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EDITORIAL

The Editor apologises for the delay in the appearance of J.F.H.S. Volume 59, Number 3. I apologise to both contributors and readers.

A well packed room at the Quaker International Centre heard John Punshon's stimulating and thoughtful Presidential Address on Sunday 30 May. It will be published at the end of this year.

Enclosed with this issue is an appeal leaflet for the BeFriend a Book scheme which the Library at Friends House, London is launching. Many of us have used the Library in our researches and value it as a major repository of Quaker historical resources. I hope members of F.H.S. will feel able to give what support they can to this appeal. Leaflets were distributed to those present at the Presidential Address. If you already have a leaflet please pass the enclosed leaflet on to some one else who might be interested in responding.

Volume 59 Number 3 begins with Rosemary Moore's Presidential Address which brings a careful scholarship to the exploration of the biographical and historical background of the Quaker journeys of Isaac and Mary Penington.

Faith Rodger and Margaret Lawson have responded to the Editor's request to remind readers of the importance of the QUAKER TAPESTRY both as a record of Quaker history and spirituality and

as a most effective means of outreach to a wider public. If members of F.H.S. can offer support it would be greatly appreciated.

It is unusual to have two appeals in one issue but F.H.S. shares a common purpose and interest in the exploration of Quaker history and its continuing relevance for us.

Claus Bernet's short article remind us of the diverse character of Quaker spirituality drawing on an ancient tradition.

Sir Christopher Booth's article makes available further correspondence between members of the Fothergill family and Sir Joseph Banks.

David Sox shares with us his enthusiasm for the botanical artist, Sydney Parkinson.

Richard S Harrison's exploration of the Pim Brothers diverse business activities in nineteenth century Dublin is a major contribution to both Irish and Quaker economic history.

The next issue of the *Journal* should appear in early 2005 and will reflect the centenary year of F.H.S. in 2003.

The Editor welcomes articles or short items for consideration for inclusion in succeeding *Journals*. Contributors are advised to use the MHRA (Modern Humanities Research Association) STYLE GUIDE in the preparation of material, which is available from Subscriptions Department, Maney Publishing, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL (e-mail maney@maney.co.uk) or online at the MHRA's website (www.mhra.org.uk). The Editor's decision is final as regards publication or revision.

Howard F. Gregg

A NEW LOOK AT THE PENINGTONS

Isaac Penington is one of the most frequently quoted of all Quaker authors, with a long list of entries in *Quaker faith and practice,* and yet, if you wish to look beyond these short quotations, there are problems. His collected works are available in a new reprint or free online, but consist of four forbiddingly solid volumes.[1] Otherwise, there are only brief selections currently in print. Nor do the published works contain all that he wrote, for there are some half million words of unpublished manuscripts. A few years ago the Literature Committee of Britain Yearly Meeting commissioned a single volume of extracts from Penington's writings, which would be accompanied by historical and theological background information.[2] My share of this work has been to provide the biographical and historical background, which makes up the substance of this evening's address.

Isaac Penington is best known for his spiritual writings, and as one who suffered long imprisonments for his faith, but he was also a devoted family man, a political commentator and a surprisingly fierce controversialist. He was also a supporter, for a time, of John Perrot, the Quaker schismatic. He kept up a correspondence with a large circle of family and friends, both Quaker and otherwise, and the greater part of his correspondence has never been published. Nor is it possible to make a proper study of Isaac without considering his wife Mary. Fortunately Mary Penington's *Experiences* are well known and readily available in print, so that, as a person, she is probably better known than her husband.[3] She was a very practical and forthright woman, and there was something of the attraction of opposites between them.

Isaac Penington was born in 1616, the eldest son of Alderman Sir Isaac Penington, a wealthy London merchant, who was a staunch supporter of the revolutionary government of the 1640s, Lord Mayor of London and a member of the body that tried Charles I. Isaac Penington senior had six children in all. William, the second son, became a London merchant, and appears on a number of occasions in the Penington archives as a member of the Quaker fringe. The youngest of the three brothers, Arthur, became a Roman Catholic, and the parallel development with Isaac is worth noting. Arthur was another of the family who went his own road. One of the sisters makes an appearance in a quite different setting, in Samuel Pepys'

Diary as one of his woman friends. Pepys wrote that he was rather surprised at her freedom of behaviour, but, to his regret, he did not actually get her into bed. In her own way, she was like her brothers Isaac and Arthur, one who followed her own bent without regard for anyone else's opinion.[4]

Isaac himself had the education of an eldest son of good family, Cambridge University and the law. There is no indication that he ever took any part in his father's business, but he was evidently provided with adequate means so that he could pursue his own interests, which were mainly aspects of theology as related to the politics of the day. He was a deeply religious young man, rather withdrawn, not at ease in the world in which he found himself, with a tendency to depression from which he suffered throughout his life. He wrote of himself: 'I have been a man of sorrows and affliction from my childhood, feeling the want of the Lord... and turned in spirit towards him, almost ever since I could remember.'[5]

He left the Independent church in which he had been brought up, and he became one of those called Seekers. From 1648 he began to publish pamphlets on theological and political subjects. At this time he could have known nothing of Quakers, then a tiny sect confined to the East Midlands, but the seeds of the ideas that eventually drew him to the Quakers are there. But writing did not ease his personal problems; he could write about the happiness of the children of God in unity with God, but he did not know this happiness personally.

Then, in 1654 he married Mary Springett, or, to give her her title Lady Springett, who was a young widow with a small daughter. Her story is only summarised here, as it can be read in full in her *Experiences*. Mary came from a wealthy landed family, but was orphaned and brought up by relations. Even as a child she had felt ill at ease with conventional religion, to the point that she was told by her guardians that she was jeopardising her chances of making a suitable marriage. However, another young man of the household, William Springett, was of the same way of thinking, and they were married, very young, in 1643. According to Mary's account they were extremely happy, and she had a small son and another baby was on the way when her husband, now Sir William and a colonel in the Parliamentary army, died from disease while on active service.[6] A daughter was born soon afterwards, and named Gulielma (known as Guli) after her father, but Mary would not have her baptised, for she and her husband had decided there was no justification for this practice. Her little son died as a young child, as so often in the seventeenth century. Mary was devoted to her mother-in-law, and continued to live with her until her death in 1647. Mary was left

isolated and depressed, 'wearied in seeking and not finding', and Isaac Penington seemed to her to be another person in similar case, 'one alone and miserable in this world'.[7] Isaac needed looking after, Mary supplied the need.

At the time of their marriage, Mary and Isaac were living in London.[8] They soon had a son, John, followed by a second son Isaac and a daughter Mary. Presently they moved to a considerable property called The Grange, near the two Chalfonts in Buckinghamshire, which presumably had been made over to Isaac by his father as part of the marriage settlement.

Around this time Quakers were spreading over the country, and Isaac and Mary were not favourably impressed.[9] Isaac wrote: 'They were for the most part mean, as to the outward; young country lads, of no deep understanding or ready expression... How far did they seem from being acquainted with the mysteries and depths of religion'.[10]

However, casual contacts led to closer acquaintance, and presently Isaac and Mary began to attend meetings.[11] Then we hear that in January 1658 a large meeting of Quakers was held in Bedfordshire at the house of John Crook, who was one of the few Quaker converts from the class of landed gentry. Some people 'great in the outward' were there, among them the Peningtons, who, it was reported, 'grows sensible into the knowledge of the truth'.[12] Quakers, whatever their theoretical views on the equality of all, were not immune to excitement when the rich and powerful attended their meetings and, even better, actually joined with them.

During the next few months Isaac and Mary made up their minds to follow the Quaker way, and a meeting with George Fox at the end of May 1658 clinched it.'[13] 'I felt the presence and power of the most high among them', wrote Isaac. '...I have met with the Seed. I have met with my God; I have met with my Saviour.'[14] But now there was the process of adjustment to go through.[15] Mary recorded that it took her much heart-searching over a period of months before she was ready to be counted as a Quaker, not for their doctrine, but because she was 'exercised against taking up the cross to the language, fashions, customs, titles, honour and esteem in the world'. Isaac wrote that he met with 'the very strength of hell'.[16] Both Isaac and Mary had difficulties with their families. Mary wrote that her relations 'made the cross heavy', and several letters from Isaac to his father show that relations between them were in a very poor state.[17] Isaac must always have been a disappointment to his father, and this was the last straw. Isaac was accused of taking part in ceremonies that would drive away his friends, as having 'ever been full of

fancies', and of 'cross carriage' [perverse behaviour].

Some old friends of the Peningtons noticed the difference when they paid the Peningtons a visit. These were the Ellwoods, whose son Thomas became a weighty Friend and first editor of Fox's *Journal*. Thomas Ellwood wrote, 'we found so great a change, from a free, debonair and courtly sort of behaviour...to so strict a gravity as they now received us with.' He escaped into the garden to talk to Guli, but found her also changed, 'the gravity of her look and behaviour struck awe upon me', so he excused himself and left in confusion. 'We stayed dinner', he wrote, 'which was very handsome, and lacked nothing to recommend it, but the lack of mirth and pleasant discourse.'[18] The Ellwoods found it very odd and uncomfortable.

Very soon the Peningtons became valuable assets to the Quaker movement.[19] Their house was used as a staging post for the distribution of Quaker books and correspondence, and Isaac began his long career as a Quaker apologist. His first Quaker book, a theological work called *The Way of Life and Death*, included two short pieces by George Fox and Edward Burrough. The Quaker leaders did not lose the opportunity of displaying their most notable convert to date. Mary also used her contacts to further the Quaker cause, writing to a kinswoman of hers who was married to Cromwell's son Henry, the governor of Ireland, asking her to use her influence to help Quakers.[20]

April 1659 brought the end of the Protectorate and political upheaval. The country rapidly descended into anarchy, and many people, including Isaac, wrote pamphlets offering their advice to the government of the moment. The restoration of the monarchy in May 1660 came as a shock, and Penington's pamphlets from the latter part of 1660 and from 1661 show attempts to grapple with the situation, appeals to the new government, and explanations of the Quaker faith which were designed to show that Quakers posed no threat to the new order. Like many other people at the time, Isaac and Mary both wrote directly to the new king. The Lord had effected the change of government, and his will must be respected, but it was the Lord who had brought in the King, and he could change the Government again if the King did not do right.[21]

Isaac had personal reasons for concern at the change of regime. His father was arrested because of his involvement in the trial of Charles I, and though he escaped a traitor's death, as he had not actually signed the death warrant, he was imprisoned for life and died in the Tower in October 1661. His property was forfeited, and it seems that this affected Isaac junior's title to his own estate. According to Mary,

their relations took legal action against them, and since as Quakers they could not swear to the facts of the matter, they lost all Isaac's estate and a part of hers.[22]

Then, in January 1661, there was a revolt in London organised by the revolutionary Fifth Monarchist group, and Quakers were suspected of being implicated. Many were arrested, including Isaac Penington and Thomas Ellwood, who had now declared himself a Quaker. The judge proposed that Isaac should give a bond of £200 for good behaviour, but Isaac said that he had no estate left. The other Quaker prisoners were soon set free, but Isaac, because he was his father's son, was held for seventeen weeks until all political prisoners were released by royal proclamation. The judge ordered that Isaac should have good accommodation and some liberty, but the local justices had other ideas, and Isaac was held during cold winter weather in 'in a very inconvenient room, a low room next the street door, without a chimney, over the cellar, with great holes in the boards under the bed and very noisome by reason of its joining to the common gaol.This very bad room procured him a very sore distemper', so that for several weeks after, he was not able to turn himself in bed. This account comes from a small notebook that somehow has survived, and its tone suggests that it was written by Mary.[23] Judging from correspondence with his friend Morgan Watkins, Isaac also suffered a severe bout of depression.[24]

Despite these troubles, 1661 was another productive year for Isaac, and he managed to publish more books. The financial threat turned out to be not immediate, and the Peningtons were able to stay at The Grange for several more years, while Thomas Ellwood joined the household as tutor to the children. It was at this time that the Peningtons became involved in the major Quaker controversy of the early 1660s, the Perrot affair.

John Perrot was a talented Quaker preacher who challenged the Quaker leadership on the practice, which was common to all churches, that men should remove their hats when prayer was offered during public worship. Perrot thought that this practice had no more justification than any of the other formalities that Friends had given up, and he expressed his views vehemently, without asking George Fox and other leading Quakers for their opinions. These leaders thought that to encourage diversity of practice, without proper consultation, was a sure road to disunity in the movement and hence to weakness at the time of persecution.[25]

Among the people attracted by Perrot were William Penington and his friend John Pennyman, and they introduced him to Isaac. Perrot visited Isaac and Mary Penington at their home, and Isaac, like many

others, was deeply impressed, and some time later he published a pamphlet giving his thoughts on the matter, which were, that the Quaker leaders, by their treatment of Perrot, were in danger of arrogating to themselves the power of judgement that belonged to God. Then he put three questions, the first, how a man whom the Lord had exalted (George Fox), could be prevented by falling, the second, if such a thing happened, how could the little ones (the ordinary Quakers) be kept safe, and the third, was it possible for such a fallen leader to be recovered.[26] Besides this printed pamphlet, Penington also circulated several manuscripts indicating his support for Perrot.[27] All this must have been as a red rag to a bull to George Fox and the rest of the Quaker leadership. However, Isaac Penington could not be summoned to a meeting to account for himself. He needed more careful handling.

Francis Howgill undertook the task, writing a long letter in which he clearly found it difficult to handle Isaac Penington on a matter of discipline, and taking a long time to come to the point. The nub of this letter was that Quakers did not write manifestos one against another, or do anything that might lead to division... 'Dear Isaac, I do not deal with thee as an enemy...as I hope thou wilt not look upon me for speaking plainly unto thee. I would have thee stop writings and papers of this nature, and send them not abroad, but be quiet and still and banish evil thoughts and surmises...against any whom God hath made serviceable in this work...'[28]

Other people offered similar advice. The Peningtons presumably thought things over, and there are letters that indicate that they were reconciled with the main Quaker body by the end of the following year, or possibly earlier.[29] This episode was unquestionably important in the life of both Peningtons, and was a factor during later depressive episodes when Isaac could not forgive himself for his backsliding. It also, perhaps, accounts for the very strong support that the Peningtons thereafter gave to Fox and the mainstream leadership. Isaac gave Friends his considered thoughts on the Perrot affair in an epistle which ends: 'The seed is meek, humble, tender, lowly, sensible of its own state and weakness, and subject to the exaltation, domination and pure authority of life in others where the Lord hath so exalted it.'[30] This is not unique in Penington's writings, and in keeping with the way the Quaker movement was developing, with power being concentrated, first in the hands of the current leaders and then in the administrative system that was being built up.

The Peningtons had been left in peace by the authorities since Isaac's release in 1661, but from the autumn of 1664 he spent the best

part of three years in Aylesbury gaol, much of the time, again, in bad conditions. Twice he was released, but he was re-arrested, and ordered to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Earl of Bridgewater, the Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire. There was a personal grudge here, for Isaac had annoyed this magnate by refusing to address him with conventional respect, and the Earl had said that Isaac 'should never be released until he had made him bow to him in giving him his titles'.[31]

To add to their troubles, the family were forced to leave the Grange.[32] Probably, it had taken several years for the whole legal process to go through, and bad will on the part of the local civil authority may have brought things to a head. Many letters written to Isaac around this time show that he was in a state of deep depression regarding his backsliding in respect to Perrot. In particular, there is a long series of letters from Morgan Watkins, a Quaker from the Welsh border. Watkins knew the Peningtons well, but he came from a different social background, and his temperament was entirely different from Isaac's, so that at times he found his friend difficult to understand.[33] He wrote that as Isaac could not see things clearly himself, he should listen to his friends and thereby save himself much sorrow. Isaac should not be worried at the loss of his property, for God would help him. But Isaac's depression did not improve, and Watkins wrote again: 'Oh my Dear Brother, receive a little strength from me, at this time, as a token of his love through me to thee...feel that which did not leave thee in thy distress.'[34]

Despite Isaac's ill-health and depression, this long imprisonment was a most productive period for the writing of personal letters and epistles to meetings. At this time we meet a particular friend of the Peningtons, Elizabeth Walmsley, who had become a Quaker after attending early meetings at the Peningtons' house.[35] Elizabeth was entrusted with Isaac's epistles to Chalfont Meeting: 'I think it will fall again to thy lot to read this enclosed... If the Lord make thy heart willing, and be with thee in it, it will be an acceptable service from thee to him, though it be outwardly hard.'[36]

It is sometimes said of Isaac Penington that he accepted imprisonment as the Lord's will, making no moves to obtain release. This view depends on one letter written to Mary at the time of his first imprisonment.[37] In fact, his attitude was like that of other Quakers. Suffering was to be expected, but not accepted without protest to the authorities. There are in the archive several letters from Isaac to various civil authorities, and his connections were active on his behalf. On one occasion he was set free by the intervention of the Earl of Ancram, and his final release in 1667 came about from an

application for Habeus Corpus organised by a kinsman of Mary's.[38]

All this time, the family was still in temporary accommodation. The elder children were sent to school at Waltham Cross with Christopher Tayler.[39] They could not find a suitable house near their old home, and eventually moved to Amersham, to the sorrow of Chalfont Friends. Elizabeth Walmsley wrote to Isaac: 'This outward distance, this long outward imprisonment, and separation from us hath lain much on my heart...and now the removal of thy family also, thus separating our friends from us.'[40]

In the spring of the next year, 1668, Mary visited London with Guli and stayed with her brother-in-law William. She was not well, perhaps as a result of the birth of her last baby, Edward, in the previous autumn when she was forty-two, and she apparently intended to consult doctors. (In parenthesis, it is to be noted that despite bad conditions in Aylesbury, the Peningtons had been able to conceive a child). A letter that Isaac wrote to Mary during this visit, one of the few holographs, has survived. He found it hard that he had not had a letter from her, but Thomas Ellwood had had one from William Penn, with good news of her. The baby, Ned, was looking very well. The other children were well, and Bill, the three year old, wanted her to come home. Isaac suggested that Bill wrote to her, but no, Bill would sooner go to London himself. He had been exceedingly loving to his father that morning in bed. Isaac sent his love to her and Guli, and to his dear brother, and messages to various Friends, ending, 'Thine in all dearness and truth and love, IP'.[41]

Note the mention of William Penn in this letter. He had recently joined with Friends, and, perhaps during this visit, became acquainted with Guli. They married in 1672. Thomas Ellwood had probably been somewhat in love with Guli, but it seems that he now realised that he was not going to succeed in winning her, and he married an older woman, Mary Ellis, who may have been Elizabeth Walmsley's sister referred to in her Testimony as M.E., and left the Penington household.

Meanwhile, the elder children were growing up. We have no definite information about John at this time, though he may have visited Pennsylvania with William Penn.[42] He was the one who later on sorted and copied his parents' papers, and he became a solid Friend, though without his parents' sparkle. We know that Mary junior spent some time with Elizabeth Walmsley during the spring of 1670, for Isaac wrote, 'I am sensible of thy great love to us, expressed in thy care and tenderness of our child...I hope she is no burden to thee'.[43] Isaac, the second son, was sent on a voyage to gain experience for a career as a merchant, but this led to tragedy, for on

the return journey he was lost overboard.[44]

In 1670 the gaols were again filled with Quakers after the passing of the Second Conventicle Act, and Isaac was arrested in Reading and imprisoned for twenty-one months.[45] Like many Quakers at the time, he was required to take the Oath of Allegiance, and, on refusing, incurred the penalty known as *praemunire*, by which the guilty person forfeited his estate to the crown, and was outlawed and imprisoned for life. This penalty was only truly effective against people of property, and Isaac's estate had already been lost. However, Mary, who was very acute, became aware that the court's intention was that the *praemunire* was going to be used as a weapon against her own estate, which could not be forfeited but could be frozen during Isaac's lifetime and the income confiscated. She therefore arranged for this income to be made over to a friend for the use of herself and her children.[46] Isaac was released following Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence of March 1672.

The Peningtons still did not have their own home. Mary's estates, now their sole source of income, were in Kent, but Isaac did not wish to live in Kent. They finally decided, or rather Mary took the initiative, to purchase a property called Woodside,near Amersham. The house was in a ruinous condition and had to be extensively rebuilt. Probably Isaac's health was failing after his long imprisonments, and Mary handled the household affairs and sheltered her husband from bother as much as possible. She was a practical woman, and reckoned that she could manage very well so long as he did not interfere![47]

Isaac was still keeping up his correspondence, though at a somewhat slower rate. Much of it was to Friends within the local monthly meeting.[48] He had great pastoral gifts, and Elizabeth Walmsley wrote of him: 'He having travelled through the great deeps and close exercises, the power of the Lord upholding him, he was enabled to speak a word in season to the weary traveller, that hungered and thirsted after the living God.'[49] There was Nicholas Bond, who got advice on the tactful handling of his wife Sarah. There was Bridget Atley from the village of Horton which was a hive of dissident Quakers who caused her much distress. There were the dissidents themselves, who got some of Isaac's strongest letters, and he could be fierce! There was Widow Hemmings, recipient of seventeen letters with more to her daughters and son-in-law, many of them seriously theological and some with further theological papers attached. There was an un-named Friend, who refused to attend meetings at a certain other Friend's house, and was gently rebuked for it. There was Sarah Elgar, comforted after losing a child.

There were many episodes to meetings, mostly local, but some sent further afield. During the Quaker internal disputes of the 1670s there were letters from both Isaac and Mary to their friends Ann and Thomas Curtis in Reading, who sided with the dissidents. There was John Pennyman, friend of brother William, who had a long-running love-hate relationship with Quakers. He was also a compulsive letter-writer, and Isaac corresponded with him for years.

Some correspondents were theologically minded people in good society, notably Lady Conway, very learned in metaphysics and theology who accepted Quakerism in later years. Could Francis Fines be Frances Fiennes, a member of the noted republican family of that name? Ann Fleetwood, another correspondent, was probably connected with the Fleet wood living at the Vache near the Chalfonts, who had lost his estates as a regicide.

Also there are family letters. Isaac corresponded frequently with his brother William, often concerning William's prediliction for John Perrot. When the younger brother Arthur became a Catholic, and was described as an Arch-Papist, someone very enthusiastic, Isaac wrote to a mutual friend that this conversion did not dampen his affection for his brother. If Arthur was to be a papist, Isaac would sooner have him a serious than a loose Papist. There are two letters to sister Judith, probably the Madame Penington who was involved with Samuel Pepys. Now, thirteen years later, Isaac remembered her early sensitivity to faith, and hoped that it might return.

It is a pity that more of Mary's letters were not preserved. One was to a local Monthly Meeting Friend called Henry Ball, who had apparently kept Friends out of his house on an occasion when he should have hosted a meeting, so they had to meet under a tree. Mary was very firm with him, at considerable length![50]

By the middle 1670s Isaac was aging, probably from the effects of his imprisonments. During the summer of 1678 the Peningtons visited a spa, Astrop Wells near Banbury, presumably so that Isaac could take the waters, and while in that part of the country, they took the opportunity to visit local meetings.[51] Isaac and Mary both sent advice to the newly appointed women's meeting at Armscote, just over the Worcestershire border, Isaac's being very spiritual, Mary's very practical.[52]

The following year Isaac became ill while the Peningtons were visiting Mary's estates in Kent, and early in October he died. Mary survived her husband by less than three years, during which time she completed the manuscripts known as her 'Experiences'. She had a serious illness, and Elizabeth Walmsley wrote to her, referring to Mary's 'great exercises and trials', and that the Lord would 'bring

thee forth yet as a mother in Israel.'[53] But it was not to be, and Mary died in 1682. Isaac and Mary are buried in the Quaker cemetery at Jordans.

Among the people who wrote testimonies to Isaac Penington was Elizabeth Walmsley, who has already been quoted.[54] This is how she commemorated Isaac:

> In his weighty work and service of the Lord's truth and people, dear Isaac Penington was called forth by the Lord...the Light of God shined through his earthen vessel and reached the seed of life, which lay deep in many... He faithfully declared the everlasting gospel, and what he had testified, felt and handled of the eternal word he freely communicated to others... And now dear Isaac Penington hath finished his travell, the work and service of his day, and having kept the faith, he is gone to rest in everlasting peace with the Lord, and a crown of glory rests on him... Though he is taken hence, his life yet speaks... The truth of our God abides for ever.

Rosemary Moore

Presidential Address given during Britain Yearly Meeting in London, 5 May 2002.

NOTES – All manuscripts cited in the following notes are held in the library of Friends House, London.

1 *The Works of Isaac Penington* (Glenside, PA: Quaker Heritage Press, 4 vols., 1994-1997). For on-line version see www.qhpress.org/texts/penington/index.html.

2 R. Melvin Keiser, Rosemary Moore and Diana Morrison Smith, eds., provisional title *Isaac Penington in Context*, (London: Quaker Life, forthcoming late 2002 or early 2003).

3 Gil Skidmore, ed., *Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1992), a reprint with new introduction and additional notes of the 1911 edition edited by Norman Penney.

4 The references in Pepys' Diary are between October and December 1665.

5 Paper dated 1667, reproduced in Thomas Ellwood's testimony to Isaac Penington in Penington's *Works*.

6 See Mary's letter to her grandson Springett Penn, *Experiences*, 86-95.

7 Experiences, 38.

8 The entry on Penington on Greaves and Zaller, *Biographical Dictionary of English Radicals* (Brighton: Harvester, 1982) gives the place and date of marriage as 13th May 1654 at St Margaret's, Westminster.

9 A note in the second edition of W.C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, ed. Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge: University Press, 1955), page 582, suggests that the Penington's home was already known as a Quaker centre in 1655. This depends on the year dating of a letter from Hubberthorne (Swarthmore Mss 1.106) to Margaret Fell and other Friends, addressed to Gerrard Robert's house, and written on the 5th October, which from Hubberthorne's references to other days of the week appears to have been a Friday or possibly a Saturday, and in which he stated that their route to London would take them 12 miles from Isaac Penington's house. Geoffrey Nuttall, in 'Early Quaker Letters' (typescript 1952) gives the year date as 1655; however, 5th October was also a Friday in 1660, and Saturday in 1661. 1660 seems the most likely date. Margaret Fell was in London during 1660, but not in 1655.

10 Isaac Penington, *Many deep considerations have been upon my heart concerning the State of Israel* [1663], 3.

11 *Experiences*, 40-44. See also the testimonies in *Works* by William Penn, Alexander Parker and Thomas Ellwood for information on this period.

12 Caton 3.111, Richard Hubberthorne to Margaret Fell, 2nd Feb. 1658.

13 *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. Norman Penney (Cambridge: University Press, 1911, 2 vols.), i.317. Alexander Parker, in his testimony to Penington in the *Works*, says that Isaac was finally convinced at this meeting, but since this was a major gathering of Quaker ministers, it is unlikely that Penington would have been invited if his convincement was not considered virtually a *fait accompli*. The introduction to Fox was however clearly very important to Penington.

14 1667 paper in Ellwood's testimony, previously cited.

15 *Experiences*, 44.

16 1667 paper in Ellwood's testimony, previously cited.

17 The letters to Isaac Penington senior are in the John Penington mss (cited as JP) 1.120-122.2. One is dated February 14 1659, and probably the rest were written around this period. Isaac senior's letters were not preserved, but something of their content can be deduced from Isaac junior's replies.

18 *History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*. (First published 1714 with many reprints, the last 1927).

19 See Portfolio 36, 46, a letter from Alexander Parker, sent from Chester prison 13th October 1660, the original or early copy of JP 4.104. There is a note at the end: 'Let this be sent into Sussex to be read amongst Friends there at their meetings. Let a copie be sent to Isaac Penington to be read amongst friends in Buckinghamshire, as the Lord makes way, and moves any thereunto.' The collection of Friends' papers in the John Penington mss vol. 4, which includes

80 epistles by George Fox, is probably made up of papers originally sent to the Peningtons for copying and distribution.

20 JP 4.181.

21 JP 2.245, 2.249.

22 *Experiences*, 53. Perhaps, given the confiscation of Isaac senior's property, some members of the family thought it might be possible to find a flaw in Isaac junior's title, since he would not swear to it, and thereby recoup their lost inheritance from Isaac senior. But which members of the family? Isaac remained on good terms with several of them, though not with his father. Perhaps his brother-in-law? On another occasion Mary said that Isaac had lost his estate 'upon his Father's account' (*John Penington's Complaint against William Rogers*, Benjamin Clark, 1881), 10-13. Either way, it appears that Isaac's title to the estate was not secure.

23 Gibson Mss 2.45. The date of Isaac's release is not certain, but it was after 12 May, as a letter of that date, JP 2.313, was written from the prison. A release shortly after that would fit in well with the estimate of seventeen weeks, given in Gibson 2.45 and used in Ellwood's Testimony. The anti-Quaker proclamation was issued on January 10th, and the wholesale arrests began the next day.

24 JP 4.9.3, letter from Morgan Watkins to Isaac Penington dated 20 Feb 1661.

25 The standard account of the Perrot affair is Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot, early Quaker schismatic* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1971).

26 Penington, *Many Deep Considerations have been upon my heart concerning the State of Israel* P1178, Wing [1664], should be dated 1663, as it is mentioned in Francis Howgill's letter to Penington, JP 4.3 dated 20th June 1663.

27 Crosse Ms (Ms vol. 292) pp 4 and 6, and T. Edmund Harvey's collection (Ms vol. 214), 13 pp 2, 3, 5.

28 JP 4.3.

29 Morgan Watkins JP 4.12 27 Feb 64 could be ambiguous, but not 4.12.2, 30 Oct 64. See also JP 4.5 from Parker 30 Oct 1664 suggesting that relations were back to normal.

30 Penington, *To Friends in England* (1666) P1211, 3, 4, 9. He gave a second explanation in Penn, *Judas and the Jews*, 68-70, which concerned a later episode in the Hat controversy.

31 Gibson Ms 2.45.

32 Probably dates from Ellwood's *History*.

33 Note Ellwood's rather snide remark about Watkins in his *History*, when they were imprisoned together, to the effect that Watkins was not his chosen company.

34 JP 4.14.2, 23 May 66, and 4.15, 22 June 66.

35 Elizabeth Walmsley's *Testimony*, JP 4.114.

36 JP 1.89.2 and 4.8.

37 Cash collection Mss (Temp. Ms. 747/3A).

38 Information from Ellwood's Testimony and *History*.

39 Fox's Journal suggests 1668 as the date of the founding of his school, but Penington's evidence suggests that it was in operation earlier.

40 JP 4.8.2, 16 November 1666.

41 1668 March 19, Gibson Mss 2.45.1.

42 Introduction to *Experiences*, 14.

43 JP 3.435.

44. Ellwood's *History*.

45 Ellwood states that Penington remained in prison for 21 months. There are letters with the address of Reading Gaol from July 1670 to November 1672, but the letter dated from Reading Gaol is probably incorrectly dated. Isaac was apparently at liberty in December 1670, if a letter sent from Catsgrove (location unknown to me present) has the correct date. Charles II issued a declaration freeing all prisoners in March 1672.

46 *John Penington's Complaint against William Rogers* (1681), 10-13. Rogers had implied that Mary should have suffered the loss of her estate, as other Friends did. Mary was incensed at this innuendo, saying that she herself had been charged with nothing, and that her estate was being used as a weapon against Isaac. See also JP 4.162, from Mary, taking Rogers to task.

47 Maria Webb, *The Penns and the Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century* (London: 1867) 214, considered that rebuilding probably began in 1669 and that the family moved in during 1673, but the evidence of the JP Mss shows this to be unlikely. In addition, Mary, *Experiences* 58, says that when considering the purchase they went to view the property in 'my son Penns coach', which suggests a time after Penn's marriage to Guli in 1672.

48 Most of the quotations from Penington's writings in *Quaker faith and practice* come from the selection of his letters that was first published in 1828, edited by John Barclay.

49 Walmsley's Testimony, JP 4.112.

50 The list of manuscript references to this and the preceding paragraph is too lengthy to give. Most of these letters will be published, or at least referred to, in the forthcoming selected edition of Penington's writings, and some are available in the collected edition of his *Works*, though the texts of these are somewhat inferior, being taken from selections published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

51 JP 1.156 and 1.157 were written from Radway, and JP 3.390.2 from Oxford. Several others refer to the stay at Astrop Wells, and to other local happenings.

52 JP 4.155 and 4.159.2 both dated 7 Sept. 1678.

53 JP 4.180.3, undated but around this time from the context.

54 JP 4.112, to be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, edited by Diana Morrison-Smith.

THE QUAKER TAPESTRY AS A RESOURCE FOR HISTORY AND SPIRITUALITY

The Quaker Tapestry was a community embroidery project which began in 1981 and took 15 years to complete. It was the result of the inspiration of 11 year old Jonathan Stocks and his Quaker Sunday school teacher,Anne Wynn Wilson. Anne wanted the tapestry to become the means of forging community and at the same time increasing people's knowledge of Quaker history.[1] In forging a community her attention was drawn to two peripheral groups in the Society of Friends who she wanted to direct the Tapestry towards: Quakers on lonely spiritual journeys and children and young people who were growing up away from a spiritual community. Anne Wynn-Wilson's own words illustrated the motivation of what she had taken on, and the sentiment continues whilst the Tapestry is on show.

> *"By considering our history we will be drawing strength and inspiration from the past and by creating something worthwhile we affirm our faith in the future. So our work will be in the right tradition."*[2]

It consists of seventy-seven different panels showing the history and stories of Quakers and Quakerism from its beginning in the seventeenth century until the second half of the twentieth Century. The panels are on permanent exhibition in Kendal Meeting House, which, built in 1816, is an example of a typical nineteenth century Quaker building. The exhibition is open each year from the beginning of April until the middle of December. Every year for the whole of February about half the panels and some stewards visit a different venue where an exhibition is held in a Cathedral or similar church. This year it was at St. Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh where it was visited by over 11,600 people and next year it is planned to take it to Exeter Cathedral.

The Quaker Tapestry does not claim to be a complete history of Quakerism but a Celebration of the spiritual insights in over 350 years of experience of the Religious Society of Friends. It is a product of what a small group of Friends of the late twentieth Century saw as important and presents a general overview of the life, times and

thoughts of Quakers up to that time. In the early days of the project a request for suggestions in the Friend brought in 404 responses and initially over 60 subjects were chosen. After that, research was carried out to develop the ideas and from that a small amount was actually chosen for inclusion on each tapestry panel. Thus the tapestry can only provide a fraction of Quaker history but it is a valuable starting point. When our Meeting's 'Meetings for Learning' Planning Group were thinking how to introduce Quaker history a visit to the Tapestry Exhibition was an obvious choice. Anyone who visits the exhibition and wants to find out more can move on to the Quaker Tapestry publications. *The Pictorial Guide to the Quaker Tapestry* contains a brief background to the stories on the panels, biographical notes of some of the lesser known persons mentioned on the tapestry and sources of the quotations. Its sister book *Living Threads – Making the Quaker Tapestry* tells the history of the Quaker Tapestry itself. A third book is soon to be published telling the story of the Quaker botanists which is so beautifully presented in the Botanists panel (D8). This book is a result of extending the research which was initially undertaken to find material for the panel.

The panels are arranged and categorised and numbered according to the *Christian Faith and Practice* which with *Church Government* formed the Book of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Britain, current at the time the tapestries were made. For the title Panel, *The Prism*, Anne Wynn Wilson was inspired by the words at the beginning of Chapter one of *Christian Faith and Practice* entitled Spiritual Experiences of Friends.

> *"For the Society of Friends might be thought of as a prism through which the Divine Light passes, to become visible in a spectrum of many colours; many more, in their richest, than words alone can express."*

There are six sections A to F relating to a chapter or chapters in that book. The headings are GOD AND MAN, PUBLISHING TRUTH, THE MEETING, THE ART OF LIVING, SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES and NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, is the subject of the first panel in all but one of the sections. They cover different times in his search for a spiritual home. From growing up in Fenny Drayton Leicestershire (A1), in and around 1643 and becoming dissatisfied by the behaviour of those about him, who professed to be religious. Then leaving home and after travelling through the East Midlands he reached Derby in 1650 (F1) where he preached to the people of the

Truth and the light within' and was gaoled for six months under the Blasphemy Act. After his release from Derby Gaol he passed up the Trent valley to Lichfield (D1) where he *'espied three steeplehouse spires'* as recorded in his journal and walked through the city saying *'Woe to the Bloody City of Lichfield'* and

> *'saw an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness.'*

In 1652 coming to Sedbergh, Firbank Fell, Preston Patrick and Brigflatts (B1), he preached to many groups of seekers and had the vision on Pendle Hill of *'a great people to be gathered'*. Then he came to Swarthmore Hall in June 1652 (C1). Here he was invited to use the house to meet for worship by Judge Thomas Fell. The Hall became the centre of comfort, administration and inspiration for early Quakers and continued until the death of Margaret Fell (C2) in 1702 having married George Fox in Bristol in 1669.

James Nayler is another early Quaker who is commemorated by a panel (A2). He visited Swarthmore in 1652 and was in the forefront of the new movement. He was a powerful charismatic preacher. After years of imprisonment he was on his way home but was robbed and bound and died shortly afterwards in a Friend's house. His dying words from the text which is the main part of this panel.

> *There is a spirit which I feel that delights to do no evil nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things,in hope to enjoy its own in the end... If it be betrayed, it bears it, for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God.*
> *Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned it takes its kingdom with entreaty and not with contention and keeps it by lowliness of mind... I found it alone being forsaken.*[3]

Other well known Friends featured in the tapestry include Margaret Fell (C2), William Penn (F11 and F2), John Woolman (A6) and Elizabeth Fry (E5 and E6). The panels also feature Friends who may be less known but have made their own contribution.

In and around 1654 Fox and other Friends began to travel to America. The Woodhouse (A5) ship was built by Robert Fowler for his own local use in 1657, but *'contrary to my will'* he found himself heading for London. Here he picked up eleven Friends hoping to travel to New England. He gathered together a crew in Portsmouth and after a two month hazardous journey they arrived at Long

Island near New Amsterdam where there was a tolerant Dutch colony.

The John Woolman (A6) panel shows him travelling from America to England. He gave up a lucrative business and took up tailoring to free himself of cumber. Because he felt dyes were invented to *'please the eye'* he gave up wearing clothes made of dyed material. In 1772 he felt called to service in England. He walked from London to York rather than travel by stage coach because he thought the horses cruelly treated. *'Tender compassion fills my heart towards my fellow creatures'*. In York he became ill with small pox and died.

There are panels showing insights of Friends who spread the Quaker message, such as the Mary Fisher panel (B2) which tells of the many women "publishers of the truth". In 1657 a group of six Friends set out for the Middle East and reached Leghorn where they preached and distributed books in English, French and Latin. A more recent example is the Leaveners panel (C11) which tells about the Quaker Youth Theatre which began as a street theatre at Yearly Meeting at Lancaster in 1978.

Some of the panels such as the Marriage panel (C8) show aspects of Quaker life. George Fox wrote

> *'For the right joining in marriage is the work of the Lord only, and not the priests or magistrates; for it is God's ordinance and not man's'.*

This panel (C8) shows a couple in a Meeting for Worship in the early nineteenth century, taken from a painting 'The Quaker Wedding' by Percy Bigland.

The Quaker Tapestry started as a children's project and there is a panel depicting the activities of Children and young people (C10). Until well into the twentieth century children sat throughout meeting for worship with their elders. This panel shows the children's Sunday school and quotes from Advices and Queries[4]:

> *'Watch with Christian tenderness over the opening minds of your Children. Through example and training help them to recognise the voice of God in their hearts.'*

Panels such as Coalbrookdale (D4), Innocent Trades (D5), Quaker Merchants (D6), Industrial Welfare (D11) and Bankering (E3) give information about Quakers at work remembering a time when Quakers were forbidden entry to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and barred from entry to professions and activities

where entry depended on the taking of an oath. On the Quaker Merchants' panel it says

> *'Diligent is their management of their trades and affairs Keeping their word and promise they gained credit in the country'*

There are panels which reflect events happening in the country as a whole. After the repeat of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828-9 enabled Friends and other dissenters to stand in national and local elections, Joseph Pease was the first Quaker to enter parliament and John Bright (B3) was the second. He was a founder member and leading orator of the Anti-Corn Law League until the repeal of the laws in 1846. He courageously opposed the Crimean war and studied Irish issues from the time of the famine (panel E8) looking for land reform as a way forward. John Bellers (E2) wrote prolifically and succinctly about social and international issues, twenty titles of which were addressed to Queen Anne.

Although Quakers have no set creed or dogma, there are commonly held views which unite them. One accepted view is that there is *'that of God in everyone'* (final panel). This view leads Quakers to value people and not to harm or threaten them. This is reflected in some of the panels, Criminal Justice (E4) and the Slave trade (F3). This sentiment is also reflected in the Quaker Testimonies which are about how Quakers try to lead their lives. Many of the panels illustrate Friends response to their testimonies. Truth and integrity are illustrated by Oaths (A9), it was believed that the taking of oaths was setting a double standard so Quakers refused to swear, quoting scripture in support of their position. The Banking panel (E3) illustrates that Quakers gained a reputation for being honest so people felt they could be trusted with keeping their money. The testimony of equality and community stems from the conviction that all people are of equal spiritual worth. Illustrations of this can be found in many of the panels Unemployment (E10) and Mary Hughes (E9) who said:

> *'Once we have said the 'Our Father' in the morning we can treat no one as a stranger for the rest of the day.'*

The testimony to simplicity is integral to Quaker faith. From early times Quakers saw extra trimmings such as unnecessary buttons and lace ribbons adorning their clothes as expressions of pride. The contrast is shown in the Simplicity panel (D2) between the Barclay

family in their plain Quaker dress and the Queen and other members of the court. The best known of the Quaker testimonies is the peace testimony and there are a number of panels,Conscientious Objection (A7) Quaker Peace Action Caravan (B8), Friends Ambulance Unit (F8) Peace Embassies (F16) and Vigils for Peace (F17) which bear out their witness to peace and pacifism. As the spiritual basis of action becomes apparent new testimonies emerge which reflect the society in which we live. One such area is our stewardship of the environment and the Ecology panel (D12) reflects this.

The first panel The World Family of Friends is just one of the panels which tell us about Friends Worldwide. Others include Service Overseas (B7), Relief Work Overseas (F7) and Meeting Houses Overseas (C5) and a number deal with a particular country such as Aoteara/New Zealand and Friends in Canada (F21).

The exhibition and other materials attract different groups of people for various reasons including students and school children studying different relevant areas of history, other religions and textiles, women's groups interested in needlework, craft and embroidery, historical groups and those wanting to gain an insight into other religions and Quaker groups of all ages interested in their heritage. Some of the photographs and cartoons also form teaching aids in Quaker Sunday schools. It is not uncommon for a woman to come into the exhibition whilst her husband waits outside thinking it is not his type of thing, but if he were to come into the exhibition he would find all sorts to interest him. Metalwork as in the Ironbridge at Coalbrookdale (D4). Science on the Scientists panel (D10) architecture and engineering on a number of panels, railways on the Early Railways panel (D7) and flowers on the Botanist panel (D8).

> *'Excellent display – even my husband was interested' – visitors' book 21/05/03*

Amanda Dael Browell-Hook, studied the Tapestry for a dissertation towards her degree in Social Anthropology in 2001, 'Artistic Narrative in a diverse Religious Community: A study of the Quaker Tapestry'. She noted that, as well as being a historical resource to inform Quakers about their own history it also informs non Quakers about Quakerism. To members of the public the Meeting House acts as a signpost for the Society of Friends. A large number of visitors admit that they knew very little about Quakers. Some believed that Quakers belong to a past era and were not part of modern society.

Visitors often ask about the tapestry and the building. The stitching of the panels finished in 1996 but the ongoing interest in the tapestry continues. There has been a Quaker Tapestry Calendar every year since since 1986 and and these all contain information on the back of each page as well as a picture of the Tapestry on the front. This picture can now be detached and used as a postcard. Regular embroidery workshops are held and many talks and slideshows are given around the country. The Teashop at the exhibition centre opened three years ago and visitors often question the Tapestry staff and stewards who are eating there, about Quakerism. These are all opportunities to inform people about Quakerism. As are the occasions when the Tapestry has been featured by the media, including three appearances on the BBC television programme *Songs of Praise* and many articles in a variety of publications.

The historical and spiritual aspects of many Quaker stories are, by the nature of Quakerism inseparable, so when writing about the tapestry as a historical resource we are also demonstrating it to be a spiritual resource. Two quotations on the Railway panel emphasise this.

> *'True godliness don't turn men out of the world but enables them to live better in it' declared William Penn and 'In their handiwork was their prayer' Ecclesiasticus.*

Following interviews with visitors to the Tapestry, Amanda Dael Browell-Hook found the aims of Anne Wynn-Wilson, to create a visible expression of identify which would help connect isolated people within the Society of Friends was, for some, achieved:

One middle aged Quaker couple, visiting from a relatively rural part of Australia came to Kendal to see the Tapestry and to place their identity as Australian Quakers into a "wider context". They felt it added to their sense of community and that: "It is good to have a connection, however small, with something as far reaching as the Quaker Tapestry". Another Quaker visitor, who had only very recently become a member, spent several hours taking extensive notes. When pressed as to why she was doing this she explained that she was not that well informed and "to help me on my spiritual journey I want to know as much about the Quakers their beginnings and beliefs". A third visitor having visited the Tapestry after the death of his wife had found the visit deeply moving as it illustrated.

> *"The beliefs I have had and the philosophies I agree with, but have never really associated them with Quakers"*

He describes the Tapestry as that 'something' he was looking for. He later began attending and then joined a Meeting and for him his "membership was a direct consequence of seeing the tapestry".

It is obvious when reading the visitors' book at the exhibition that many people who see the tapestry, Quaker or non Quaker, respond to their spiritual message as well as to a beautiful work of art.

"Thank you for what you are to a world so in need of all that you are." – *31/03/2003* South Africa

"An inspiration for the spirit as well as crafty fingers" - 5/05/03

"Deeply thought – promoting a historical and spiritual journey thro'life concerning humankind and its relationship with others and the world itself." – 12/08/03

"A wonderful example of fellowship and co-operation in making a statement of love and the meaning of life" – 15/10/03

If you haven't seen the tapestry you have a treat in store and will probably not be satisfied with the one visit.

Faith Rodger and Margaret Lawson

NOTES

1 Jennie Levin (1999:10) *Living Threads: Making the Quaker Tapestry*

2 Levin (1999:12).

3 Fuller version of this text can be found in *Christian Faith and Practice* 25, and *Quaker Faith and Practice* 19.12.

4 From *Church Government* 1968.

I found a recent return visit to the Tapestry both inspiring and moving. *(Editor)*

THE APOCALYPTIC DREAM OF SAMUEL FOTHERGILL IN 1760

Samuel Fothergill (1715-1772) was 45 years old in 1760 as report of his dream was first declared. As a young man he had been wild and anything but pious. In his own accounts, he spoke of having drunk beer "as oxen drink water". His father, an exemplary Quaker, bid him adieu with the words "*And now, my son, farewell. I confess I have no wish to see you again unless you become a changed person*". Such treatment had little to do with Christian love and more with the narrow, restricted relationships among English Quakers in the first half of the eighteenth Century. The changes wished by his father came not through the admonitions of Quakers but rather as a result of a remarkable religious conversion and through the loving endeavours of his later wife, Susannah Croudson (1698-1773).

In 1736 Samuel Fothergill began preaching during meetings. Because he spoke directly from his own experience, he made a deep impression on his listeners. Fothergill accounted for the difficult times in his past, offering advice from his own life rather than from books. Listeners could easily identify with the course of his life.

Fothergill became a Friend who on occasion "saw" and was thought to have a special gift for expressing visions. In September 1760 in Wotton under Edge, a small town in Gloucestershire, he was said to have seen and depicted the End of Time. Quakers and attenders flocked to a "circular meeting". Different from the London Yearly Meeting these gatherings were open to everyone, and many non-Quakers came. It was usual for visitors to such expanded and open meetings to take notes from the sermons for distribution among relatives and friends. Sermons were often later transcribed by hand at home, partly for personal records and partly for wider distribution. For this reason there remain several hand-written versions of Fothergill's dream.

Fothergill had had a similar dream a few months before, which he reported to his cousin Gilbert Thomson on June 29th, 1760 (S. Fothergill: *Memoirs*, New york, 1844, p400). In the dream he likewise heard trumpets, saw large crowds - among them his cousin - and observed the chains that bound many to the earth. It seems obvious that this dream, later reported in Wotton under Edge, had been many months in the making.

The content of the dream stressed that the Book of Revelations was of relevance to Quakers. It drew on such elements of this book as sounding trumpets, sea and land, white raiment, final judgement, and chains. The intention of the vision was to warn those who, in Fothergill's opinion, were too easily absorbed in earthly matters.
The copy given here, whose script dates it to the early nineteenth Century, was discovered in 2001 in the Berlin Quaker Centre. How the manuscript found its way there is unknown, but it is possible that it was brought to Germany by Stephen Grellet. Born a French nobleman, Grellet (1773-1855) fled to New York to escape the French Revolution. There he converted to Quakerism and soon became a talented speaker in meetings. He represented evangelical Quakerism and spread ideas such as a personal image of God, the Trinity, Christ as the Saviour of Sinners, and the acceptance of the Bible as authoritative rather than descriptive. He travelled extensively in North America and Europe, discussing Quaker beliefs with dignitaries, including the Kings of Prussia and Spain, Pope Pius VII, and Czar Alexander I of Russia. In 1814 and again in 1832 he lived for several weeks among German Quakers in Minden, where he most likely wrote the letter on Fothergill's dream. The text deviates slightly from other versions and is included here without alteration.

THE PURPORT OF A DREAM OF SAMUEL FOTHERGILLS

Which he related in a solemn and affecting Manner to near 80 Friends at the Crown Inn in Wottonunderedge (during the time of the circular Yearly Meeting) the 15th of the 9th 1760 about 9 at Night, after he had appeared in a public Testimony near half an Hour. He said it had taken such Hold of his Mind, that it would never be erased at times while Life and Memory remained, that he was much pleased to see such solemnity and Quietude in some present. So he found an innocent Freedom to relate it to the Audience and hoped it would prove interesting to the Minds of some present, without improperly revealing the Secrets of the Almity.

One Night after retired to Rest, I was led to trace back the Transactions of my Life, from my Cradle even to that present Days, The remembrence which filled my Soul with humble Thankfulness and Serenity of Mind and with that blessed Assurance of being etarnelly Happy if I never opened my Eyes more in this World, Which those Considerations and deep Impressions of Mind I dropt into a natural Sleep, and thought the Dissolution of the World was come, that I heard a Trumped as with

my natural Ears at which the Earth and Sea were to give up their Dead: afterwards they Ascended in great numbers before the presence of the Most High at the Tribunal Seat of Justice. Many on the Right hand in white and Multitudes on the Left, whose cloothing was dark and gloomy, But I thought I accompanied those on the Right, and we were born away as upon the Wings of Archangels to the celestial Regions of eternal Bliss, from whence I returned to View those miserable objects on the Left, for whom all that was within me was concerned, I also saw many of them That were Clothed in White, yet at a Distance, (some of them were Individuals that are now in the Body) I said Lord! What have those done, that they are left behind? then instantly their white Raiment fell off, and I beheld them bound with shackles of Iron, and fettered to the Earth.

Here he ended, but afterwards livingly branched forth in many excellent Advices and tender Admonitions pertinent to the present States of those assembled, but in a more peculiar manner to the Elders who (he signified) were too much borne down with the Riches of this World, and earnestly pressed the youth to devote the early part of their Days to the Serving of their maker, then communicated to them, that tho he had been enabled to close in with the Visitations of Heaven, which were long continued to him, yet it then would have afforded him much more comfort, if he had not rejected the Divine Law in his tender years entreated all to take care how they neglected so great a Salvation, by putting the evil day afar off.

Claus Bernet

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Douglas Gwyn, who was very helpful to me in deciphering the text and from whom I learned a lot about Quakerism.

Fothergill's dream has been handed down in numerous versions. Friends House Library (London) holds the following: Reynolds MSS, p. 81 (MS Box I 3/4) MIC 320; MS Portfolio 14/3 (variant text); Swarthmore MSS vol. 6/100 / (MSS vol. 358) MIC 949; Impey MS p. 115 (MS Box I/3/3); Row MSS (MS Box G 2,6) MIC 949; TMP MSS 745/94, 53-54.

Two documents may be found in the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College (PA): MISC MSS 1760, 9 mo. 15, and SC 049 Grellet MSS 1829, 5 mo. 8. Yet another copy is contained in the MS Copybook of Edmund Rushmore (1782) along with a report by

Humphrey Smith, who through a vision in May 1660 foresaw the London Fire.

For Fothergill: Fothergill, R.: *The Fothergills. A First History.* (Newcastle upon Tyne 1998): and Beamish, L.K.: The Quaker Understanding of the Ministerial Vocation. With Special References to the Eighteenth Century. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Oxford 1965. Another version of the dream has been published in: Fothergill, S.: *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours.* New York (1844).

Those wishing to further explore the meaning of dreams among Quakers during the period of Quietism will find ample literature. I recommend: Gillespie, G.: John Woolman's Light in the Night. In: *Dreaming. Journal of the Association for the Study of Dreams,* X, 3, (2000), 149-160; Gerona, C.: Mapping Ann Moore's Secrets. Dream Production in Late-Eighteenth-Century Quaker Culture. In: *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion,* XVI, 2, (2000), 43-70.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DR JOHN FOTHERGILL WITH SIR JOSEPH BANKS

Dr John Fothergill (1712-1780) was one of the leading physicians of eighteenth century London. Born in Wensleydale, Yorkshire in 1712, the son of a ministering Friend[1], he graduated in medicine in Edinburgh in 1736, moving to the capital soon afterwards. A prominent Quaker throughout his life, he was to be Clerk to the Yearly Meeting on three occasions. A noted philanthropist, he was also a Fellow of the Royal Society and an enthusiastic botanist. Linnaeus named an American witchhazel after him, the *Fothergilla* of today's gardens. During the years covered by these letters, his London home was in Harpur Street, Bloomsbury. In addition, however, he maintained a garden at Upton in Essex which was said by Sir Joseph Banks, the recipient of these letters, to be second only to Kew in the whole of Europe[2].

Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820) was from the highest echelons of English society. Educated at Harrow, Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, he early established himself as a natural historian. In 1768, at the age of twenty five, he accompanied James Cook on his expedition around the world in the *Endeavour*, returning to London in 1771 with valuable natural history collections which formed the basis for the museum he established in Soho Square. Dr Daniel Solander (1735-1782), a favourite and brilliant Swedish student of Linnaeus, who had been with him on the *Endeavour*, was secretary and curator[3]. Joseph Banks became President of the Royal Society in 1778, during the period covered by these letters, and he served for 42 years. He was made baronet in 1781[4].

Banks and Fothergill were friends before he embarked on the *Endeavour* voyage. Fothergill sent provisions to Banks as he was preparing for his departure. For the voyage, he sent six gallons of lemon juice evaporated down to less than two gallons, another vessel containing seven gallons of orange juice and a gallon of brandy and a small cask of lemon juice and brandy[5]. These were intended to prevent the scurvy. In addition, he sent a barrel of American apples which survived so well during the voyage that Banks was able to enjoy a pie made from them after a year on board, when the *Endeavour* was approaching Tahiti[6]. Banks also took a negro servant of the doctor, one Richmond, who sadly died of exposure during a

shore trip with Banks in Tierra del Fuego when they were delayed in their return to the ship by snow.

Sydney Parkinson (1745-1771)[7], a talented Quaker artist, was employed by Banks to make drawings for him of the natural history specimens that he collected during the voyage. Born in Edinburgh in 1745, Parkinson came from a Quaker family who moved to London when he was twenty years old. Already known as a promising artist, he was introduced in 1766 to James Lee, who in partnership with Lewis Kennedy ran a nursery in Hammersmith[8]. Through Lee, Parkinson met the youthful Joseph Banks who was pursuing a Miss Blossett who he had met at Lee's home. Parkinson was employed by Banks to make drawings of the specimens he had collected in Newfoundland and Labrador, much to his satisfaction, so it is not surprising that Banks should invite Parkinson to join his party on the *Endeavour*.

All went well until, to repair damage to the ship sustained on the Great Barrier Reef, the *Endeavour* put in to Batavia, where so many of the crew were to succumb to fever and dysentery. From Batavia Parkinson wrote a long letter (dated Batavia 16 October 1770) to Dr Fothergill giving an outline of the voyage[9]. It was from this letter that Fothergill learnt of the death of his "faithfull servant Richmond" in Tierra del Fuego. "I feel his loss very much", wrote Parkinson to his "Honoured Friend". Parkinson fell ill at Batavia, as did so many other unfortunates. Banks himself survived a severe illness but Parkinson sadly died soon after sailing for the Cape of Good Hope. He was buried at sea. As he lay dying, he had asked Dr Solander to ensure that his papers and drawings should go to his London patron, James Lee.

On the return of *Endeavour* in July 1771, however, there was considerable controversy over the ownership of Parkinson's journals and papers which included the earliest drawings ever made of the Australian landscape, as well as the first portrayals of the aboriginee and the kangaroo. Banks himself claimed them but Parkinson's wayward brother Stanfield thought that they were his. Fothergill attempted the role of mediator and allowed Stanfield Parkinson to see Sydney's journals, Stanfield having promised to make no use of them himself. The authorities did not want anything published other than the official publication of the story of the voyage, then being prepared by Hawkesworth. With the help of a hack writer, however, Stanfield Parkinson produced a volume of the journals, with a malevolent preface written by himself, in which he denounced both Banks and Fothergill[10]. The first of Fothergill's letters to Banks refers

to the alternative preface written by Fothergill for a second edition of Parkinson's journal. That, however, did not appear until 1784, after Fothergill's death, with an explanation by Fothergill's protégé and biographer, the Quaker physician John Coakley Lettsom[11].

When a selection of the letters of Dr John Fothergill was published in 1971[12], the existence of these letters to Sir Joseph Banks, preserved in the Mitchell Library in Sydney, New South Wales[13], was unknown to the editors. Had they been available, some would undoubtedly have been included. They are therefore published now to add to the collection. Also included are three letters to Sir Joseph from Ann Fothergill, the doctor's much loved sister and housekeeper, who looked after him devotedly and who took care of his affairs after his death in December 1780[14]. They refer particularly to the remarkable collection of flower paintings, now beyond price, by artists such as G.D. Ehret and Christine Lee, more than a thousand in all, that the doctor had amassed during his lifetime. These were sold to the Empress Catherine the Great of Russia through the intermediary of Baron Dimsdale (1712-1800), the famous Quaker physician who had been called to inoculate the Empress and her children in Moscow in 1768[15]. The paintings are preserved today in the Komarov Botanical Library in St Petersburg where, hidden since their arrival in 1781, they were rediscovered by the Chief Librarian[16] in 1987.

THE LETTERS

The letters have been transcribed as they were written, with the exception of certain changes in punctuation to ensure easier reading. Most of the letters appear to have been penned hurriedly and they lack the precision of his correspondence with Friends in Philadelphia, to whom he wrote representing London Yearly Meeting. There are some occasions where the interpretation of the manuscript requires the inner light of the letter writer to comprehend. These parts have been left hyphenated. On many of the letters there are also scribbled dates not in Fothergill's handwriting. These too have been given in parenthesis. For example, on a separate page referring to the first two letters, is a note: "These two must have been written in the summer of 1773 as the book it refers to (Parkinson's Journal) was published during the course of that year"[17].

1. *Dr Fothergill writes from his London home in Harpur Street, Bloomsbury. He is shortly going to his country retreat, Lea Hall in Cheshire, where until his death he spent the summer months after acquiring*

the property in 1765. He refers to the projected second edition of Parkinson's journal.

(1773)

Dr Fothergill presents his respects to his Frd Banks and requests his acceptance of a few more specimens from - Aublet[18].

Dr F wishes much for an opportunity of a few minutes conversation on a subject in which they are both interested viz. Parkinson - as Dr F proposes to go into Cheshire the 22nd Inst - and much wishes to take the papers with him, and such further instructions as may be necessary, to finish the Apology which Dr F hopes to have ready for publication early in the autumn.

Dr F will wait on his Frd Banks any morning he will please to appoint.

Harpur' Street 2d Inst. -

(Respecting Remarks to ye Preface to Parkinson's Voyage to the South Seas)

2. *A further note referring to the Preface to Parkinson's Journal.*

(1773)

At length I have committed our Apology to the Printer and this is a Revise. I have been much puzzled about a proper title, and have rather chosen the present than any other for the following reasons.

To call it a justification or Vindication would imply a charge or accusation - but the Preface is a malevolent narrative. Not a formal accusation - Any other title must have brought our names together with Parkinsons - this I thought an indignity.

I think the title I have chosen tho' not perhaps the best, is yet not very exceptionable - Be so obliging as to return this revise as soon as may be as the printer now intends to proceed with it diligently.

I am with much respect
Thy assured Frd
J Fothergill.

Harpur Street 25th Inst

3. *Two years later, a note about collecting. The proposed submission to the Royal Society was presumably the paper sent to Dr Fothergill from India by James Kerr, surgeon in Bengal.*

(1775 Jan 24)

Respected Friend,

This accompanys a box of specimens, which I have received from JAAublet[19], who collected them in Guinea, and is publishing a description

of these and other vegetable productions of that country.

If they are acceptable, add them to thy own collection. I am promised some more, and if they arrive, they shall likewise be added. A good Botanist owns there are many new plants amongst them which are entirely new. - What can I say for myself who love plants, - confess that I have not been able to borrow one half hour to look them over! The chief satisfaction they afford may be that if they are of value, they are going to be where they ought to be and if I live I may one day perhaps have pleasure of seeing them with better judges.

If the inclosed - which if the subject is not an improper one is intended to pass through the hands of so good judges to the R.S. pretty much in the form I have sent it. - But if the circumstance is improper or below notice - suppress it. The writer of it is inquisitive, seems to be a tolerable good classic Botanist - so far as I know a faithful observer - he has sent me the account of making the Terra Japonica[20] and description of the tree &c.

I am with much respect
Thy Friend
John Fothergill

Harpur Street 24th Inst
P.S. I have not heard from W. Bartram[21] almost of a year and a half. -

4. *The Winterana aromatica was brought back to England from the region of Tierra del Fuego by Dr John Winter who sailed with Francis Drake in 1577. Dr Fothergill was interested in its therapeutic qualities and gave an account of what he called the Cortex Winteranus which was published in the Medical Observations and Enquiries in 1766*[22].
(This and the following were sent in 1775)

Esteemed Friend,

I spoke to a Sensible Nantucket Whalefisher about the practicability of getting some of this occupation to sail to the Straits of Magellan to procure us the Winterania. I proposed a reward of 100£ to the person who brought the plant alive to England.

He thinks it practicable - and that the reward will induce somebody to go in quest of this plant. Be kind enough to recollect any other in the same place that may be worth a search - and produce such a sketch and such a description as may enable even a fisherman to find what we want. -

The Winterania is engraved - I will get a few colour drawings and thy short description I fancy will suffice. That its bark and leaves have a very spicy smell and hot biting taste. I wish we could see one another on this

subject some day for half an hour - and as early as next week, if agreeable, at Harpur Street - about 8 at breakfast - the captain sails for Nantucket in about two weeks.

I am thy obliged Frd
J Fothergill. -

P.S. I have heard nothing of Parkinson's books[23] since I called but as I offered the price that was asked viz 10s per book, I have been daily in expectation of those who have the management of his affairs.-
Harpur Street 20th Inst

5. *Dr Fothergill spent much time and resources in sending collectors to obtain botanical specimens from America and the wider world. This letter represents an example of his zeal.*

Harpur Street 22nd
Esteemed Friend (July 1777)

It gave me great concern that I was not at home when two such acceptable visitors called upon me - But I could not help it and I send ( ) past to fix another opportunity, which I wish could be the same morning next week, or any other morning after it and partly to introduce a proposal of another kind.----- Shakespeare[24], the person who brought over so large a collection of seed &c from the West Indies, wishes to go out again in a similar employ - This he cannot do without money - Expense of travelling, conveying what he gets from place to place, boat hire & the like will call upon for money. - The sum of one hundred pounds would do everything of this kind amply - half to be paid down - the other half subject to his order.

To raise this sum I take the liberty to propose the following method. Jas. Lee and myself will be 20£ each - I have wrote to Dr Pitcairn[25] and shall mention it to Wm Malcom[26]. I have some expectation that they will both embark upon it - if my Frd Banks will be a 5th, the business is done. - I hope to have Dr Pitcairn's answer in a day or two. He will be able to collect specimens in perfection - and to send us the seed.

I have occasion to write soon to a botanical correspondent in the Province of Bengal. Are there any Specimens particularly wanted from there - a list of what <u>is</u> wanted, or what is <u>not</u> wanted might be of use.

I am with much respect
Thy assured Frd
J. Fothergill

6. *Always prepared to help the unfortunate or deprived, the Doctor here asks Joseph Banks to use his influence to persuade Lord Sandwich, First*

Lord of the Admiralty, to intercede on behalf of a Friend whose testimony for Peace would not allow him to carry arms.

Esteemed Friend, Near Middlewich
Cheshire 9th Inst
(1777 July)

I am under the necessity of intreating thy assistance on behalf of a poor man belonging to our profession who is impressed on board a man of war and I believe conscientously refuses to fight.

The following is an entreaty from a letter signed by four reputable persons of our persuasion at Kingsbridge in Devonshire which will explain the whole matter. One Richard Wakeham[27] has lived with one of the subscribers several years as a servant and for five or six years has constantly attended our meetings. In the late war with France, he belonged to a man of war. The circumstance being made known to some of the men or officers in the Navy, they soon got intelligence where he was, and about a week ago (now about a month) one Mitchell, Lieutenant of the Spry Sloop of War now lying at Dartmouth for impressing men, took the said R. Wakeham out of his Masters Shop, conducted him to Dartmouth and put him on board the Spry. As soon as they had got him on board they used all the persuasion they could to prevail upon him to enter. They offered to make him a Quartermaster, as he had been formerly, or midshipman but all this he refused saying he could not even if they made him Captain. Upon his refusing their offer, they began to threaten him and treated him roughly putting him into the Hold &c.

The letter mentions several particulars of great cruelty exercised on the poor man which I do not transcribe as I am soliciting for nix but for his discharge as incapable of rending any service for Government in the Station of a sailor.

I communicated the letter to my hon Frd Bute of the Admiralty[28] who was so obliging as to lay it before the board - The secretary had informed me that enquiry will be made respecting the ill treatment he complained of but this is not the object I have in view. - I am perfectly satisfied that all the ill treatment they can exert upon him will not answer the purpose of forcing him to act and it is the severest form of persecution to be left in such circumstances to the mercy of the crew.

Be so good as to mention this fact, every circumstance of which I have reason to believe, to Lord Sandwich[29]. I would have begd leave to wait upon him myself but the numerous engagements that surrounded when I left London prevented me. Say that Government has always favoured us on such occasions and that we never ask such unless we are morally certain they ought to be granted. In former wars we have sometimes had occasion

to ask in this way, I know not of another instance and Government may be sure that for our own sakes as well as theirs we shall ever be carefull for whom we petition. - I confess it has humbled me not a little to be refused such a request and when I reflect that the tens of thousands of our people in America were suffering in America for their attachmt to Government[30], and the disposition of the whole body in this country in their favour, are not deemed an equivalent for one man's redemption - I confess it irks me, and all I am connected with, into a state of great humiliation indeed. - I hope Lord Sandwich will view the matter in a higher light than the board has been able to do and I should be much better pleased to look up to him with grateful acknowledgements than to admit of sentiments of the opposite nature. - In a week or two more I hope to send the last sheet of our short preface which has slipt these four months because I could not possibly obtain one quiet hour in which it might have been finished.

It is only this morning that the thermomater within doors has rose one degree above 60. It has stood at 57, 58 and 60 ever since we got to this place and I write this by the fire side, yet easily warm The constant showery weather, the produce of the earth of all (sends ----) except for fruit which is all cut off in this country this dour month - It snowed all the afternoon, Froze hard in the night and killed not only all the fruit but the branches of most fruit trees.

Be kind enough to remind me to Dr Solander and believe that I am

Thy obliged respectful

J. Fothergill

(Dr Fothergill July 10 - 77)

7. Includes remarks about the preface to the second edition of Parkinson's voyage, and asks about whether his previous remarks have had any effect on Lord Sandwich.

(Referred to the Second Edition of Parkinson's voyage - 1777 -26 July)

Near Middlewich

Cheshire 26th Inst

I wrote to my honoured Friend from this place some time ago and have since sent up to the printer the conclusion of my remarks. I instructed him to send a proof sheet as soon as he could to Burlington Street[31].

Since the papers were sent the inclosed remarks were put into my hands by Dr Morris, Physician to the Army in America[32], soon after the Journal appeared. I did not at that time think the answer a sufficient one nor the means of diffusing it adequate to the occasion and therefore laid it aside. It fell in my way the other day at this place as I was sorting some papers and perhaps with an introduction like that which I have inclosed, it may not be

altogether unsuitable - except that he speaks of me in a manner that may cause a suspicion that vanity prompted me to publish it. But as it touches on some points which I have not directly mentioned - having avoided particulars as much as possible - it may perhaps not be altogether improper - If this should be thy opinion be so kind a to send it enclosed with the proofsheet after it has been looked over to Jas Phillips Printer in George Yard Lombard Street - with direction to send a revise to Burlington Street and another he may leave at my home which will be forwarded to me from thence. I have only three or four days longer to stay at this place and must then undertake a journey with some others thro parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire but my people at home will know generally where to direct to me. I should be very happy to know if thy request has had any effect on Lord Sandwich and that the poor man is released. I was obliged with this Solicitation by the Society and I should be very sorry to inform them that neither they nor I have weight enough to get one poor man discharged who cannot possibly be of use to them. They may indeed treat him as they please - if he loses his life they must answer for his blood, when those who have occasion'd it may possibly repent when it is too late. - Nor are they very certain that a time may come when they likewise may ask for assistance of those whom they seem to hold very cheap at present. But I want not to incense - wish to have my power to commend them moderation.

I gave leave for my Gardener John Morrison to come down to Oxford and to call upon me here. He returned well satisfied with his journey, brought with him some things he had not at home and even condescended to pick a few articles for my little stock at this place. Our soil culture here suits the hardier herbacious North American plants; they are so vigourous that he hardly knew many of his old acquaintance. Our soil is stiff clay. I add a large proportion of black turf earth, these together make a rich and not binding soil. The Eupatorium Canadense[33] is now about nine feet high and many others alike gigantick in their kind. - The thermometer got to 67 within doors, it has often been at 57 and seldom gets to 62, so that we are cold enough. Ice has been seen here within these 4 days a thing scarce remembered.

I have only to repeat my best wishes
J. Fothergill

Joseph Banks
New Burlington Street
London.

8. *He writes to Banks whilst on a ministering visit to Friends Meetings in the North of England with his sister Ann. He also writes at length about the Militia Laws and their effects on Friends.*

My honoured Friend

I received thy obliging letter a few days ago and I write this in sight of Penley Hill in Lancashire and yet am so circumscribed for time that I cannot possibly look at a single plant upon it. I must meet with many mortifications of this kind in a tour of two months without having it in my power to see anything but in the highways & hedges which have been searched for a ( ).

I have recd the proof sheet and shall return it to the printer in a short time with a few necessary corrections. -If the postscript I sent up just before I set out from Lea Hall seems not improper to be added to be so obliging as to make such corrections as appear necessary, and send it to Phillips the Printer George Yard Lombd Street who will order a proof to be left at my house.

I thank thee very cordially and acknowledge my gratitude likewise to Lord Sandwich for interesting yourselves so far you have done on behalf of the poor man on whose behalf I once more must intreat Lord Sandwich's interposition. It is well known to the publick that the people called Quakers have always refused to bear Arms either by land or Sea. And the Legislature is so far convinced of their sincerity as to allow them a particular indulgence in this respect.

In the Militia Laws now in force[34] it is provided that if the lot falls upon a Quaker and he refuses to serve, the Lieutenants hire a substitute and make distress on the Quakers goods for their money.

If the lot falls upon a poor quaker who has nothing on which distress can be made, the law is silent with respect to further proceedings. If the Lot falls upon one who is not a Quaker, and he refuses to serve, he is ordered to be impressed. - The Legislature humanely judging that the Quaker had no other plea for not serving than a conscientious persuasion that he ought not and that to force any mans conscience was a degree of persecution repugnant to the constitution. Soon after the Militia Act was passed the lot fell upon several of our profession. Distress was made where there was property and a substitute provided. In Cheshire the lot fell upon one honest poor man a servant, who could neither bear arms nor could assets be found (indeed he had them not) to hire a substitute. The officers not observing the distinction made, committed the poor man to Chester Goal. The Society was made acquainted with the circumstance, Councel's opinion was taken, who declared the officers had exceeded the bounds of their authority, a supersedeas was granted and the poor man discharged. - This is as much a paralel circumstance as can be aduced and I rather think by parity of reasoning a Habeus Corpus might be obtained and a trial had which we do

not wish for. We would rather be obliged to the moderation of our superiors than contest the point. I once more therefore request Lord Sandwich will be so obliging as to reflect that, by compelling a man conscientously refusing to bear arms at sea & continuing in the service, is acting contrary to the spirit of your Laws, and the principles of toleration.

I am very sorry to give so much trouble on this account - But as I must answer for the trust reposed in me I cannot avoid using every effort in my power to obtain his discharge and hope when Lord Sandwich is acquainted with the provision made, at least the door is left open for us by the Laws. I may hope that it will not in this instance be shut against us. -

I am pleased that my Garden has afforded any little addition to that Vast treasure of Botany, now I suppose properly ranging in Soho Square. If the seeds lately sent from Bengall, amounting to 149 different parcels, and a still larger quantity which I purchased from - - Shakespeare, chiefly Jamaica plants, should succeed we may possibly supply in a future season a few more recruits. - I may possibly at my return be made acquainted with the water lily - I had hopes it might have proved the Nymphaea Nelumbium[35].

I am with much gratitude and esteem
Thy Frd
John Fothergill.

4/8 1777

P.S. I will add my name at full length to the Preface - - - and a line sent to me at Harpur Street will find me somewhere.

9. (1778 - March 27)

My much esteemed Friend Harpur Street 7th Inst

I have just learnd this evening that an assistant to Dr Solander is wanted at the Museum and at the same time receivd the Mortifying intelligence that the place was almost provided for.

Could not Dr De Ponthieu[36] fill it up with propriety? He loves natural history, has been long conversant in it, has made a tolerable proficiency, is a Gentleman - capable of conversing with foreigners intelligibly on the subject - will not probably wish for higher preferment than within those walls, is not much past the time of instruction and may continue a usefull service to community in a line of life more pleasurable to him than the possession of his former fortune - 100,000£ a least.

If my opinion of the man and his fitness coincide with thy own opinion, move everything to get him elected - I will make the Speaker. I know not De Ponthieu's own sentiments - it is a notion of my own. I would not mention it to him till I knew the sentiments of a much better judge than I am

- and I would endeavour to hold the scales as equal as possible between want and fitness, tho I would give it against want and necessity if fitness does not seem to preponderate. - When shall I have done with persecuting my Friend? When I think his patience Is quite worn out and I have not another ( ) to ask for. Consult Dr Solander on the subject - It is of much consequence to know the abilitys, the defects, the temper of his colleague. I would not make him unhappy by endeavouring to provide for a person whose chief recommendation to me is his being unfortunate.

I am
The obliged Frd
J. Fothergill

Dr Fothergill died from prostatic obstruction in December 1780. His sister Ann was responsible for settling his affairs. One of her problems concerned the disposal of the Doctor's priceless collection of flower paintings made by the leading artists of the day. These three letters describe how Joseph Banks helped her and how she obtained a remarkable sum, in modern terms more than two hundred thousand pounds, for the paintings.

She sold the Harpur Street house and moved to a smaller home in Great Russell Street. She died in 1802 at the age of 84. She was buried at the Friends Burial Ground at Winchmore Hill, where she lies beside the brother with whom she shared her life.

1. (Dr Fothergill died Dec 1780)

A.Fothergills respects wait upon her Friend J. Banks & begs his acceptance of the few dry'd plants that accompany this. - She took the liberty of consulting Dr Solander on the propriety of sending them not being a sufficient Judge herself how far they might be worth her Frd Banks' notice. Along with them she sends a piece of Fearn Treet which she understands was a gift to her late Brother Dr Fothergill and which she wishes to deposit again in his much esteem'd friends hands.

The letter which accompanys this came to A. Fothergill's hands yesterday - and as J Banks' name is mentioned in it, she takes the liberty of sending it to his care as she is not now interested in the intelligence it conveys nor will have any way of disposing of seeds &c that may be sent. AF is proposing to dispose of all her concerns at Upton as soon as possible - she finds from accounts that have fallen under her inspection that upwards of fifty pounds has already been advanced on (Boass's) for his wife's account.

Harpur Street 3rd Inst Evning
(This letter is in the hands of an amanuensis).

2. Russell Street 11th Inst 1781

Ann Fothergill presents respects to Sir Joseph Banks and with diffidence solicites his further Friendly aid with respect to his opinion what sum she should ask Baron Dimsdale for the Drawings which remain intire as he saw them and of which there are in nobr 1184. They cost Dr F at a moderate computation £3306 upwards and as AF has (in a former privat Contract)[37] suffered both loss and blame she would wish to avoid the like now, especialy the latter. AF wishes simpley to do right to propose what is Just and equitable. She knows none so capable of advising her in this (to her important affair) as Sr J. Banks & his Frd Dr Solander. Baron Dimsdale is of the same sentiment and if it would not Be asking too Great a favour of Sr J B, should be glad it would suit him to call in Russell Street on Fryday morning Betwixt 10 & 11 o'clock (the hour the Baron proposes being here). If this is inconvenient a line from Sir Joseph expressing his Sentiment what is proper to propose wou'd be esteemed and additional favour By his already obliged

AF.

3. Ann Fothergill presents respects to Sr Joseph Banks and Dr Solander & gratefully thanks them for the very kind and careful part they have took to assist & serve her in her affairs, which she is perfectly satisfied with and has no doubt that their dicisions are Judicious and Just. She thinks it Incumbent to express her acknowledgements for their friendly offices done her and that she Chearfully acquiesces with their opinion - and has agreed with Baron Dimsdale accordingly to propose the termes to the Empress by the first opportunity[38] -

Russell Street 22nd Inst 1781

Christopher C. Booth Wellcome Centre for the History of Medicine at University College London.

Acknowledgements

I particularly thank the late Mrs Betsy Corner, my guide and mentor during our editing of Dr John Fothergill's letters, for advice and encouragement through many years. I would wish to dedicate this paper to her memory. I also thank the Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales for permission to publish these letters from their Joseph Banks papers. To David Sox, author of *Quaker Plant Hunters*, thanks for encouraging the editing of these letters.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 John Fothergill. *An Account of the Life and Travels in the Ministry, of John Fothergill. To which are added divers epistles to Friends in Great Britain and America, on various occasions.* London, Luke Hinde, (1753).

2 R Hingston Fox. *Dr John Fothergill and his Friends. Chapters in 18th Century Life.* (London, Macmillan and Co, Ltd, 1919).

3 Daniel Carl Solander (1735- 1782), son of a country clergyman in Sweden, was a favourite pupil of Linnaeus. See: H.C. Cameron. *Sir Joseph Banks, The Autocrat of the Philosphers.* (London, Batchworth Press, 1952).

4 H.B. Carter. *Sir Joseph Banks.* (London, British Museum (Natural History), 1988).

5 Letter, N. Hulme to J. Banks. Dated Hatton Garden Aug 10 1768. W. R. Dawson, *The Banks Letters. A Calender of the manuscript correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks preserved in the British Museum, The British Museum (Natural History) and other collections in Great Britain.* (London, 1958), p. 342.

6 Carter. *Sir Joseph Banks* p. 84. See note 4.

7 D.J. Carr Ed. *Sydney Parkinson. Artist of Cook's Endeavour voyage.* (London, Croom Helm Limited, 1983).

8 James Lee (1715-1791) was born in Selkirk but came to London where he became a gardener to the Duke of Northumberland at Sion House. In 1760 he set up as a Nurseryman at the Vineyard, Hammersmith, in partnership with Lewis Kennedy. He introduced a number of exotic plants into this country, including the *fuchsia. Dictionary of National Biography,* XXXII; 357-358. See also Carr, *Sydney Parkinson*. Note 7.

9 Ms autograph letter, Sydney Parkinson to John Fothergill, Batavia 16 of October 1770. Library of the Society of Friends, London.

10 Stanfield Parkinson. *A Journal of a voyage to the South Seas in her Majestys Ship Endeavour, Faithfully transcribed from the papers of the late Sydney Parkinson, draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq...Embellished with views and designs, delineated by the author.* (London, 1773).

11 «J.C. Lettsom Ed. *Sydney Parkinson's Journals of a Voyage to the South Seas.* (London, Charles Dilly, 1784).

12 Betsy Copping Corner and Christopher C. Booth. *Chain of Friendship. Selected Letters of Dr John Fothergill of London, 1735-1780.* (*Cambridge, Massachussetts,* Bellknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971).

13 The letters are now published by kind permission of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales.

14 Christopher C. Booth. Ann Fothergill. The Mistress of Harpur Street. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (1979) 122: 340-354.

15 On Thomas Dimsdale see: I. M. Gardner. "Two Hertfordshire Doctors". *Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archeological Society* (1952), XIII Part 1: 44-54.

16 Tamara A, Tchernaja, The Komarov Botancial Library, 197376, Prof Popova Street 2, St Petersburg, Russia.

17 See note 10.

18 M. Fusee Aublet was the author of *Histoire des Plantes de la Guiane Francaise, rangees suivant la methode sexuelle, avec plusiers memoires. Sur differens objets interessans, relatives a la culture & au commerce de la Guiane Francaise, & une notice des plantes de l'Isle de France...*(Londres, Paris, P.F. Didot jeune, 1775). Aublet was clearly known to both Banks and Fothergill for a letter to Banks written by J.H.

de Magellan from Paris in October 1774 states that "Monsr Aublet put in my hands two new plants intended as a present to ye RI Society, which I have forwarded already along with other things of ye kind to Dr Fothergill". W. R. Dawson. *The Banks Letters*. (See note 5).

[19]Dr Fothergill may have been mistaken in Aublet's initials. See note 18.

[20]The writer was Mr James Kerr, an assistant surgeon in Bengal. The *Terra Japonica* was an extract of a tree known as Coira or Caira by the natives of Bahar. It was an integral ingredient of ointments used for the treatment of sores, wounds and venereal ulcers. John Fothergill. An Account of the Tree producing the Terra Japonica. *Medical Observations and Inquiries* (1773); Vol V: 148-152.

[21]William Bartram (1734-1823) was the son of the early American botanist, John Bartram (1699-1777) of Philadelphia. In 1773, supported by Fothergill, William embarked on a journey through the southern American States which took him through the wilds of the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida. He did not return to Philadelphia until January 1778. His *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, E & W Florida, etc...* were published in Philadelphia in 1791, in London the following year and in Dublin in 1793. A French translation came out in 1799.

[22]John Fothergill. Some Account of the *Cortex Winteranus or Magellanicus,* with a Botanical Description by Dr Solander FRS and some Experiments by M. Morris MD FRS. Medical *Observations and Inquiries* (1779); Vol V: 41-46.

[23]Dr Fothergill had arranged to purchase all the remaining copies of the volume of Sydney Parkinson's Journal of his voyage on the *Endeavour* from Stanfield Parkinson, who was becoming incurably paranoid. He was taken in to St Luke's Hospital but died soon afterwards.

[24]Roger Shakespear was a collector who sent plants from Jamaica and the Americas to Joseph Banks. Information kindly provided by Dr David Allen

[25]William Pitcairn (1711-1791) MD Rheims, was physician to St Bartholomews Hospital and President of the College of Physicians from 1775 to 1785. He had a garden in Islington. *Dictionary of National Biography,* XLV; 334-335.

[26]Unidentified but presumably, like Fothergill, a botanical collector.

[27]Consultation of Kingsbridge Monthly Meeting records for 1776 and 1777 reveals no mention of Richard Wakeham (Information kindly provided by Miss J P M Halloran, Devon Record Office). Nor are there any Wakehams in the records of Devon births, deaths and marriages at Friends House Library, London.

[28]This presumed Admiralty official has not been identified.

[29]George Martelli. *Jemmy Twitcher. A Life of John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich 1718-1792.* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1962).

[30]Following their conscience, Quakers in Philadelphia had refused to bear arms during the American Revolution. Because of their religious scruples they also refused to take an oath or make affirmations of allegiance to the State. After 1777, many Philadelphia Friends were interned at Winchester, Virginia. Corner and Booth. *Chain of Friendship* p 482. (See note 12).

[31]Joseph Banks' home was in Burlington Street.

[32]Michael Morris (1729-1791) MD (Rheims) FRS was for many years physician to the Westminster Hospital and Physician to the Army. He provided Fothergill with information on the *Cortex Winteranus* (see note 22). P. J. and R. V. Wallis. *Eighteenth Century Medics.* (Newcastle, Project for historical bibliography, 1988); p 421. See also: William Munk. *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London.* (London, The College, Pall Mall East, 1878); p 232.

[33]*Eupatorium* is a largish genus belonging to the daisy family.. A contemporary edition of Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary* lists fourteen different varieties, those from the southern American States being the most attractive but also the least hardy. *Eupatorium Canadense* is not listed but presumably may have been allied to hardier varieties such as *Eupatorium Novae-Angliae.* Philip Miller. *The Gardener's Dictionary.* The Sixth Edition. (London, John and James Rivington, 1752). Information also kindly provided by Dr David Allen.

[34]The Militia Acts then in force dated back to the previous century. An Act of 1662 had given powers to Lord Lieutenants of Counties to raise men for local defense. Later Acts passed during the Seven Years War (1756-1763) fixed the numbers raised to 30, 650 nationwide. Individuals had to provide for their own arms but it was always possible to provide a substitute. The Act in force in the 1770s dated from 1761. Charles Arnold-Baker. *The Companion to British History.* (London and New York, Routledge 1996) (Paperback edition 2001).

[35]The *Nymphae Nelumbium* was the great water-lily of the Delaware and other deep waters. It had large flowers 10 to 12 inches across and, according to Fox, "No plant in North America excels it in grandeur, simplicity and beauty". It was highly esteemed by Dr Fothergill. R. Hingston Fox. *Dr John Fothergill and his Friends* p 195. (See note 2).

[36]Henri de Ponthieu was a merchant of descent, born in 1730, who went bankrupt in 1774. Information kindly provided by Mrs Mary Bayliss, Secretary of the Huguenot Society and by the Librarian Dr Pohl.

[37]The reference here is uncertain but may refer to advantageous sales, at less than valuation, to Dr William Hunter of Dr Fothergill's collection of shells and corals. See R Hingston Fox. *Dr John Fothergill and his Friends.* (See note 2).

[38]According to Fox, it is said that the Empress Catherine paid £2300 for the paintings, perhaps a misquotation of the figure given by Ann Fothergill. R. Hingston Fox. *Dr John Fothergill and his Friends.* (See note 2). In modern money £3200 would now be worth more than two hundred thousand pounds. P. E. Harris. *A History of the British Museum Library* (London, The British Library, 1998). Appendix V. p 783.

SYDNEY PARKINSON(1745-1771) Quaker Artist with Cook's *Endeavour* Voyage.

Although his name appears on the Quaker Tapestry's 'Quaker Botanists' panel (D8), few Quakers are much aware of Sydney Parkinson. They should be. In paintings and words, Parkinson recorded the flora and fauna on Captain James Cook's first epic voyage.

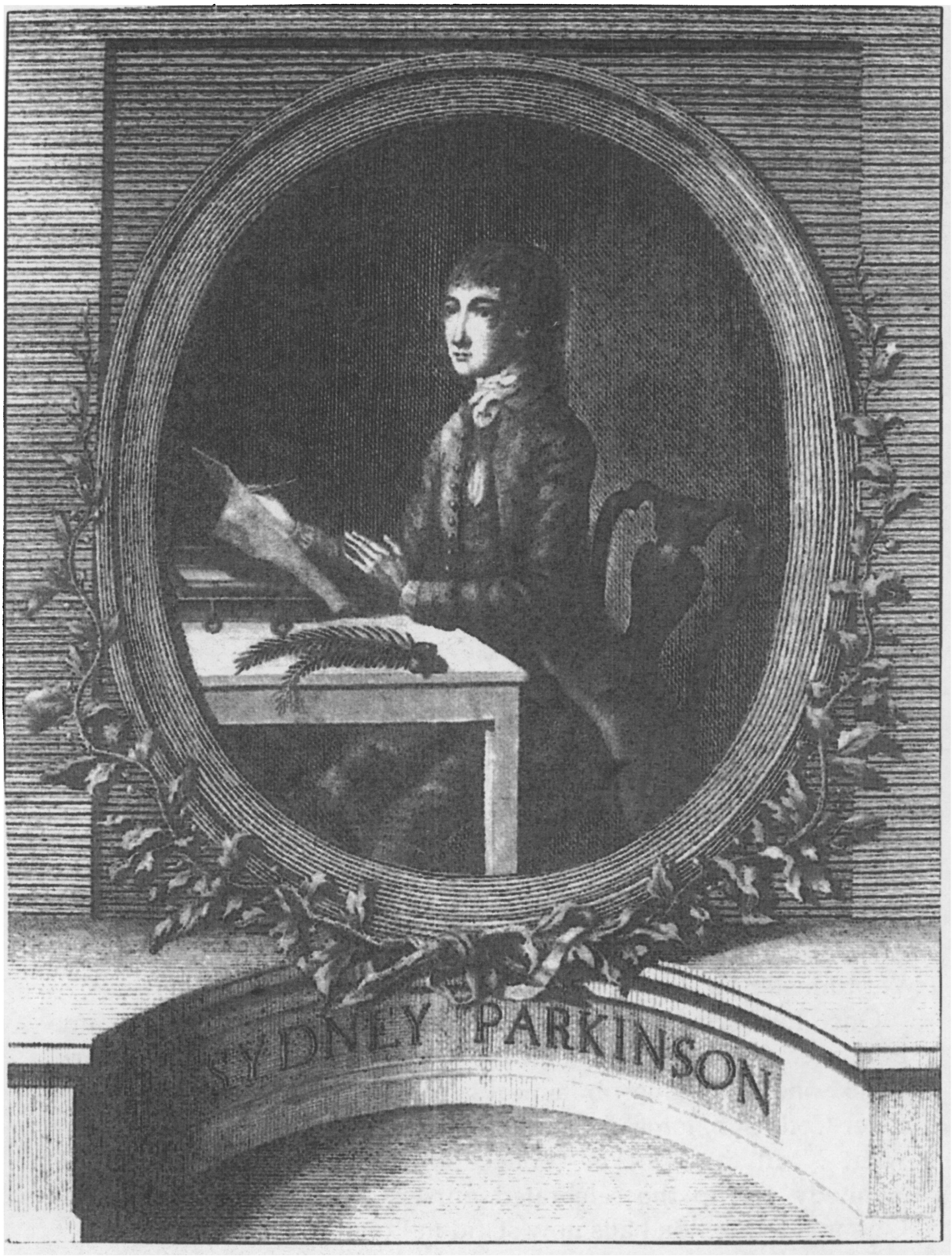
Parkinson was the first artist to set foot on Australian soil, to draw an authentic Australian landscape and to portray Aborigines from direct observation. He was also the first to make accurate drawings of the kangaroo.

But it would be his botanical drawings that excited most attention. Observing and recording accurately the minute details of new plant specimens required genius, and the young Parkinson was simply blessed with it. Although he never returned to England with Cook's *Endeavour*, he left a remarkable legacy: some 276 finished and 676 unfinished drawings of plants, 83 finished and 212 unfinished drawings of animals and perhaps 100 or so other drawings of people, scenery and boats which remain largely at the Natural History Museum in London.

Parkinson's Quaker background and links are interesting. His father, Joel Parkinson, was a Quaker brewer in Edinburgh and the father of three children: Stanfield, Sydney and Britannia. Joel and Elizabeth Parkinson were members of Edinburgh Meeting, and fortuitously so was John Fothergill who studied at the university. Later in London, the Parkinsons and Fothergill would be members of Westminster Meeting.

Once he started practicing medicine, Dr John Fothergill became both wealthy and influential. He also established at Upton Park, Essex, one of the finest botanical gardens in Europe. As a friend of Peter Collinson, James Lee and the Bartrams, Fothergill was part of what I call the 'Quaker connection' in botany. Lee with Lewis Kennedy set up the celebrated nursery the Vineyard where the Olympia Exhibition halls now stand in London.

John Gascoigne, the historian, has commented that 'a disproportionate number of British naturalists were Quaker.'[1] This Quaker connection certainly aided Parkinson. It was Lee in 1767 who introduced Parkinson to Joseph Banks, the wealthy British naturalist and explorer who both chose and paid for thirteen supernumeraries



This engraving by an unknown artist appeared as the frontispiece in the 1773 *Journal* of Sydney Parkinson. It was published by James Newton

who accompanied Cook on his voyage to the South Seas. Parkinson was one and acted as Banks's botanical artist. Banks paid £10,000 to ensure his place on the *Endeavour* and it would be the naturalist discoveries for which the voyage became famous rather than the initial *raison d'etre-* observing the Transit of Venus at Tahiti. Unknown to all except Captain Cook were secret instructions from the government to further explore the regions around Australia and New Zealand.

By the time Parkinson was introduced to Banks he had exhibited some flower paintings in London, but it is not known how the young man learned his art. One suggestion has been that he had been a pupil of William de la Cour, a gifted French artist in Edinburgh.

The *Endeavour* set sail from Plymouth on 26 August 1768. While at Plymouth, members of the expedition were entertained by William Cookworthy, a Quaker chemist who knew both Cook and Banks and pioneered true porcelain manufacture in England. James Cook was no stranger to Quakers as his early master in Whitby had been the Quaker shipowner, Captain John Walker.

From England Cook sailed to Madeira and then to Brazil. The *Endeavour* entered the Pacific at the end of January 1769 and continued to Tahiti where Banks's other artist, Alexander Buchan, died. This greatly increased Parkinson's workload. Added to that working conditions were often grim: flies pursued him constantly and devoured his paints as soon as he put them to paper. But the artist persevered, frequently staying up all night drawing or writing in his journal; his observations are considered to be the best for the voyage.[2]

Parkinson was described as slight and dark, and also as 'a young man of the highest moral standards'.[3] In Tahiti he was shocked to see the crew shoot a native for taking a musket. In New Zealand he protested when a Maori in a canoe was shot for making off with a large piece of cloth: 'what a severe punishment of a crime committed perhaps ignorantly.'[4]

Also in his *Journal* as they were leaving Cape Horn, Parkinson expressed a love for nature:' How amazingly diversified are the works of the Deity within the narrow limits of this globe we inhabit, which, compared with the vast aggregate of systems that compose the universe, appears but a dark speck in the creation.'[5]

Upon his return to England, Banks was planning to publish a book of engravings of the plants collected on the voyage and painted by Parkinson. As it turned out Parkinson would not be involved, and because many of his sketches were not finished works, partially

coloured originals were later copied and completed by other artists.

The unlucky chain of events began when the *Endeavour* struck the Great Barrier Reef in Australia and was damaged. The ship had to set sail to Batavia (present-day Jakarta) for repairs-a ten-week stopover that proved to be fateful.

Until they landed at Batavia, Cook's men had been healthy, being fed fresh foods whenever in port and kept clean, dry and warm on board. Nobody had counted on "Batavia fever', a term for the effects of malaria and dysentery contracted from the city's numerous dirty canals. By the time the *Endeavour* reached the Cape of Good Hope in 1771, almost a third of the men had died. Among the first was Parkinson, aged just 26.

One of his last letters was to Fothergill. He wrote: 'Time won't allow me to enter any particulars, besides I am so confus'd and flutter'd about at present that my mind is not settled for such a task.'[6]

Parkinson's legacy-his journal and drawings-faced confusion as well. The irrepressible Joseph Banks considered all the botanical efforts of the *Endeavour* voyage his preserve, Parkinson's drawings and journal included. After all, he had paid £10,000 as proof of his commitment to the voyage.

But Parkinson's mentally unstable brother, Stanfield, viewed the drawings and writings as his inheritance. Banks gave him £500 for the paintings, sketches and unpaid salary, but in 1773 Stanfield still published a distorted version of his brother's journal. Stanfield's health deteriorated and he died three years later. Dr Fothergill tried to sort matters out with Banks but died in 1780, leaving his Quaker colleague and botanist, John Coakley Lettsom, to make a suitable publication of the journal in 1784.

The publication of Parkinson's botanical (and zoological) art had an even more despairing future. Banks's plans to publish 740 engravings from Parkinson's scientific drawings never materialised. It was not until 1983 that Parkinson was properly recognised in a volume of his art edited by D J Carr and published by the Natural History Museum. In it, Wilfrid Blunt says: 'With all his other preoccupations, Parkinson yet found time to make vocabularies of the languages of the various countries visited. So did Banks and Cook: but Parkinson's are much more extensive...'[7]

It is said that Banks and his naturalists brought back 3,600 plants from the voyage; 1,400 of which never before had been classified. Today we know of Australian *Banksias* (hundreds of them), and Banks bestowed honours upon his friends by naming other plants after them.

Parkinson helped collect and catalogue many of these but in a sad footnote to his history, only one plant now bears his name, *Ficus parkinsonii* and that only occurred in modern times by someone who felt the necessity of remembering his legacy.

Geographically, the situation is even sadder for Parkinson. Everywhere the *Endeavour* went, you now find Banks and Cook's names attached to various places-as well as some of their friends. Even a cabin boy, Nicholas Young, who first sighted New Zealand is remembered with 'Young Nick's Head' on the North Island.

According to the Hector Library, Museum of New Zealand, there was once a Parkinson's Island not far from Poverty Bay at the North Island. I have seen it once on a map in the 1784 edition of Parkinson's *Journal*. Then it disappears. New Zealand Quakers tell me the designation vanished long long ago.

As often is the case in scientific endeavour, the glory goes to the famous-to Banks and Cook-and other heroes-such as Parkinson, remain uncelebrated.

David Sox

NOTES AND REFERENCES

There is only one volume dealing specifically with Sydney Parkinson and that is mainly about art:

Carr, D J (ed,) *Sydney Parkinson: Artist of Cook's Endeavour Voyage,* (London, 1983).

The foregoing article is based on my recently published book: *Quaker Plant Hunters: from North America's Early Frontier to the South Pacific,* (York, 2004).

I have also published an article in *Gardens Illustrated*: 'An unsung Genius' (February 2004).

1 Gascoigne, John, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Cullture,* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 77.

2 Parkinson's *Journal* is hard to come by. A reduced size version of the 1784 *Journal* was published by Caliban books in 1984 but is now out of print and the publisher no longer exists.

3 Beaglehole, J C (ed.), *Life of Captain James Cook,* (London, 1974), p. 145.

4 Parkinson, *Journal*, p. 104.

5 Ibid, pp. 10-11.

6 This letter is at Friends House library.

7 Carr *Sydney Parkinson*, p. 28.

PIM BROTHERS - MERCHANTS, MANUFACTURERS AND ENTREPRENEURS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY DUBLIN*

I

Introduction

The long-lasting partnership of Thomas Pim (1771-1855), Jonathan Pim (1778-1841) and Joseph R. Pim (1787-1858) [hereafter referred to as 'Pim B/brothers'] of William Street, Dublin exhibits normative features of Irish Quaker business organisation but exhibits a wider range of features making it worthy of a case-study,[1] This article forms another in a series of micro-economic studies towards a comprehensive account of Irish Quaker business and philanthropic patterns, and on the Quaker impact on wider Irish Society. Different regional studies and studies of merchants with different product orientations are necessary before any broader conclusions can be developed. It is clear from the multitude of references in newspapers and other documentation that the Pim Brothers are central to contemporary business development in Dublin of the early and mid-nineteenth century.[2] This article sets out to chart the main features of the Pim partnership. It will look at the original business that sustained their prosperity, at the factory ownership into which they moved and at some of the steam-ship enterprises they promoted. A summary will touch on their investment strategies.

Usually the historian dealing with Irish business of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is hampered by the absence of ledgers or consistent business records for individual business houses. But there are other ways of building up a picture of the chief features of their commerce. This article uses surviving letters and newspapers as central sources and much information has been gleaned from nineteenth-century parliamentary papers. How to do justice to the complexities of family linkage and coincidence of financial linkages has posed a problem also but a decision has been made to concentrate on the three brothers who functioned as a Pim partnership. Similarly, in the interests of simplifying discussion, I have left out a consideration of the central Quaker and Christian faith that was implicit to the lives of the Pim family or any reference

to the philanthropy for which they were once remembered.

To some degree the business patterns of different Irish Quaker families reflect each other in the early nineteenth century. The family was the prime unit of business organisation. It represented a survival mechanism and the safe maintenance of capital was a central part of its strategies. Their business activity was highly regionalised and localised particularly in investment terms. Much business was based on a central family partnership perhaps with a brother-in-law or cousin. In some cases a short term partnership might be set up for a specific purpose. The same might be said of other non-Quaker business but seemingly never on such an extensive or integrated scale and rarely with the wider national and extra-national linkages implied in Quaker business arrangement.

There were predecessors and other successful Quaker family networks. A more distant and partly antecedent branch of the Pim family anticipated the same commercial patterns which were so successfully used by the Pim Brothers who are under discussion here. The earlier branch included the three brothers John (1752-1824), Joshua (1748-1822) and Joseph Pim (1759-1806) who were heirs to a business based on the export of bay-yarn to England - chiefly to the Quaker Gurneys of Norfolk. It was estimated that over 33% of that export was effectively controlled by that branch of the Pim family.[3] They also ran a proto-banking system based round bill-exchange and during the 1820 banking crisis had access to funds large enough to stabilise Newport's Bank and Riall's Bank, for which they were agent. Following that they were still able to draw down further secured funds for the same purpose from the Bank of Ireland.[4] They were early and central promoters of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce and in early joint-stock insurance companies. Like the Pims their family connections spanned Ireland. Sarah [Pim]Grubb (1746-1832) of Clonmel, their sister, ran a successful and important milling establishment.[5] John Pim moved to London and by his wife was connected with the Bevans, London Quaker brewers. He was one of the parties who invested in a Waterford sugar-house and he pioneered a shipping line to bring goods coastwise from Dublin to Limerick.[6] Many of the features noted were to be reproduced on a yet bigger scale by the Pim Brothers.

In its origins the Pim Brothers partnership was typical. The brothers Thomas, Jonathan and Joseph moved up from Mountmellick towards the end of the eighteenth century. They served apprenticeships in Dublin. Joseph R. Pim started his apprenticeship in 1802.[7] Thomas Pim served his apprenticeship with

Joshua Edmundson a linen draper and this finished in 1795.[8] For his first sally into business Thomas shared a premises with his brother James at 69 1/2 Grafton Street, James being a manufacturer of poplins and tabinets, an aspect of the business that was to survive.[9] Thomas was soon joined by his brother Jonathan and by 1804 sufficient profit had been made to buy the house where Thomas Pim took up residence at 22, South William Street.[10] Thomas Pim married Mary Harvey of Youghal in 1806. Jonathan Pim married Elizabeth Goff in 1812 and Joseph R. Pim married Hannah Lecky of Cork in 1819. Such marriages reinforced business linkages, in particular the Harvey and Lecky connections with Cork and Youghal. The profitability of the Pim business by 1809 might be indicated by the palatial style and scale of Thomas Pim's residence. This was described by Margaret Harvey, a Philadelphia Quakeress, who had married into the Harvey family of Cork and visited in the year.[11]

II
Pim Brothers: Merchants of Dublin

The Pim brothers' early business ventures covered the usual range of early nineteenth-century mercantile activity. They dealt in anything from tobacco to butter. Surviving letters indicate that their business extended as far as Cork and Mountmellick, building to a large degree on family connections, and they also travelled in England to order goods for import. Their letters reveal that besides an extensive trade as general merchants they were supplying their co-regionalists as well as others with cotton wool. Figures of fifty to a hundred bags of cotton wool are mentioned.[12] Bales of twist were supplied to J. Beale of Mountmellick and of cotton wool to their cousin Anthony Pim of the same town.[13] Their trade extended to Cork also as indicated by the appearance of the Cork Quaker names Deaves and Haughton.[14] Although, in the early 1800s, American merchants sold some cotton wool direct to Dublin they also dealt through Liverpool.[15]

Outside Ireland the three chief areas of the Pim's trade were 1) exports of linen to New York and imports from there of flax seed and cotton wool 2) the export of linen and poplin to England and imports of fine and Manchester goods from there as well as cotton yarn and cotton wool 3) exports to the West Indies of coarse cotton goods, provisions and linens and imports from there of spices, muscavado sugar etc.

The export of linens to New York formed a central part of the Pims' business and although this cannot be quantified it might be noted from Irish Custom's abstracts that in 1822 Dublin still accounted for 20.31% of the total Irish market for plain linens exported direct to New York.[16] The advantage of having their own ships involved in the direct dealing with New York can be seen. Joseph R. Pim said during the *Revenue Inquiry* of 1822 that he found it cheaper to export directly rather than via Liverpool. The costs of bonding, landing and re-shipping were against them there.[17] Although they were permitted to warehouse calicoes in England for re-export, the charges levied made it an unrealistic proposition. 'It is better to send directly certainly. The freight direct is low and the charges less'[18] The Pims, like many merchants, had been much in favour of the free trade conditions promised under the 1800 Act of Union. During the *Revenue Enquiry* of 1822, Joseph R. Robinson was looking forward to the day when it would be possible to import duty-free and cheap ranges of English goods to include them in mixed re-exports to America from Dublin - or to send goods to Liverpool for re-export from there.[19]

Ships were central to the Pims' business and in 1824 they owned three vessels, the *Hannah*, the *Margaret*, and the *Hibernia*. The *Hannah* was described in the *Dublin Mercantile Advertiser* as 'a copper-bottomed brig' and the other two vessels were probably of similar design. The *Hibernia* was chiefly used on the New York run, making two sailings in the year, one around December or January and one around August, with occasionally a mid-February voyage to Barbados. A voyage in 1824 saw her back in Dublin in February after an exceptionally short run of 21 days from New York with a cargo of 236 bales of cotton wool, 200 barrels of tar, 75 barrels of turpentine, 78 barrels of pot and pearl ashes, 371 hogsheads of flax seed and 7,000 barrel staves.[20] On its outward voyage it most likely carried linens and similar manufactured goods such as coarse cottons or even salt.[21]

The ships *Hannah* and *Margaret* were chiefly engaged in the Barbados trade. The *Margaret* only went on her first voyage in 1824. The *Hannah* usually set out in May and November - and the Pims' sometimes made surplus cargo space available to other merchants. On 7 June 1824 they offered to take heavy freight in the *Hannah* for 20/- a ton and offered, besides, places for passengers. [22] The Dublin export of provisions was unlikely to have been comparable with that of Cork. The Pims had occasionally exported butter, probably sourced in the Midlands, to the Barbadoes but the bulk of their

exports were in linens and calicoes. Products brought back on return voyages might include aloes, tamarinds, cayenne pepper, ginger, arrow root, coconuts but with the chief item being muscavado sugar. In 1824 the *Hibernia* went on the Barbadoes run returning in August with a cargo of Muscavado sugar before setting off again for New York. By November the *Hannah* also had returned from Barbados and been to London to collect among other items 40 casks of yellow tallow.[23] The Pim brothers besides using their own ships occasionally shared cargo space with other merchants as indicated, for example in an advertisement in the *Dublin Mercantile* Advertiser, 11 October 1824.[24]

Sugar on arrival was often auctioned by a broker on behalf of the Pims.[25] The sugar broker was one of the few brokers who continued to transact business from the Commercial Buildings complex.[26] Richard Franklin sometimes did business for the Pims.[27] There were continuing vexations at the Custom House about landing sugars. In an interesting vignette on contemporary business frustrations Joseph R. Pim says 'If a ship comes in from the West Indies they will allow goods to be landed in the morning, but at one o'clock they must stop and then they go off and weigh them. If they were to attend to their duty and mark them off, and discharge them as they go on, the ship might continue to discharge two hours later, and it would be better for the goods if they were put up at once; there is no protection from the weather, and a heavy shower of rain is exceedingly injurious to the sugars. There is likewise a good deal stolen.'[28] Bureaucratic obstacles also emerged in the butter trade in Dublin and by 1826, the Pims although sourcing most of their butter from their Mountmellick relatives were inclined to export it via Waterford.[29]

One area of specialisation for the Pims was in the import of silk for the manufacture of poplin. They imported some of the silk from the Levant.[30] They exported poplin to England and hoped for an increased demand for America.[31] But the biggest or most significant part of their business was based on cotton imports. Figures suggest they may have had at least 7.56% of the assumed Dublin market for cotton-wool in 1824.[32] The Pims advertised a big auction of 326 bales of 'Upland cotton', some of which was offloaded from the *Mount Vernon* a ship of 350 registered tons belonging to the Dublin merchant James Gray.[33] Other bales had been shipped in the *Dublin Packet* and the *Bibby* which were 'regular traders' employed in the London and Liverpool runs respectively.[34] Others again were loaded from the *Messenger* and the *Wilson* while the balance was carried in their own ship the *Hibernia*.[35]

III
THE PIMS AND THE GREENMOUNT MILL (1813-39)

Cotton was central to the business of the Pim brothers. They often advanced raw material and credit to their cotton-manufacturing customers. Such credit facilities were essential to contemporary manufacturers who often had little access to 'circulating capital.'[36] The Pims gave credit to several manufacturers but in particular to the successful entrepreneur, James Greenham, who owned three factories, one of which was at Greenmount, Harold's Cross, Dublin. A need for short-term capital accounts for Greenham turing to Pims for assistance. They would be willing to make suitable accommodations of cash, of exchange or of goods to tide him over any temporary difficulties. The Pims for their part could feel fairly safe about the security of the transaction by accepting the manufacturers property as collateral.

The 1809 market had picked up after a difficult period but by the end of 1810 the closure of the American ports had led to the oversupply of home markets leading to bankruptcies, but Greenham's business continued to expand.[37] In 1813 the Pims felt confident enough to accept the Greenmount property as collateral for a mortgage to Greenham 'in order to enable him to extend his trade and occupation and raise a credit upon his interest in said premises to the amount of £5,000.' All however was not well. A period of severe depression with widespread unemployment and bankruptcy set in as the war with France ended. 1815 was notorious in this regard.[38] Greenham himself had already gone bankrupt in 1814 to the tune of £42,000 and his property fell to the Pims who ran the mill until 1816 when they reassigned it to him at an annual rent of £450.18s 2d sterling.[39] Some idea of the nature of the Pim business in connection with Greenmount, as well as in the context of wider dealings with manufacturers, is suggested in 1822 in the words of Joseph R. Pim 'We sell the cotton yarn to the manufacturers and take their calicoes in exchange ... we have formerly manufactured a great many ourselves'[40] The weavers would have been hand-weavers doing outwork for the manufacturers.

James Greenham seemed to have reconstructed his business but in a second period of severe depression involving bankruptcies, a drastic fall in the price of goods and the collapse of 'inflated speculation' in 1824-5, he went bankrupt for a second time.[41] The Pims had never wished to be manufacturers but were now forced to undertake the management of the mill. Joseph R. Pim speaking in

1826, betrays a slight sense of annoyance at the situation. In a description of their trade he refers to this, 'That arises from the failure of the persons we had set the mills to, we are obliged to take them in our hands; but we are not generally engaged in manufacture. We have been importers of Manchester goods for many years; we are now exporting Irish-made goods to South America. We import finished goods, calicoes etc. from Manchester.'[42]

The 1830s were to be a very significant decade for the Pim Brothers in many ways. In 1829, Joseph R. Pim's wife Hannah (nee Lecky) a recorded minister in the Society of Friends, had died.[43] He remarried in 1831 and took up residence at Greenmount.[44] A reorganisation of the partnership appears to have been effected. Thomas and Jonathan Pim are now listed in Dublin trade directories as 'Thomas and Jonathan Pim and Company, merchants, cotton spinners and manufacturers'[45] But in 1835 Joseph has 'temporarily' emigrated to Birkenhead near Liverpool to develop his own business concerns there and also to become more involved in some of the shipping concerns of which he had been an active promoter. Presumably he would also have represented the family interests in Liverpool, perhaps in the purchase of Manchester goods and raw cotton. Marriage was also in the air and in 1834 Rebecca Pim, daughter of Jonathan Pim senior, married a son of David Malcomson senior a transaction that involved a marriage portion of £2,000 and an annuity of £200 a year.[46] A further consolidation of family business connections is thus implied with the Malcomson family of Portlaw, the most substantial cotton manufacturers in Ireland.

In 1834 in addition to the reorganisation of the partnership the Pims also resolved to update the Greenmount premises and expand its capabilities by installing power-looms there. Previous to this they had been employed as many as 300 weavers as outworkers.[47] The power-loom had been known since 1806 but had not been much used.[48] The years 1832-4 were seen by a contemporary commentator as being the years when the use of the power-loom extended as an essential adjunct to spinning mills.[49] In this connection it has been suggested with a slightly different emphasis, that in the years 1820-32 depression in the spinning branch of the industry 'seems to have helped induce a large volume of investment by spinners in power-loom weaving. The object of this investment seems to have been to combat the cost-price squeeze in spinning by creating integrated spinning-weaving firms.'[50]

There were numerous advantages to having weaving and spinning and all the processes of manufacture together under one roof. The

manufacturer could respond more rapidly to demand and cut down on delays and costs involved in dealing with other manufacturers. The power-loom itself could easily be adapted to the production of other textiles as the Pims were later to prove when improved methods for spinning flax encouraged them into linen weaving. The new system enabled the manufacturer to bring together his workers in one place where they could readily be overseen. The use of machinery enabled the production of more with a smaller labour force.[51]

The Pims like their Quaker brethren the Malcomsons of Waterford had seen the advantages of the power-loom.[52] Like them they provided a colony of cottages, with gardens, for their workers.[53] Such conditions must have been a distinct improvement and incentive for many weavers who lived in poverty and destitution.[54] But the cheapness of labour which made an investment in their case so desirable was also a powerful instrument in the profitability of Irish companies. Allied with this and in combination with improved communications Dublin manufacturers were able to maintain a competitive cutting edge in the export market. In 1834 there were reported to be 7 mills in Dublin employing 185 men, 230 women and 95 children. A specific number for the Greenmount Mill is not available.[55]

By 1839 there appears to be no mill left in operation in Dublin except the Greenmount Mill. The report where this fact appears only lists the 99 young persons who were employed there. The concern had available stream power of 25 h.p. and water power also of 25 h.p.[56] Samuel Lewis in his *Topographical Dictionary* gives a slightly different version on the power involved when he speaks of the factory's water-wheel as providing 20 h.p. powering 100 power-looms and 6,000 spindles.[57]

IV
The Greenmount Manufactory 1841-1900

In 1841 Jonathan Pim jnr., (1806-85) son of Thomas Pim was emerging into the prominent position in the management of the family business.[58] An old army barracks had been acquired in South Great George's Street. The premises was to be developed before long into a large retail store, itself an entirely novel idea. They also provided an extensive store for linen and Manchester goods.

In 1847 the Greenmount Mill had a 25 h.p. water wheel to power 5,000 mule spindles and 2,000 throstles. The mill-wheel was 22 1/2'

in diameter and 11′ broad revolving 4 1/2 times pr minute and using a 19′ fall of water.[59] By way of comparison, the Malcomson concern at Portlaw was a much bigger concern altogether, having in the same year three large waterwheels and three steam engines with a total horse power of 300 h.p. employing 1,000 people and with a weekly wage bill in the region of £600.[60] The author Robert Kane (1809-90) in his book *Industrial Resources of Ireland* published in 1849 describes an integrated weaving and spinning factory 'situated near one of the large cities of the Eastern coast'.[61] Whilst an identification cannot be certain it seems highly likely that Kane was referring to Greenmount. Kane's factory used both steam and water power. Its steam engine produced 25 h.p. and a breast wheel to use water when available. The factory used £11,177.9s 6d value of cotton wool each year imported from Liverpool. Freight to Ireland amounted to £332. 5s and 273 people were employed. Of coal there were 1,669 tons used each year costing £901 and the value of articles manufactured amounted to £24,099. 17s. Again, in this case, as Kane argued, favourable Irish wage costs continued to outweigh the cost advantages of their Lancashire competitors who had easier access to cheap coal and cotton wool.

In addition to the business which the Pims maintained at Greenmount they continued in poplin production for which Dublin was long renowned.[62] At the Dublin Industrial Exhibition of 1853 Pims presented a display which featured examples of silk-based goods manufactured by them. We are told that specimens included 'plain watered tartan, fancy, rich figured brocaded tissues, poplins, poplin robes, glace silks, rich velvets etc.' Out of seventeen firms exhibiting, perhaps eight were English.[63] Pims themselves employed 150 people in the poplin manufacture by 1864.[64] In the paper from which that information is derived a further list of people is noted as employed by Pims at Stratford-on-Slaney, a site long associated with cotton and silk manufacture. It would seem that the Pims owned a manufactory there.[65]

Much of the Pim export business continued to be conducted with New York. They also had an office at Noble Street, London.[66] Joshua E. Todhunter (the brother-in-law of Jonathan Pim jnr.) handled the Pim business at the New York end.[67] Information does not exist to quantify the business done there but individual transactions referred to in letters passing between Frederick Pim and his father Jonathan would suggest that the amounts were considerable.[68] The Pim export trade to New York included coarse cotton goods manufactured at Greenmount, poplins and also quality damasks and

brown and other linen goods some of which were manufactured at their factory.[69] Some of the business involved the commissioning of particular lines which required a close attention to the market and the corresponding quick and constant transmission of information.

The American Civil War of the 1860s was a cause of much anxiety to the Pims as well as to the Malcomsons in Waterford. It led to the drying up of an important source for raw cotton. Somewhat paradoxically for a Quaker, Joshua E. Todhunter anticipated a big military demand for Greenmount cotton goods which might boost a flagging demand. In addition to a dearth of cotton there were severe credit restrictions in the U.S.A. which caused goods to be transmitted in lieu of usual financial methods. Such difficulties were to be a major contributary factor to the destruction of the much bigger Malcomson concerns as they had failed to diversify into new areas of textile production as the Pims were to do. The trade difficulties signalled by falling demand for cotton goods appeared disastrous in contemporary eyes but triggered a revival in demand for Irish-made linen goods.[70] Once again the Pims proved that adaptability to new trends would lead to survival when the economic climate might seem unfavourable. Indeed, already, new building developments were taking place at the Greenmount factory.[71] The firm continued its existence into the twentieth century with examples of their linens to be seen as far away as Canada where they graced the tables in carriages of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[72]

V
THE PIMS AND STEAMSHIPS

There were some positive effects to the 'Act of Union' and Irish merchants tried to maximise the benefits to themselves by getting the trade between England and Ireland on the same footing as the coastal trade. This would result in the abolition of duties and other obstacles to free trade. There had been an increase in the shipping invoiced at the Port of Dublin which in 1823 amounted to 3,412 vessels of a gross aggregate tonnage of 363,685.[73] This represented a corresponding increase in both exports and imports and in the amount of trade and business transactions particularly with England. Increasingly imports of cotton for the factories which the Pims supplied, as also the continuing demand for 'New Draperies' and 'Manchester Goods', were being channeled through Liverpool.

The coming of the steam-ship brought a new factor into trade. Control of transport in and out of Ireland would be a key control of

imports and exports and also be a creative defense of the Irish economy against the highly capitalised and competitive English economy. It might also have been the case that the home market heretofore supplied by the bigger merchants might now be threatened by an era in which the men of smaller capital could order wholesale for themselves from England and not have to invest in heavy stocks of their own.

With such factors in mind the Pims were quick to appreciate the necessity to establish steam lines. A prime instrument toward steamship development was to be the joint-stock company system, later briefly to be discussed in this essay, and again the Pims were quick to anticipate new legislation that would facilitate this. Their interest was not fortuitous but the result of conscious strategy and using their access to commercial and family networks of capital they took a leading part in the promotion of the St George Steam Packet Company in 1821. At first ships were registered individually on a traditional partnership basis, but the process was later enhanced when legislation encouraged systematic joint-stock companies on a large scale.

Cork was the base for the St George Steam Packet operation. Clearly an important factor contributing to the experiment was the growth of the cotton manufacture in that region of Munster as also access to Cork share-capital.[74] The new company served three major groupings whose capital established it. Firstly, the Pims. Secondly, local Cork interests including the Pim family and associated Quaker family networks , local entrepreneurs, clergy, lawyers, single ladies and 'gentlemen'. Thirdly, there was the area represented by English capital, by merchants, manufacturers and friends, Quaker and other, of the Pims. The proportions of capital involved can be broken down as follows, 16% from the Pims, 30.5% from Cork, and 30.5% being English capital.[75]

Two areas might be selected to show the impact of the new steamship system on the Pim's business. The first concerns the relatively small flaxseed trade. Pims had always imported flax seed from New York in time for spring sowing. The coming of the steamship enabled them to expedite supplementary supplies from stocks accumulating in Liverpool and to expand on their deliveries to other Irish ports apart from Dublin. Some of the supplies were still coming direct in their own vessels. In 1825[76] they were advertising 1,000 hogsheads expected for delivery to any Irish port where it might be required - and also had 400 hogsheads on board the *Euphanu* and the *Hawk* at Liverpool for Cork.[77] On 18 April they

were advertising 3,000 hogsheads of New York flaxseed and 500 of old and Baltimore seed with 200 of Dutch and 700 bags of English flaxseed. In view of the fact that 14,731 hogsheads of flaxseed had passed through Dublin alone in 1824 some idea of the significance of the Pims' trade can be gained.[78] It cannot be said if their flaxseed trade had increased by 1826 but in an advertisement from that year they state that they have for sale 3,200 hogsheads and 300 barrels of New York and Philadelphia flaxseed and additionally that they have 160 hogsheads of Dutch and 1,100 sacks of English seed.[79] Their agents were at Newry, Londonderry, Westport, Galway, Limerick, Belfast and Cork. In the last three cases their agents were Quakers.

A second illustration of the use of the steamships for speeding up deliveries and cutting down on warehouse costs and on costs to the consumer is to be found in the yarn trade. They advertised in 1826 'Having a regular supply of cotton and worsted yarns direct from the spinners on consignment offer they present stock for sale at very reduced prices; in addition they will undertake to supply after a short notice any description of yarns ordered from them, deliverable either in Belfast, or in Cork by steam boats'.[80] In 1826 they were also engaged in spinning and manufacturing cotton at their Greenmount mill. Their imports continued to be Manchester goods, cotton goods and worsted goods.[81] Pim Brothers claimed to have a policy of only importing such goods as would not interfere with Irish manufactures.[82] They imported cotton yarns and worsted from Bradford, had exports to New York and England and even to South America. Dublin-Liverpool dealings had increased ten fold with a daily packet to Dublin and vessels running Cork-Liverpool and Cork-Bristol.

An 1831 advertisement for steam packets and issued from the office of Joseph R. Pim 'The General Steam Packet Office at 11, Eden Quay' shows him as agent for steamers of His Majesty's War Office sailing for Bristol, Plymouth, London, Liverpool, Carnarvon, Isle of Man, Cork and Newry.[83] His own company the St George operated from there as well and he advertised the routes serving Cork, Dundalk, Newry, Beaumaris, Liverpool, London, Bristol, Hull, Hamburgh, Rotterdam, Glasgow etc.[84] He was operating perhaps 30 trading and passenger vessels and when another of his companies, the 'Dublin and Liverpool Steam Navigation Company' amalgamated with the City of Dublin Steam Packet Co., he controlled £86,000 of the capital of the new company.[85] [86]

A central achievement of the St George Steam Packet Co was the sending of the first commercially viable transatlantic steamer, the

Sirius, to New York in 1838, a venture promoted by James Beale a Cork Quaker who was the brother-in-law of Robert John Lecky - Joseph R. Pim's brother-in-law! Joseph R. Pim and James Beale also pioneered the 'British American Steam Navigation Co.' and were among the first 11 directors. The company had a capital of £1million in 10,000 shares of £100 each. It was Irish Quaker expertise and business acumen that had pioneered these highly successful steamboat companies which considerably improved the Irish transport network in the era prior to the railway.[87]

VI
SUMMARY WITH SOME NOTES ON THE PIMS AND INVESTMENT

This article has dealt firstly with the trade that formed the basis of the Pims' business, secondly with the manufacturing into which they entered and finally with the steamship business that increased their turnover and facilitated diversification. The importance of the joint-stock system for promoting companies has of necessity been touched on because of its centrality to steam-ship promotion. The design of this article could not usefully accommodate a detailed evaluation of the wider areas of infrastructural investment in which the Pims were involved but this summary must include some account of it.

The joint-stock system of company promotion was an important instrument for business and infrastructural development and its value was quickly apprehended by the Pims. They had a traditional expertise in the conduct of extended partnerships, as ship-owners and in numerous family-based and time-limited ventures.[88] But there was very little legal underpinning to protect shareholders in a larger venture and each individual shareholder could be held responsible for the total debts of a company. New legislation in 1824 to some extent improved the situation, coinciding with a business boom and encouraging a so-called joint-stock mania. There was a superabundance of capital seeking profitable investment and government stock had ceased to appear attractive as an investment having fallen from the heights it had reached during the Napoleonic wars.[89] In addition there was an expectation that the monopolistic situation which the 'Bubble Act' had supported since 1720 was about to be changed.[90]

Towards the support of their trade and of Irish interests the Pims backed and initiated numerous joint-stock promotions to develop Irish commercial, financial and transport infrastructure particularly

the St George Steam Packet Co., the Patriotic Insurance [1824] and, with another branch of the Pim family, the Dublin & Kingstown Railway which was the first Irish railway ever and went into operation in 1834. Deriving from their long experience of bill-broking and other financial dealing the Pims were keenly aware of the need for a new banking system to serve a market not supplied by the Bank of Ireland. At first they were shareholders in the Hibernian and in the Provincial Banks but then set up banks on the joint-stock principle, one of which, the Royal was to prove very successful.[91]

The Pims provided leadership and encouragement to relatives, to other Quaker business men and to the wider community. Their investment shows signs of having broken out of a traditional regionalised pattern and was consistently aimed at mobilising Irish capital for Irish concerns. Quaker restraints might be detected in the Ireland Yearly Meeting *Advice* of 1837 to Friends to avoid speculative activity and the temptations which joint-stock companies might bring.[92] The activity of the Pims was not one of simple speculation. It was rationally promoted towards necessary infrastructure that incidently could be calculated to enhance their business and retain Irish capital at home. It would be simplistic to suggest that it was Quaker influence per se that contributed to the financial success of many of the companies promoted by the Pims but the coincidence of capital, managerial hegemonism and the use of the existing network of shared commercial experience between the directors and their families meant that their companies stood a good chance of commercial success.

Not all of the companies in which the Pims were involved were consistently successful and in the case of the Agricultural & Commercial Bank its overstretched branch system and mismanagement threatened their whole business strategies and survival. In that case Joseph Robinson Pim was a prime voice of sound dictatorship towards the saving of the eventually doomed enterprise but the Pim finances were withdrawn before its demise and formed the basis of the better organised Royal Bank.[93] The collapse of the St George Steam Packet Co. in 1841-2 was also a great threat to the Pims and it required all of their financial and managerial skills to deal with this crisis in their affairs. The stress implied may have prompted the removing of Joseph Robinson Pim to Birkenhead.[94]

The wider openings for investment had led to the development of the new middle-class and the Pims, as far as can be judged, typify this. When Jonathan Pim snr., died in 1841 he left a legacy of £10,000

but the only way in which it could be made available was by a redistribution of the shares which he had in various joint-stock ventures.[95] A wider and international spread of investments is suggested in the Australian wool debentures offered to the Royal Bank in 1842 as a collateral to help the St George Steam Packet Company out of its, by then, terminal difficulties.[96] An appendix to this article suggests the wide-spread nature of the Pim's investments.

As has been seen in the discussion of the Greenmount concern the Pims were very astute in redistributing their resources in new ways each time to meet new circumstances in external trade conditions. Their close attention to matters of detail, the premium they placed on co-operation and the sharing of commercial and investment information contributed to their commercial success. Jonathan Pim Jnr. gives an account of the entrepreneurial abilities that he believed were necessary to keep such a business running. 'To conduct a large manufactory with success requires capital, intelligence, unremitting attention and industry. Few persons in the South of Ireland possessing those requisites have been willing to undertake a business involving so much labour, and requiring so large an investment of capital; which being sunk in buildings and machinery could be made available by the successful working of the concern.'[97] The powers of the Pims to survive in business can be attributed not a little to the Quaker values in which they were nurtured in addition to the shrewd way they used their capital resources.

Richard S Harrison

(*I am much indebted to Dr Andy Bielenberg of University College Cork, (Department of History) who has given me much invaluable advice towards the writing of this article.)

APPENDIX

A SAMPLE LIST OF SHAREHOLDINGS OF PIM BROTHERS

A Company	B Date of Sample	C Share Price	D Jonathan Pim	E Joseph R. Pim	F Thomas Pim
1	-	-	N.K.	N.K.	-
2	-	£100	-	N.K.	-
3	-	-	-	N.K.	-
4	-	£500	200[shares]	300[s]	200[s]
5	-	-	-	-	N.K.
6	1823	£250	10[s]	10[s]	10[s]
7	1824	£100	25[s]	25[s]	25[s]
8	1845	-	-	-	£3,000
9	1841	-	-	£500	-
10	1831	-	£1,000	£1,000	£1,000
11	1836	£50	10[s]	50[s]	10[s]
12	-	-	-	N.K.	-
13	1836	-	24[s]	26[s]	27[s]
14	1828	-	-	N.K.	-
15	1842	-	144[s]	282[s]	-
16	1835	-	-	£1,000	-
17	-	-	-	N.K.	-
18	1833	-	462[s]	735[s]	350[s]
19	1841	-	-	£225	-
20	1841	-	-	£600	-
21	-	-	-	N.K.	-

NK = Not Known

COMPANY NAME

1)Agricultural & Commercial Bank
2)Hibernian Bank
3)Provincial Bank
4)Royal Bank
5)Marine Insurance Co.
6)National Insurance Co.
7)Patriotic Insurance Co.
8)Kingstown & Bray Railway
9)Bolton & Preston Railway
10)Dublin & Kingstown Railway
11)Cork, Blackrock & Passage Railway
12)British & American Steam Navigation Co.
13)City of Dublin Co.
14)Dublin & Liverpool Steam Navigation Co.
15)St George Steam Packet Co.
16)Waterford Commercial Steam Co.
17)Hibernian Hemp & Flax Co.
18)Mining Co. of Ireland
19)Waterford Gas
20)Waterford Steam Co.
21)Hibernian Gaslight Co.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 I have a number of such studies preparing for publication on Cork Quaker merchants. One that has already been published is Richard S. Harrison, 'Some Eighteenth Century Cork Quaker Families: a Key to Cork City Development' in *Journal of the Cork Historical Society*, 104 (1999) 117-36. An earlier article of this type and chiefly with reference to Dublin, is Richard S. Harrison, 'Samuel Bewley (1764-1837), Silk Merchant and Philanthropist of Dublin' in *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* [*JFHS*], LVII, 3 (1997).

2 The appendix to this present article itself would be evidence of the widespread business of the Pim brothers.

3 see Louis Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade 1660-1800* (Bristol, 1968), p202 and p92

4 G.L. Barrow, *The Emergence of the Irish Banking System 1820-45* (Dublin, 1975), p19 and see also entries on Joshua and on Joseph Pim in Richard S. Harrison, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers* (Dublin,1997)

5 See entry in Harrison: *Dictionary*. For some Fire Insurance references see Richard S. Harrison, *Irish Insurance: Historical Perspectives 1650-1939* (Skibbereen, 1992), p.9.

6 *Hibernian Chronicle*, 9 April 1787 and *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, 11April 1808

7 *Select Committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the State of the Circulation of Promissory Notes under the Value of £5 in Scotland and Ireland ...1826* (Brit. Parl. Papers, 1826-7(245)VI), p.58

8 Additional mss notes to letter to Thomas Pim, 11 Eleventh-month 1806(Dublin Friends Historical Library [DFHL]) Pim Letters, Port 6b. letter 42

9 Wilson's *Dublin Directory 1796*

10 ibid. *1804*

11 pages 17-18 of 'Journal of Margaret Harvey 1809' in *JFHS* xxiv no 1 (1928), 3-20

12 Jonathan Pim to Thomas Pim, 17 Second-month 1806 [DFHL] Pim Port 6b, no. 10

13 Thomas Pim to Mary [?] 22 Second-month 1806 [DFHL] Mss Box 18 a 54.18 and Jonathan Pim to Thomas Pim 11 Tenth-month 1806[DFHL], Pim Mss Port 6b, letter 23.

14 Jonathan Pim to Thomas Pim nd [DFHL], Pim Mss Box 61, File A, 1-69, letter 30

15 Thomas Pim to Jonathan Pim Copy of letter to Benjamin Haughton enclosed 11 Tenth-month 1806 [DFHL] Pim Mss Port 6b no 13. See Richard S. Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in Business 1800-50' (Unpublished M.Litt thesis Trinity College, Dublin, 1987), I, p 178 and p. 195 and see also Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (London, 1837), I, entry on Dublin.

16 Customs Abstracts. 1823 (for 1822)(National Library of Ireland (NLI)). The figures involved are 7,376,779 yards of plain linen exported from Dublin to New York, 16,443,711 yards from Belfast and 749,425 yards from Cork. The total national export direct to New York was 36,310,210 yards.

17 *Fourth Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Irish Revenue* (Brit. Parl. Papers, 1822 (XVIII) 13), Evidence of Joseph R. Pim p 219 (hereafter Fourth Report).

18 ibid.
19 ibid.
20 *Dublin Mercantile Advertiser,* (hereafter D.M.A) 2 Jul 1824 and 9 Feb 1824.
21 ibid. 2 July 1824.
22 ibid. 7 July 1824.
23 ibid. 2 August 1824.
24 ibid. 11 October 1824.
25 ibid. 22 November 1824.
26 J.W. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and R. Walsh, *A History of the City of Dublin* (London, 1818), II, p. 989. To give some guide to the scale of sugar imports to Dublin it is worth noting that the Irish Customs abstracts (NLI) for 1818 (referring to 1817) record an import of 17,852 cwts of muscavado sugar direct to Dublin from Barbadoes. The national import from the same place was 25, 735 cwts. There were even bigger muscavado imports via England. Imports noted in the Customs abstracts for 1823 (referring to 1822), show 58,794 cwts of muscavado imported via England to Dublin out of a national import of 102,900 cwts.
27 *DMA*, 2 August 1824.
28 *Fourth Report*, evidence of Joseph R. Pim, p. 223.
29 *Report from the Select Committee on the Butter Trade 26 May 1826*, (Brit. Parl. Papers, 1826 (406) V), Evidence of Joseph R. Pim, p. 22.
30 *Fourth Report*, Evidence of Joseph Robinson Pim, p. 221.
31 ibid. pp. 221-2.
32 The relevant calculations are detailed in Harrison: Thesis, I, Chapter III, App. C (i)(ii).
33 *DMA*, 1 March 1824.
34 Wilson's *Directory 1822* and *1824*.
35 *DMA*, 11 October 1824.
36 Michael M. Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade, 1780-1815* (Manchester, 1967), 213-5 and p 301 and S. Pollard, 'Fixed Capital in the Industrial Revolution in Britain' in *Journal of Economic History*, XXIV, 3 (1964), p 299 and passim. A discussion on the issue of 'illiquidity' in an Irish context occurs in David Dickson, 'Aspects of the Rise and Decline of the Irish Cotton Industry' in L.M. Cullen and T.M. Smout (eds.) *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900*, (Edinburgh, n.d.), p 108.
37 Harrison: Thesis, II p. 400
38 A discussion on this can be found in Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: a New Economic History* (Oxford, 1994), pp 158-62
39 James Greenham to Pim Brothers, 25 July 1814, (Registry of Deeds, [R.O.D.], Dublin), 686.374.471.606 and Pim and ors (others) to Greenham. A Deed of Assignment and Lease, 2 September 1816, (R.O.D.), 706.195.483.730 and also see *Reports of Trade and Manufactures in Dublin, 1834* (Royal Irish Academy), Halliday Mss 4.b.31.i, p. 120.
40 *Fourth Report'* Evidence of Joseph Robinson Pim, p.216.
41 *Reports of Trade, 1834*, p 120.

42 *Select Committee of the House of Commons to Inquire into the State of Circulation of Promissory notes under the Value of £5 in Scotland and Ireland* (Brit. Parl. Papers, 1826) (402) III), Evidence of Joseph Robinson Pim in App. 17, p.82

43 See, Harrison, *Dictionary*.

44 Wilson's *Dublin Directory 1831*.

45 ibid. *1833*.

46 Draft Articles on intermarriage of Rebecca Pim and John Malcomson (1834), also copy, 25 Sixth-month 1834, Opinion of counsel in case on behalf of A.B. (Gray & Macdougall Harcourt Street) [DFHL] LC Cup D Item 13.

47 *Reports of Trade*, 1834, p 126 and p 131.

48 ibid. p 126.

49 Edward Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* (reprinted, London, 1966), p 236.

50 S Shapiro, *Capital and the Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution* (Cornell:Ithaca, 1967), pp 16-17.

51 Baines, *History*, p 240 See also comparative tables in *Reports of Trade, 1834*, where figures are given of labour intensity and decline of employment in the Dublin cotton industry pre- and post- 1800.

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53 General Valuation of Ireland 1847 (National Archives Ireland) Parish of St Catherine PV/9/14, p 35

54 H. McCall, *Ireland and her Staple Manufacturers*, (2nd ed., Belfast, 1867), pp 524-5.

55 Baines, *History*, p 393.

56 *Report on Factories in the District of James Stuart* (Brit. Parl. Papers) 1839 (135) xlii

57 Lewis, *Dictionary*, I, entry on Harolds Cross.

58 see entry on Jonathan Pim jnr., in Harrison, *Dictionary*.

59 House Books[N.A.I.] PRO OL. 5 2694/7 (2 A 17.21) p 51.

60 Lewis, *Dictionary*, II, entry on Portlaw.

61 Robert Kane, *Industrial Resources of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1849).

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63 Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition Catalogue*, (Dublin, 1859).

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65 ibid.

66 ibid.

67 Frederick W. Pim to Jonathan Pim 8 Fourth-month 1864(DFHL), Pim Mss Box 62, f.43 and Frederick W. Pim to Jonathan Pim 26 Fourth-month 1864 [DFHL], Pim Mss Box 62, f.45.

68 Frederick W. Pim to Jonathan Pim. Also see G.J. Willauer, 'An Irish Friend in the American Civil War. Some letters of Frederick W. Pim to his father in Dublin in 1864' in *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* Vol 53, no 1 (1972), passim.

69 Frederick W. Pim to Jonathan Pim 8 Seventh-month 1864 (DFHL) Pim Box 62, f.49.

70 The same difficulties provided an opportunity for another Quaker firm which experimented with spinning jute imported from India. The Goodbodys of Clara who initiated the experiment were related to the Pims but had not been involved in cotton production. Their new industry concentrated on the manufacture of sacks see Margaret Stewart, *The Goodbodys of Clara 1865-1965* (Dublin, 1965) passim.

71 Frederick W. Pim N.Y. to Jonathan Pim, 5 Fifth-month 1864 (DFHL) Pim Mss f.46.

72 Letter to Richard S. Harrison from Richard Pim 12 Seventh-month 1983.

73 Lewis, *Dictionary*, I, entry on Dublin.

74 *H.C. Committee on Promissory Notes (1826)*, Evidence of Joseph R. Pim, App. 17, p.85.

75 Lewis, *Dictionary*, entry on Cork. The percentages I have calculated here derive from a list of holdings published in William J. Barry, *History of the Port of Cork Steam Navigation*, (Cork, 1916). Admittedly the list was published in 1842 on the eve of the dissolution of the St George Steam Packet Co., but the shareholdings indicated there can be taken to represent fairly accurately the state of shareholdings that derived from the setting up of the company. An amplification of the discussion might be found in Harrison, Thesis, I, pp 179-81.

76 DMA, 11 April 1824.

77 ibid.

78 ibid. and DMA, 19 September 1824

79 ibid. 13 March 1826.

80 ibid. 16 February 1826.

81 *Fourth Report*, p 216 and see *H.C.Committee on Promissory Notes (1826)*, Evidence of Joseph R. Pim.

82 *Fourth Report*, Evidence of Joseph R. Pim, p 216.

83 Lecky Collection, [D.F.H.L].p 106 item no 401

84 ibid.

85 see Harrison Thesis, I, pp 183-6.

86 In 1835 Joseph R. Pim also invested £1,000 in the Waterford Commercial Steam Company which had a capital stock of £100,000. The company was mainly based on Malcomson and local capital, for which see *Articles of Agreement for the Waterford Commercial Steam Company 1835* (NLI) and see also Harrison, Thesis, I p 195.

87 see Anon. 'Irish Friends and Early Steam Navigation' in *JFHS*, XVII, 4 (1920), 105-9

88 see Harrison, Thesis, I, pp 361-2 for two examples of such ventures where in 1810 and 1813 Thomas Pim and others invested in the brewery of their distant relative Richard Pim (a brother of John, Joshua and Joseph Pim) For Richard Pim, see entry in Harrison, *Dictionary*.

89 B.C. Hunt, *The Development of the Business Corporation in England* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1938), p.30

90 P. Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation 1700-1914* (London, 1969) pp 146-7.

91 Harrison, Thesis, II, pp 267-9 and pp 274-5. See also the Appendix to the present article.

92 Friends were advised to refrain from being involved 'in joint-stock speculations or other plausible schemes involving liabilities beyond their means' in *Advices and Rules agreed to by the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland* (2nd ed., Dublin 1841) p 263.

93 Harrison, Thesis, II, pp 272-4.

94 ibid. pp 278-9.

95 Deed of Release in connection with the provisions of the will of Jonathan Pim Dated 20 March 1848 [DFHL] LC Case Cup D 13 Four parties involved (1) his widow Eliza Pim (2) John Malcomson and his wife Rebecca(nee Pim) (3) Jane Sandwich Pim and (4) Joshua Pim A total amount of £10,000 is involved made up by a redistribution of holdings in shares of various companies.

96 Harrison, Thesis, II, pp 278-9.

97 Jonathan Pim, *Conditions and Prospects of Ireland* (Dublin, 1848), pp 151-2.

BIOGRAPHIES

Rosemary Moore

After completing her Ph. D on early Quakerism she published *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-66 (2000).* She is now working with other scholars to produce a single volume of extracts from the writings of Isaac Penington.

Faith Rodger and Margaret Lawson

Faith and Margaret are twin sisters. They are both active members of Sheffield Central Quaker Meeting and first started attending Quaker Meeting in Sheffield when they were about three years old.

Faith was a nurse but has retired and now works part time atb The Meeting House in Sheffield. She has been involved with the Tapestry since she first saw an exhibition at Exeter Yearly Meeting in 1986. She then went on a holiday/workshop in France where she began to learn how to do the Tapestry. After that she was involved in working on the Coalbrookdale Panel with Sheffield and Bakewell Meetings. She has also done some sewing on about 8 other panels. She now regularly stewards and serves on the Publications Committee and the Quaker Tapestry Scheme Committee.

Margaret has now retired from primary school teaching after 34 years. She first started stewarding at the Quaker Tapestry in Aberdeen in 1989. When the exhibition at Bayeux was being planned she prepared activity sheets for visiting children. She later produced a pack for school groups visiting the Tapestry and wrote some of the text for the two Quaker Tapestry "More than just a Colouring Book". She also stewards with Faith and serves on the Publication Committee and has just become a Trustee of the Quaker Tapestry at Kendal.

Claus Bernet

Claus Bernet has been studying history, city planning, and social work. Since graduating from the Free University of Berlin, he has been working on a doctoral dissertation at the Martin Luther University in Halle: *"Religious Settlements in 18th Century Germany and Their Impact on Utopianism and Philanthropy"*. In 2001 Mr Bernet was a research assistant under Professor Hans Merkens and in 2002 a fellow at the Quaker Study Centre in Birmingham. He is currently working at the Institute of European History in Mainz. Mr Bernet has been lecturing on Quaker history for many congresses in Europe and North America. Writings include German Quakerism, the

relationship between Quakerism and radical pietism, and biographical studies, including those on M. Fell, R. Jones, and C. Catchpool.

Christopher Booth
Christopher Booth is a retired physician who works at the Wellcome Centre for the History of Medicine at University College London, where he is an Honorary Professor. He is to be President of the Friends Historical Society for the year 2005

David Sox
David Sox is now Assistant Editor of *The Journal of The Friends Historical Society (Reviews).* His published books include: *John Woolman, Quakers and The Arts* and *Quaker Plant Hunters: From North America's Early Frontier to the South Pacific (2004).*

Richard S. Harrison
Richard S. Harrison graduated from Trinity College, Dublin and belongs to Cork Monthly Meeting. A published authority on Irish Quaker history, especially in commercial and Cork aspects; he wrote *'A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers'* (Dublin, 1997). He sees the study of Quaker history, not as a speculative aesthetic, but as a participatory engagement in a living continuum.

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