of its own, which is now the town's Youth House. English Friends saw no need for keeping the house any longer and they sold it in 1893 to Friedrich Volkers for 7,500 marks. For the benches they got another 300 m. The burial ground, however, remained the property of London Yearly Meeting. After the erection of our new Meeting House in 1932-1933 the burial ground was transferred to the German Yearly Meeting. It may not be used for burials now, but we are allowed to use it after cremation for urns, and the first to be so buried was Richard L. Cary of Baltimore in 1934.

In 1927 the old derelict Meeting House and ground was bought by an Order of Catholic Sisters, who had their own house on the neighbouring plot. In 1957 to 1958 they erected a Hospital on the ground where the old Meeting House had stood. Before the old house was demolished it had been used for some time as a stable for the donkeys who carried children up and down the Allee for 10 Pfge.

LEONHARD FRIEDRICH

The information for this paper has been drawn from the following books and papers:

F. C. E. Schmid, *Ursprung, Fortgang und Verfassung der Quäker-gemeinde zu Pyrmont* (1805), Braunschweig bei Friedrich Vieweg.

Dr. Karl Theodor Menke, *Pyrmont und seine Umgebungen* (1840), Pyrmont bei Georg Uslar.

Abriss der Geschichte, der Lehre und der Kirchenzucht der Freunde (1798), Pyrmont, in Commission der Helwingschen Hof-Buchhandlung.

Stammbaum der Familie Seebohm (Privately printed).

Wilhelm Hubben, *Die Quäker in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (1929), Quäker Verlag, Leipzig.

Lampe, *Goethe in Pyrmont* (1949), Bad Pyrmont, Friedrich Gersbach Verlag.

Verschiedene Berichte und Protokolle, Original in Friends Library, Friends House, London.

Friends and Charitable Briefs

BRIEFS, *i.e.* Letters patent, giving licence to a charitable collection for any public or private loss, often called Church briefs (because they were granted for the repair or reconstruction of churches) or King's briefs (because they were issued by the monarch, as head of the church for church repair, assistance to the poor sufferers by fire or inundation or the like) came to be regulated by the Statute 4 Ann. c. 14. This Act directed churchwardens to collect money upon these briefs, which were to be read in churches and other places of worship. The sums collected were endorsed on the brief in words and signed by the minister and churchwardens. The briefs, together with the money, were then to be delivered to the persons undertaking the collection. The undertakers were to keep a register of all the money collected and to account for it in Chancery.

The Act of 1705 (4 Ann. c. 14) entitled An act for the better collecting charity money on briefs by letters patents, and preventing abuses in relation to such charities, recited that

Whereas many inconveniences do arise, and frauds are committed in the common method of collecting charity money upon briefs by letters patents, to the great trouble and prejudice of the objects of such charity, and to the great discouragement of well disposed persons

and directed that all copies of briefs were to be printed by the Queen's printers, and sent by the persons undertaking the collection and

with all convenient speed . . . delivered to the respective church-wardens, and chapel-wardens of the respective churches and chapels, and to the respective teachers and preachers of every separate congregation, and to any person who hath taught or preached in any meeting of the people called *Quakers*, in the counties and places to be comprized in such letters patents, to be read and published, and the charity thereon to be collected in the several churches, chapels, or places of meeting to which they belong, who shall so receive the same.

On receiving the briefs, the churchwardens and others concerned were to endorse the documents with their names and the date of receipt and hand them to the minister or

curate of the churches or chapels concerned, who were to do likewise;

and the said respective ministers and curates, teachers, preachers, and persons called Quakers, qualified as aforesaid, shall on some Sunday, within two months after receipt of such copies, immediately before the sermon, preaching or teaching shall begin, openly read or cause to be read such printed briefs.

Whereupon the persons receiving the briefs were to collect "the sums of money that shall be freely thereupon given, either in the said respective assemblies, or by going from house to house of the members of their respective congregations, as the briefs shall require in that behalf." The sum collected was to be endorsed on the brief and signed by the minister and churchwardens, "and by the teacher and two elders, or two other substantial persons of every separate congregation" (no particular mention of Quakers in this section), and delivered to the undertakers of the brief.

The undertakers were to give a receipt for the returned brief and the money given, and to keep accounts of their transactions. After six months they were to secure the return of all the briefs they had distributed, and under penalty of £50 these briefs and accounts were to be deposited with the register of the court of Chancery. As an additional check at local level, the Act directed

that in each parish or chapelry, and separate congregation, a register shall be kept by the minister or teacher there, or by some teaching quaker, of all monies collected by virtue of such briefs, therein also inserting the occasion of the brief, and the time when the same was collected, to which all persons at all times may resort without fee.

Friends did keep registers of briefs for some considerable period, usually on an endpaper of the current meeting for discipline minute book, but whether they would willingly have laid these books open for inspection (with, or without fee) may well be doubted. They were probably never called upon to produce them.

The Act had further provisions for more efficient administration and prevention of fraud. It provided for a printed form of endorsement, with the necessary blanks for time, place and sum of money to be filled in by the persons concerned. Each brief was to be stamped and accounted for. Persons convicted of counterfeiting stamps (to have additional copies of briefs for which they would not have to account in

Chancery and could therefore pocket the proceeds of any collections on them) were to "be publickly set on the pillory for the space of one whole hour". Undertakers were to account for all monies received within two months and any found guilty of frauds were to be fined. Finally

whereas there hath been an evil practice in farming and purchasing for a sum of money, the charity-money that should or might be collected on such briefs, to the very great hindrance and discouragement of alms-giving

the Act directed that farming the briefs was unlawful.

Papal briefs (from which the King's brief claims its origin when at the Reformation the sovereign assumed the title in England of head of the church) are not to be confused with briefs issued by archbishops and bishops within their dioceses, authorizing collections in churches. These latter appear to have died out in the seventeenth century and need not concern us here. In the civil field King's briefs may sometimes be confused with the briefs granted by justices, authorizing collections for charitable purposes within a certain district, hundred or shire.

By the time of Charles I, authority to deal with briefs resided with the Keeper of the Great Seal and from that time (with the exception of the Commonwealth when the Council took a more detailed interest) the Chancery had full discretion to consider requests for the issue of a brief. On important national occasions only did they come to the Privy Council. Complaints of fraudulent practices were made to the Lord Chancellor as the head of the office of state responsible for the issue and inspection of briefs.

Immediately after the Restoration there was a considerable increase in the number of briefs issued. Pepys complained:

30th June 1661 (Lord's Day). To church, where we observe the trade of briefs is come now up to so constant a course every Sunday, that we resolve to give no more to them.

Over fifty briefs were issued that year, and although the total fell off somewhat later, the collections were a frequent occurrence from that time forth. Pepys grew tired of them within a year of the Restoration, and the popularity of briefs cannot have been very high. We find William Rogers, leader of the Wilkinson-Story party in Bristol, who tried to dissuade

Bristol meeting from subscribing to the London funds for the expenses of travelling ministers (who, of course were engaged in healing the split among Friends and counteracting the divisive influence of the Two Johns) comparing the requests from London for subscriptions disparagingly with briefs—

. . . like unto Briefs they cry
for money, money for the ministry.

So in the doggerel verse of his *Scourge* for George Whitehead.

The unpopularity of briefs was reinforced by widespread suspicions of fraud, expensive fees, inflated statements of loss, excessive profits on printing (which was a monopoly) and high charges of the collectors for their pains. It seems to have been the general rule that briefs were not issued for sums of less than £1,000, and so we find that in some cases two or three lesser disasters were combined together (not necessarily by reason of their happening in neighbouring parishes) to make up a brief—but when this became fairly common in the eighteenth century we are well on the road to the time when briefs were more for the benefit of the agents and fee-collectors than for the victims of a disaster which might be insured against.

By the early nineteenth century discontent with the whole system had become widespread. *The Gentleman's Magazine* had frequent articles and correspondence about the abuses. A Parliamentary Return called for on the motion of Lord Shaftesbury gave statistics of estimated loss, sums collected, expenses, collector's salary and net proceeds handed over to the sufferers, for nearly fifty briefs issued between 1805 and 1818. This Return (House of Commons paper of 19th May 1819) shows that for a sample of 4 briefs in 1817 out of £2,000 collected less than £600 reached the hands of the victims; the collector's salary accounts for £1,100 and nearly £400 went in other expenses. The evidence of this Return was reinforced by a Return published in 1827, and in the following year the whole system was abolished. At this time the usefulness of briefs was past. The Church Building Society (incorporated in 1818) could do the work for the churches better, and the rise in strength and solidity of the fire insurance companies (first dating from the end of the seventeenth century) served to make the wasteful system of brief collections unpopular.

BRIEFS AFTER THE RESTORATION

During the reign of Charles II, Friends were liable to be persecuted for their meetings for worship. It is therefore unlikely that the collectors of briefs would think to give Friends any semblance of colour of legality by recognizing their assemblies as places authorized to receive patents for charitable collections. However, money is a great leveller, and it would be interesting to know whether many Friends meetings did receive briefs during this period.

Bristol meeting appears to have received only one such request during this time, and it was during the lull between persecutions in the late 1670s. The recording minute bears all the marks of a special case, not repeated. The Men's Meeting did not hold a collection but made a grant from their funds.

Richard Pay a person deputed to Collect according to a Breife Graunted to the Inhabitants of the towne of Wem in the County of Salop, who have Suffered Greate Loss by fyre (said to bee £23600)¹ haveing recommended said Brife to our meeting & desired our charity. Friends proposeth to give them five pounds out of our publick stock & desireth Ch. Harford to disburst the same: and also, Tho. Gouldney, Charles Harford, Edward Martindale or some of them to ingadge Thomas Ricroft or some other person proper that the said £5 shalbe truly imployed to the use of said sufferers.²

A further reading of the minutes, however, reveals collections made among Friends for two other disastrous fires of the period. A disastrous fire at Fordingbridge caused damage estimated at £13,633, and it seems to have been the brief issued thereupon which came before Bristol Men's Meeting 29.vii.1673:

Whereas the miserable estate of the inhabitants of the towne of Fordinbridge hath been represented to this Meeting, who wee are inform'd have suffered by fire to the value of £13,600: wee having our hearts opened to comiserate their distressed condicon thought meet to request D.H. [Dennis Hollister] to move the state of their conditions in our publick Meeting house according as it shalbee upon his heart on the next First day in the afternoon & to signify then that on the next first day in the afternoone Wm. James, C. Jones, C. Harford & Richard Sneed will attend at the doares to receive the charitable contributions of Friends.³

¹ The exact sum was £23,677.

² Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 25.xii.1677 (Bristol M.M. records, C.1842 A.1-201, p. 67a).

³ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 29.vii.1673. A portion of this minute is printed in William Tanner: *Three Lectures*, 1858, p. 82.

£24 1s. 8½d. was collected and when handing the money to Thomas Harris "Apothecary of this Citty", the Friends deputed were to

take care to see that the said Tho. Harris doe give a suffishant discharge for the same and that they also doe oblige him, the said Tho. Harris, on his faithfull promise to give such effectual notice with the said money to those concerned that the said money may be duly imployed to the releife of the sufferers of Fordonbridge as it is intended by the contributors therunto.¹

A fire at Northampton on 26th May 1676 came before the Men's Meeting on 5th June and a subscription was begun. There is no record of the amount collected. The brief issued on this occasion estimated the damage at over £152,000. There is no evidence to show that the brief had come to the Meeting.

Friends took collections also for their own members who might suffer loss. In 1672, the case of George Embry of Southampton was recommended from London. Embry had lost all his goods in a fire. Bristol Friends subscribed £142 5s. 9d.² Indeed, they felt they had contributed so considerably that a request from Somerset for similar assistance to John Coate "who lately suffered some losse by fire" was turned down as unseasonable.³

A case in which Friends' requests for assistance preceded the issue of a general brief appears in that of the Cullompton fire. A brief for £9,263 was issued in 1682, but in the previous August, Bristol Men's Meeting recorded:

A paper being read from Friends of Devonshire concerning a fire that hath been at Cullumton and Bradninch wherein severall of our Friends have suffered loss, it is in Friends hearts to assist them, & doe agree that a Collection be had in our publick meeting on a First day, & Thomas Speed is desired to speak of it in our meeting next First day in the morning, & the Collection to be in the afternoon. James Cole, John Baynton, Erasmus Dole, Edward Martindale are desired to stand at the door to Collect what Friends are free to give.⁴

Next Meeting it was reported that £23 10s. had been collected, and this sum was sent to John Ganneclift at Exeter for the use of Friends.

¹ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, under date 8.x.1673 but dated 27.viii.1673.

² Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 5 and 19.vi.1672.

³ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 19.vi.1672.

⁴ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 8.vi.1681.

BRIEFS AFTER THE REVOLUTION

With the Revolution and the coming of toleration it might be thought that briefs might more frequently be laid before Friends, but according to Bristol records at least, this does not seem immediately to have been the case. The Leonard St. Audley brief for £3,700 received 20s. from Friends' stock (15.vi.1687). In 1694 a Wooler, Northumberland, brief for £2,950 received a grant of 10s.¹ In July 1696 two briefs came before the Meeting at one time; one for Streatham, Isle of Ely, loss £2,170, received 8s.; the other, Southwark, £4,990 loss, 12s.²

The refugees from the principality of Orange, overrun by Louis XIV after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had the benefit of a brief in 1703. This is one of the more famous briefs as the lot of suffering Protestants struck a chord in many English hearts. Nearly £20,000 was subscribed for their relief. The Bristol minutes show that a full-scale house collection was held among Friends.³

A collection is agreed upon in this Meeting to be made amongst Friends of this Citty for the suffering Protestant Christians of the principallity of Oring, pursuant to the Queens letters bareing date the 11th day of 9br in the second yeare of her Reigne recommending the same to us. [Names of collectors follow.]

Benj. Coole is desired in our publick meeting to stirr up Friends to a liberall contribution.

A fortnight later, Friends reported that £78 19s. 4d. had been collected. Two Orange briefs had been received, one from the authorities in St. James's parish, where the Friars meeting house was situated, and another from Temple parish in respect of the additional meeting house in Temple Street. The sum of £11 1s. 6d. collected from Friends on the Temple side of the River Avon is entered separately in the minutes, so it may have been the original intention to allot that to the Temple brief. However, Friends finally minuted:

. . . Retorned on the two Breifs thus

Bristol 6th of the first mo. (march) 1703/4. There is collected amongst the people called Quakers in the Citty of Bristoll Persueant to this breife Seaventy Eight pounds Nineteen

¹ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 28.iii.1694. Six weeks previously the Meeting had directed that 5s. should be given, but this was increased to 10s. in the final minute.

² Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 20.v.1696.

³ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 21.xii.1703, 6.i.1703/4.

shillings & Fower pence, which sune is payd in to the hands of Thomas Eddolls and Thomas Bilby, Church Wardens of st. James Parish in the said Citty of Bristoll.

Wittnes Tho. Eddolls
Tho. Bilby

Signed by Ch. Jones &
Thomas Callowhill

Breife delivered to Tho. Eddolls.

On the other Breife

Memorandum there was two Breifs dilliuer'd to the people called Quakers in the Citty of Bristoll, one of which haue the whole Collection of the said people endorsed upon it, being Seaventy Eight pounds Nineteen shillings & Fower pence and is payd into the hands of Thomas Eddolls and Thomas Bilby, the Churchwardens of James's parish in the Citty of Bristoll, and this breife is retorned without any Mony, and this Indorsement on the Backside hereof is to give satisfaction to all whom it may concerne of the reason thereof.

Wittnes Tho. Eddolls
Tho. Bilby

Effected by Ch. Jones
and Tho. Callowhill

Breife delivered to [Arthur] Bedford, Parson of Temple.

Turning from the Orange Protestants brief of 1704 and looking back a few years we find some collections for objects which have a similarity which is striking. The French Protestants, fleeing from the persecution after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were sometimes in great distress before they were settled. Briefs were issued for them, and it may be that it was a brief which was before Bristol Men's Meeting in March 1688, but it seems more likely that Friends were acting on their own initiative.

the 26th of the First mo. 1688

The Nessesity of some of the French Prottestants now in this Citty lyeing before our consideracon, this meeting agreeth that a Collection shalbe made for them publicly in our publick meeting . . . Charles Harford &c. is desired to give notice of the Collection to the Meeting next first day in the afternoone to ye end Friends may come prepared the first day following.

9th of the 2d mo. 1688

According to the agreement of the last meeting a Collection hath been made for the french protestants in destress within this Citty at our meeting the 8th instant. With some small adition since brought in amounts unto the sune of Twenty one pounds tenn shillings two pence.

Charles Jones, Charles Harford, Richard Sneade, Charles Jones Junr. & Thomas Callowhill or any three of them are desired to distrebut the same amongst the said distressed protestants as the benevolence of the people called Quakers

in this Citty unto them. In the dispose of which they are desired to acquaint the Mayor therewith, & to harken to his Advise in the manner thereof, and when disposed either to bring a Receite under the hands of som of the principle of them for the whole somme, or a list of the names of those to whom the same shalbe distributed. [An account follows.]

Dorset Quarterly Meeting, 27.iv.1688, recommended for charity the suffering of William Smith of Kingscomb, Dorset, who had lost his house and stock to the value of about £300 and had not wherewithal to rebuild and make good the disaster. Members of the Men's Meeting in Bristol subscribed among themselves £24 1s. 6d. for his relief.¹

In 1692 a similar subscription was taken out on behalf of the loss by fire of James Smith of Aylesbury—

his loss by a Sudden Fire that late burned downe his house and shopp and goods therein to the consumeing three persons of his family and above the vallue of a Thowsand pounds in stock, soe that he though before a considerable tradesman and a servicable Friend hath nothing left him. The debts he had outand what could be saved being payd & dillivered to his Creditors, as we have a satisfactory testemony of the truth by some Friends that know him present in this meeting . . .

£32 16s. was collected for his use.²

A fire in Fordingbridge at the end of May, 1702, did damage which the brief issued on that behalf estimated at over £5,000. Friends were among those who lost heavily in that disaster and Hampshire Quarterly Meeting took the matter into their consideration and issued an appeal for help. This came before Bristol Meeting at the end of December:

Whereas on the 30th of ye nineth moneth past this Meeting had certeficate from the Quarterly Meeting in Hampshire of a Tirable Fyer that hapened on the 23d of the 3d Moneth last at the towne of Fourdenbridg in that County, that consumed most part of the towne, & that amongst many other sufferers som of our Friends had soe greate a share that they lost above Nine hundred pounds vallue, som of them very neare if not all they had in this World by the fyer.

This Meeting thincks themselves oblided not only to begin a subscription in the meeting of their benevolence towards repaire of their loss but also recommends the same to our Friends in Generall in this Citty to Joyne with us.³

On this account £61 13s. 9d. was collected for Hampshire Friends to distribute.

¹ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 13 and 27.vi.1688.

² Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 8.vi, 19.vii.1692.

³ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 28.x.1702; also 11.xi. and 8.xii.1702.

Friends did not answer requests for assistance without due consideration. This is illustrated by two cases in 1694 and 1695. In October 1694 two Friends in Bristol received a letter signed by some Friends of Warwick "laying forth the Callamety of the towne" and proposing that if Bristol Friends sent anything to help them towards rebuilding the meeting house there, it might be addressed to them. Bristol Meeting, "not haveing a full understanding of the same nor satisfied in the methood", asked Thomas Callowhill to make enquiries of his acquaintance at Warwick to have a better understanding of the case. Six weeks later Thomas Callowhill reported his information

that the same letter was wrott by friends there that subscribed the same. But the superscription was don by the Mayor & Magestrates of Warrwick.

This Meeting doe defer to collect any moneys to answeare that untill they have a more generall advice either from the Meeting for Sufferings or from the Quarterly Meeting, Warrwick.¹

So nothing was done.

Another plea which failed to evoke a response was received in 1696. The Friend who might have been assisted (Charles Russell of Thornbury, Glos., whose house was burned down) had not received the sanction of the local Quarterly Meeting.²

In the 1690s Friends all over the country were called upon by the Meeting for Sufferings to contribute towards relief for the distress of Irish Friends. The proceedings in Bristol, where a collection at meeting and a subscription list together produced £162 for the sufferers, has been dealt with in a previous number of this *Journal*.³

The great storm of November 1703 in which much damage was caused in many parts of the country and round the coasts and many people lost their lives, including the Bishop of Bath and Wells and his wife dead in their beds in the damaged palace at Wells, caused the issue of a brief "for the Releife of the Widdows & fatherless of such seamen & marriners as were destroyed in the late storme". A house to house collection had been held in Bristol by the parish officers, and Friends decided to make their collection from the Men's Meeting, amounting to £5 2s. 8d., over to the

¹ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 29.viii. and 10.x.1694.

² Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 3 and 17.xii.1695.

³ *Journal F.H.S.*, xlviii, p. 71-74.

appointed collector and not to wait or demand a separate brief on which they could make a return.¹

In connection with the collections for French refugees it is curious to note some private relief given by Men's Meeting Friends to one particular refugee—and the advice they gave with it.

13.ix.1704. Hugh Marmiron, French Refugee, acquainting this Meeting that through unkindness of his countrymen he is very hard put to subsist, and desires the Friends of this Meeting to be helpfull to him. This Meeting appoynts Benja. Coole & Committee at our Workhouse to make farther Inspection into his case and acquaint the next meeting therewith.

27.ix.1704. This Meeting desires that Hugh Marmiron may be suplyed with ten shillings or twenty shillings at the descretion of the Committee, & that they advise him not to abide in a house of soe lardge rent as Nine pounds per annum, which tis said his is, but rather of 5os. or £3, unless he be capeable of payeing the same.

From the time of the Act of 1705 procedure begins to become standardized. In April 1706, Charles Harford Junior was asked to procure a copy of the Act and to bring it to the next Men's Meeting, and the minutes immediately following seem to show the exact legal procedure required being followed:

M. Meeting 29th 2/m. 1706

The brief for the collection of Charity towards ye loss by fire at Iniskilling is ordered to be read next first day at ye great meeting hous in the morning and Edwd. Loyd is desired to do the Same and to acquaint ye friends that in the afternoon at ye end of the meeting persons will attend at the doors both at this meeting hous and at Templestreet to receive their charity: for this meeting hous Arthur Thomas & Tho Dickson: Samll. Osborn & John Andrews are desired to receive; & R. Champion & Isaack Patridge are desired to do the Same on the other Side of Bridge.

Mens Meting the 13th 3d Month, 1706.

The Monys Collected for the Sufferers at Iniskillin in Ireland on the publishing the queens breif was brought into this meting by Samuell Osburn & Rich: Champion wch. amounted to tenn pounds tenn shillings on this Side and Six pounds five shillings three farthings in temple street. In the whole £16-15s-0 $\frac{3}{4}$, wch rests in this Meting to be disposed according to the directions in ye queens breif.

¹ Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 2.viii.1704.

Mens Meeting 27th of 3d mo. 1706

Tho Dickson brought into this Meeting Seaven shillings & Richard Snead ffive shillings to be added to the Money Collected for the Sufferers by ffire in Iniskillen. Soe that the whole Sume Collected amounts to £17=07=00¾. Seaventeen pounds Seaven shillings & three farthings. Ordered that it be Endorst on the Back side of the Breife in words at Length and the Money payd to the Churchwardens of St. James parish by Thomas Callowhill, who is desired to pay it and take receite according to the Tenor of the Breife.

Richd: Snead payd sayd mony to Tho: Callowhill 10th 4th mo. 1706.

There is likewise for loss by fire collected for the three breifs following

Viz. for Morgans Lane, Southwarke	o	18	7
for Chartres in the Ile of Elly	o	11	3
for Greate Torrington in Deavon	o	10	2

Which Richard Snead is desired to pay when Called upon by Benjamine Parker the Indorser.

From this time it will be sufficient to list the briefs to the end of the reign of Queen Anne, to give a general picture. The dates given are those of the Men's Meeting minutes in Bristol.

14 & 28.ii.1707. North Marston, Bucks. Fire of 11th August 1705, loss of £3,465 and upwards. Collection £3 14s. 6½d.

Ditto. Towcester. Fire of 18th August 1704, loss of £1057. Collection £1 6s. 4d.

4 & 18.vi.1707. Spilsby, Lincs. Fire. Collection £4 6s. 10½d.

18.vi. & 1.vii.1707. Littleport, Isle of Ely. Fire, loss of £3931. Collection £3 18s. 2½d.

1 & 15.vii.1707. Shire lane, Middx. Fire, loss of £3505. Collection £3 os. 11d.

27.viii, 24.ix. & 22.x.1707. Southam, Warw. Fire, loss of £4454 15s. Collection £3 16s.

22.x. & 5.xi.1707. Heavitree, Devon. Fire, loss of £9921. Collection £2 3s. 8½d.

1, 29.i. & 12.ii.1707/1708. Charles Street, Westminster. Fire, loss of £3891. Collection £1 17s. 10d.

Ditto. Shadwell, Middx. Fire, loss of £6137. Collection £2 14s. 1½d.

10.iii, 7 & 21.iv.1708. Wincanton. Fire, loss of £2930. Collection £2 4s. 6d.

10.iii, 5 & 19.v.1708. Great Yarmouth. Fire, loss of £1228. Collection 17s. 8½d.

24.iii, 21.iv, 5.v.1708. Bewdley. Fire, loss of £1384 4s. Collection £1 18s. 2½d.

Ditto. Alconbury cum Weston, Hunts. Fire, loss of £3318 10s. Collection £2 6s. 5½d.

24.iii, 7 & 21.iv.1708. Lisburn, Ireland. Fire, loss of £31,770. Collection £7 14s. 3½d.
 11 & 25.viii.1708. The Strand, London. Fire, loss of £17,880. Collection £3 7s. 3½d.
 22.ix, 6.x.1708. Edinburgh. Fire, loss of £1962. Collection £2 13s.
 6.iv, 4.v.1709. Holt Market, Norfolk. Fire, loss of £11,258. Collection £2 3s. 4½d.
 Ditto. Market Rasen, Lincs. Fire, loss of £1228. Collection £1 5s. 1½d.
 12.vii, 24.viii, 7.ix.1709. "the Poore distressed Pallatines". Collection, after a house to house visit, £97 os. 6d.

Then amid this last collection for the inhabitants of the Palatinate, Friends found that they could not join in collections for church building and sent the briefs for that purpose back with nothing collected.

Mens Meeting 24th of 8 mo. 1709.

There being three breifs in ye hands of Richard Snead, for the Building and Repairing three severall Churches so Call'd (viz.) that of Redcliffe in Bristoll, Mittau in Courland & Harlow in ye County of Essex, which Freinds are not free to contribute to; and whereas the collectors refuse to receive them unless they be endorsed, this Meeting desires Richard Snead to endorse them and return them.

A little more than a year later, five church briefs were before the meeting, and they were likewise returned with nothing collected, and this became standard practice.¹

13.i.1709/10 & 27.i.1710. Stoke, near Clare, Suffolk. Fire, loss of £2465. Collection £1 17s. 0¾d.
 24.ii, 9.viii, 6.ix.1710. Rotherhithe Wall, Southwark. Fire, loss of £1,640. Collection 15s. 7d.
 Ditto. Northfleet and Durant, Kent. Fire, loss of £1613. Collection 14s. 10d.
 9.viii.1710. Eynsham. Fire, loss of £1474.
 Ditto. Twyford. Fire, loss of £1262.
 6.ix.1710. Ide, Devon. Fire, loss of £718.
 Ditto. Haughly, Suffolk. Fire, loss of £863.
 18.iv. & 2.v.1711. Edinburgh. Fire, loss of £3572. Collection 17s. 8½d.
 8 & 22.viii.1711. Fadmore and Market Rasen. Fire, loss of £1,169. Collection. 10s. 4½d.
 5.iii & 2.iv.1712. Charles Empson of Booth in Howden, Yorks. "Inundation of Watter", loss of £2000. Collection 18s. 10½d.
 14.v. & 25.vi.1712. Little Brickhill, Bucks. Fire, loss of £1270. Collection 10s. 3d.
 Ditto. Thames Street, London. Fire, loss of £1111. Collection 8s. 6½d.
[concluded on p. 284]

¹ 12.xii.1710, 22.viii.1711. 6.viii.1712, 20.iii.1713, 28.x.1713.

William Singleton of Sheffield¹

IN *Journal F.H.S.*, Vol. 48, p. 230, there is a brief reference to William Singleton's visit to Sierra Leone in 1821. His visit to Gambia and Sierra Leone took place between December, 1820, and July, 1821, under the auspices of a "committee managing a fund raised by some Friends for the purpose of promoting African instruction".² The fund had been raised by appeal to members of the Society of Friends, and the committee of eight included William Allen, Peter Bedford, Luke Howard and John Sanderson (treasurer).

Hannah Kilham of Sheffield had already been concerned to teach West Africans, and for this purpose to learn, and then to reduce to grammatical principles, one or more of the unwritten languages of Africa, so that parts of the Bible could be translated.

The committee helped her to care for two West African youths from whom she learnt the Waloof language. During this period (1820) William Singleton, who had formerly been reading master at Ackworth,³ was responsible for their education in English, Arithmetic, etc., their principal textbook being the Bible.

The committee next wished to make direct contact on the field to see how their project could best be furthered, and an unexpected offer was received from William Singleton, whose service, after enquiry, was accepted.

William Singleton resigned from the Society in 1823, having been a cause of anxiety to the elders in Sheffield for six or seven years. It appears that his ministry in Meeting was long and frequent, and advice given by elders was not sufficiently acceptable. Gradually the rift widened until his resignation, after which he published a long and detailed account of his relationships with the elders of the Monthly Meeting under the title, *The Result of a Seven Years' Mission*

¹ Smith's *Catalogue*, as mentioned in *J.F.H.S.*, 48, p. 230, says of Owlerton, nr. Sheffield, referring to 1824. The report here quoted says of Loxley, nr. Sheffield.

² Report of the committee managing a fund, etc., published in London, 1822. I have used a copy in the Bevan-Naish collection.

³ Henry Thompson, *History of Ackworth School*, 1879, p. 116. William Singleton published a delightful picture of Ackworth in verse, pleading for mild punishments, under the title, *Mentor & Amander, &c.*, 1814.

among Friends of Balby Monthly Meeting in Yorkshire with a serious address to professors in general, especially to those who pray for the conversion of the heathen (1823). At the bottom of the title page is the note, "The profits (if any) will be devoted to the cause of Africa."

This document, intended as a vindication of himself and an attack on the "nominal elders", is written with prophetic fervour and denunciatory vocabulary reminiscent of the seventeenth century. He claims, "I was warned of the Holy Spirit to resign my membership, and woe was denounced against me if I did it not." He accuses the elders of having latterly spread a rumour that he was deranged, and the tone of this paper explains, though does not support, the rumour.

Prior to his visit to Africa he had from time to time been "elderred", but the rift was not yet acute. It is evident that Hannah Kilham, a member of his Meeting, could not have been seriously in doubt as to his suitability to go. Reading between the lines of the published report of the committee one senses special caution in sending him: enquiries were made first, the length of his visit was agreed before he left, his service was accepted specifically "for the present occasion". William Allen, writing at the time of his sailing for West Africa, says he was "much occupied by W. Singleton's case",¹ which may indicate anxiety. In March, 1821, William Allen writes² to Daniel Wheeler that "Friends in London, without giving any opinion as to the rectitude of the concern, which rests entirely with himself, have thought it right to assist him; we have given him a list of queries and a written paper of instructions." But William Singleton's report on his return in July is admirable: factual, objective and economical of words in a way uncommon in his time. The report was published with a preamble by the committee, together with the subscription list, in 1822, before the trouble at Sheffield had reached its climax, and it contains no hint of dissatisfaction at the way in which his mission had been discharged.

The committee were so far encouraged in their concern that they approached Meeting for Sufferings in December, 1821, through the Committee on the Total Abolition of the Slave Trade, asking them to promote a mission of instruction

¹ *Life of William Allen*, 1846-7, II, 185.

² *Ibid.*, II, 195.

to the negroes of the Gambia. After consideration in two sessions, that meeting did "not see its way clear at present to proceed",¹ and the later and better known mission of Hannah Kilham, Richard Smith, Ann and John Thompson, was privately sponsored by the indefatigable committee, just as, nearly fifty years later, Joseph Sewell's mission in Madagascar was sponsored by the F.F.M.A. But William Singleton had paved their way. L. HUGH DONCASTER

¹ H. T. Hodgkin, *Friends Beyond Seas*, 1916, prints the minutes of Meeting for Sufferings on pp. 24-5.

Notes and Queries

BRIGG MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES
The National Register of Archives (Yorkshire, West Riding) list of the Brigg MSS. in the custody of the Librarian, Public Library, Keighley, enumerates four marriage certificates. They are as follows:

514. 28 Dec. 1690 Certificate of marriage of Jeremy Brigg of Calversykehill and Elizabeth Davy, daughter of William Davy of Whitleyhead, Quakers, held in the house of Richard Shackleton in Harding, parish of Bingley. 28 witnesses. Paper. (Jj.22)
515. 9 Jun. 1706 Certificate of marriage of John Ramsden, son of John Ramsden of Braithwaite and Agnes Hird, daughter of John Hird of Braithwaite, Quakers, held in the house of John Hird. 36 witnesses. Parchment. (Jj.23)
516. 4 Jun. 1732 Certificate of marriage of Thomas Brigg, son of Jeremiah Brigg of Laycock and Judith Hardcastle, daughter of Thomas Hardcastle of Hardcastle Garth, Hartwith in Kirkby Malzeard, Quakers, held at Daker Pasture in Daker cum

Burley, Ripon. 27 witnesses. Parchment. (Jj.24)

517. Certificate of marriage of Josua Brigg, son of Thomas Brigg of Calversykehill, with Isabel Dryver, daughter of John Dryver of Wheatley within the Monastery of Sawley, yeoman, Quakers, held at Newby in Gisburn. 28 witnesses. Parchment. (Jj.25)

Among the other family papers are:

522. Abstracts of Keighley parish registers and Quaker registry for the name Brigg. (40)
533. Collections . . . lists of baptisms and burials, extracts from the Quaker Parish Register [!]. (66)
535. Collections relating to Keighley Quakers:
Copy register, 1654-1845:
Notes on the Stanbury Quaker Burial ground:
List of burials at the Bradley Quaker Burial ground. (40)
536. Collections as above:
Copy accounts of collections taken at Quaker Meetings at Keighley, 1717-1726:
Copy Orders 1689, 1717-1726;
Copy Minutes 1697-1718. (40)

Among the deeds of the Calversikehill, Keighley, property are five (Nos. 105-9) dated between 1690 and 1823, relating to a piece of land (29 yards x 10 yards), part of the Ing at Calversikehill; later becoming the "Sepulchre" a Quaker burial ground for the Brigg family. Main parties: John Hird, Thomas Brigg, Jeremy Brigg, David Brigg, Thomas Brigg. (Qq 1-8).

The original register of burials in this ground was given to the Library at Friends House in 1953 by members of the Brigg family. It contains entries from 1654 until the present century, mainly relating to the Brigg family.

UNPROFITABLE MEETING, c. 1791

The foreigner "dropping in on" a Friends' meeting would often not know what to expect and would not appreciate the nature of what was happening in the assembly he entered. Jacques Henri Meister, in his anonymously published *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Angleterre* (Paris, 1791), tells how one Sunday he went round sampling various denominations worshipping in London. He commenced at the Spanish ambassador's chapel, went on to the

Methodists, then to the Quakers, and ended his journey in an Anglican church. His half-hour with the Quakers disappointed him; the silence was broken only once by one brief speaker. Meister relates (pp. 84-85):

"Je restai près demi-heure ensuite dans une assemblée de Quakers, attendant en silence l'inspiration de l'Esprit-saint, qui, ce jour là, trouva bon de n'employer que des instrumens très-indociles, car le seul fidele qui s'avisa d'élever la voix ne fit que bégayer trois ou quatre phrases très-insignifiantes."

Compare the note in *Journal F.H.S.*, xlv.99.

WHITTIER COLLECTION

College and Research Libraries (Sept. 1958) reports:

Swarthmore College's Friends Historical Library has been bequeathed a major collection of books and manuscripts written by the Quaker poet and abolitionist John Greenleaf Whittier. Included are some 600 first editions, variants and periodical printings and approximately the same number of letters and manuscript poems. The bequest was made by the late C. Marshall Taylor of Montclair, N.J.

The Baptist Quarterly, vol. 17, no. 7 (July 1958) includes an address delivered by Professor E. G. Rupp to mark the jubilee of the Baptist Historical Society entitled "The importance of denominational history". Professor Rupp points out that the Cambridge University Library does not take the *Mennonite Quarterly* but does take *Men Only*. This tribute to the standing of one of our copyright libraries is not the main interest, of course.

The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, vol. 15, no. 3 (July 1958) includes an article by Philip S. Haffenden of the University of Aberdeen on "The Crown and the Colonial Charters, 1675-1688" in which he sees the king's personal wish as the chief reason for the grant of the Pennsylvania charter to William Penn at a period

when government policy in London was almost constantly aiming at centralizing colonial administration. Many of the difficulties which Penn experienced in securing his proprietary right and retaining it through changes of government are attributed to centralization.

There will be a notice of Vol. 47 of *The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* in our next issue.

Friends and Charitable Briefs (*continued from p. 279*)

3 & 17.ix.1712. Battle Bridge, Southwark. Fire, loss of £12,254. Collection £1 9s. 1½d.

Ditto. Richard Salter of Coleman Street, London. Fire, loss of £1720. Collection 10s. 1d.

10 & 24.vi.1713. William Adams of Heathill in Sheriffhales, Staffs. Fire, loss of £1108.

Ditto. (Also) Witteridge, Devon and Chilton, Berks. Fire, loss of £1116. Collection (for the two) £1 8s. 1d.

28.x.1713. Rugeley, Staffs. Fire, loss of £1691.

Ditto. St. Mary Church, Devon. Fire, loss of £1,392.

R. S. MORTIMER

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