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Quakers, Business and Corporate Responsibility

Lessons and Cases for Responsible Management

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Contents

Part III Complicated Quakers

The Quakers: Pioneers of Responsible Management

Nicholas Burton and Richard Turnbull

This volume brings together a collection of essays by Quaker and other scholars and practitioners from the fields of Management, Organisation and Theology. While the historical Quaker contribution to business and industry has been explored in a few important books (see Raistrick 1950; Walvin 1998; Windsor 1980; King 2014), this volume significantly widens the scope of enquiry to examine the broader perspective of a Quaker contribution to responsible business and corporate responsibility, with topics that encompass both a historical and contemporary perspective.

The inspiration for this volume was the following question—what explains the Quaker ethic in business and commerce in the UK throughout the eighteenth to early-twentieth centuries? What are the insights for responsible business practice that may interest contemporary scholars and practitioners? These questions have so far only been partly answered, despite increasing attention from management and organisation scholars. For example, in a publication for the Centre for Enterprise, Markets & Ethics, Turnbull (2014) describes how Quaker culture and identity, more so than religiosity, lies at the heart of the success of Quaker businesses. In contrast, Wagner-Tsukamoto (2008) describes Quaker ethics as only partly successful, and in some respects it represented a failure as it took precedence over institutional ethics and economics. Burton and Hope (2018) describe the importance of the Quaker network and its governance as an important determinant, highlighting how the Quaker approach to business has similarities to contemporary movements such as B-corporations and the UN Sustainable Development goals. Kavanagh et al. (2017) have argued that the demise of the Quaker business coincided with the start of 'management' as an academic discipline. This was

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precisely at the point when many of the Quaker businesses were incorporating, which they see as a decisive political-economic change that ushered in an era of market-based capitalism based on limited liability and the shareholder economy. This idea is elaborated further in this volume. Beyond these scholarly contributions, the understanding of how Quaker businesses can contribute to, and inform, our contemporary understanding of responsible business has been largely ignored, despite its potential to shape current debates.

Embedded within this volume are chapters that help illuminate the contribution of Quakers to responsible business practice, with many themes of interest to scholars and practitioners. The contributions are written from a sympathetic, but not uncritical view. The editors believe that the Quaker tradition has much to offer to contemporary scholarly debate but that the chapters are not designed to flatter but to assess the evidence. Together, they offer significant academic support to the Quaker contribution for further debate. The topics include:

- Examination of the Quaker contribution to responsible business
- Quaker faith and practice as transformation in contemporary management settings
- Examining the often uneasy relationship between Quaker ethics and the State
- Re-examining the contribution of important historical Quaker thinking to current debates
- Critically evaluating the paradoxes and pitfalls at the heart of sustainable responsible business practice

This volume is organised into three parts: (1) The spirit of Quaker responsible business, (2) An uneasy relationship with the State, and (3) Complicated Quakers. Part 1 begins with an essay by Georgeanne Lamont. Drawing upon her extensive fieldwork with business, Lamont describes an account of Quaker practice which, she argues, can—and does—transform contemporary business. Lamont distils the journals and wider ministry of important Quaker 'theologians'—George Fox, William Penn, Frances Howgill, Isaac Pennington, among others—into twelve transformational spiritual practices that impact organisational development and performance.

Critics of the Quaker approach to business are rare, however Mike Rowlinson published a number of often-cited papers in important management journals in the 1990s (e.g., 1988, 1995) that critiqued widely-held assumptions about Cadbury and its respective corporate culture and division of labour policies. According to Rowlinson, Cadbury's corporate culture is 'invented'. The second chapter—by John Kimberley—seeks to address this criticism and situates Cadbury's management practice in its historical context. Lastly, in the first part, we turn to a second contribution on Cadbury's. Authored by Andrew Fincham, the chapter examines the extent to which George Cadbury should be considered the originator of what is now termed Corporate Social Responsibility. Fincham argues that while corporate responsibility often speaks of the need to balance stakeholder needs, the Cadbury brand of corporate responsibility went even further—Cadbury did not seek to 'balance stakeholder needs', but aimed to deliver returns to stakeholders, in pursuit of which maximising economic performance was always secondary.

Part II of this volume begins to examine how the State impacted upon this Quaker vision of responsible business. The first contribution in this part of the volume is authored by Karen Tibbels and examines the themes of the inaugural Quakers Employers Conference in 1918, held at the home of George Cadbury in Birmingham, UK. Tibbels examines the industrial, social and economic context that impacted upon the Conference in 1918, as well as the broader 'concern' within the Quaker community at the time that led to the creation of Foundations of a True Social Order—a challenge to Quakers for action. As Tibbels notes, one of the major messages was that, while the benevolence that was characteristic of Quaker employers was better than other employers' methods, it was the moment for greater equality, time for industrial democracy, and that the emergence of trade unions were a response to poor working conditions and should be embraced. However, Tibbels takes a critical perspective, arguing that the promise and optimism of the 1918 Conference was not sustained, and provides some cautionary lessons for contemporary scholars and practitioners. The following chapter by Mike King addresses a paradox inherent in the Quaker ethic through the lens of the competing economic and philosophical paradigms of Karl Marx and Milton Friedman; Quakers George Cadbury and John Bright are examined as examples of the respective paradigms at the heart of the debate. King discusses the paradox of private and public goods and examines who should deliver societal outcomes: in essence what is the role of (Quaker) business and what is the role of the State. Given the contemporary debates in respect of the multi-stakeholder responsibility that business is often assumed to have, this exploration may provide new and interesting lines of enquiry for contemporary scholars. Lastly, in this part of the book, we welcome a critical essay by Richard Turnbull on the relationship between Quaker businesses and free trade. Turnbull situates the Quaker business within its historical and economic context but illuminates the often complex paradoxes at the heart of 'doing business'; in this case, detailing how Quaker businesses embraced free trade and yet at the same time often adopted some working practices that seen through a contemporary lens would seem at odds with responsible business practice. Despite Turnbull's critique of these practices, he concludes that the idea of the 'Enlightened Quaker business' is not misplaced, and that the history provides valuable lessons for contemporary practitioners.

In the final part of this volume, we turn to examine the often complicated relationship between the Quaker community and business. First, Sue Kozel examines Mike King's notion of ethical capitalism—which he terms 'Quakernomics'—through the business relationships between Thomas Jefferson and a number of Quakers in the period of abolition in the USA in the late-eighteenth century. Kozel suggests that few Quakers dared to raise the need for the abolition of slavery to Jefferson, and tentatively posits Jefferson's celebrity was often so great that it engulfed all those Quakers who worked with him in various capacities—a salutary warning for today's charismatic leaders. We conclude this volume with an essay by Paul Anderson on the contribution of Quaker John Bellers to the thinking of Karl Marx, and more specifically Anderson examines Bellers' ideas for a 'College of Industry', where the lives of the poor and unemployed could be turned around by providing training, employment, and a place to live. Anderson suggests that his vision involved nothing short of a holistic strategy for addressing human needs in just, organized, and profitable ways—and his work

deserves a re-examination as society seeks to identify and address human needs with the best resources possible.

Throughout this collection of essays, the stories invite us to reflect upon the contribution of the Quakers to what we call today 'responsible business' or 'corporate responsibility'. In the scholarly and practitioner communities, these contributions are often lost to the mists of time, and yet there is significant potential for new lines of enquiry and thinking by re-examining the management practices of this community. The management practices should, of course, be evaluated within their historical, social, economic and political context, and the challenge of holding personal and business ethics together appears as difficult then as it does now. Indeed, the story of the Quakers highlights the challenge of creating and maintaining a responsible business across time and across generations. Despite these challenges, and the disappearance of the 'enlightened Quaker business', their imprint is left markedly upon our daily lives; Barclays Bank, Lloyds Bank, Cadbury—to name just three of many—can all be traced back to the Quaker vision. Sir Adrian Cadbury wrote a few years ago that a return to the Quaker way of doing business is unlikely to return. The challenge, then, for contemporary responsible businesses is how to embed similar ethics and values, and sustain them over the long-term. Perhaps this volume can help.

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Part I
The Spirit of Quaker Responsible Business

Transforming Contemporary Businesses: The Impact of Quaker Principles and Insights on Business in a Volatile World

Georgeanne Lamont

> *Look at the Quakers—they were excellent business people that never lied, never stole; they cared for their employees and the community which gave them the wealth. They never took more money out than they put back.*
> *Anita Roddick*

It is well-known that the insights of early Quakers make a significant contribution to ethics and governance within business—issues that other denominations and faiths also address. Less well known is the spiritual impact of Quaker principles on organisational development and performance. The unique gift that flows from the discoveries of early Friends is the way in which Quaker practice and principles enable people to tap into the very best—the divine—within themselves and in the process transform themselves, their work and their lives. In this chapter we will look at how the Quaker practice of turning within can turn soul-destroying workplaces into places that nourish the human spirit in organisations that have become dull in the drabness of a functional, materialist world, and conflictual and troubled in an environment of constant, volatile change.

The impact of Quaker insights, used mindfully, can have a life changing impact on a business and this has yet to be widely understood and accepted. Quaker spirituality—the emphasis on stillness, silence, inner discovery and service—awakens what makes people tick, brings out the very best in us in ways that are subtle, enables us to become more of who we truly are. As a result, business flourishes, as indeed the Quaker business leaders of the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries demonstrated, in very practical ways.

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'To turn all the treasures we possess into the channel of universal love becomes the business of our lives.' John Woolman 1763.[1]

John Woolman was using the word 'business' in terms of the substance of our lives but in this chapter, I should like to explore how the truths and insights experienced by Quakers have been used over the last 15 years to transform some modern businesses and organisations in ways that nourish the spirit, create highly successful, soul-friendly businesses and begin to make business into a channel for kindness and respect. Surely this is a practical expression of universal love in terms that everyone in our secular society can readily recognise, whether they regard themselves as spiritual or not?

I shall briefly look at 12 Quaker principles and insights and show how they bring value to business, and then consider how two of these have impacted on specific companies. These insights are, of course, not the monopoly of Quakers—many are shared by all mystical religious traditions, but few mystics actually put their spirituality into business, whereas that is exactly what many Quakers did. In doing so, they achieved extraordinary results in business up until recently. Now in the twenty-first century, with all its volatility and chaotic change, is it not time for businesses to wake up to the extraordinary power of working with practices inspired by early Friends?

Early Quakers—George Fox, John Woolman, William Penn, Margaret Fell, Isaac Penington and many others—felt an intensely passionate love for God and Christ that was expressed by them in a language that we simply cannot use in the secular Western world. Theirs was a love that led them to forsake family, wealth, health, status, to suffer imprisonment and forfeiture of property, even execution, and to do so joyfully and without reproach. It was an overwhelmingly powerful experience of God's love and this is a very far cry from the humdrum, anodyne functionality of much of the business world. Yet some of the early Quakers themselves set up exceptionally successful businesses, infused with their values, which were indeed imbued by this love. These businesses lasted several centuries, as is well known, and many have left a legacy such as Rowntree, whose benevolence has had very far reaching effects in many spheres of life.

The early inspiration of Friends transcends language and goes beyond Christianity, carrying as it does the universal truth of the power that comes when we experience the light and love of God, and are able to see it mirrored within the human spirit of each and every person. This truth, which they experienced directly is, of course, still accessible to anyone who is open to it. After all, what early Friends were tapping into was universal, above all limitations, creeds and dogma, race and culture. The universal experience of light and love and power that they knew is certainly not confined to Quakers, nor to religious or 'spiritual' people. Indeed, it may be as likely to be experienced in warehouses, salesrooms and boardrooms as in religious gatherings. Tiny sparks from that great fire ignited by George Fox in the seventeenth century have enlightened individuals and teams through the twenty-first century as they have drawn, in a secular way, on some of the same truths that early

[1]Christian faith and practice in the experience of the Society of Friends: London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1988.

Friends uncovered. It may be controversial that the Quaker truths stripped of the explicitly religious language are used in secular contexts, and it may be felt that they lose their very essence. However, my experience is that even with secular language, even with no explicit spirituality, Quaker insights and spirituality can have a far-reaching and spiritual impact on modern businesses and on individual lives in the corporate world.

Over the last 18 years I have researched businesses and taken tools and insights implicitly based on Quaker truths and tools into businesses and organisations and this chapter is based on that experience.

Below are a few of the insights inspired by early Friends that I have used with businesses to help them transform the organisational problems they were confronting. Whilst these same or similar insights will have been central to a number of religious traditions, especially in the East, such as Buddhism, now practised in Mindfulness, the Quaker experience and expression of them remains as far as I am aware, perhaps unique to the industrialised world.

1. **Stillness—something very simple and yet immeasurably powerful.** *'Be still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts' George Fox* 1658[2]

   Over the last 18 years I and colleagues have taught people in business how to have the courage and the ability to step back from the busyness of whatever is happening around them, to turn within, to calm their inner mind, to detach from the immediate physical experience, to briefly let go of the worldliness and to slow down their thoughts... to become still. They have been able to tap into their inner peace and wisdom and in doing so, have been able to shift from narrow, ego-centred perception to a wider perspective that brings with it solutions and creativity until then unseen.

   In many different types of business environment the tool of stillness has invariably helped employees to find solutions where before they had only seen problems. The results of practising stillness have been tangible. Longstanding feuds have been resolved, chronic issues of resourcing have been sorted, a troubled relocation has been enabled, discontent has evaporated, disengagement has turned into high engagement. It is difficult to overestimate the power of stillness. Some religious people may question the validity of this spiritual tool being used for such worldly matters but, when used with integrity and with an intention of compassion, stillness is one of the most effective tools a business can use and brings with it the very peace that George Fox and early Quakers sensed in the divine. More on this later in the chapter when we look at a specific case study.

   'Stand still in that which is pure.' George Fox[3]

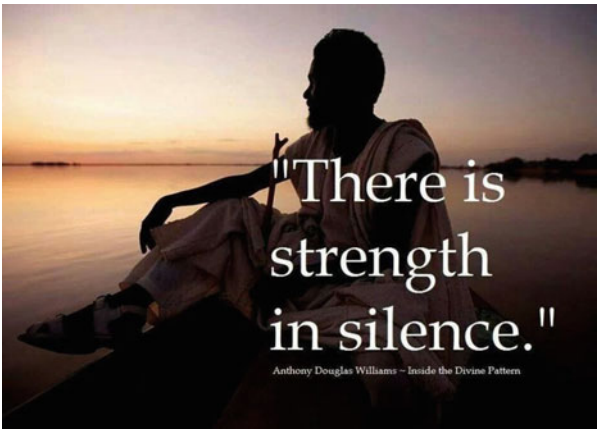
2. **Silence is a close cousin of stillness and, like stillness, provides the space in which people can become alive to the new.** *'Love silence, even in the mind...*

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

Much speaking, as much thinking, spends. True silence… is to the spirit what sleep is to the body, nourishment and refreshment.' William Penn[4]

We have taught people how to speak less, to be silent, to listen more. Again, the results have been surprising. As one senior manager put it 'When someone comes to me full of problems and complaints, I listen to their complaints, and then listen some more and when they have finished, then I continue to listen, and in that space of silence, they suddenly realise what it is they need to do. They come up with the answer for themselves.' In one team in a large pharmaceutical company, they started their meetings with a minute of silence to simply become more present for the meeting. In another company a talking stick was used at staff development days so that the talkative ones became aware of the need to weigh their words more carefully. To speak less, to listen more, to be comfortable with silence -these consistently take a company to a higher level of discerning. One quite tough manager was promoted and several of his team said to me 'thank goodness he learnt listening from you before he was promoted.' He went on to be very successful, learning to curb his impatience, be quiet and listen to what team members needed to say.



3. **Turn within to solve the problem**—'*Why gad your abroad? Return home to within.*' Francis Howgill.[5]

   The early Quakers realised that when I change, the world changes, that outer change grows out of inner change and that I first have to look within. This is the very opposite of the worldly approach which is to always look for external

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

solutions that require no inner change. The great struggles that Quakers engaged in, including the ending of slavery, point to the inner dimension, the need for a change of heart—what could be called metanoia, the inner transformation. When we read the early journals, it is clear that Friends were going through tremendous inner change that carried with it the discomfort and pain that happens as the old ego dies and the new person emerges. This transformation is not reserved for saints and great reformers, nor simply for the great reforms. The same process can happen daily in ordinary businesses as people stop, turn within, stop blaming, stop looking for solutions outside of themselves and find the change that they are prepared to make within themselves.

Very often there is division within a company between the two top leaders; they fall into the trap of believing that their differences are a problem. It takes some inner reflection for them to realise that it is their own inability to tolerate difference that may well be contributing to the problem. Too often solutions are sought in external changes such as an increase in budget but it may well be a change of attitudes that will resolve the issue. In one care home, where carers were convinced that more staff would make everything better, they came to realise that it was the degree of regard and respect they had for one another and the warm-hearted cooperation between teams that would really make the difference and ease the workload. The solution lay in developing inner qualities, essentially spiritual values of seeing the good in others, and being open to actively tolerate difference, to trust and to co-operate.

4. **Forgiveness** *'Our life is love and peace and tenderness; and bearing one with another and forgiving one another, not laying accusations one against another; ... helping one another up with a tender hand.'* Isaac Penington, 1667.[6]

Many a time have I seen people in the workplace realise that they needed to forgive and let go. First, we have taken care to create safe environments where people had the courage to ask for forgiveness. The change released by this has been astonishing in terms of the speed with which logjams, that may have been going on for months if not years, have been cleared. In one company, a senior director, was meeting with staff who were angry at a decision that had been made on high to relocate. He said to them 'We need to ask for your forgiveness.' The response to this was immediate. It opened the door for listening and mutual understanding in way that could not have happened without those seven powerful words.

Forgiveness comes with a no-blame culture. I know of no company that better exemplifies this than *Happy Computers*, a training company, that simply does not deal in blame. When something goes wrong, Henry Stewart, the MD and his staff quite literally celebrate it as an opportunity to learn and understand what changes needs to occur. To read more about this see my '*The Spirited Business'*. To accept mistakes, to help one another up is the basis for forming

[6]Ibid.

high trust, high learning, co-operative organisations. People take responsibility for their actions and are accountable but are not blamed when they get it wrong. This approach opens the way for the courage to experiment, take risks, make mistakes, find the new. It is essential for a healthy, innovative company. "Anyone who has never made a mistake has never tried anything new."—Albert Einstein

5. **Respect and active care** for each staff member regardless of status. I remember Edward Milligan describing how equality came naturally to the early Quaker business leaders. He evoked the millowner walking with his mill hand to go to a monthly meeting and talking about the issues at the mill together. Worldly status was not something that mattered to early Quakers, their eyes were set on a much higher goal of bringing in God's transforming love, before which we are all equal. The Society of Friends was one of the first organisations to actively build into their organisational structure equality between men and women. In the twentieth century Ernest Bader and after him, his son, Godric, have built the company of Scott Bader around equality and shared ownership. This is a very different form of caring from paternalism which can disempower. It is showing care by respecting, valuing, listening, involving, empowering, encouraging people to learn and grow. '*And so in the light, every one should have something to offer.'* George Fox Epistle 275 1680.[7]
6. **Happiness** *'Walk cheerfully over the world'.* George Fox 1656. How does this translate in a busy office environment? Why would people want to come to work if they cannot be happy there? They might come from a sense of compulsion, to earn money, to pay the mortgage, but compulsion is not a good basis for creating an ethos of growth, enthusiasm and creativity—the vital ingredients of a dynamic workplace. The Quaker experience and insight is that happiness and cheerfulness are not dependent on external factors. It is not necessarily a promotion, a change of manager, a pay rise that will make the difference but our ability to tap into our eternal capacity for happiness that lies within each one of us.
7. **Journalling**—The early Quakers understood the importance of journalling for self-reflection. The journals of George Fox and John Woolman show their vulnerability, their confusions, their inner doubt, their grappling with weaknesses within themselves, their stories. It is this willingness to go within to explore our thoughts and feelings, our hesitations and actions in a safe space that frees us from automatic pilot where we are pulled along by our own preconceptions and reactions.

   In my work in organisations we gave each person we worked with an empty book, a journal in which they could each day reflect on the day before and reflect on the day to come. For some this was a struggle. Those who were dyslexic dreaded writing and were loath to try. Others took to it readily. It provided a space to be quiet and to shift one's thoughts into directions that nourish us. So,

[7] Ibid.

for example, people would start the day, either at home or at work, jotting down five celebrates from the day before. They might write down what had inspired them, what had they learnt or what would they like to let go of. They would also free write about things that were bugging and troubling them, in this way bringing into the cool light of day discontents that might have spilt out at work in careless grumpiness, instead expressing it in the safe space of their journal. Some would jot down their vision for the day or for the week. One leader in a senior position in a public service used his journal every day on his commute to work and it transformed his journey into an enriching experience.

Of course, the main purpose is to raise self-awareness, to help people become alert to what is really happening within their hearts and minds. It is a place to explore, become aware, be very honest about what really was happening for them. The seeds of strife, whether at home or work start in the mind and it is the careful attention to our mind and to our thoughts that enables us to create peace where there is conflict.

> I am personally a better person as a result of being introduced to these tools and at least do now understand my drivers and my impact on the staff around me. My challenge will always be to reflect and communicate effectively both of which are difficult for me but when I achieve both the team is like a well-oiled machine. (C.F. Senior Manager)

> The unexamined life is not worth living. (Socrates)

> Once a day, especially in the early years of life and study, call yourselves to an account of what new ideas, what new proposition or truth you have gained, what further confirmation of known truths, and what advances you have made in any part of knowledge. (Isaac Watts, The Improvement of the Mind to Which Are Added a Discourse on the Education of Children)

8. **Head above the parapet**—early Quakers embodied courage in their willingness to challenge the status quo and to do things differently, however much they might be ridiculed or punished for doing so. Whether it was social or religious mores, Friends were prepared to refuse to conform to what was, and instead to do what their inner guidance led them to do. Even very small things take courage. So, for example, when a company of scientists were in conflict, one of the leaders told them to get together and 'listen with ears, eyes and an open heart' as he himself had been taught a month or so before. He added, 'I don't care if they think I have gone soft, it is what they need to do if we are to resolve the situation.'

   At a large pharmaceutical company, a junior staff member reminded her team, including her boss, that it would be good to start their team meeting with some stillness, as had been suggested at an earlier staff training day. One care home owner showed courage when he shared his vulnerability over his pain at feeling alone and that his vision for the care home was not understood or shared.

   These are relatively small acts of courage, but cumulatively, the willingness to speak up and speak out, to make oneself vulnerable, to stop pretending that the old ways are working, to take risks and do what is uncomfortable add up to

the possibility of growing out of the old and into the new. *The Emperor's New Clothes* comes to mind for me here. We know British business is not working—it has the lowest productivity in Europe along with very low engagement, and yet how many will dare challenge the status quo and offer a different way of doing things—a way that draws on the human spirit, on one's inner strength and on one's core values.

9. **The little humdrum things matter**—*'I am done with the great things and big plans, great institutions and big success. I am for those tiny, invisible loving human forces that work from individual to individual, creeping through the crannies of the world like so many rootlets, or like the capil.'* William James[8]

   Peach Personnel[9] is an employment agency. Each person who comes in passes the receptionist, June. The goal she has set herself is that everyone who walks in will walk out an inch or so taller than when they walk out. She recognises that those who come in are out of a job and are about to be interviewed to see their suitability for work. 'These people need building up, and they need to feel totally comfortable and at ease in the first place so that they will be able to open up and talk to you and the consultant. I try to lay the foundations, help get people totally relaxed. . .. Because, as I say, most of us have been in that situation before and it's a horrible time, isn't it I mean, I'd hate not to have a job.'

   It is the little things such as how we greet one another and give a sense of welcome when someone arrives, that can make the difference between unhappiness and happiness. The mindfulness movement is increasingly making itself felt and the practice is being used in large companies such as Google[10] where people are invited to pay attention to the little things such as our breath, a smile, a kind wish, a cup of tea.

   '*Take the common things of life and walk truly amongst them.'*

10. **Peace**—Within the Society there has always been the commitment to peace and the recognition that inner peace leads to outer peace. A vast number of Quaker-inspired resources support the resolving of conflict honestly and creatively. Such work frees businesses of the multitude of aggravations and antagonisms, reproaches and resentments that fuel a culture of grievance and tribunals. Several managers who have undertaken soul-friendly approaches have said to me that whereas in the past they had to spend 25% of their time just dealing with personality clashes now that time is freed up and they can get on with work. This is a much more efficient way of working together that requires no technology, no great outlay, simply the tools of peace-making.
11. **Simplicity**—There is the testimony to the power of simplicity as a means to free ourselves from attachment to the superficial. The technological revolution of the last 40 years has brought unlimited data, gossip, distractions before us as

[8]Ibid.

[9]The Spirited Business: Georgeanne Lamont; Hodder and Stoughton 2002 London.

[10]Search Inside Yourself: Chade–Meng Tan; Thorson 2013 London.

our phone pings every few minutes as yet another tweet arrives or our computer flashes up the latest email. Designed to be addictive, social media can eat up hours of our day to no effect. A multi-billion-pound advertising industry feeds on complicating our lives, enticing us to need more and selling us goods with built in obsolescence. The complexity of life gets greater with every day. To find our way through this jungle of distraction we need to find ways to simplify, to keep in front of us those things that are truly important and let go of the rest. We need to keep our inner freedom and remain detached from the unlimited distractions. In my work in organisations this has involved cutting through the stories and history of what has gone wrong in the past and bringing people into this present moment in all its simplicity. It requires discerning the core values and actively drawing on those values to help us stay focussed and concentrated amidst the distractions. And simplicity calls for discernment which comes with the other tools such as stillness.

> Friends are watchful to keep themselves free from self-indulgent habits, luxurious ways of living and the bondage of fashion. This freedom is the first condition of vigour in all kinds of effort, whether spiritual, intellectual or physical. (Faith and practice of Philadelphia Y. M. (1955)[11])

12. **Vision**—*'I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness.' George Fox*[12]

    In *Values and Visions*[13] visioning is described in terms of picturing the future and allowing it to shape and create the present. It may involve using the imagination to freely explore the past, present and future. It can be a process of inspiring ourselves and others. It is our capacity to stand firmly in the present whilst projecting ourselves into the future through visioning that provides the energy and the pull to create a better world and to withstand the trials that may well beset us in the present. Viktor Frankl[14] demonstrated this very clearly when he showed how the longevity and wellbeing of a prisoner depended very much on how they imagined the future—their having the courage to hold a clear and positive vision of what was to come.

    When we vision we see what our physical senses cannot see.

    I have worked with countless organisations to help them vision the future. The process of visioning frees them from being stuck in the prison of present problems whilst uncovering what is needed to resolve them. It also creates unexpected unity because people discover that for the most part they all want the same future, one of happiness, energy, peace. They may not express it as the ocean of light but their visions usually contain those elements that all

[11]Christian faith and practice Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Values and Visions— enabling young people to find meaning and purpose in a volatile world: Sally Burns and Georgeanne Lamont 2018/19.

[14]*Man's Search for Meaning Viktor Frankl 1946 Vienna Austria.*

souls long for. It is too easy to forget that we have much more in common than separates us.

There are many more principles and insights of Friends, most of them way ahead of their time. For example, a global perspective was expressed fulsomely by John Woolman throughout his journal: 'I found no narrowness respecting sects and opinions'.[15] The vision of Quakers has always transcended national, cultural and faith boundaries and is inclusive of those of all faiths and none. Unbound by creed or dogma, the Quaker practice is to see the spirit, the best in each human being—often described as 'that of God'. Because of this, equality between women and men, disabled and able-bodied, rich and poor, black and white, has been integral to Quaker life long before other organisations even now, laboriously struggle to catch up. Policies and procedures lack power and fail to deliver when not fuelled by some of the above 12 principles.

One of the areas where Friends were far-sighted was in anticipating centuries ago the importance of spirituality to every human being in all aspects of life including corporate life. Only at the end of the twentieth century was there an awakening in the world to the significance of spirituality in the workplace.[16] However, Friends have taught this from the beginning, that the human spirit—the soul—is essentially who we are and unless the spirit is nourished we are imprisoned in a shallow reality that steals from us our peace, our happiness and our power. Quakers have from the outset shown how to nourish the spirit and to do this in very practical ways as touched on in the 12 insights above.

Let us now look in a little more detail at how they play out in practice in business.

The First Principle that Is Particularly Powerful Is that of Stillness 'Stand still in the light. . .' George Fox wrote in 1652.[17] This ability to do something very simple but profoundly radical—to become still—lies right at the heart of the Quaker tradition. Whilst Buddhists and mystics will have been practising stillness for millennia before Fox, this was not a practice that ordinary people in the Western world, that was soon to be industrialised, knew about in the seventeenth and eighteenth century let alone the twenty-first century. Although the Mindfulness movement since the late 1970s has taught stillness very effectively, it is Quaker practice over centuries that has witnessed to its power.

In becoming still, we step away from the humdrum day-to-day reality and allow ourselves to move back from it and become open to a deeper reality, much more subtle reality, one of truth that is not coloured by our ego or our limited perceptions. In a twenty-first century culture where being busy and active is seen as a demonstration of effectiveness, it is quite counter-intuitive to take stillness into business. And yet of the 12 principles, it is this 'tool' of stillness that has consistently made the greatest difference to the staff I have worked with, and to their ability to do their

[15] *The Journal of John Woolman 1774.*

[16] The Spirit at Work Phenomenon—Sue Howard and David Welbourn Azure 2004.

[17] Christian faith and practice Ibid.

work. Of course, initially there may be resistance to experimenting with it; after all, it feels odd to be sitting in a room with your MD and managers, closing your eyes, letting go of your thoughts and just being still and fully present. It takes some courage. It also requires care in how the environment is prepared.

One group of world class scientists were involved in a very contentious relocation programme where people were extremely angry and felt let down by the leadership. We organised a two-day retreat for the 24 team leaders involved, all of whom were scientists, all of whom were angry. Our job was to see if we could shift the log jam of negativity and total resistance to the proposed changes. On the first day we introduced the scientists to the rationale for stillness and taught them how to use it. They could understand the logic behind it—how we can move from automatic pilot to choice once we become still. They experienced for themselves how effectively it worked in terms of getting a calmer and broader, deeper perspective from that with which they had been struggling.

The next day the bosses came and there was to be a full meeting with all the team leaders. It promised to be a heated and uncomfortable confrontation but we invited everyone to go into stillness. The scientists, who had already learnt how to do it, became still very readily and a calm filled the room. The bosses looked decidedly uncertain and indeed for a second there was an incredulous laugh but then, as they saw the team dip down into the peace of stillness, they too closed their eyes, tuned into their breath, became still. A tense, fraught business situation that could have cost the company literally millions and caused irreparable harm in terms of losing irreplaceable world class employees, was transformed into a search for common solutions, common understanding. The anger and ill feeling was largely 'cooled' and a spirit of co-operation and respect took over. In the following months the change programme was implemented with minimal loss of staff and the result was highly successful in terms of high retention and staff satisfaction and high performance.

> Through the use of the few simple but very powerful tools and techniques we have succeeded in capturing the hearts and minds of our staff to enable them to make the difficult personal and professional decisions arising from the relocation of our business to another part of the country. Prior to engagement of these tools there was a lot of distrust and miscommunication which threatened the viability of the business after the move. (N.M. Technical Director)

As scientists, they could readily see the rationale. We are, as human beings, generally on automatic pilot—we receive a stimulus and react to it. But if we receive a stimulus and become still we get to choose a response. Instead of knee-jerk reactions based on prejudice or habit, we are able to use the stillness to tap into our creativity and generate a response. This moves us from being on automatic pilot. The mind has a negative bias and anger, resentment and the urge to hit back thrive on automatic pilot. It is those emotional parts of the mind, such as the amygdala, that are most readily activated by any perceived threat, however tiny and change such as relocation is often experienced as a major threat at an emotional level. The area of the brain, the frontal cortex where we can self-regulate our responses and where rational thought occurs gets bypassed. When we learn to press the pause button, become still, we are able to choose our response. We can choose to stand back from the negative

emotional reaction and access our frontal cortex where we make reasoned decisions. This lifts the level of thinking and discernment; it opens up the possibility of choosing the best solution. Stillness does not need to take a long time, even a moment or so is sufficient for us to take a breath or two and actively shift our thinking from the limbic brain and the amygdala (which holds the emotional charge) into the frontal cortex where we can make rational choices. Moreover, it gives us space to tap into our intuition and to hear the still, small voice within. It gives us the opportunity to choose compassion for ourself and others—to stop struggling and stressing, reacting and resisting and instead to draw on our inner capacity for peace.

The most extreme example of this ability to respond rather than react is to be found in the experience of Viktor Frankl:

> We who lived in concentration camps can remember the men who walked through the huts comforting others, giving away their last piece of bread. They may have been few in number, but they offer sufficient proof that everything can be taken from a man but one thing: the last of human freedoms—to choose one's own attitude in any given set of circumstances—to choose one's own way. (Viktor Frankl)

Indeed, with many of the companies we worked with the problems that initially they faced with concern, fear, blame and resentment, once looked at from a place of stillness, became obstacles to be overcome, opportunities to be ingenious, times of growth and learning.

"By watching in the stillness to be renewed in strength." John Woolman.[18]

The Second Principle Is About Happiness Friends have always been very well aware that our ability to be happy is not dependent on outward circumstance as indeed the Viktor Frankl quote above demonstrates. It is an inner capacity that we can awaken to and is closely linked to the health of our inner world, the strength of our spirit, and our ability to use spiritual tools and practices to help us navigate the turbulent waters that inevitably test each of us in life.

It is interesting to note that the response of the early Quakers to imprisonment and persecution carried the quality of cheerfulness, choicefulness and compassion. Even impending execution for their faith could not rob them of their happiness. The old Quaker song, 'How can I keep from singing', is a powerful expression of this enduring capacity we carry within us.

Countless workplaces are unhappy, plagued with discontent, disillusionment, disappointment, dullness, depression, personality clashes, resentments, reproaches, a sense of not being valued and of passing one's life where one doesn't want to be. The following story is an illustration of this and explains how the application of tools that essentially carry the Quaker insights were able to transform an unhappy workplace into a happy workplace. Using tools of stillness, listening, silence, gratitude, grieving, visioning and journalling this Care Home turned around a miserable home, wretched for both staff and residents, in to a vibrant and happy home. The story is best told by the manager of the home.

[18]Ibid.

I had just taken over as manager at a residential care home for older people with Alzheimer's and Dementia. I had been recruited because the home was in crisis. It had been without a full-time manager for eighteen months and there had been a series of interim managers who had come in and made changes in line with their personal philosophy rather than organisational policies.

The result was a very fractured and demoralised staff team who were delivering a poor quality of care to the residents of the home; the focus had shifted away from the residents and onto the staff. There were several long term outstanding grievances that had not been dealt with and there seemed that a day did not go by without some new staff issue that needed to be dealt with as a matter of urgency. As a manager I was unable to effectively make any changes to the quality of the service, as my time was spent dealing with staffing issues. When I did attempt to make changes, the staff were sceptical and hostile, their response was "this has been done before", "You will be gone in a few months and someone else will come and change it again", "Why should we bother".

In April of 2005 I was selected by my organisation to take part in a new idea. This was to be a transformational workshop. I have to admit that at first I was sceptical but on the other hand I was desperate for something to help me break the deadlock I felt the home was in.

Georgeanne and her team met with me and explained what the workshop would entail, they also spent a great deal of time before the workshop speaking with the staff team and getting them to express their frustrations and anxieties about what was wrong with the home and how they felt things could move forward.

Because of the existing problems, we decided to use the "two day event" as it became known to us, as a way to treat the staff team and say "thank you, we know the past few months have been difficult but it is now time to change" We booked a nice hotel in the centre of London and laid on lunches and a staff dinner at the end of the first day.

From the very beginning, when Georgeanne and her team came in to explain the process and started to speak to the staff, they created a sense of excitement, a can do attitude began to appear in the team. Something was happening but we did not know what.

The two day transformational workshop was just fantastic, the whole team turned up for the first day with so much energy and excitement. The event helped us identify what we all wanted for the home. Funnily enough we all wanted the same thing, we all wanted a great place to work where the residents of the home had the best levels of service we could give them, we wanted the best home.

If you'd have asked me what the staff wanted at the beginning of the day, I never in a million years would have said that. Georgeanne helped us see that we all wanted the same thing, we were just all going about getting it in different ways and the result was conflict and distress.

Over the two days Georgeanne and her team helped us heal the team so that we could then move forward to making the home a great place to live. We worked together to identify what the problems were and what we could all do to move beyond them and move forward. They gave us the tools to apply when we returned to the home that would help us to continue to move forward.

What was the result? We had spent a lot of money on this.

On entering the home on the first day after the event, it was like walking into a different home, people were smiling and laughing, being nice to each other and helping each other out. This translated directly onto the service the residents of the home received. Several residents asked if we had secretly replaced the staff with look-alikes. There was a new energy in the home, one of excitement and optimism. We were on top of the world and we could change the home and make it a great place to live and work.

It truly was a transformation. I am so proud of what we have achieved since our time on this programme. We use the tools for change regularly and these have helped us move through the inevitable difficulties that arise when you are running a home.

> If it had not been for our connection with this programme I feel it would have taken us a considerable length of time for us to get where we are today. In fact I do not think we would be where we are today if it had not been for it. As a manager I gained new insight into my team, I was given skills and tools for helping me move through road blocks. My team and the home shifted to a place I was proud to be in. We were a transformed team and as a result the residents now live in a great home with people who really care about the service they receive. (Andrew M-B. Care Home Manager)

A tyre company, consisting of salesroom and warehouse, was an unlikely place in which to introduce Quaker principles but this is the impact they had:

> We have been able to help people reassess their self-imposed limits—both on themselves and their colleagues. The training (using some of the above tools) has helped us to have confidence in ourselves and a belief in the abilities of the group collectively. Our staff now treats each other with more respect and more patience. The general tone of the dialogue is now geared towards achieving results by encouragement and understanding. Lines of communication are now conducted openly and productively. Long-standing habits are being questioned and changed. I am finding our staff happier and more fulfilled. They enjoy themselves more and give every impression they can achieve tasks that they would have run away from before the training. Put simply, this programme enhances the good things that we had at Broadway, coupled with the introduction of vibrancy, belief and enthusiasm, which we need to take us into the future with confidence. (Guy B, C.O.O.)

Conclusion

Early Quakers experienced the power of God's love and life and developed the practices necessary to carry that experience into every aspect of their living and dying. The world that is today going through a period of extreme volatility, uncertainty, doubt and fear, generally fuelled by greed and ignorance, spends billions trying to patch up the consequences of this. Stress, anxiety, depression, addictive responses, mental health issues, staff turnover and sickness, low morale and poor engagement all take a very heavy and costly toll on people, business and our public organisations. Quakers do indeed have treasures, simple though they be, that can transform troubled and dispiriting, failing organisations into innovative, creative places where the human spirit thrives. After a two-day course learning these Quaker inspired tools, the European FD of a large multinational wrote:

> It taught me some very simple, but very powerful, tools: simple actions like listening and reflecting can feel very out of place in a busy, task oriented, workplace—but this course showed me that such simple actions are at the very core of highly efficient businesses. The tools resonate immediately, and are easy to take back into any workplace. Not only are the tools easy to use—but they work immediately. These are powerful tools which give anyone committed to using them the power to transform their business. It showed me the creative potential available to any business if it chooses to tap into the whole resources of each unique individual, instead of treating its employees like a commodity. (Teresa M. Finance Director Hertz)

The work undertaken in education with *Values and Visions*[19] in the 1990s provided the framework and tools that were then taken into the businesses that I have described in this chapter. And the insights from business are now, in their turn, informing how we can work to transform education to prepare young people with the spiritual tools, the creativity and resilience they need for the volatile world in which we live. When spiritual tools of reflection infuse both our education and our corporate world then the vision of the early Quakers will have become our present reality at last.

Georgeanne Lamont Since 1982 Georgeanne's work has been dedicated to transformation in the workplace. She has worked with adults—teachers, advisors, inspectors, lecturers, students, managers, senior business leaders and whole organisations in private and public sectors—to enable them to go through change successfully using tools of reflection. She brings over thirty years of experience of helping organisations and individuals navigate change with unusual ease, in ways that are fulfilling and create wellbeing. This is based on the framework for transformation found in *Values and Visions*. For the past 3 years she has been working on a unique resource designed specifically to equip educators and young people in schools with the tools they need to build their inner strength and enable them to discover meaning and purpose, as well as hope in a volatile world. The new resource is based on 26 years of research and practice in the field. Georgeanne is an educator, workshop facilitator, mentor, researcher, mindfulness teacher, programme and retreat leader, co-founder of The Values and Visions Foundation. Formerly she was an organisational consultant and curriculum development co-ordinator.

[19]Values and Visions—a handbook for spiritual development and global awareness: Sally Burns and Georgeanne Lamont; Hodder and Stoughton London 1995.

Towards a Set of Quaker Business Values

John Kimberley

1 Introduction

Much of the literature on Quaker businesses has been complimentary. Emden (1939) was an early entry into the field, and other writers since have followed suit in praising the Quaker companies for their business behaviour (Windsor 1980; Bradley 1987; Walvin 1997). The literature suggests they have represented all that's best in company governance. To quote one such commentator, 'Their produce was sound, their prices fair, their services honest, their word good and their agreements honourable' (Walvin 1997: p. 210).

But what about the Quaker critics? They receive less attention. To be fair, the critics are small in number, but they do challenge the received wisdom about the Quaker brand and its values and religious beliefs. For example, Melling (1983) suggests investigations into the industrial welfare of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries should concentrate more on struggles over workplace control, and Fitzgerald (1988) noted that the economic and organisational aspects of companies received less attention than they deserve. But perhaps the strongest and most consistent critic has been Michael Rowlinson (1988, 1993, 1998, 2002). Rowlinson has published a number of papers, as well as co-authoring a book, challenging the benevolent interpretation of the Quaker way in business. Much of his attention is given to the Cadbury company, often seen as the epitome of Quaker businesses. For Rowlinson, attributing the success of the Cadbury company to the family's Quakerism is an 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1984).

This chapter will engage with the Rowlinson thesis, using the Cadbury company as a means of challenging his overall perspective. Rowlinson's approach represents a sustained critique of the Cadbury cum Quaker approach to business and provides,

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something of a valuable corrective to the more exaggerated claims for Quaker business practice. Nevertheless, some of his claims need challenging.

2 The Cadbury Company

Much has been written on the company, and it is unnecessary to repeat that here, but some idea of the spirit of Cadbury has been summed up in a recent review of the company:

> The spirit of a business—so crucial to the motivation of its staff—is hard to define or measure. It is not to be found in the buildings or the balance sheet, but it is reflected in the myriad of different decisions taken by those at the helm of the business. The Quaker pioneers believed that 'your own soul lived or perished according to its use of the gift of life'. For them, spiritual wealth rather than the accumulation of possessions was the 'enlarging force' that informed business decisions. (Cadbury 2010: p. 5)

The company began in Birmingham in the early nineteenth century, but didn't achieve any measure of success until the brothers George and Richard took over the running of the company in the early 1860s (Williams 1931). By the beginning of the twentieth century, the company had become very successful and was beginning to experiment with a range of welfare and industrial relations policies. Over the next 20 years, those welfare and industrial relations policies became embedded within the company and came to represent much of what was good about the Cadbury brand. Indeed, an early commentator described the managerial approach to running the company as reading much like a modern personnel management guide (Child 1969).

Although the Cadbury company was a family concern, Edward Cadbury, the eldest son of George Cadbury, appears to have been the main instigator of the people management approach that came to represent the public image of the company (Crosfield 1985). Today, Edward Cadbury is a relatively forgotten figure (Kimberley 2013). This is surprising, given the success of the Cadbury company over the last 150 years. Whilst the early growth of the company in the late nineteenth century was due to the brothers, George and Richard, the architect of the managerial system that took hold in the company beyond was George's son, Edward. This transformation took place early in the twentieth century and was crucial to the company acquiring the favourable reputation it later did.

Edward Cadbury had a very clear idea of his own business principles, and these were summarised, quite succinctly, early on in his business career:

> . . . it has been my aim and that of the other directors—and I don't think it is a low aim—to make the business profitable. My second aim has been to try to make Bournville a happy place. The provision of amenities, of good buildings, is of course a help, but a spirit of justice, of fellowship, of give-and-take, an atmosphere of cheerfulness, are more important than material surroundings. . .. My—our—third aim has been to serve the community as a whole, by always giving the public a high standard of quality, at a reasonable price, striving to be efficient and enterprising in our policy. We have also tried to make Bournville an asset to the neighbourhood. (Bournville Works Magazine 1953: p. 381)

This doesn't suggest a policy of mere paternalism (Ackers 1998), but instead provides the foundations of a strong sense of corporate social responsibility. It goes beyond the simple desire to be a good employer and, instead, looks towards a deeper set of relationships between employer and employee, as well as the local community. These were relationships that encouraged a sense of togetherness and wellbeing, relationships that, for a Quaker like Edward, involved a spiritual dimension of depth and fellowship.

This approach remained with the firm throughout much of the twentieth century. Here is Sir Adrian Cadbury, nephew of Edward and former chairman of the company, writing in the 'Foreword' to Chinn (1998):

> The firm remained true to certain principles from the very beginning and they have continued to stand it in good stead to this day. They include a strict regard for integrity in all the company's dealings, a belief in participation—that everyone counts and that all can contribute to the success of a business—and a commitment to quality and value.

Although much has been written on the company, little of the research has moved beyond seeing the firm as a paternalistic company with Quaker roots. Perhaps the only commentator who has engaged with the company in a consistent and thorough-going fashion is Michael Rowlinson. He completed his PhD on the Cadbury company, and his further work resulted in a series of published papers and reviews. A book followed, co-authored with John Child and Chris Smith (Smith et al. 1990). Taken together, Rowlinson's work provides us with the best available critique of the company; reviewing Rowlinson's work should provide useful insight into the company and its values.

3 Rowlinson's Critique

For the purposes of this chapter, I will concentrate on Rowlinson's four published papers. These would seem to best represent the mature views of Rowlinson. For three of the papers, Rowlinson is the sole author and is therefore fully responsible for the views expressed. A fourth paper is co-authored with John Hassard and may represent a more moderated viewpoint. Even so, this fourth paper is something of a case study on the Cadbury company and is therefore likely to be predominantly the work of Rowlinson. The book, being co-authored with John Child and Chris Smith, suggests a more collaborative effort and might not fully represent Rowlinson's views. For this reason I've chosen to leave it, along with the unpublished PhD, in the hope that in the four published papers, I am addressing those views that best represent Rowlinson. Furthermore, I will restrict my comments to the salient issues raised by Rowlinson in his four papers.

The constant theme in Rowlinson's work is contesting the idea that the Cadbury company and in particular its labour policies were the direct result of the family's Quakerism. In each of the four papers, he draws attention, usually early on, to his

concern. So, in his first paper on the use of scientific management in the company, his opening statement begins:

> The history of Cadbury has usually been considered as an example of industrial paternalism, or enlightened entrepreneurs, and this is associated with the Cadbury family's Quakerism. This has directed attention away from a clear analysis of organisational developments, especially in relation to labour. (Rowlinson 1988: p. 377)

Rowlinson makes an important point. In this first paper, he is suggesting the Quaker references have diverted attention away from recognising that forms of scientific management were being applied in the company early in the twentieth century. Scientific management as a technique has a particularly bad reputation amongst workers, so any suggestion that the company was using the production system designed by F W Taylor (1911), the American managerial theorist, was bound to dent the image of Cadbury as a benevolent employer. Whilst Rowlinson is quite right to draw attention to this oversight in the work of other commentators on Cadbury, a closer examination of Rowlinson's case suggests his argument is less than compelling.

He begins by noting the company's interest in improving 'efficiency' in the workplace and draws our attention to the developing policy on 'slow' women workers.

> It may seem obvious, but it needs to be stated that, if by paying better wages Cadbury was able to secure better, more efficient workers, this could only be done by instituting a sophisticated selection procedure with criteria for efficiency being laid down. (Rowlinson 1988: p. 380)

But it is difficult to see why Rowlinson found this a particular concern. Should the company be condemned for merely wanting to recruit and train employees to be efficient? Efficiency is a key policy in all organisations, and Cadbury wouldn't be any exception. Indeed, efficiency and the reduction in wasted time, effort and resources would be a good example of a Quaker testimony in practice, i.e. that of sustainability. Nor did the company try to hide this objective. Here is Cadbury in his book *Experiments in Industrial Organization*:

> To accomplish this purpose [efficiency] the directors found it necessary to adopt a careful method of selecting their employees, a scheme for educating them, carefully thought-out methods for promotion, just and fair discipline, and opportunities for the development of the organizing ability and initiative of the workers. The direct value for business efficiency of the various schemes described is indicated by the continuous growth of the business and the number of people employed. (Cadbury 1912: p. xviii)

Cadbury went on to explain that the company had grown from 303 workers in 1880 to 6182 in 1911, confirming the success of the approach. Perhaps the more important question here is how these efficiencies were introduced. On this, Rowlinson acknowledges that although dismissals took place in the company, introducing appropriate remedial methods usually put matters right. Indeed, as Rowlinson further acknowledges, poor health rather than indolence or laziness was the main cause of the young women not earning the minimum rates set (Rowlinson 1988: p. 378).

In 1912 a symposium on scientific management had been conducted through the pages of the *The Sociological Review*. F W Taylor and Edward Cadbury had debated at the symposium, and Rowlinson makes reference to this in his paper. He suggests Cadbury embraced scientific management, but with two main caveats: first he opposed the notion of the 'task idea', Taylor's view that the worker should be restricted to limited and intensive tasks, making the worker something of a robot. Second, Cadbury opposed Taylor's aversion to trade unions, Rowlinson acknowledging he 'had a positive attitude towards trade unions' (1988: p. 384). In fairness to Edward Cadbury, this is something of an understatement. The company 'powers and functions' handbook of the shop committees and works council had as its opening statement:

> The first duty of a Shop Committee shall be to encourage and establish good relations between workers and management.

And then followed it by affirming:

> *Important Notice* The Directors and Drafting Committee are agreed that there is an advantage to both sides in negotiating with organized labour, and that therefore, membership of a Trades Union is desirable. (Cadbury Brothers 1919: pp. ii–iii)

This strong support encouraging trade union membership by the board of directors would have been very unusual in a private company. Such support for trade union membership effectively undermines any suggestion that Cadbury was a company taking advantage of the newly emerging scientific management practices to 'sweat' their workers (Mudie-Smith 1906; Cadbury and Shann 1908). Although Rowlinson raised some important and relevant issues in this first paper, for the most part, he overstates his case.

The title of his second paper, 'The Invention of Corporate Culture: A History of the Histories of Cadbury', tends to say it all (Rowlinson and Hassard 1993). Addressing a primarily American audience, Rowlinson and Hassard are quite clear in their view that Cadbury history is something of an 'invented' history:

> Cadbury, a UK confectionary company well known for its Quaker traditions, developed a corporate culture by attributing significance to the Quaker beliefs of the Cadbury family. A history . . . constructed by the company, including a centenary celebration in 1931, were part of the process of giving meaning into the firms labor-management institutions. (p. 299)

The first part of the paper considers a range of concepts and ideas, including organisation studies, business history and culture. A particular concern for Rowlinson and Hassard is that organisational analysts of culture have often been ahistorical in their approach, preferring instead to invoke notions of group and leadership theory. They suggest that instead of generating an understanding of organisational culture from history and the historical context, many commentators prefer to draw upon psychology and psychological concepts like 'leadership' to inform their approach.

No doubt there is much in this criticism, but later, when the authors use Cadbury as the company of choice to illustrate their criticisms, they appear to repeat the mistakes of being ahistorical. First, they begin by stating that their intended objective will be to produce:

> a competing narrative … which incorporates and explains rather than refutes previous narrative histories of the company. The competing narrative is of an 'invented tradition,' instead of a story of a 'founder.' The test of the narrative will be whether the reader is persuaded that it is convincing even in the case of a culture as strong as Cadbury's, and in the confines of a journal in which the weight of historical evidence, the usual measure of historical argument, cannot be judged by counting the number of footnotes. (p. 303)

Rowlinson and Hassard note and acknowledge the generally held views of a range of business historians that Cadbury's labour management policies were inspired by the Quaker religious beliefs of the family (Williams 1931; Emden 1939; Windsor 1980). But they suggest an alternative explanation. Five 'labour management' policies are identified as being the result of contemporary social movements, as opposed to a specific Quaker ethic (pp. 305–307). First they consider the Bournville village. Here, rather than acknowledging the pioneering work of George Cadbury and his vision for Bournville, Rowlinson and Hassard suggest more credit should be given to the idea of the 'garden city movement' than to any Quaker influence. This is odd given that the Garden City Association wasn't set up until 1900, but the first houses that formed part of the Bournville village were built in 1894. It is correct to say that George Cadbury was a supporter of the 'garden city' approach, and to his credit the first conference of the association was held at Bournville in 1901. However, a fairer and more accurate interpretation might be to suggest that the Bournville 'experiment' encouraged and supported the idea of the garden city movement rather than vice versa.

The second area of focus is that of welfare in the workplace. A wide range of welfare practices were developed within the company, principally between the years 1899 and 1909, and resulted in the introduction of a range of reforms that put the company at the forefront of people management at the time (Cadbury 1924). Rowlinson and Hassard suggest these reforms were the result of George Cadbury Junior's visit to the USA in 1901 and adopting practices already being used in companies like the National Cash Register. These practices seemed to include the idea of a suggestion scheme, the company magazine and the development of a committee system involving employees. In other words, much of this had little to do with Quakerism.

Once again, the authors are unfair to the Cadbury's. Edward Cadbury had put forward the idea of an 'invention scheme' [i.e. suggestion scheme] in May 1899, although the boardroom discussion had focused on apprentices rather than employees generally (Cadbury Board Minutes, May 1899). The idea of company magazines was not new when Cadbury's introduced theirs in 1902. Heller (2008) suggests company magazines first began to appear in Britain around the 1880s. Indeed, the *Ibis* magazine of the Prudential Assurance Company began in 1878, so there would be no need for George Cadbury Junior to go to the USA to pick up this idea. And the idea of committees and committee systems is something that has been part of the world of Quakerism since its beginnings. Decision-making through the Quaker business method is the usual way of reaching a decision, and experiment and innovation have long been Quaker traits within that tradition.

A third feature raised by Rowlinson and Hassard was the sexual division of labour in the company. This included the example of the dismissal of women when

they married. This may seem incredibly old-fashioned and sexist today but was reasonably common at the time. Indeed, the rigid sexual division was maintained by many companies until after the Second World War. Remarkably, the Foreign Office only ended the policy in 1973. Despite its discriminatory nature today, at the time the Cadbury's considered this to be sound Quaker, i.e. Christian, practice. The belief was that women best served their roles as wives and mothers when free from the distracting demands of paid labour. This was a view that Edward Cadbury had effectively supported in his book, *Women's Work and Wages*, when he promoted the idea of a living wage sufficient for a husband and father to support his family (Cadbury et al. 1906). Whilst we would shun such a discriminatory approach today, for Rowlinson and Hassard, to criticise Cadbury on this basis is surely anachronistic.

Fourth, Rowlinson and Hassard touch upon scientific management and its use by the company—as we have already noted. Finally, the authors make reference to the Cadbury works council scheme. The first of these councils met in the company in 1918, but rather than accept that there could have been any particular Quaker impulse to create works councils, the authors suggest it was more the result of the Whitley proposals (Child 1964). The Whitley proposals for works councils in Britain was the outcome of a report produced at the end of the First World War by John Henry Whitley, M. P. The idea was to bring forward proposals to improve industrial relations in British industry in the post-war period (Jeremy 1998). Whilst the Whitley Council idea no doubt stimulated further thinking at the Cadbury company, to suggest the works councils at Cadbury were the result of this government intervention is to ignore the works committees that had been in existence in the company since 1905. The works councils could no doubt have been influenced by the Whitley proposals, as they were introduced at about the same time, but they were more obviously the logical outcome of the works committees already in existence at the company.

Taken together, Rowlinson and Hassard's five criticisms fail to advance the critique of the Cadbury company and its policies and practices. They are of interest, but only in that they illustrate the point to which Rowlinson, in particular, is convinced that the Quaker influence on the company is something of a 'manufactured' tradition.

The third paper was essentially a review of James Walvin's book, *The Quakers: Money and Morals* (1997). Rowlinson (1998) uses the review to re-examine the history of Quaker employers. For his part, Walvin looks at the part played by Quaker employers in the period from their beginnings, in the middle of the seventeenth century, to the early years of the twentieth century. In particular, he uses Chapter 10 on 'Chocolate' to make use of his detailed knowledge of Cadbury's.

Once again, Rowlinson repeats a similar point he had raised in his earlier papers:

> The impression that the Quaker conscience exercised a consistent and benign influence on the behaviour of Quaker employers is open to challenge. Although it must be acknowledged that during the twentieth century Quakers have enjoyed a reputation as enlightened employers, it is difficult to reconcile this image with glaring inconsistencies in their history . . . it can be argued that the image of the Quakers as enlightened employers is of relatively recent origin. The introduction of industrial welfare by prominent Quaker firms, especially Cadbury and Rowntree, allowed them to develop a distinctive identity that drew on their

> heritage . . .. Under the influence of these prominent firms a historiography developed which attributes the Quakers success in business to their enlightened employment practices. (Rowlinson 1998: pp. 164–165)

Rowlinson notes that Walvin sees Cadbury as 'the real pioneer' amongst Quaker companies but quickly goes on to reiterate points made in his 'Invention of Corporate Culture' paper:

> But the source for many of the organizational innovations at Cadbury can be traced to the influence of the new factory system in the United States and other social movements (which are overlooked by Walvin), rather than to the Quaker conscience. (p. 178)

For the remainder of the section that makes maximum use of the Cadbury material, Rowlinson proffers the suggestion that it is the effectiveness of industrial welfare that persuades Cadbury to introduce welfare and the more modern personnel management techniques, not the Quaker conscience. It has already been noted that such techniques and efficiencies were important considerations for the Cadbury company, but Rowlinson ignores the possibility that the techniques and measures introduced were an outcome of the type of Quakerism that had emerged in Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rowlinson seems to have a picture of Quakerism that is somewhat dated, perhaps still seeing Quakers as a rather 'other worldly' group of people, remaining resistant to the ways of the modern world. If so, this is a mistaken understanding. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a flowering of Quaker engagement with modern thought. A more critical approach to the Bible emerged, along with a more liberal theology. This, more liberal theology, was the Quakerism that Edward Cadbury and the Cadbury family came to embrace (Davie 1997). It can be found in their willingness to search for 'that of God in everyone'. For example, penalties and punishments were less common than in similar businesses, more often than not they were replaced by help and support. This could often mean more education, training and development for the employees. An experiential approach to the workplace was enthusiastically encouraged, resulting in a company that was prepared to experiment and innovate in production processes, as well as in the way staff were managed and developed. Works councils and other forms of 'industrial democracy' would be good examples. And their concern for the wider community was demonstrated by their development of the Bournville village for employees and others, as well as the wider range of donations and gifts to Birmingham and the wider West Midlands conurbation.

It is fair to say that in Birmingham, from the 1860s onwards, Quakers were a much more integrated section of the community. This had begun with Quakers playing a much more central part in civic affairs: 'seven of Birmingham's nineteenth-century mayors were Quakers, and between 1866 and 1873, five new Quaker councillors were elected' (Hopkins 2001: p. 53). But particularly important was their setting up and running of many adult schools in Birmingham. The Cadburys themselves were teachers in the adult schools for decades. Far from being unQuakerly, using up-to-date social science techniques to improve the workplace was entirely consistent with the Quakerism that prevailed in the early twentieth century.

A further point Rowlinson is at pains to make is to contest Walvin's suggestion that the employment schemes devised by Cadbury, and other chocolate manufacturers like Fry and Rowntree, were a direct result of their Quakerism. To support his contention, he quotes the sympathetic biography of George Cadbury by A G Gardiner (a former editor of the Cadbury-owned *Daily News*):

> He did not inherit a business previously well established. He created it, and it was his deliberate conviction that the welfare policy so far from hindering the development of the firm assisted it. He based this belief, not upon the inner light or the sanctions of religion, but upon plain reasoning from cause to effect. (p. 180)

There is no doubt that the welfare policies added to the success of the company. But Gardiner is wrong to say this had nothing to do with faith, because an important tenet of Quaker belief is that there is no separation of the secular from the sacred. For Quakers, every day and all of life is a sacred journey. This is a long-standing belief and one to which Quakers maintain fidelity. Although Quakers, being human, fall down in their witness, it still remains an essential element of their testimony to 'truth'.

Rowlinson's final paper is a review essay of 'Cadbury World' in the *Labour History Review*. Once again Rowlinson makes clear his intended objective to question the use of Quakerism to explain the historical growth and development of the firm:

> Cadbury World, which opened in 1990, presents an idealised image of the Cadbury factory and Bournville village in bygone days. Whether or not it is still meaningful to refer to Cadbury … as a Quaker firm, Quakerism remains prominent in the firm's heritage …. In common with Cadbury World, many brand experiences have a historical aspect. Therefore, following my last visit to Cadbury World, I propose to consider it in terms of the potential conflict between corporate heritage and the representation of history, especially in relation to the management of labour. (Rowlinson 2002: pp. 101–102)

In some senses it is difficult to understand what Rowlinson was trying to achieve with his review of Cadbury World. Certainly he is wanting to criticise the way in which the company is represented in Cadbury World. For instance, he deplores the fact that Cadbury World never sought the advice of academic historians when it was set up, and when the cultural historian, Catherine Hall, used Cadbury World 'to tell a story about imperial history', she was '*more or less* (my italics) dismissed as the rantings of a left-leaning professor from one of the newer universities' (Rowlinson, p. 113). Surely Rowlinson didn't seriously believe Cadbury's would welcome being used as an example of an imperialist company. To be fair to Rowlinson, he does suggest that the company, which in 1902 had begun educational initiatives at Bournville, provides little intellectual sustenance to the Cadbury World visitor. There may well be some substance in that, but it should be remembered that Cadbury World is meant to be entertaining as well as educational. And the story of Cadbury's *is* told, albeit a different story to the one Rowlinson would tell.

Rowlinson's concerns about the lack of serious literature on the firm in Cadbury World would receive more respect and attention if his point was made in a more measured way. He mentions Chinn's book on Cadbury (1998), which *was* available in Cadbury World, but regrets its heavy reliance on Cadbury publications for

material (p. 114). This is a fair point to make, but he neglects to mention the strengths of Chinn's text. In the space of 116 pages, Chinn's book contains a wealth of material and contains everything the interested visitor would want to take away: an overall history of the company, plenty of interesting facts and figures, wide-ranging photographs and illustrations and lots of personal memories of former staff. It also has the added attraction of a short 'Foreword' by Sir Adrian Cadbury. In truth, most visitors to Cadbury World are more likely to buy a short, interesting, educative and entertaining book than one replete with citation and footnotes, however worthy it might be.

The disappointment with the Cadbury World article is that it seems to ignore the idea of informing and entertaining. Public history of this kind is an important field of study, much of it owing its early development in Britain to Raphael Samuel and his associates in the History Workshop movement (Samuel 2012). Whilst it remains important that public history maintains fidelity to the truth, to attract customers it still needs to provide interest and entertainment. To complain that much of Cadbury World is visual and based on imagery rather than historical documents is to deny current developments in teaching and learning. The visual and storytelling are the ways in which much teaching and learning takes place today. This is the case whether the 'customer' is a university student or a visitor to Cadbury World. This innovation and experimentation is entirely consistent with Quaker initiative, although the Cadbury company has long since passed out of family control. To be fair to Rowlinson, at the end of his article, he does seem to adopt a more moderate tone:

> I hope that the decline in the historical dimension at Cadbury World does not signal that it is on the way to becoming just another inauthentic theme park . . . [with] indifference, if not downright hostility, to historical dialogue. (1998: p. 115)

That's a view many of us would echo. In concluding this section, I'll reiterate why I feel a defence of the Cadbury company in the period 1899–1919 is important. Rowlinson has done those of us with an interest in the Cadbury company and its history, something of a favour. He rightly raises issues that have not been covered by other commentators and takes issue with the benign and benevolent image usually portrayed by many of those who have written on the company. Second, he has taught us that there is much to be recovered from a deeper exploration of the archives. He made significant use of them in his PhD research, and they have proven very useful in his published work on the Cadbury company. Third, and this is a direct result of his exploration of the board minutes and associated documentation, he has highlighted information on scientific management and what he considers to be its use by the company. This has barely been explored in the literature and is worthy of further exploration.

His article on the invention of a corporate culture by the company is very interesting and yet another field that is relatively unexplored. Whilst I don't share his interpretation of the company and its culture, he nevertheless provides an interesting and unusual way of making sense of the company. The article is important because it challenges the prevailing views held by many of the Cadbury company and in so doing forces us to engage with issues that otherwise wouldn't

be touched upon, e.g. to what extent does the evidence support Rowlinson's contention that the Cadbury culture was 'invented' to produce something of a benevolent image.

A fifth theme is that of Quaker employers more generally. He makes something of a strident attack on Quaker employers, suggesting that any idea that there is a Quaker set of values that pertain to the way in which they conducted their businesses is false. Once again, an interesting set of views are generated. It is not too difficult to establish the fact that Quaker companies have behaved differently at different times over the centuries. However, this is to ignore the changes that have taken place within Quakerism itself over the centuries. In order to get a more informed understanding of the Quaker business, it does have to be situated in its time and place. The Cadbury company in the period 1899–1919 was growing and developing at a time of significant change in the world of Quakerism, and some reference to that change does help explain why Cadbury's, at least in part, acted and behaved in the way they did.

Rowlinson's view is that the Quakerism of the Cadbury family had little bearing on the labour management policies that emerged within the company in the early twentieth century. I take the opposite view, believing instead that the family's Quakerism was particularly influential in the way the labour management policies emerged and developed within the company. However, the relationship was certainly not clear or straightforward. If that had been the case, all Quaker companies over the same period would have developed similar approaches, and that was clearly not the case. Indeed, a number of labour historians have noted the famous Bryant and May 'match girls strike' of 1888, at a company with Quaker roots (Raw 2011), although, even here, the evidence can be mixed. Although much of the material on the match girls strike is highly critical of the company, it is worth noting that after the strike had been settled, the London Trades Council issued a report on the entire affair in which it was shown that most of the charges levelled against the company were without foundation (Beaver 1985).

A particular weakness in the Rowlinson argument is a distinct lack of reference to the world of Quakerism in the period under review. Quakerism is not a static faith or religion and has gone through at least five phases or periods in its history (Dandelion 1995). This is neglected by Rowlinson, and the omission leads him to mistaken conclusions.

A second, and perhaps equally important omission, is the lack of reference to industrial relations in Birmingham at the time (Hopkins 2002). Throughout its history, the Bournville plant, the scene of all the Cadbury labour management initiatives, employed predominantly Birmingham workers. But Birmingham, within the annals of British industrial relations, developed quite differently from the other major industrial towns in Britain during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Birmingham, throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, remained a predominantly Nonconformist city, and this had a bearing on the attitudes and values of the industrial relations that emerged (Tiptaft 1972). These attitudes and values overlapped considerably with those of Quakerism and made the introduction of industrial relations at Bournville easier and more accommodating.

4 Conclusion

How might we conclude our understanding of what was happening in the Cadbury company in this period, and what lessons might they provide for today? Indeed, do they provide lessons at all? Whilst the early decades of the twentieth century were a completely different time and setting for the development of industry and commerce, are there some broad ideas or principles that still impress upon us a better way of developing workplace relationships than those that often exist in the world of work today? I believe there are, and they could form the basis of a Quaker set of business values that make sense in today's world of work.

Turnbull has provided us with an excellent review of what he terms 'Quaker Capitalism' and the lessons it might provide for us today (Turnbull 2014). Turnbull rightly notes that we cannot copy or replicate the Quakerism of yesterday in the very different economic and social context of today, but he draws out of his research a set of principles that could be used to inform business practice today. They begin with the idea of 'wealth creation as a moral responsibility', traverse through 'a faith that formed a moral code' and end with 'applying commercial solutions to social problems'. In all there are ten such principles, and together they make much sense. However, in total they make something of a tall order. All of them can be traced back to Quaker business leaders over the years, but together they make a particularly ambitious programme and may be a set of principles for the future rather than today.

An earlier set of principles, set out by Sir Adrian Cadbury, former chairman of the Cadbury company, perhaps take us closer to the ideas that Quakers would be more familiar with today. They comprise a set of ideas that seem simple and straightforward to understand. There are five in all: respect for the individual, taking the spirit of the meeting, the need to find the better way, regard for education and concern for the community (Cadbury 1985: p. 9). This set of principles or values should make complete sense in the world of business. Understandably, Cadbury drew upon his personal experiences of the company and the way in which he believed the company had been run. Clearly, there is something essentially Quaker about this set of values, no doubt due to Cadbury's own experience of being brought up within a strong Quaker family and environment. 'Respect for the individual' draws upon the Quaker notion of the 'inward light', 'taking the spirit of the meeting' makes use of the Quaker business method, and 'concern for the community' can find inspiration in the Quaker booklet 'Advices and Queries'. Cadbury concluded his discussion by noting two aspects of the Quaker approach that are inspirational: the first was that their lives were whole, and their work both in the business and community was an expression of their faith, and the second was that they combined morality with good management.

This is a particularly inspiring set of principles, and they provide us with much food for thought. But as wise and thoughtful as they are, they still require some translation when applying them to the world of business. 'Taking the spirit of the meeting' or even 'finding the better way' might require some interpretation before finding much resonance with the world of business. Might there be another alternative?

I think there is. Strange as it may seem, it involves a trip back to the teachings of George Fox, the first Quaker, which still inform and make much sense today. Although the writings of George Fox can require some unpicking, Joseph Pickvance has provided a useful guide to help us plot a way through much of his work (Pickvance 1989). Drawing on the works of Fox, Pickvance suggests the character of a true Christian is expressed by both inward and outward faithfulness. Inward faithfulness is the way in which the Christian behaves towards God, but outward faithfulness is demonstrated in our relationships with each other and the natural world. Here, within these personal relationships, we can find a set of values that provide us with something of a framework by which the Quaker business might conduct itself. There are six of them, and all are to be found in *The Journal of George Fox* (Nickalls 1975).

First is honouring God in everyone (p. 36). In the business world, this will have a particular provenance in the fields of equality in the workplace and the breaking down of social barriers and divisions between the classes. Even the use of titles and other forms of social pride could come within this field. Edward Cadbury was a particularly strong advocate for improving the role and status of women in society and campaigned over many years to achieve these objectives (Kimberley 2016).

Second is to behave in a just and fair manner (p. 26). This suggests ensuring power isn't abused by those in positions of authority in the workplace, with an equal responsibility resting on employees to give honest service. This is surely the basis of all good industrial relations and is to be found, amongst other suggestions, in *Foundations of a True Social Order*, the ideas supported and promoted by British Quakers to create a better society after the First World War (Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) 1918).

Third is the requirement to administer law in a just manner (pp. 66 and 577). This suggests good governance, which will involve administering justice mercifully and providing a firm stand against injustice. The way in which the Cadbury company set about dealing with employees who were less than efficient showed considerable help and support to bring them up to standard. The way in which they were treated was with compassion and understanding, which reduced punishment and dismissal to levels well below that which was common in industry at the time.

Fourth was the desire to be a peacemaker (pp. 398–404). There is plenty of evidence of Quaker peacemaking over the centuries, most histories tracing the idea back to the 1660 Peace Testimony. Peacemaking was the way in which relationships were encouraged and supported in the Cadbury company, and this could be found in the way in which industrial relations was practised, particularly through the works committees and works councils. These practices were well ahead of their time.

Fifth was the need to be upright and righteous in one's dealings with others (p. 400). This was particularly the case in trade and industry. Cadbury's were known and respected for their honesty and integrity and their opposition to deception and sharp practice in business and commerce. They were also patient and disciplined in the way in which they conducted themselves. Being a family that was politically liberal, they often felt the opprobrium of the conservative press but maintained their

vigilance in supporting the early welfare programmes of the 1905–1915 Liberal governments (Phelps Brown 1959; Harris 1993).

Finally, respect for, and responsibility towards, the natural world (p. 439) is an unusual suggestion and certainly one that has only recently come to the fore through the environmental movement. Yet this has often been a consideration in business decisions. Opposition to excess and the abuse and destruction of the natural world finds good example in Cadbury company decisions, but most obviously it is demonstrated in the way in which the Cadbury family built and developed the Bournville village, now run by the Bournville Village Trust.

How might we interpret this general approach, drawing on Fox's teaching? Surprisingly, the idea of 'covenant' suggests itself as a concept that has much to recommend it. Although it might appear overtly biblical and religious, and too far removed from the hard-nosed world of business, it is more than merely fanciful. Pava (2003), writing on covenantal leadership, reminds us that there is no inherent contradiction between the religious life and the practical one. Indeed, he goes further and suggests that "A true spiritual life can be achieved *only* inside the mundane and everyday world, and not apart from it".

The American Quaker, Doug Gwyn, has written on the notion of covenant amongst early Friends, but also makes some forceful comments about present-day society (Gwyn 1997). In particular, he alerts us to the dark side of capitalism and the way in which personal relationships can quickly be subsumed within a plethora of contractual arrangements. Such arrangements effectively replace relationships of warmth and generosity with those of contract and exchange. But a covenantal relationship is essentially a lived relationship, one based on respect, tolerance and understanding. Covenant is not a legal arrangement, but instead is an expression of the unwritten expectations we have of each other in our daily lives:

> A good business not only demonstrates integrity in all its contracts. It also embodies a larger fidelity to people, values, and the physical environment beyond the interested parties of any given contract. Any business must to maintain that fidelity in the face of competition from other businesses that do not uphold these larger values. The temptation is great to put on the moral 'blinders' of the limited contract, with the hidden proviso that 'the devil take the hindmost.' But businesses of integrity find a way. (Gwyn 1997: p. 67)

Cadbury was just such a business. It wasn't a perfect business, nor would the family have made such a claim. But it provided a model of behaviour that is worthy of further investigation. The notion of 'covenant' is a relatively unexplored concept within the world of business, but is an idea that captures the imagination. Further exploration would help demonstrate its value and its usefulness. At the very minimum, covenant seems an idea worth reclaiming.

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Cadbury's Ethics and the Spirit of Corporate Social Responsibility

Andrew Fincham

Exploring the relationship between ethical values and economic behaviour has remained popular ever since Max Weber posited the existence of a link between successful capitalism and the asceticism of the Protestant tradition. '*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*' (Weber 1905) has proved an enduring source of academic controversy, not least because continued revisions over two decades make it difficult to define with any precision what was Weber's claim at any point. Having observed some correlation between Protestantism and commerce, Weber's essay attempts to identify a causal link by arguing that his 'spirit of capitalism' holds within it the notion that the pursuit of profit is, *in itself*, virtuous. Weber suggests that Protestantism's 'ascetic character' may provide one source for this belief, through an association of the requirement to 'do God's work on earth' with the successful conduct of earthly work, adducing the psychological desire of predestined Calvinists to demonstrate their salvation through an accumulation of worldly blessings. Weber broadens his idea to cover other groups, including Pietists, Methodists, Baptists and Quakers, claiming all (if to a lesser degree) considered material success a necessary worldly indication of salvation. Over time, he concludes, the general utility of capitalism removed the need for the ethical justification. Weber was subsequently careful to stress that his motives of the 'ascetic character' are not to be identified with the spirit of capitalism, but rather 'as *one* constituitive element *amongst others* of this 'spirit'' (Chalcraft, 71).

A contemporary of Weber, George Cadbury may yet remain the pre-eminent example of a commercial Quaker faith in action. Cadbury's success—social, spiritual, and economic—was acknowledged by all those with whom he engaged, whether employees, business associates or members of the wider community (Gardiner 1923). His pioneering works at Bournville created:

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> a model village, which is national property . . . a factory under truly ideal conditions, from which numerous illustrations of industrial betterment will be drawn, as it represents the high-water mark of this movement in England and his 'immense success' prompted 'the rival firm of Rowntree of York to adopt the same course' (Meakin, 68).

As a notable Protestant, with evident commercial success and an extensive record of worldly achievements, George Cadbury may appear to be an example in support of Weber's argument. Such a resemblance is superficial. The Religious Society of Friends, the discipline of which shaped the ethical values of several generations of the Cadbury family, at no point subscribed to a soteriology as simplistic as Weber suggests. For them, as a sect dismissing the authority of dogma, and seeking to avoid doctrine, the responsibility for salvation remained at all times within the individual.

And it is as such an individual that George Cadbury should be considered. Even *The Spectator* (with which he had a lengthy controversy on the matter of betting tips in national newspapers) delivered an obituary marked by due respect for his singular approach:

> He was a devout Quaker and followed the Inner Light as though a vision of spiritual things were always before him. Yet he was intensely practical in detail. He did not pour out money for other people to carry out charitable ideas. Having invented the ideas he himself attended to their fulfilment (Spectator 1923).

This paper examines the extent to which Cadbury deserves his reputation for singularity in business and attempts to assess the evidence that he was the originator of what is now termed Corporate Social Responsibility. Perhaps of equal importance, it raises the question as to whether the man himself would have wished for such a label.

The argument below first reviews the historiography of organisational culture and illustrates some key themes in academic views of ethics for business. The second section examines the commercial activities of Cadbury, with particular reference to the works at Bournville, and instances some views on the contemporary context for such activities within the emerging business practices of the late nineteenth century. A final section sets the actions of George Cadbury in the context of nineteenth-century Quaker philanthropy and looks past the relationship between organisational culture and ethics to the emergence of the 'triple bottom line' of 'People, Planet and Profit'. In conclusion the significance of personal motivation as a determinate of action is accorded a central role in the analysis of the relationship between the Quaker view of business ethics and our contemporary theories on corporate social responsibility.

1 Organisational Culture and Ethical Business

The historiography of thinking on organisational culture extends over as many pages as it does years (Shafritz et al. 2011), with Aristotle's 'Politics' originating the notion that the nature of powers and functions within states are a product of culture

(360 BC). The debate continues through Machiavelli's *Prince* (1532), past Adam Smith's division of labour in the pin factory (*Wealth of Nations*, 1776), and Robert Owen's *New View of Society* of 1813, (with his nod to the Quaker entrepreneur John Bellers), until by the nineteenth century it matures into the search for a science of administration and the *Scientific Management* of Frederick W. Taylor (1911). This work heavily influenced the development of divergent streams of thought in the twentieth century, characterised by William Scott in 1961 into two main dynamics: one from social theory, and another from organisational theory. Scott saw a transition from the 'anatomising' of classical theories, via a neo-classical 'behaviourist' hybrid, into more 'modern' theories based on empirical analysis. It is in his neoclassical phase that a recognisably cultural model first appears, taking the form of 'informal' organisations amongst staff and arising from shared location, interests, occupation, and 'special' issues. These factors are considered to generate a culture which is expressed in terms of 'norms of conduct', independent of the formal 'blueprint' of the organisation (Scott 1961).

A growing acceptance of the impact of 'informal' organisations led to consideration of the organisation as a 'social system' of (more or less) interdependent interrelationships. For Scott in the 1960s, the future of organisation theory required that organisations were considered as 'systems of mutually dependent variables'. Noting there was 'in no way a unified body of thought', he also emphasised the value of definitions, of which four were key: the *strategic parts* of the system; the *main processes*; the nature of the *mutual dependency*; and the *goals* of the system (Scott, 13).

A lack of consensus on any general model continued to encourage divergent areas of research and ever more potential influences were assembled. Ambiguities associated with the vocabulary of social systems were not lessened when 'culture' was examined, a problem which was exacerbated by the wide scope of studies which grew to include the climate and practices around management people and the values and statements of organisational beliefs or identity. The academic literature appropriated, adopted, or adapted terms without strict definition—often all three. A full list of such terms would be excessive, but must include: legends, rituals, beliefs, meanings, values, symbols, ceremonies, stories, slogans, behaviours, dress, and settings—all employed to assist in the definition of cultural characteristics. At the core of this fog of words can be discerned a core of construct which might allow a definition of organisational culture as a 'set of commonly accepted daily working practices'. These are similar to Scott's 'norms' and shape the established behaviour patterns in those parts of the organisation where they exist and reinforcing the understanding of those working within it. Edgar Schein suggests organisation culture is analogous to an individual's personality—guiding or constraining the behaviour of members of a group (Scott, 16).

Facets of culture may, therefore, be more or less visible, and a multi-faceted approach seems necessary. One such, by Denise Rousseau, categorises cultural elements in terms of an 'accessibility continuum' of icons arranged in concentric

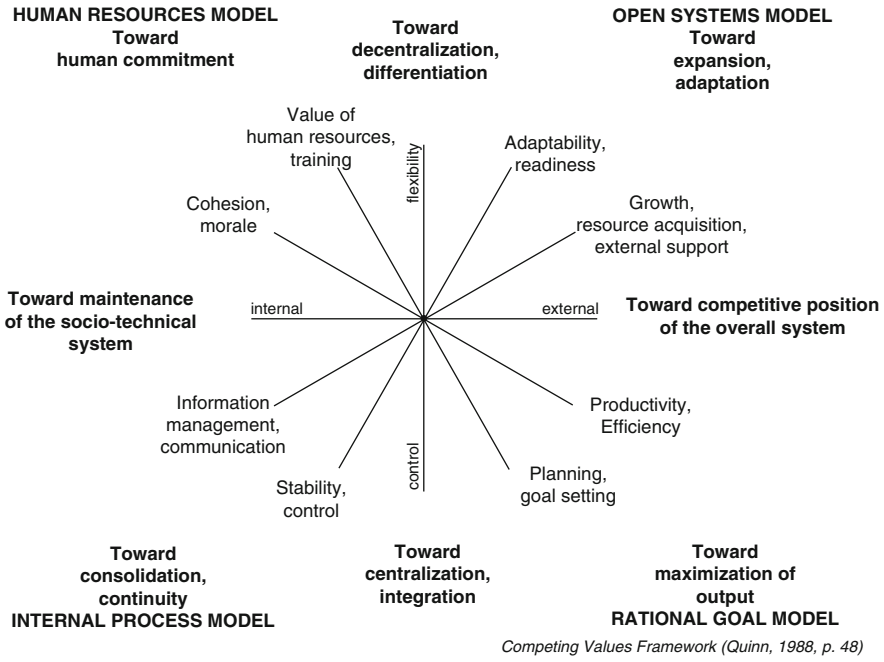

Fig. 1 Competing values model

rings of increasing intangibility (Rousseau 1990).[1] Robert Quinn popularised a 'two by two' matrix (Internal vs. External; Control vs. Flexibility) known as the Competing Values Model, which was later expanded to include a further dimension of 'end vs. means' (see Fig. 1).

Post Quinn (1988) empirical deployment of such models has demonstrated how multiple cultures may exist within an organisation and that identification of a corporate culture against typographies of any description will often be fluid (Ardichvili et al. 2009).

The importance of organisational culture lies in its relationship to business ethics. As a starting point, it might well be observed that since the nature of the first still lacks much definition, then any view of the nature of organisational ethics must start with that handicap: Sir Arthur Eddington observed that, having understood everything about the number one, the field of physics had leapt to unjustifiable conclusions about the number two by failing to examine fully the nature of 'and' in the expression 'one ***and*** one' (Eddington 1958). In a similar way, attempts to integrate ideas about the mechanism or extent of ethical aspects of organisations undoubtedly suffer from

[1] A late acquaintance of the author described how they used cultural icons to assist audit work during the 1980s: "Company flag flying, Bentley in the car park, fish tank in reception = nothing in the bank. . .".

Fig. 2 Characteristics of ethical business cultures. Source: Ardichvili et al. (2009)

difficulties in establishing both the systems and the metrics for understanding the mechanisms and characteristics of organisational cultures.

One useful rationale for the existence of business ethics is provided by Domingo García-Marzá, who views it as mechanism by which the moral resource of 'trust'—essential to enterprise success—can be managed. He goes further, to claim ethics may be auditable (García-Marzá 2005). Such an audit would require a framework, a theme which has been moved forward by the authors of 'Characteristics of Ethical Business Cultures' in the identification of five 'clusters' of ethical characteristics: Mission- and Values-Driven; Stakeholder Balance; Leadership Effectiveness; Process Integrity; and Long-term Perspective (see Fig. 2). The presence of these characteristics, it is suggested, operating within an organisational environment with a shared set of values and beliefs, are indicators of an ethical organisation (Ardichvili et al. 2009).

The authors also claim that 'organizations possessing ethical cultures create and maintain a shared pattern of values, customs, practices, and expectations which dominate normative behaviours'.[2] Setting aside the question of causality, it seems the safest interpretation of this last observation is that there exists a strong symbiotic relationship between ethics and shared values. The authors also claim that in 'ethical' organisations, such considerations are manifested in the decision-making processes (Ardichvili et al., 446). This follows the pioneering work of James Rest, who prefers to identify ethics as an attribute of decision making rather than a

[2]A review of the qualitative data provided in the study also suggests that experience of being 'driven' by a 'vision' clearly overlaps with the concept of 'Leadership Effectiveness' (see Appendix).

Stakeholder Attributes			Mitchell et al. (1997) Stakeholder Type	Mitchell et al. (1997) Stakeholder Salience	Stakeholder Culture Type		
Power	Legitimacy	Urgency			Corporate Egoist	Instrumentalist	Moralist
Yes	Yes	Yes	Definitive	High	High	High	High
Yes	Yes	No	Dominant	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
No	Yes	Yes	Dependent	Moderate	None	Moderate	High
Yes	No	Yes	Dangerous	Moderate	High	High	Moderate
Yes	No	No	Dormant	Low	Moderate	Moderate	Low
No	Yes	No	Discretionary	Low	None	Low	Moderate
No	No	Yes	Demanding	Low	None	None	None
No	No	No	Nonstakeholder	None	None	None	None

Fig. 3 Salience of Stakeholders. Source: Jones et al. (2007)

characteristic of culture: his 1986 framework, which remains useful, suggested such 'moral' decisions contained four components: awareness of the moral aspect; judgment; intent; and action (Rest 1986).

When seeking parallels with the Cadbury practice, a key question remains: 'what, if any, are the effects of being an organisation with an ethical culture?' Some steps towards an answer have been collated by Thomas Jones, Will Felps and Gregory Bigley in their work on the salience of stakeholders.[3] This seeks to show differences in attitude of three types of culture (Corporate Egoist, Instrumentalist, Moralist) against a range of other stakeholders, defined in terms of three attributes (Power, Legitimacy, Urgency/Immediacy) (Fig. 3).

For the purpose of this study of George Cadbury, one final aspect to be considered is the uniqueness or otherwise of cultures within family-owned organisations. Manuel Vallejo (2008) has attempted to isolate certain ethical traits in the culture of family-owned organisations by adapting earlier research into attributes of 'strong families' by Nick Stinnett (1983, 1986). His work seeks to identify aspects of culture which are statistically rated as more important by those in family firms to those in other types of enterprise. With the usual caveats as to the lack of shared definitions, it is worth noting that these include: involvement, identification, loyalty, working atmosphere, trust, participation, reinvestment, leadership, and cohesion.

In conclusion, there is a core set of theories supporting the analysis of organisational culture and associated ethics, which are interrelated, somewhat mutually dependent, which differ in areas of focus, and which suffer from the absence of precise, agreed definitions. Notwithstanding, there are sufficient 'anchor points' across existing theory to provide the basis for an assessment of Cadbury's policy and practice.

[3]Thomas M. Jones, Will Felps and Gregory A. Bigley (2007) Ethical Theory and Stakeholder-Related Decisions: The Role of Stakeholder Culture, *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 2007) 137–155.

2 George Cadbury: Faith and Practice

George Cadbury was born in 1839, a product of several generations of Quakers, originating with his great-grandfather John's marriage with Hannah Exeter. Their grandson, Richard, took the family to Birmingham in 1794; his son John was prominent in both civic life and the Society of Friends, and left a languishing business to George and his brother Richard. Uniquely in the family, George was educated at home and at a Quaker day school and entered the world of business with no university training (Gardiner 1923). With an upbringing imbued in the values of the sect, it is perhaps less surprising that he became an archetypal 'Quaker in Commerce'. In this he was merely reflecting that heritage which drew on the association between the Religious Society of Friends and ethical business practices, which can be traced to its inception in the middle of the seventeenth century when most Friends were engaged in making and selling goods (Vann and Eversley 1992). Deeply concerned that the reputation of the Society should not be tarnished by accusations of dishonesty or malpractice which were typically thrown at the trading class, the integrity of Friends was especially prized because of the emphasis placed upon a 'single standard of truth': all Quaker utterances, the Society maintained, were made in accordance with 'the Light Within'. Friends who engaged in business were required to display a level of integrity in commercial transactions which would justify their wider claim that their unsupported word had the same worth as those of others made under oath. An epistle of Fox (probably from around 1661) is addressed specifically to 'all Friends and people whatsoever, who are merchants, tradesmen, husbandmen, or seamen, who deal in merchandise, trade in buying and selling by sea or land, or deal in husbandry'. Fox demands:

> . . .that ye all do that which is just, equal, and righteous in the sight of God and man, one to another, and to all men. And that ye use just weights and just measures, and speak and do that which is true, just, and right in all things (Fox 1661).

From the outset, Quaker books of discipline included specific advices on matters of business ethics, including: management of finances; keeping the spirit (never the letter) of agreements; paying what was due when due; warnings against fraud; ensuring customs, duties and state taxes were met; and forbidding bankruptcy as a redress. Additionally, Quaker disciplines set out to ensure all children of members had sufficient education for some useful occupation, while Quaker finances provided for apprenticeships and even seed capital for emerging businesses. The Book of Extracts, which collected the disciplines of the Society of Friends, contained advices which required those in business to be honest, and attentive 'to the limitations of truth in their trade,' and to other outward concerns (Extracts, 148). Friends were advised to take on no more business than a man can 'manage honourably and with reputation' in order to protect the Society, rather than to promote business success (Extracts, 195–200). The Quaker 'trade-mark' of refusing to bargain and insisting on a fixed ('fair') price was similarly the consequence of this single standard of truth. With the rise of industrialisation, Quaker manufacturers worked to ensure that their business success was not at the expense of those who worked for them. Arthur

Raistrick, in his catalogue of *Quakers in Science and Industry*, describes how even in the eighteenth century 'close attention was paid to the welfare of the workpeople, and from the beginning efforts . . . made to secure the health and freedom from fear of sickness that are necessary for acceptable working conditions' (Raistrick 1950, 149–151). Such practices would later gain wider support outside the Society, forming the credo that drove the nascent utopian socialist movement epitomised by figures such as Robert Owen, Joseph Rowntree, and Titus Salt who saw in their Christianity a duty for social reform.

Before considering the evidence of the practices deployed by the firm under George Cadbury's leadership, it is worth sketching its origins: the firm began under his father, who started trading tea and coffee in Birmingham in 1824, increasing the scale of production in 1831, including drinking chocolate, before moving to larger premises at Bridge Street in 1847. George's elder brother, Richard, joined the firm (in 1851), as did George after a short period of grocery work with Rowntree. Despite winning a royal warrant from Queen Victoria in 1854, by the time the sons took charge in 1861 the business was failing, with losses continuing despite halving the staff of twenty (Dellheim, 17). Their approach was to deal exclusively in chocolate and cocoa, an investment financed by an inheritance from their deceased mother which has been variously reported as £4000 or £5000 apiece (Carrington, 17).[4] With this legacy dwindling, and reluctant to borrow in case of failure, the modest profit established by 1864 enabled the purchase shortly after of an innovative Dutch invention which would secure the company fortunes. This was a 'Van Houten hydraulic press extraction machine', a trade secret from the Netherlands, and which finally produced pure cocoa fit for drinking: prior to that, 80% had been made up from potato starch, sago, flour, and treacle—best described by the proprietor as a 'comforting gruel' (Gardiner, 28). The new press, however, enabled a quality product which gave Cadbury's a competitive edge over all other domestic manufacturers (Cadbury, 56).

It was most timely. This innovation occurred just as the adulteration of food became a highly popular concern. Research by the Analytical Sanitary Commission of *The Lancet* conducted between 1851 and 1854 had included several investigations of branded chocolate, which had identified a wide variety of added ingredients (including: 'Maranta, East India, Tacca or Tahiti Arrow-roots; Tous les Mois; the Flours of Wheat, Indian Corn, Sago, Potato, and Tapioca, and various Mixtures of these; Sugar; Chicory'). A specific test of 'Cadbury Brothers Homoeopathic Cocoa' found colouring described as 'unquestionably either red ochre, (which is a compound of oxide of iron with silica, and sometimes alumina, or clay,) or some earthy substance analagous (sic) in composition' (Hassall, 264–5). Cadbury's were only one amongst many names shown by analysis (accompanied by engravings of microscopic evidence) to have contained ingredients not on the label. The Lancet's reports encouraged a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1855. However, it was

[4]The contemporary value of this amount, some £8000 to £10,000, is between £840,000 (Real Prices) to £6.5 million (Labour Value). It remains a significant sum, by either count.

probably the widely reported Bradford Sweets Poisoning of 1858, in which 21 died after eating humbugs in which arsenic had been mistakenly used as a sugar substitute (Wilson, 138) that prompted the succession of legislative measures over the next two decades.[5] Thus Cadbury's new marketing slogan, 'Absolutely Pure, therefore best', while it had echoes of a Quaker testimony of simplicity, could not have been more contemporary in its appeal.

With the success of the business thus secured by 1865, Cadbury was enabled to drive the business operations forward according to his own ideals. The researcher, aiming to identify these and place them in the context of contemporary business best practice, has at least two relatively timely works by company historians (A. G. Gardiner, '*Life of George Cadbury*', 1923, and Iola A. Williams, '*The Firm of Cadbury 1831-1931*', 1931), as well as a wealth of information in the *Bournville Works Magazine*. The magazine was 'almost from the outset' devoted to recording company history, and anniversary editions of 1909 were created to celebrate 30 years at Bournville (Heller and Rowlinson 2005). Its editor, T.B. Rogers, produced the '*Century of Progress*' review, 180,000 copies of which were made available to workers, suppliers, and customers worldwide. In such works, largely originating from those closely associated with the factory, the historical facts are projected through conspicuously rose-tinted lenses; once having accepted this, the data presents few challenges to the analyst. In wild contrast can be noted a Marxist-apologist reconstruction, in favour amongst sociologists in the last decades of the twentieth century, which claims that the company 'invented its corporate culture by attributing significance to the Quaker beliefs of the Cadbury family retrospectively' in a factually inaccurate (and possibly ill-advised) attempt to extend the 'invented tradition' of the then fashionable communist Eric Hogsbawm (Rowlinson and Hassard 1993).[6]

Seeking the realities of both fact and context, the researcher has cause to thank James Edward Budgett Meakin, co-founder of the British Institute of Social Service, and author of *Model Factories and Villages* coincidentally published in the same year as Weber's *Spirit of Capitalism* (1905). A frustrated explorer, Meakin was born in India to a tea planter and spent a decade in Morocco editing his father's newspaper (Fryer 2004). Perhaps more significantly, his maternal grandfather was Samuel Budgett, the subject of an 'extraordinarily popular biography, *The Successful Merchant* (Arthur 1852),[7] which portrayed him as a paragon who had combined devoutly held Christian ethics with a natural talent for business' (Wardley 2004). Returning to England in the late 1890, he organised the Shaftesbury Lectures aimed at eradicating city slums and improving the conditions of workers. Meakin styled himself a 'lecturer in Industrial Betterment'.

[5]The detailed volume of reports by Hassall also includes some retractions by the Commission, as in the case of Fry's who challenge the analysis. A useful set of references for those interested in Food Law can be found online at www.artisanfoodlaw.co.uk

[6]See Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger, ed. (1983). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press. Curiously, the recently-appointed Professor Rowlinson has excluded this paper from his extensive publications list.

[7]The book reached its 42nd edition by 1878.

The scope of the book is comprehensive: Professor Ernest Dewsnup's contemporary review describes the work as 'painstaking' (Dewsnup 1906); more recently, Rowlinson (2005, 121) describes the book as 'one of the most extensive international surveys of welfare programs'. Much North American information is sourced from Professor N. P. Gilman's *Dividend to Labor* (1900), while the rest is the result of personal research and material provided by the companies involved. Meakin structures his findings into eight sections, indicating the broad spectrum of contemporary concerns, with chapters covering: Social Relations; Buildings; Workrooms; Work; Meals; Recreation; Education; and Administration. In each one the best practices of leading firms in America, German, France and England are put forward, and compared. Interestingly, many firms cited remain household names after well over a century: amongst others, B.A.S.F., Cadbury, Eastman Kodak, Heinz, Krupp, Lever Brothers, McCormick & Co, N.C.R., Marshall Field, Rowntree, Villeroy, and Boch and Zeiss all feature.[8]

Overall, in Meakin's opinion, the Bournville factory represented the 'high watermark' of industrial betterment in England (Meakin, 68). While clearly this was in part a result of the setting of both factory and associated village in a 'clean' environment, Meakin notes this was exceptional, but not unique, citing the relocation of factory and provision of villages by Levers (Port Sunlight), Clarks (Street), and Chivers (Cambridge), with further examples outside England. Particular examples where Cadbury excelled include the gardens (75), architecture (81)—although not to the sublime standard of Templeton's 'Venetian' factory at Glasgow—ventilation (109), cleanliness and dress (121), provision of drinking water (143), and provision for invalid staff, including facilities, health education, medical staff, and even free grapes from the Cadbury hot house! (149–50). This latter category shows a remarkable level of advancement for the time, with monthly medicals, sick pay and staff trained in first-aid (152). Early examples of employee benefits, included the Works Medical Department (from 1902) with a company doctor, dentist, and nurses. Nutritional supplements were provided in cases of employees who were underfed, and two free convalescent homes were run. Cadbury's provision of meals (179–82) is covered extensively by Meakin as a model of best practice in subsidy, efficiency and hygiene, as well as being unsurpassed for scale with a 2000-seat capacity, while the factory kitchen provided meals for retired employees with up to 100 being served daily. Interestingly, the not dissimilar Port Sunlight facility receives praise for the innovative deployment of finance—having been financed from the employee profit-share allocation.

In line with the Quaker ethos, Bournville's extensive facilities for post-work activity are described by Meakin as providing 'every inducement' for recreation (212–217). Cadbury's *Book of Discipline* contained the advice: 'It is part of our Christian duty to secure … a due measure of bodily exercise … without which neither our physical nor our mental faculties can be preserved in a healthy

[8]It would worthwhile to research what proportion of these firms or brands are still operating: the impression from reading is a surprisingly high percentage.

condition', which was translated into 12 acres of gardens, supplemented by a gymnasium, swimming pool, and multiple sports clubs, many with dedicated coaching. In case of rain, a work's orchestra had been established in 1890.[9] Transportation was facilitated not only through special Midland Railway trains, at rates negotiated by the firm[10] but also by the provision of a 200-place cycle shed, with compressed air on tap (234). Self-sufficiency was also promoted, through the provision of allotments (annual rent one shilling) for men, boys, and girls, with instruction, free seeds, and annual prizes (246).

Cadbury's experience with Adult Schooling provided insight into conditions in the cities and was reflected in his creation of facilities both at the works and in Bournville village. Meakin notes schools for men, girls and youths (272–4), as well as library and reading room (293). The promotion of religious education, which Meakin demands 'should not imply the inculcation of specific doctrines, but the raising of the thoughts above the daily toil, the struggle for existence, and the cares of life' is a best practice inaugurated by his grandfather Samuel, and maintained, amongst others, by Cadbury (296).

Cadbury's were more highly respected by Meakin for their financial policies. In addition to paid holiday, sick pay, pension funds for men and women, a Women's Savings Trust, and Pensioners' Widows' Fund; and an early unemployment scheme, Meakin praises the piece-work rates. Cadbury's formula gained approval as 'best practice' by leaving out the most rapid workers and basing wages on the average output. Other factors, worth noting *in extensio*:

> ensure the ordinary worker more than a bare "living wage," which in the case of girls is reckoned locally at from I2s. a week, while the basis on which the rates are calculated is 16s. The living wage for a young married man in the locality is reckoned as 24s. Finally, when a woman has been twenty years in the service of the firm, an additional monthly allowance is made, increased after twenty-five years' service, to compensate for a probable falling-off in her output, and to enable her, although a little slower in her work, to earn the same wages (316).

The Cadbury suggestion scheme could provide a further source of income, if not evenly distributed: a works committee selected the best, with 60 half-yearly awards for the men's departments, valued from 5s. to £10, and 56 awards for the girls' departments, ranging from 5s to £5 (322). In comparison, Rowntree pitched their rewards at a more frugal 2s/6d to £5 across the company—only Bausch and Lomb world wide were more generous, with an annual top prize of £20 (323).[11]

Meakin devotes a section of his review to Industrial Housing, in which Cadbury's work at Bournville is described in detail (433–43). In addition to the functional and practical aspects, Meakin values the commercial aspect of the village, which ensured

[9]The Bournville Musical Theatre company lives on today, although not in the original concert hall, now a corporate training facility.

[10]See correspondence between Cadbury Bros and Pearson dated 12Nov1878 and 7mo.31 1879, (Carrington 31, 34).

[11]N.C.R. showed commercial acumen by first inventing an internal 'suggestion' duplicating machine, then marketing it.

adequate financial return was built into the plan. Each house was of a superior standard, including plumbing, while costing less than £150, and was sold with a mortgage which ensured that the owner, over 13 years, would pay less than the equivalent rental cost. The Quadrangle—almshouse cottages built on Mary Vale Road in 1897—were similarly secured and run as a trust endowed by rents from 35 houses. Meakin suggests that Bournville was 'an example which can be followed with advantage not only by the private investor satisfied with a reasonable interest, but by public bodies' (433).

The purpose of Meakin's work was clearly to promote 'Industrial Betterment', and while an evangelical tone occasionally overtakes that of the professional enthusiast, as a source for contemporary theory and practice and as a catalogue of those firms worldwide who were active in supporting the same ends, the review remains unique.

As such, while placing Cadbury Brothers much to the fore, the survey offers a wider field of view, and thus helps to show George Cadbury's approach in context.

3 George Cadbury: A Soft or Hard Centre?

That there was something unusual in George Cadbury's approach to commerce is suggested, if nowhere else, by the obituary which noted 'Mr. Cadbury was the rare combination of a mystic and a man of affairs' (Spectator 1923). Yet Meakin's survey demonstrates that Cadbury was not unique in his concern for industrial betterment. Other works could similarly show how his concern for aspects of living conditions were echoed by others, more or less well-known in their circles, and in their day. Amongst these are Andrew Mearns, (1837–1925), a Congregational minister, who authored in 1883 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London' which led to the Royal Commission on the housing of the working classes (1884–5) (Wohl 2004); and Henry Solly, (1813–1903) the clergyman founder of Working Men's Clubs, who promoted the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Villages which briefly flowered at the same time; with regard to religious duty, William Arthur's biography of Samuel Budgett specifically promotes the Christian approach to Successful Merchanting.

Attempting to isolate and identifying a uniquely Cadbury contribution, Charles Dellheim in a detailed study (1987) identified three critical components: a profound Quaker heritage, lessons learned in turning around a failing firm, and experience of the reality of urban Birmingham life. Of these, he characterises the Quaker heritage as employing principles which abhorred bankruptcy, favouring personal hard work and abstinence, and promoting simplicity. While correct, it is also worth noting that Cadbury additionally conforms to the values identified by Vallejo's study of family firms, which would question the 'uniqueness'.

Using Quinn's 'Competing Values Model', (Fig. 1) Cadbury's positioning would best be described as a hybrid of the Internal Process and Human Resources models—with strong emphasis on Cohesion, Morale, Stability and Control. Yet

there is also clear evidence of the planning and efficiency which marks the Rational Goal model, while a degree of adaptability and not least growth are similarly characteristic of the George Cadbury years. Perhaps only in the area of *maximisation of output* would a question be raised: there is no suggestion in the biographies that Cadbury wished to measure his success in terms of exceeding his rivals in volume, growth rates, or profit. Under his leadership, potentially conflicting values appear balanced, placing the Cadbury management culture fairly in the centre of the field.

Turning to the definition of ethical business cultures, (Ardichvili et al., Fig. 2) Cadbury's can be said to satisfy not only the five 'clusters' of ethical characteristics, but more significantly, its leadership appears to have created and sustained the essential *shared set of values and beliefs within the organisational environment*. Avoiding the inherent bias of the works magazine, Dellheim favours the more independent *Birmingham News* holding the view that:

> a family atmosphere founded on religion and the personal touch prevailed in the firm, where "Mr. George" and "Mr. Richard" called the employees by their Christian names [while] the traditions of the small industrial workshops of Birmingham bolstered a cooperative spirit, and labour relations far more harmonious than in the large factories of Manchester (Dellheim, 19).

If the religious values of the firm could be expected to have an influence on the ethics of its culture, one would expect this to be reflected in the model of Jones, Felps and Bigley in terms of increased salience of stakeholders of either discretionary influence or dependence (Fig. 3). Under George Cadbury, employees and their families and communities made up these groups, and the priority given to health, working and home environments indicated by Meakin, especially in a nineteenth century dominated by industrial exploitation, would suggest that Cadbury's has a central place in the 'Moral' category (Jones et al. 2007).

However, it is possible that both the *Birmingham News* and Professor Dellheim may yet have underestimated the *reason* why religion had such an impact—in particular the nature of the discipline under which George Cadbury was educated. A few years before his birth, the Society has authorised the circulation of the third revised edition of the Book of Discipline, reflecting the nineteenth century Quaker's externalised belief that there was 'God in everyone' which supplied the moral basis for the rights of all individuals, whether enslaved, imprisoned, or employed. This 1832 edition provided the foundation of the Quaker upbringing of George Cadbury, and in it continuity was accompanied by shifts in emphasis ('the rise and progress of our discipline') which echoed the concerns of the age (Extracts 1832). The chapter previously headed '*Liberality to the Poor*' became '*Liberality and Benevolence*', a change which was reflected in both the increased volume and the nature of the advices included.[12] The spirit of the Society can be read in the choice of the revised 'advices':

[12]Of significance here are the additions: the chapter runs to 6 pages in the third edition compared with 2 in the second, with 12 advices rather than 6.

> We think it incumbent upon us in this time of severity, particularly to impress it upon our brethren to open their hearts and hands freely for the relief of the poor and needy of all denominations: those in affluence especially ought ever to bear in mind, that none are entrusted with riches that they may indulge themselves in pleasures, or for the gratification of luxury, ambition, or vain glory; but to do good . . . and to communicate thereof, and thus to mitigate the afflictions of the distressed. (Extracts 1832, 79).

Significance may be attributed to the wording: the 'time of severity', the inclusion of 'all denominations', and the charge to mitigate the distressed are all indicative of the growing trend within Friends to take an ethical responsibility for wider, extra-societal, issues, and to use their resources accordingly.

When deconstructing Cadbury's approach in terms of the components of Corporate Social Responsibility, the claim that CSR is one of the 'pillars of organisational ethics' (Wines 2008) needs to be contrasted with the former market view (popularised in the 1970s) which claimed there was no need for a business to have a social conscience (Friedman 1970). Wines makes an advance, too, on the earlier European Commission definition, which sees CSR merely as a tool for 'managing all the risks associated with stakeholders, setting the trade-offs between the requirements and needs of the various stakeholders into a balance which is acceptable to all parties' (García-Marzá, 212). For Wines, CSR is necessary to supplement regulation which is inherently inefficient, not least when such regulation allows stakeholder optimisation to be subordinate to profit maximisation.

It is in this concept of balancing stakeholder needs that CSR and George Cadbury begin to come together. Yet there is a crucial caveat: Cadbury did not seek to 'balance stakeholder needs' in order to maximise returns. Cadbury's approach was marked not by optimising profit to shareholders, but in delivering returns to stakeholders, in pursuit of which maximising economic performance was always secondary. Rather than assess how an investment in stakeholders could translate into improved performance, Cadbury's approach appears to see how far the business could sustain the improvements in the lot of the stakeholders—illustrated in the donation of Bournville to the village trust, and in the rest of the actions noted by Meakin. In seeking to create positive outcomes in such a holistic manner, Cadbury would appear to be anticipating the views of John Elkington in his 1997 'Cannibals with Forks', where the 'triple bottom line' segments a world of possible stakeholders into 'profit, people and planet', and recognises that wealth creation is an essential tool to enable the broader goals associated with living on one planet.

It is worth noting that such an approach became less of an option for a later cadre of Quaker industrialists, faced with constraints imposed by a new generation of businesses less hampered by moral obligations, and focused on financial returns to secure shareholder funds. In the view of Wagner-Tsukamoto:

> Quaker firms faced certain additional costs incurred by the implementation of their moral precepts. This put the Quaker firms at a cost disadvantage in—institutionally enacted and protected—competitive processes. This ultimately prevented the Quaker firms from engaging in—costly—behavioural business ethics in interactions with internal and external stakeholders (but not in behavioural business ethics that could be justified in economic terms) (2016).

The source of Cadbury's true uniqueness seems to spring from a vision that did not operate on a material basis: his friend and biographer, A.G. Gardiner observed he allowed 'no gulf between the world of spiritual ideas and the world of fact . . . he translated one into the other with a directness that was often disconcerting to the conventional mind.' The phenomenon, although rare, acknowledges a distinction of which Gardiner's age was aware. The contemporary philosopher John MacMurray (1939) had considered whether Jesus was a social reformer and concluded that such a question had meaning only in a dualist mode of thought, where it 'implies a contrast and conflict between the spiritual world and the material world', which could not exist in a religious mind. This was later echoed by Quaker educationalist E.B. Castle in 'The Undivided Mind' (1941), who lamented the isolation of secular and spiritual lives, and noted:

> wherever it may be justly claimed that Quakerism has contributed to the spiritual and social welfare of men it has been when harmony has existed between the purpose of God and the social activities of Quakers.

Yet any definitive answer should perhaps consider the view of one of those stakeholders, a man who spent his professional life at Cadbury's, in Bournville, working for George Cadbury. In the opinion of Norman Birkett, given at the works Founders' Day a decade after George Cadbury's death:

> Many people will ask what was the secret of that life, and many will make the obvious answer, "It was his religious faith" . . . but I would say that the strength of that life could not have been possible without the inner life which he led and which was known only to himself (Bournville Works Magazine, 1932).

Appendix

Qualitative Statements Forming Basis for Clusters

Reproduction of Table III (p. 448)

Alexandre Ardichvili, James A. Mitchell and Douglas Jondle (2009*) Characteristics of Ethical Business Cultures* Journal of Business Ethics, Vol. 85, No. 4 (Apr., 2009)

The illustrative phrases used in the cluster on Mission- & Values-, are uniformly coupled with some active notion: of being 'driven', clearly communicated, reflected in behaviour, part of relationships, and even 'elimination'. These would all appear to be aspects of what might better be labelled 'value leadership' thereby merging the two clusters. This removes the question begged by the research—HOW is the 'strong culture' manifested if not through the values leadership exemplified in (ethical) decision making.

Mission- and Values-Driven

"Clarity of mission and values, reflected in ethical guidelines and behavior"
"Institutionalizes ethical values"

"Build relationships of trust and respect"
"Strong culture that actively eliminates people who don't share the values"
"Corporate values are sustained over long periods of time"

Leadership Effectiveness

"Ethical culture starts at the top and is conveyed by example"
"Senior management demands ethical conduct at every level of the company"
"CEO and senior management live their lives with great personal integrity"
"When ethical issues arise, CEO does not 'shoot the messenger'/but gathers facts and takes action"
"Do what they say they're going to do"

Stakeholder Balance

"Balance all stakeholders (e.g., customers, employees, owners and community) in all their decision-making, consistently" "Deal with all stakeholders on a consistently ethical and value-oriented basis" "Good balance of customer value and profit" "Giving back to the community in which the company does business" "Work to be a good corporate citizen in a global economy" "Respectful treatment and fair compensation for employees at all levels"

Process Integrity

"Dedication to Quality and Fairness in its people, processes, and products" "Invest in ongoing ethics training and communication throughout the organization" "Values are reinforced in performance appraisals and promotions" "Values are reinforced in every-day execution" "Excellent corporate governance processes, supported by Board quality and independence" "Noble mission is internalized in company processes and behavior" "Transparent decision-making by the people closest to the question"

Long-Term Perspective

"Place mission above profit and long-term over short-term" "Acting in the best interests of customers, over the longer term" "Board takes long view in managing share-holder value" "Connect environmental sustainability, social responsibility, and profit" "CEO says he's building an institution that he hopes will be here in 50 years

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Part II
An Uneasy Relationship with the State

Quaker Employer Conference of 1918

Karen Tibbals

1 Introduction

The Quaker Employer Conference of 1918 was held in April, just six months before the Great War ended. This first ever meeting was prompted by the adoption of a socialistic vision by London Yearly Meeting which challenged the capitalist beliefs upon which they had built their businesses. The attendees had ambitious goals; nothing less than trying to figure out a way to bring into being a new version of business. Unfortunately, they never came close to achieving those aims; instead it was the beginning of the end for Quaker employers. Regrettably, today we still struggle with the same issues that were unsolved a century ago.

This chapter will summarize the events leading up to and during the 1918 Quaker Employer Conference weekend, provide the context, review what happened afterwards, and explore the reasons why the conference failed to achieve its aims. Finally, the chapter will identify lessons to be learned from this event with suggestions for the future.

2 The Societal Context of the Early Twentieth Century

2.1 The Economic and Industrial Context

During the early twentieth century, British society was in a period of major change and many workers faced ill-treatment. As farming became more and more mechanized and required fewer workers, the rural population had been migrating to the

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industrial centres of Britain. In a period of less than a century, Britain switched from a rurally focused society to an urban society. This resulted in an abundant supply of labour for industry, so employers did not have to pay much money to attract employees. There were two basic classes of labour: casual (or unskilled) and skilled. Casual labour was hired on a daily basis so the labourers needed to continuously seek work and were likely to be unemployed at least part of the time. The twenty-first century's gig economy seems to be an echo of a century earlier. A 1900 study done in York by Quaker industrialist Seebohm Rowntree demonstrated that the daily rate paid to casual labour was below what would be needed to house and feed a family even if they had managed to be continuously employed (Rowntree 1902). The common assumption was that the man needed to earn enough to be responsible for a family. Since that did not happen, the gap of what was needed to sustain a household was filled by women and children. The norms of the day were that women should not be paid equally to men since they were supposed to not 'need' the same as a man. Children were paid even less. Even though children's little hands that could reach into tight places were in demand, children's pay averaged only 10–20% of a full adult male. While children under age 8 were prohibited from working in Britain, under the terms of the Factory Act of 1847, children between 8 and 13 were allowed to work in this time period provided they had at least 10 hours of instruction per week (Turnbull 2010). We now judge that children of the day were exploited, but in this period, it was the norm. The children needed to work to support their family. This was similar to what had been expected from children on the farms (Harris 1938; Hatton 2004; Hodgkin 1918).

Skilled labour was paid a higher rate, based on what their skill was worth in the marketplace. Unlike the casual labourers, when working, skilled labour was able to support themselves and their family. Still, their work could be sporadic—for example, a ship builder would typically hire many skilled workers for a particular order and then lay them off when the ship was completed. There was no social safety for laid off workers, with no or low unemployment pay. Further, there was no compensation if injured. Regardless of their previous position or skills, being injured or old was a recipe for deprivation for the men and for their families. The death of a man meant loss of the necessities of life for his family (Hodgkin 1918).

Further, employees typically worked up to 10 hours, 6 days a week, at physically demanding jobs. This left little time and energy for organizing other parts of life, much less any time for recreation or any efforts to improve their life. Employees were often too tired to do much of anything after their working day (Hodgkin 1918).

As a first mover in the First Industrial Age (considered to be 1775–1900), British manufacturers had created the jobs these former agriculture workers were seeking when they left the farms but did not provide good working conditions. The work could be dangerous, increased by the fatigue brought on by long working hours. Further, living conditions in the cities were poor and unhealthy—overcrowded, polluted, diseased and disorderly. Rents were high in areas close to factories, and industry dumped their refuse wherever they were, creating polluted water and air. This resulted in lower life expectancy in industrial cities compared to the rural areas. Manufacturers based in Britain had come to dominate global trade because their

goods were in demand and had captive markets in the British Empire. In 1895, life as a British manufacturer was good, life as a British worker was not (Harley 2004; Hatton 2004; Magee 2004).

2.2 The Backlash to Industrialization

In response to these horrific conditions, workers formed trade unions, political pressure groups and parties, and became more willing to strike, such as the Matchgirls' Strike of 1888 and the London Dock Workers strike of 1889. While this movement took place in both America and England, the Labour Movement was much stronger in England. Although they often used socialist language and talked about the coming class war that Marx had predicted, the Labour platform in Britain usually came down to three basic ideas: a living wage, shorter hours and decent conditions (Harris 1938).

The backlash on the religious front was the "Social Gospel" among progressive Christian denominations. British Quakers were influenced by Walter Rauschenbusch, America's most prominent writer of the Social Gospel. In his two books, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* and *Christianizing the Social Order*, Rauschenbusch incorporated ideas from socialism into a new view of Christianity (Rauschenbusch 1907; Evans 2004). Although a Baptist, his view of personal responsibility for living a Christian life was perfectly consistent with the Quaker way of applying their religion to their life as was his view of the immanent kingdom of God. His beliefs were based on his time as a pastor in Hell's Kitchen in New York City, where his parishioners lived and worked in similarly terrible conditions. During a sabbatical trip in 1891 to England and Germany, Rauschenbusch was impressed by the municipal socialism campaign in Birmingham, England (Evans 2004). Perhaps this British trip was the reason that British Quakers paid attention to this American.

Rauschenbusch's views gained popularity and he became a celebrity. While he was not the first chronicler of the Social Gospel (Britain's Hugh Price Hughes was a popular orator just a few decades earlier), Rauschenbusch became very popular, with 50,000 copies sold of his first book. His work helped the Social Gospel movement spread to churches of various denominations in the US and to Europe (Dorrien 2003). Rauschenbusch's paraphrase of 1st Corinthians 13 was printed on the first page of the London Yearly Meeting 1916 agenda card and attracted 'considerable notice' (LYM Friend, Oct. 1916).

3 The Quaker Environment in the Early Twentieth Century

3.1 Quaker Employers Prior to the Conference

Although today we would recognize Quaker employers as paternalistic, during the nineteenth century, they were known as good employers of the time. Their influence in the economic sphere outweighed their numbers—it is estimated that they represented 1% of the population but employed 10% of workers in England by about 1900.

At least some Quaker employers had not been idle in addressing social issues created by industrialization. Several had innovated practices for the betterment of their workers. Those included shortened hours, welfare workers for women and children, soliciting workers' input in councils and suggestion schemes, libraries, their own unemployment insurance programs and pensions for the elderly, and classes for worker improvement. The two largest chocolate manufacturers, Cadbury and Rowntree, had both been innovative in building new factories to better working conditions and building affordable good quality housing for its employees. While Cadbury and Rowntree were at the forefront of such changes, other Quaker firms such as biscuit maker Huntley and Palmer, chemist Reckitt and soap maker Crosfield also had various schemes (Briggs 1961; Cadbury 1979; Corley 1972; Musson 1965; Packer 2002; Reckitt 1952; Vernon 1987).

In 1912, Edward Cadbury (at that time, responsible for labour at Cadbury Chocolates) published his book on the industrial experiments Cadbury had been conducting on topics such as adequate minimum wage, safe working conditions and discipline intended to promote employee development (Cadbury 1979).

Seebohm Rowntree (responsible for labour at Cadbury's competitor, Rowntree) published a series of articles, which were collected and published in 1914 on *The Way to Industrial Peace and the Problem of Unemployment*. In it, Rowntree pleaded for an 'economy based on higher wages', and asserted that 'if incompetent employers complained they could not pay such wages, it would be better for them to disappear' (Briggs 1961, p. 109). He also argued for a shorter workday and greater governmental involvement in regulating labour (Briggs 1961, pp. 109–111).

Beyond his work in the family firm (and despite Quaker pacific concerns), Rowntree was enlisted into working for the government by Lloyd George during the Great War to ensure that these principles for industrial peace were applied to the munitions suppliers. In his government work, Rowntree would suggest to employers (that they) should make proper provision for welfare in their factories not because it was a 'good thing to do', but because welfare could and should be made a 'paying proposition' (Briggs 1961, p. 122). His suggestions included wages adequate for recreation beyond minimum needs, safe and clean working conditions—with adequate lavatories and lack of bullying by those in authority. He was also concerned about adequate access to food, transportation, housing and a wholesome environment (Briggs 1961, pp. 127–128).

However, that good reputation and interest in workers did not mean that Quaker firms were immune to problems nor did they always act in the best interests of workers. For example, Huntley & Palmer reduced wages in response to deteriorating business, causing disgruntlement and labour unrest in 1911 (Corley 1972, p. 175). Earlier, in 1888, a nominally Quaker firm, Bryant and May, had been the target of one of the first labour major actions in Britain, the "Matchgirls' Strike." The original founders had been Quakers, and had been known for being mild mannered and their relatively good treatment of workers. One of the original owner's sons (Wilberforce Bryant) took over the business in 1884, and was much more aggressive in how he managed the firm. He made changes to the business, acquiring competitors and lowing prices to increase consumption of matches. In order to afford the lowered prices, wages were lowered. The evidence is not definitive, but there may also have been a change in working conditions that increased their chance of developing a condition called "phossy jaw", which could be fatal. These were the factors which led to the 1888 strike against Bryant and May, which was the first major labour action in Britain (Musson 1965; Raw 2011).

3.2 The Broader Quaker Context Prior to the Conference

The 1918 Conference arose as a response to a series of events put in play by a radical Quaker group called the Socialist Quaker Society (SQS). Formed in 1898, the SQS was an outgrowth from 1985 Manchester Conference of Young Friends. The SQS goal was to persuade the Quakers to adopt their view of Christian socialism. They viewed themselves as the inheritors of the Early Friends, with their vision for the Kingdom of God based on the Universal Brotherhood of Man (Adams 1993, p. 24). In their view, capitalism was a systemic evil and could only be overcome by the restructuring of society on socialist lines. At first, they were not Marxists, but instead were followers of Fabianism, which called for gradual change and the nationalization of industry (Kennedy 2001).

The SQS had an uneasy relationship with (the then named) London Yearly Meeting (now Britain Yearly Meeting). It was turned down repeatedly when it asked for meeting space associated with the annual meeting. In 1904, London Yearly Meeting (LYM) established a more moderate competing organization, Friends' Social Union (FSU), perhaps in reaction to a speech by a left wing socialist, SG Hobson, at the 1903 SQS annual meeting. The less extreme FSU drew prominent Young Adult Quakers such as industrialists George Cadbury Jr. and Seebohm Rowntree. The FSU was not to the SQS's liking—they saw the FSU as 'the philanthropic conscience of Quaker employers' (Adams 1993, p. 10). But this meant that those who were interested in the application of social principles to Quakerism had two potential organizations to work with to further the cause, one more moderate and one less so (Jones 1968, p. 377).

After the 1904 creation of the more moderate Friends' Social Union, one SQS member stated that 'he felt the conference was continually coming up against blank

walls' (Adams 1993, p. 11). This frustration led them to take bolder action. In 1911, the SQS distributed 9000 copies of *A Letter from the SQS to Their Fellow Members of the Society of Friends* to all local meetings in London Yearly Meeting. This brought negative reactions from the conservative elements of the Society of Friends including one who wrote that he 'abhorred socialism, which he thought was 'ruining the Nation, body and soul. . .' [claiming that] 'it is only a wild chimera to suppose we are all going to be equal, we were never intended to be, and never shall be. The more money the rich have, the better it is for the poor' (Jones 1968, p. 380). Despite the strong emotional response, it did not result in any progress; the cause seemed to stall.

The start of the Great War provided an opening for the SQS. Drawing on a quote from Quaker 'saint' John Woolman ('May we look upon our treasures, the furniture of our houses, our garments, and try whether the seeds of war have nourishment of these our possessions') they tied the issue of the social order to that of war (LYM 1915, 140). The use of this quote proved energizing. Several quarterly meetings submitted minutes in support of the cause, and in 1915 a new Yearly Meeting committee was formed: the War & Social Order Committee (W&SOC). Membership was dominated by SQS and FSU members. Interestingly, the chair was held by an engineer, J. Edward Hodgkin, who was a convert to the cause, although not an SQS member (Kennedy 2001, p. 371).

After several conferences throughout LYM, the year 1917 saw the London Yearly Meeting conference sponsored by the W&SOC on the topic of War and Social Order, with attendance by 500 Friends and publication of an account called *Facing the Facts*. In their report to the annual Yearly Meeting in 1917 they set out a vision of what an ideal society would be, which they called the *Seven Foundations of a True Social Order* (LYM 1917). The final version was adopted by London Yearly Meeting in 1917 and then revised in 1918 (which added number eight and was from then on called the *Eight Foundations of a True Social Order*) read as follows:

1. The Fatherhood of God, as revealed by Jesus Christ, should lead us toward a Brotherhood which knows no restriction of race, sex or social class.
2. This Brotherhood should express itself in a social order which is directed, beyond all material ends, to the growth of personality truly related to God and man.
3. The opportunity of full development, physical, moral and spiritual, should be assured to every member of the community, man, woman and child. The development of man's full personality should not be hampered by unjust conditions nor crushed by economic pressure.
4. We should seek for a way of living that will free us from the bondage of material things and mere conventions, that will raise no barrier upon any by reason of our superfluous demands.
5. The spiritual force of righteousness, loving kindness and trust is mighty because of the appeal it makes to the best in every man and when applied to industrial relations achieves great things.
6. Our rejection of the methods of outward domination, and of the appeal to force applies not only to international affairs, but to the whole problem of industrial

control. Not through antagonism but through co-operation and good will can the best be attained for each and all.
7. Mutual service should be the principle upon which life is organized. Service not private gain should be the motive of all work.
8. The ownership of material things, such as land and capital, should be so regulated as best to minister to the need and development of man (Number 8 added in 1918) (LYM 1918, pp. 80–81).

The 1917 meeting ended with a call to "All Friends Everywhere" to examine the Social Order (LYM 1917). This put pressure on the Quaker Employers to act.

4 British Quaker Employer Response

The response of the British Quaker employers to this call to action by London Yearly Meeting was to hold a conference in April 1918, 6 months before the end of the Great War. A draft agenda and report had been created by a smaller group that had met four times in 1917–1918. The full conference was attended by 90 people (out of 375 invitations), representing 75 firms, each with at least 50 employees. It was estimated that the number of employees from those 75 firms totalled 44,000 out of a total of 100,000 employees in Quaker firms. Firms represented came from the industries of coal and iron, railways, textiles, engineering, food, laundries, and builders. Speakers represented large Quaker firms such as chocolate makers Cadbury and Rowntree, and tin manufacturer Morland and Impey (Hodgkin 1918).

The conference was chaired by Arnold Rowntree, who was an executive at his uncle's cocoa works, H.I.Rowntree & Co., and an MP for York. He had long been interested in social issues. At one time he had taught in an adult school and lived near the school in order to better understand the men's backgrounds and interests (Milligan 2007).

Theirs was a difficult task, acknowledged the chair in his opening address, reading from a letter from a Quaker who was thankful that they were 'not an employer having to face the practical question of what to do next' (Hodgkin 1918, p. 10). Despite the difficulties, he felt encouraged that the group had what it took to address the issues, given their knowledge of business, their attempts to understand the issues and the experiments that they had begun to conduct. He tied the efforts they were making to Quaker historical figures, such as John Bellers, the 'father of modern Christian Socialism', and John Woolman, as an example of individual business integrity. One of his major messages was that, while the paternal benevolence that was characteristic of Quaker employers was better than other employers' methods, it was time for greater equality, time for industrial democracy. A second main point was that the system of laissez-faire had resulted in cruel treatment of workers, and the trade unions were a response to the poor working conditions (Hodgkin 1918).

Before going into detailed discussion on the various topics on the agenda, the conference attendees immersed themselves in the viewpoint of labour. In a series of speeches entitled "The Claims of Labour," three labour representatives (two male labour Leaders and a female official of the Workers' Educational Association) gave their personal views of what the Quaker Employers needed to hear. Their main points were that labour wanted to be treated as human beings, that wages should be sufficient to live on, that working hours should not be punishing, that workers wanted the stability of work without unemployment and that worker should have a say in discipline. The labour representatives remained for the entire conference and participated in the discussions afterwards (Hodgkin 1918).

The topics that had been prepared by the subcommittee for the conference were: Wages, Status of the Worker, Working Conditions, Profit Sharing, Smaller Businesses, Security of Employment, Employment of Discharged Soldiers, and Surplus Profits. They discussed major issues such as shift work, long hours, relative pay and working conditions for children and women, and the effect of automation. The wages section was presented by Seebohm Rowntree, which was based on data from his 1900 study of the poverty in York. The conference intended to issue a minute, a draft of which had been prepared by the organizing subcommittee. Both the presentations and the prepared minute contained many socialist ideas and much discussion centred on how realistic the ideas were. On the other hand, there was also a concern about what the reception would be to their minute and whether the minute had enough "ginger" (Hodgkin 1918).

This was a much more complex environment than previous centuries. Unlike in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when Quakers had made changes to business practices themselves, they now had to be concerned about others. Throughout the conference, a major issue facing attendees was debate over what their role was to be versus other bodies, such as the government and the labour movement. Topics discussed included the adequacy of the recommendations of 1917 Whitley Report (a governmental report) which endorsed Worker Councils to deal with issues of pay and working conditions, and whether they could and should go beyond what it required. Attendees were also concerned about running afoul of the Federation of Trade rules. Repeatedly, they referred to whether labour would accept a proposal, asking the representatives of labour to speak to a particular item. They also kept bringing up the role of the government, such as the pending Education Bill, raising the amount paid to the unemployed by the government, and that Parliament should set a minimum wage (Hodgkin 1918).

There was also questioning of the underpinnings of the LYM *Eight Foundations of a True Social Order* which had prompted this meeting of the Employer Group. They noted that putting service to a vague community ahead of the self-interest of profit meant their business could fail. The question was asked: "How would failure help anyone?" Some questioned the inherent good nature of the workers—it had been their experience that workers lacked motivation. The problem of alcohol use by workers was brought up. Another issue was that the skills and knowledge of areas required to run a business that were outside of workers' purview. Questions were raised about how workers could be equal in that situation. How could they

'democratize' their business if the workers did not care and did not know enough? (Hodgkin 1918).

Despite their concern about the practicality of the "ideal" social order described in the *Eight Foundations* and the role they as employers could and should play, these Quaker employers did identify some creative solutions and expressed confidence that improved business management techniques could help address issues such as seasonal work and short time. They expressed willingness to work towards a living wage if it could be done without bankrupting the firms, to try profit sharing, and to improve working conditions (Hodgkin 1918).

5 1918–1928: A Difficult Time

5.1 Quaker Employer Group Progress

There was a lot of optimism at the 1918 Quaker Employer conference. They believed the war would be over soon, bringing a post-war boom, and they were ready to tackle the big problems they had identified. A similar group was inspired to form in Philadelphia, and there was cross fertilization, with members crossing the ocean to share their experiences. Their final minute got broad publication: it was included in the publication of the minutes for the 1920 Conference of All Friends, which Friends from all over the world had attended (Conference of All Friends 1920; Hodgkin 1918, 1920; PYM 1918–1921; Social Order Committee 1917–1929).

Quaker Employers made progress towards their goals in several ways: implementation of worker input via works councils, higher wages being paid due to more efficient management, a growing awareness that "surplus" profits should be shared with all involved, a better atmosphere in the factory, and considerable advances in private pensions and unemployment insurance that supplemented the inadequate national programs. Profit sharing was implemented in several of the firms represented at the conference (Hodgkin 1928). In 1922, it was reported to London Yearly Meeting that 50–60 firms had begun profit sharing programs (LYM 1922, p. 56).

The conference had also had an impact beyond the Quaker world—Seebohm Rowntree had held 25 other similar gatherings in non-Quaker settings, and *The Church and Industrial Reconstruction'* report in America was influenced by their findings. Even the Treaty of Versailles with a statement on a living wage may have been influenced by their work (Hodgkin 1928).

5.2 The Economic Environment

Despite the optimism, reality intruded. Instead of the expected boom, Britain had a post-war slump starting in 1921. The slump was partially a result of returning to the gold standard but much was due to the continued loss of global trade. With its

Empire, Britain had dominated global trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Goods created by the United States had begun displacing English goods before the war; the isolation imposed by German U-Boats during World War I accelerated the change. By the end of the Great War, the US was well entrenched in global trade (Eichengreen 2004; Harley 2004; Klein 2007; Magee 2004; Gunderson 1976).

As a result, after World War I, unemployment in England was high (reaching 36% in two Quaker industries—shipbuilding and iron and steel—and 20% in construction) (Briggs 1961, p. 203). While national unemployment insurance had been passed in 1920, it did not provide enough to live on. The labour environment was tumultuous: the rail workers had gone on strike in 1919, followed by the 1921 National Coal Strike. A dispute between the coal miners and the companies in 1925 lead to a General Strike in 1926. The 1926 Strike went on for months, affecting the entire country, and only ended because of the strikers literally ran out of food (Briggs 1961, p. 265).

5.3 The Quaker Environment

After the accomplishment of the 1918 adoption of the *Eight Foundations of a True Social Order*, the LYM War and Social Order Committee (W&SOC) was prolific, with a monthly column in the (London) Friend in the early 1920s, continued publication of books and pamphlets (e.g., *Social Freedom* by Maurice Rowntree in 1921) and holding conferences. As the 1920s wore on, the LYM W&SOC got more specific about the issues of the day. They wrote about the labour issues of the day, the various strikes (with a lot about the coal miners), and the ethics of striking. They wrote about the industrial relations in the various trades, shoes, cocoa and the railway. Conferences were arranged, bringing in outside speakers from government, political parties and experts. They asked for and were able to meet with government officials on the issues of unemployment and strikes. Experimental housing projects such as New Town (a cooperative planned community) and the Building Trade Guild in London that was headed by a committee member, Malcolm Sparkes, became the topics of (London) Friend articles as well (LYM 1916–1930; Rowntree 1921; Simpson 1920; War & Social Order Committee 1916, 1919).

Despite these achievements, all was not well with the W&SOC. There was criticism by an anonymous Friend that the Society of Friends had passed the *Eight Foundations of a True Social Order* without really understanding what it meant and its implications—that it meant giving up servants, living in smaller houses and doing without the things to which they had become accustomed. Letters appeared in the Friend saying that they should have representation from people who were involved in industry (LYM 1922–1927).

The criticism was not confined to Britain. Across the ocean, Hornell Hart, one of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) Friends who had been involved in the parallel organization, wrote a paper about what had happened with the W&SOC and Quaker Employers. In it, he criticized LYM's *Eight Foundations* as 'too vague, too up in the air. . .. One who sought to apply them specifically to his own work would

find much difficulty in determine just where and how to do it.' (Hart 1928a, p. 2). He contrasted their vagueness with the specificity of early Quaker queries concerning trade (Hart 1928b, p. 3).

In 1927, it was decided to disband the War and Social Order Committee as constituted because the name was out of date (i.e., the war had been over for a long time), and the committee did not have the full support of the Yearly Meeting. Members felt that no real progress had been made. They were not getting broad participation among a variety of Friends, with only a little participation from Friends who were employers, and thought they were regarded as a bunch of cranks. But it was not their fault; the local meetings had decided who to send as members. The Committee felt they could do no more (LYM 1927, pp. 83–4). The pressure was off the Quaker Employers.

6 The Quaker Employers' Conference of 1928

Despite the reduced pressure (or perhaps in an effort to show that the pressure did not need to be applied), in 1928 the Quaker Employers met again. The list of attendees was different, only about a quarter were returnees. The 75 attendees represented 50 different firms, ranging from launderers and caterers to ship builders and engineers. The two main Quaker cocoa firms were well represented, once again with presentations from both (Hodgkin 1928).

This group stated that their objective was to determine how to evolve the social order, not replace it. While they acknowledged that the *Eight Foundations* were a useful vision, their task was to determine what it actually meant in real life. William Wallace, from Rowntree Cocoa Works, gave the most substantive presentation, addressing a lot of the "hows". He started from the position that they should not let economic considerations drive them and that moral concerns should be used as the standards, but they had to discover how to achieve those standards in the most easily reached and practical way. Wallace then challenged the interpretation of some of the *Eight Foundations*. He felt that brotherhood did not mean equal shares; it meant proportional shares to 'abilities and energies' (Hodgkin 1928, p. 16). He challenged Foundation Number Two about being 'crushed by economic pressures', stating that we 'cannot be independent of economic considerations' and framing economics as a way of overcoming nature that has not been fully realized, explaining that '(t)here are multitudes, and whole races, who are still crushed by economic pressure, and must continue to be until a more effective economic organization gains greater mastery over Nature.' While he agreed that they 'should seek for a way of living that will free us from the bondage of material things', (he continued that) . . .'the quest will be a long one; we must still earn our bread by the sweat of our brows.' In regards to Foundation Number Seven, he flat out disagreed with 'service, not private gain, should be the motive of all work'—stating that 'it is not, and it is going to be an exceeding slow process of evolution, involving the changing of man's

fundamental instincts' (Hodgkin 1928, p. 16). Overcoming man's attraction to money would not happen overnight.

There was also recognition that more work needed to be accomplished. They had only dealt with a small amount of the problem and had not tackled the bigger problems of national unemployment and the issues of coal, cotton and engineering (industries that were under siege) (Hodgkin 1928, pp. 4, 65–66).

6.1 The Aftermath

The impoverished economic environment of the 1920s continued into the 1930s; the global effects of the 1929 US stock market crash affecting Britain as well (Floud and Johnson 2004). The profit sharing scheme devised did not work out in the long run because there were no profits; the Rowntree program only paid out profits in 2 of 18 years due to the poor economy (Briggs 1961). The Quaker Employers met again in 1938 and 1948 but attendance declined at each conference, as the Quaker firms went out of business due to the poor economic conditions or merged (Watchman 1938). The focus of the 1948 conference was 'Central Planning and Control.' The work they had set out to do in 1918 with optimism was never really accomplished and many of the Quaker firms were defunct by 1948 (Quaker Employer Group 1949). It was the end of the period of the great Quaker Employers.

6.2 Analysis

Theories about change are helpful to understand why the Quaker Employers were not as successful as they envisioned. One theory about change has three criteria: clear direction, motivation and a supportive community (Heath and Heath 2010). Using those three criteria to analyze the Quaker Employer Conferences would suggest that while the motivation seemed strong, the direction provided was not clear (even its ardent supporters realized later that the *Eight Foundations* were vague) and the community may not have provided a supportive environment for change.

The motivation came in the form of shaming. Even though the pressure was off by 1927 in terms of the War & Social Order Committee being disbanded, something had changed among Quakers. No longer were Quakers Employers looked up to; instead their success and wealth became a source of shame. Philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah considers shame and honour at the core of social change. In his view, people change, and change quickly, if they are shamed, and if their honour is at stake. His review of several historical situations such as the end of duelling, the end of slavery in England, and the end of foot binding in China, has pinpointed honour as a key determinant of change (Appiah 2010). But as author, Brene Brown, has uncovered, shame can also paralyze (Brown 2007). Thus, shaming probably provided a potent motivation, but one that may have lead to inadvertent consequences—Quakers either

leaving the Society of Friends because they could not live up to the vague standards, or choosing careers outside of business.

In terms of community, with the Quaker employers meeting only once every 10 years, with great turnover in between, they did not create a strong community. Further, the identity of the Society of Friends as a community of traders and merchants had fallen apart. A strong identity had been created in earlier years because they had similar occupations and they had had a strong, closed community. Instead, in the twentieth century there were very different factions, each with their own point of view, one trying to listen to the other but not really understanding the other.

Additionally, there were fundamental disagreements about the *Eight Foundations*. Further, the most radical reformers were not traders themselves—they were recommending changes to be made by other people, not by themselves. The reformers were outsiders, without an understanding of what was involved. Those more moderate reformers who had a stake in the issue, such as Seebohm Rowntree, were the ones most able to effect changes. Ironically, the changes Rowntree made were outside of the Quaker community perhaps because there was no shaming to paralyze them.

Another theory that may also be helpful in examining the lack of success was developed by Leonard Jason, who has studied both successful and unsuccessful social justice movements. Expanding on the Heath theory, Jason identifies five principles for successful change:

1. Determine the nature of the change
2. Identify the power holders
3. Create coalitions
4. Patience and persistence
5. Measure your success (Jason 2013, p. xiii)

As stated above, the vagueness of the nature of the change being requested by the *Eight Foundations* meant that it was not well described and there was no agreement, so there was no clarity. But perhaps more importantly, the power holders may not have been the right ones to make the change that was envisioned. They had to coordinate with many other groups and with Government rules. While the reformers did form coalitions, their patience was exhausted after a decade; they were at odds with their faith community as a whole, weakening their base. Lastly, the only measurement for success was the advent of the Kingdom of God, which is difficult to measure.

Were the Quaker employers the right ones to make the change? Did they have enough power to qualify as Jason's "power holders"? While Arnold Rowntree stated (in the 1918 conference) that he believed they could, that may not have been true. Many of the changes the socialists wanted were total societal changes, some of which were later enacted by the government, such as payments for the unemployed. While the Quakers could (and some did) set aside money so that their employees would be taken care of when they did not have work for them and try to rearrange their work, they could not change what others did. The social safety net needed to be developed by a larger entity than individual employers or one faith community's

leaders. Other changes might have been possible by this group if their businesses were performing well, but in the adverse economic conditions, with many businesses closing and others merging, perhaps it just was not possible. To paraphrase one of the early attendees, what good does it do to make the changes if you go out of business?

7 Conclusion

In 1918, Quaker Employers set out to achieve very ambitious goals in response to a challenge from their faith community. They were attempting to develop a new way to do business, with workers having more power, better treatment and better pay. Although they had been regarded as good employers, they were to try to fix the systemic issues they benefited from and participated in; the poor and dangerous working conditions and below subsistence wages. They made attempts, most notably implementing better working conditions and profit sharing. But the economic conditions were against them, indeed Britain went into an economic slump that lasted for decades. Their businesses spluttered, some failing, or merging. Profit sharing plans did not pay out because there were no profits. By the time of the Conference in 1948, many of their businesses were gone, and their momentum was gone as well.

There are probably several reasons why change didn't happen, including: what they were trying to accomplish was so difficult; the vision was unclear; they didn't really know *how* to do what they wanted; they did not have a supportive community; they could not stay in business long enough to effect lasting change; and they were not the right people to do it. What they were trying to do was so difficult that today we are dealing with similar issues. The vision was so unclear that people were still fighting about it a decade later. While their resolutions about dangerous working conditions and unemployment insurance have been addressed in England, these changes came about through governmental efforts, highlighting that Quaker Employers were not the right group. And, instead of their community supporting them, they shamed them. While shame can prompt people to change, in this case it may have paralyzed them.

Joseph Schumpeter has observed that the normal pattern of capitalism is that out of adverse conditions, the process of creative destruction drives new businesses to arise out of the ashes of the old (Appleby 2010, p. 183). In the early twentieth century, instead of businesses and innovative new products being created as Schumpeter had described, what was created out of the ashes of the Quaker Employers were the great Quaker non-profits, foundations such as the four Rowntree Trusts, and Quaker Schools. Quaker businesses have almost become an oxymoron today, with a powerful history but leaving the problem of creating a new more principled way to running a business for others to solve.

8 Lessons for the Future

Here are some lessons for the future from examining the lack of success that the Quaker Employers had and the factors that contributed to it:

- Only people who have the power to implement a change will be successful.
- Recognize that enacting major change is difficult.
- Not letting shame enter if failure happens, especially if the task is difficult. Shame can backfire and cause paralysis, which doesn't help.
- Be clear about what is wanted but be flexible for what is possible.
- Recognize and celebrate the small wins.
- Develop a community to debate options and support changes.
- Develop patience and persistence (Community helps with that).

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Honey I Shrunk the State

Mike King

1 Introduction: Big State/Small State

What size the public sphere? This question goes to the heart of politics since the Quaker John Bright (1839–1922) was a parliamentarian as well known in the middle nineteenth century as Gladstone and Disraeli. Bright is important to the Quaker tradition for representing its 'small government' branch of political thinking, in contrast to George Cadbury (1811–1889), founder of the chocolate business, and whose legacy in political thinking leans much more to 'big government'. This is partly a question of how we find the balance between private goods and public goods. This chapter suggests that it is useful to consider Karl Marx and Milton Friedman as respectively representing extremes of thought on this issue and that Quakers can help discern between the legacies of Bright and Cadbury by considering how close Cadbury's legacy might be to Marxian thinking compared to how close Bright's legacy might be to Friedmanite thinking. The state pension is used as an example of a public good to help explore this question.

Whatever else currently divides the political left from the political right clearly the left are in favour of extensive state involvement in people's lives, the right in favour of the minimum such involvement. This general assertion is complicated by an association at some times and in some countries between the political right and fascism, where fascism implies the dictatorial power of an all-encompassing state. In contemporary Britain and America the political right is better described as libertarian, where libertarianism demands a small state and relative indifference to those who cannot always meet their needs through their individual efforts. At times the left is also associated with an equally all-encompassing state devoid of democratic checks and balances. Hence it can be useful to describe the tenor of typical

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governments that alternate in power in the West as either libertarian conservatism or democratic socialism.

Mariana Mazuccato—an economist of interest because of her work on the entrepreneurial state—cites an old adage that the US founding fathers were torn between the principles of the activist Alexander Hamilton and the laissez-faire Thomas Jefferson (2013: p. 73). The latter believed that 'the government that governs least, governs best' and was greatly admired by Bright (Cash 2017: p. 246). Mazucatto then quotes this brilliant observation: 'With time and usual American pragmatism, this rivalry has been resolved by putting the Jeffersonians in charge of the rhetoric and the Hamiltonians in charge of policy,' (2013: p. 73). Perhaps nothing better captures the reality and paradox of the modern state than this.

The simplest measure of the size of the state is the percentage of GDP represented by government spending which remains stubbornly around the 40% mark in the UK and around the 35% mark in the USA since the 1960s.[1] Governments tending to libertarian conservatism—those in charge of 'rhetoric' one might say—achieve only marginal downward adjustments of this figure while the policies of governments tending to democratic socialism make only marginal upwards adjustments, 'marginal' here being about 10%. Of course, downward adjustments can be extremely painful for those dependent on the state.

In one sense at least it is clear that government is already 'big' and that efforts to reduce it, while sometimes painful, are not much more than whack-a-mole. The libertarian rhetoric seems out of kilter with the reality.

While the perennial objection to high spending lies in the wallet of the disgruntled citizen, the other objection to 'big' government is its regulatory reach or 'red tape'. The cost to the taxpayer of this is hard to quantify, though when for example food standards inspectors are cut the outcome may perhaps become apparent in outbreaks of food poisoning or livestock epidemics. It is clear however that the libertarian right always aims at a downward adjustment in both total government spending and its regulatory reach, while the policies of the collectivist left inevitably entail an upward adjustment of both. The modern Western state lives in a balance then between the Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians, neither obtaining outright victories. This balance is variously described as 'social democracy' or 'welfare capitalism' or 'mixed economy', implying a dynamic state of upward and downward adjustment as governments of different tenor take office.

Where, we ask, do Quakers stand on this adjustment? Does their activism for social justice align itself with the upward or the downward adjustment? Does this activism agree with Jefferson that 'the government that governs least, governs best' or does it disagree? The thought and actions of the Quakers John Bright and George Cadbury help us pursue the question.

[1] https://data.oecd.org/gga/general-government-spending.htm [Accessed 3rd March 2018].

2 Bright vs. Cadbury

Quakers are a fiercely independent group of people and so it is not obvious in the first instance whether they welcome or deplore big government as appropriate for furthering traditional Quaker goals. Indeed when we take two eminent Victorian Quaker businessmen, George Cadbury and John Bright, we find them at opposite ends of the political spectrum here. Although their respective campaigning power and wealth were equally at the service of the poor and disadvantaged, we can argue that Cadbury's philosophy naturally leads to big government while Bright's leads to small. It is not hard to demonstrate that Cadbury's politics belong to democratic socialism and Bright's to libertarian conservatism as defined here.

George Cadbury grew up in industrial Birmingham UK and saw first hand what the factory system meant in terms of the degradation of the working classes. The chocolate factory founded by him and his brother became the vehicle for an experiment in paternalistic socialism that became a model for the world, and the world would visit it to learn how workers could be lifted out of poverty and its ills. The experiment was called Bournville,[2] and its many detractors in its early stage ensured that Cadbury was an object of suspicion to the Birmingham mainstream. Indeed he himself regarded his political views as so radical that he turned down an honorary degree from Birmingham University on the grounds that 'it would not help the University to have his name associated with it in that connexion,' as he wrote in his letter of refusal (Gardiner 1923: p. 88). However, the paternalistic socialism of Cadbury epitomised that of countless other Quaker business people and indeed of a stratum of industrial philanthropists of the period. On the other hand this paternalistic socialism had little in common with Marxist socialism. Quakers as pacifists reject the idea of violent revolution; as entrepreneurs are usually against the nationalisation of the means of production; and as a (self-) educated elite are not traditionally idealistic about the proletariat. Neither do they believe that religion is the opiate of the masses.

John Bright, born 28 years before George Cadbury, was in his day a far greater public figure, mentioned in the same breath as Disraeli and Gladstone, though we should note that things might have been otherwise had Cadbury accepted Gladstone's invitation to stand for Parliament (Gardiner 1923: p. 75). Bright remains the most eminent Quaker Member of Parliament to date and his most famous victory was the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846. He also coined the phrase 'mother of parliaments', now thought to refer to the UK Parliament, though his actual words were 'England is the mother of parliaments' (Cash 2017: p. 96). As a Quaker he was profoundly aligned with Cadbury against armed conflict, and lost his Manchester seat in 1857 for opposing the Crimean war. Apart from this his political-economic instincts were very different to Cadbury, though still eminently Quakerly as we shall see. Although Disraeli accurately commented that the end of the Corn Laws would pass power in the UK from the hands of the landed aristocracy to the rising

[2]See for example Cadbury, Deborah, *Chocolate Wars*, Harper Press, 2010.

industrialist class, Bright was not an intuitive industrialist. He ran the cotton mill that was his family business and was as acute a businessman as Cadbury, but his interests and instincts appear distinctly agrarian. As Bill Cash,[3] biographer of Bright, puts it; 'Bright displayed a strong sense of Jeffersonian ownership, a philosophy of a stake in the land.' (Cash 2017: p. 246) The demographic of the Quakers is relevant here: they mostly came from rural backgrounds where they operated as fiercely independent husbandmen and women, as freemen, as yeomanry, or as smallholders. It is the instinctive self-reliance of these people—mostly driven into the new industrial city hubs by refusal to pay Anglican tithes—that informs Bright's politics. To the extent that he understood the grave conditions of working people his solution to their problems diverged radically from Cadbury's. Bright's answer is classical libertarian conservatism: give ordinary people the vote, give ordinary people freedom, and they will create their own economic means. It is a vision deeply informed by the yeoman archetype and which made Bright ultimately the champion of the middle-classes not the working poor. However, Bright's dictum on the mother of Parliaments and his opposition to Irish home rule means that he is far from the free-market anarcho-capitalists of the contemporary far right such as David Friedman, son of the economists Rose and Milton Friedman.[4] Bright believed in universal franchise and a Parliament answerable to all the people, but he also believed in Parliament as absolute sovereign. More, he thought the British Parliament was the leading democratic institution in the world and utterly opposed Irish home rule (Cash 2017: p. 248).

At first glance one can suggest that Cadbury's politics are centre-left because they eschew Marxism while Bright's politics are centre-right because they eschew anarchy. Bright is a classical statist, but a small-statist because he opposed government regulation of industry, and was 'apoplectic' about the reintroduction of income tax as Cash tells us (2017: p. 22): '"No government," he thundered to Cobden, "can have a right to make me state the amount of my profits & it is a vile system of slavery to which Englishmen are about to be subjected."'

As President of the Board of Trade Bright resisted legislation against the adulteration of food, saying that it arose from the inevitable competition between businesses and is 'largely promoted by the ignorance of customers', and simply hoped that as customer ignorance diminished so too would adulteration (Peter 2015: p. 76). Cadbury in contrast insisted on purity in his chocolate production at a time when an investigation showed that 39 of 70 chocolate samples had been coloured with red brick dust, and fought for Parliament to introduce labelling laws (Cadbury 2010: p. 88). More than that, it was the experience of Cadbury and other Quaker industrialists that the standards they set on pay, work safety, medical care, education and pensions would slowly be adopted and paid for by government. Bright opposed all government intervention in industry and believed that the free market would be

[3]Sir Bill Cash is a British Conservative politician and Member of Parliament.

[4]See for example https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anarcho-capitalism [Accessed 3rd March 2018] and Friedman, D. (1973) *The Machinery of Freedom*, Open Court Publishing.

the ultimate benefit for the working poor. Cadbury saw that paternalistic capitalism worked very well when the industrialist chose that path—and even that it could be highly profitable. But what of the industrialist who chose the meaner path? What of those capitalists that set the lowest wages, saw workers as expendable and replaceable from an unlimited pool, adulterated their foodstuffs, cut corners on safety, and devoted their profits solely to their own luxury? Cadbury's legacy points to the state as sole possible guarantor that the capitalist would not sink to this level.

Who is right though? How should Quakers today choose between the political wisdom of Bright and Cadbury? Neither appear to belong to the type of extreme naturally shunned by Quakers. Both are convincing in their words and actions. Is there some logic that would help Quakers discern the better path?

Perhaps there is a logic, and perhaps it lies in a phrase extensively used by Marx, even if it lies entirely outside Marx's own logic. It is when we contemplate 'the means of production'. The Jeffersonian yeoman vision is of each household as an independent economic unit producing the base of the economic pyramid: food or whatever else the land or water can yield or support, such as minerals, timber, livestock, fish and plant fibres. Basic manufacturing as pursued in family forges were also traditional Quaker pursuits (and led them to dominate the revolution in iron production in Britain) (King 2014: p. 108). Let people be free again to pursue those noble activities of the land and simple manufacture and the state will wither away, believes the Jeffersonian. Yet here is the irony or flaw in this logic for Quakers: it was their religious beliefs that led them to refuse tithes, be driven into urban environments, and abandon the land and its direct means of production. Instead they mastered the new means of production, the factory. Bright's background here is no different to Cadbury's. Whatever the traditional ranking in earlier times from peasant to husbandman to yeoman in terms of mastery and ownership of the land, even the lowest peasant could survive on a small plot and some limited livestock. Engels comments on how Irish peasants driven into Liverpool would retain old habits of pig-rearing and if not allowed to keep the animal in a shed would share their bedroom with it (2009: p. 103). The pig, then, is a specialised means of production; land is a whole universe of production. But when the basic family unit has no land and is not even allowed to keep a pig or have space on which it can forage, where have the means of production gone? Where in the Victorian Manchester or Birmingham slums—crammed together by developers to house factory workers—were any means of production to be found by the working poor on their doorsteps? And today, in the council estates[5] of Glasgow, Hackney, or Tower Hamlets, or in the Skid Rows[6] of American cities where are those means of production to be found?

The far-right libertarian assumes that the means of production can be conjured into existence by anyone if given sufficient freedom. The far-left socialist—the Marxist—believes that one class, the workers, should appropriate the means of

[5]'Council estate' is the traditional British term for areas of cities with predominantly social, i.e. state-provided, housing.

[6]'Skid Row' is a term used in America to denote poverty and is also an area of Los Angeles containing one of the largest populations of homeless people in the United States.

production from another class, the capitalists (the 'appropriators'). The logic of these extreme positions is easy to expose as potentially flawed. But the logic of the centre-right embodied in Bright and the centre-left embodied in Cadbury require more thought. While land is now simply unavailable to the working poor, there are new means of production. A van can be used for delivery. Carpenter's tools can be used for cabinet-making. A computer can be used for myriad services. Even a motorised lawnmower can provide a livelihood. Is Bright not right to promote deregulated markets that allow anyone to start a small business, to become the yeoman-equivalent for the industrial age? Why should anyone depend on the state? Why should anyone depend on a paternalistic industrialist? If the nanny-state and the nanny-employer withdraw, will not the simple self-reliance of the citizen initiate a million small-scale enterprises? The Quaker is not by instinct a Marxist type of socialist at all. So why should the Quaker not be more inclined to Bright than Cadbury? Even though Cadbury's paternalistic socialism might be more palatable than Marx's revolutionary socialism?

The internal logic of 'the means of production' need only to be pursued a little deeper to indicate caution however. What distinguishes industrial production from such things as the family forge, loom, spinning jenny, or printing press is not only the centralisation and scale of production, but the *powering* of that production. Historically Quakers were often the first to introduce steam engines into their business, whether to drive bellows for blast furnaces, to grind cocoa for chocolate, or power the brewing of beer (Quakers at different times ran the biggest iron works, the biggest chocolate factories and the biggest breweries in the world) (King 2014: p. 108). Whether it is a steam engine or electrical power or a diesel engine makes no difference, it has huge implications for production. The first of these is an enormous reduction in unit costs for goods and the second is the enormous capital required to purchase the machinery in the first place. And both of these have devastating implications for the means of production on a family scale. If industrial production harnessing fossil-fuel or other energy sources drives down unit costs, how can a family-sized producer compete in Bright's 'fair' marketplace? Conversely, if a brewery can truck its ingredients and outputs around an industrial-scale operation using steam power, how can a family afford the capital for such equipment? Indeed, the death-knell for Quaker dominance in British industry was sounded by Victorian legislation that permitted limited-liability joint-stock companies, which could raise far more capital than even the Quakers could manage in their network of family-owned businesses and banks (Walvin 1997: p. 61). Capitalism, then, removed 'the means of production' from the realm of the family, through powered large-scale centralised operations which could also pursue management and marketing with the same economies. Put another way, the economies of scale are all stacked against the individual producer.

This logic does not seem to be addressed by the libertarian conservatives. Low wages for millions at the bottom ensures that they have no possibility of saving even for the simplest of capital items, let alone enough to compete in the market place with joint-stock corporations that can raise millions in a single flotation. Where are the working poor ever to obtain their 'means of production' from? It has been suggested that trades unions do so (Nozick 1980: p. 253), but given that membership fees only just cover union activities how can the surplus of this class possibly compete on a

capital basis with the surplus of the class of investors and millionaires? The temperament of the trades unionist is at the same time not the temperament of the entrepreneur. The tiny numbers that do rise out of the working poor, subjects of popular 'rags-to-riches' success stories, appear to form the sole logic of the libertarian conservatives, and possibly also persuade millions to vote against their class interests by supporting the 'small state' philosophy so useful to the 1% of self-made millionaires.

Quakers by instinct weigh up the truth on both sides of an argument, do not rush in their deliberations, and arrive at a 'discernment' in the fullness of time. Both Bright and Cadbury represent positions that appear far from extreme, are tinged with all the Quaker hallmarks of profound compassion for the disadvantaged, and need extensive investigation before arriving at a conclusion.

3 Marx and Friedman

Let us further consider the extremes which Bright's and Cadbury's politics might be the moderate Quakerly expressions thereof. Karl Marx (1818–1883) was an approximate contemporary to Bright and Cadbury and could be said to express an extreme socialism eschewed by Cadbury yet aiming to ameliorate the same evils of industrial capitalism as the chocolatier. Marx's legacy forms a continuum of political thought to this day. Free-market liberalism does not appear to begin with such an extreme; Adam Smith as its founder appears moderate for his period,[7] largely perhaps because the factory system had not yet got into full swing. It is in the twentieth century that free market ideology grows more radical, perhaps as a response to the growing size of the state in the free world, itself a direct response to industrialisation. Friedrich Hayek[8] and Ludwig von Mises[9] were highly influential free-market thinkers and their legacy comes perhaps to a peak in the work of Milton Friedman (1912–2006), an economist who has not only great influence on government policy in the Americas and Europe but who also popularised free-market ideas through television and popular books. Although Friedman and Marx are a century apart it is useful to juxtapose their particular extremes of thought in relation to Cadbury and Bright.

It is clear that Friedman proposed the absolute minimum of state ownership and control of 'the means of production' while Marx demanded total state ownership and control. For Friedman any revenue from business claimed by the state in taxation was a burden while for Marx all revenue from business belonged to the state. But is it

[7]Smith, Adam, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations: A Selected Edition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

[8]For example, Hayek, F. A., *The Road to Serfdom*, London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

[9]For example, Von Mises, Ludwig, *Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981.

right to say that for Quakers that Marx and Friedman are extreme? And is it useful to suggest that the one is properly the antithesis of the other?

3.1 Is Marx Extreme?

We have already suggested that Marx's system is extreme for Quakers because it argues for violent revolution and the state ownership of all means of production. At the same time Marx's writings on the sufferings of the working poor in Victorian England suggest a compassion not at all foreign to Quakers. The Rowntree report of 1901 *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (Rowntree 1901) demonstrated the truth of many of Marx's insights into capitalist production, the key factor in worker degradation being low wages. It is also true that since the 2008 recession Marx's ideas have been looked at again, supported by the influential work of Thomas Piketty (2014). Piketty and others have demonstrated that inequality today is returning to Victorian levels (for example Wilkinson and Pickett 2009). Quakers will not therefore close the door completely on Marxist thought, but one point of departure is unlikely to change, given Quaker history: the key role Quakers must apportion to the entrepreneur, entirely denied by Marx.

3.2 Is Friedman Extreme?

The ideas of Milton Friedman belong to a tradition that is strong in America, including the Austrian school economists Hayek and Von Mises and the influential novelist and playwright Ayn Rand.[10] They are not just a phenomenon of their time and place but find resonance in much contemporary British libertarianism too, including the Conservative biographer of John Bright, Conservative MP Bill Cash, and writer Dominic Frisby,[11] who along with other anarcho-capitalists propose not so much a shrunken state but its end altogether. Friedman was Margaret Thatcher's favourite economist and many policies of the Conservatives can be found in the chapters of Friedman's book *Capitalism and Freedom*. Far from extreme, Friedman's ideas appear mainstream.

Only a thoughtful study of Friedman's short book can persuade the average Quaker one way or the other. There is not space here for anything like a complete analysis but a few points are worth bringing up to make the case that Friedman is indeed as extreme a libertarian as Marx was a socialist. For example Friedman states: 'The freedom of individuals to use their economic resources as they want includes the freedom to use them to have children—to buy, as it were, the services of children

[10]For example, Rand, Ayn, *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal*, New York: Signet, 1966.

[11]Frisby, Dominic, *Life After the State*, Paperback, *Unbound*, 2013.

as a particular form of consumption,' (2002: p. 33). He agrees that this might seem callous and qualifies it with what is his key point that the child has a value in itself and entitled to a freedom of its own. But the statement is allowed to stand as a backdrop to the small-state approach to the family: the child is a consumer item and why should the state contribute to the parents' consumption in this respect or any respect?

Another example involves race. He points out that a shopkeeper who refuses to serve an Afro-Caribbean or a labourer who refuses to work alongside those of a different ethnicity incur a cost penalty (Friedman 2002: p. 110). The shopkeeper loses business and the worker is restricted in the kind of work they can find. But Friedman concludes: '. . . there are real problems in defining and interpreting discrimination. The man who exercises discrimination pays a price for doing so. He is, as it were, "buying" what he regards as a "product." It is hard to see that discrimination can have any meaning other than a "taste" of others that one does not share.' Friedman does not consider, it seems, that calling a child a consumer product is alarming or that describing racial discrimination as the purchase of a 'product' is insulting and unacceptable. By making freedom his highest value he cannot perhaps avoid such offensive absurdities. One cannot imagine that John Bright would be comfortable with either of these ideas, especially as he worked tirelessly for the abolition of slavery.

The central economic idea of Friedman's book however is that 'economic freedom is . . . an indispensable means toward the achievement of political freedom' (Friedman 2002: p. 8). Bright might well agree with this at first glance, particularly when Friedman explains: 'The kind of economic organization that provides economic freedom directly, namely, competitive capitalism, also promotes political freedom because it separates economic power from political power and in this way enables one to offset the other' (2002: p. 9). Bright's whole effort was to separate the economic power of the landed aristocracy in order to end their political power. But the result was that economic power was transferred, as Disraeli observed, to the industrialists. The worker who formerly tilled the soil for the aristocrat and who now laboured in a factory was not much freed politically by this transfer of power, unless fortunate enough to work for Cadbury perhaps. Even then one cannot call industrial paternalism political freedom. That was wrested for the working person through the trades unions and the wider labour movement. In more recent times the dictum 'economic freedom is essential for political freedom' looks more like an empty slogan given how much political power can be bought by wealth. One might observe that the extreme economic freedom that libertarian policies have brought since the time of Thatcher and Reagan have handed extreme political freedom to the very rich. Is this what Bright stood for?

3.3 *Does Friedman's Legacy Provide the Antithesis to Marx's?*

The essential social problem Quakers are concerned about today is of ever-increasing inequality, likely to grow worse with the deeper penetration of Artificial Intelligence into the professions and increasing robotics in manufacture.[12] The analysis of Piketty and others suggest that the start of this massive trend to inequality began with the privatisations and liberalisations of industry in the 1980s: the Thatcher and Reagan revolution. What was being implemented was an Austrian school agenda that very often looks like it was lifted chapter by chapter from Friedman's book *Capitalism and Freedom* (King 2014: pp. 209–288). As already suggested most Western democracies are profound compromises between the extremes of total state control and anarcho-capitalism. One may choose other thinkers on political economy to mark those extremes, but for the moderate Quaker Marx and Friedman may well serve. Our question then becomes this: out of Bright or Cadbury does one of them steer closer to their respective extreme than the other?

Each Quaker has to answer this individually of course, but let us further this investigation by considering the question of private and public goods.

4 Private vs. Public Goods

In the nineteenth century when Bright and Cadbury were forging their different careers the state was small compared to now. UK government expenditure as percentage of GDP was something like 17% in 1860 compared to 43% in 2017.[13] Bright would no doubt have been horrified at this huge increase and perhaps also deeply puzzled that the relatively libertarian policies of the major parties since the Thatcher era have permitted it. What this means in terms of public and private goods is that a huge increase in national effort has gone into the public realm since the Victorian period. What however are these 'public goods' bought with this vastly increased tax-payers contribution? And why have the libertarians failed to prevent this increase?

First, let us be clear about the distinction between private and public goods. Individuals and firms have earnings which they can spend as they like on products and services—these are private goods because individuals and firms decide on the spending. However a proportion of earnings are transferred to the government as tax. The government—in both local and national form—then makes decisions on spending tax revenues on products and services on behalf of the nation. It is a question of who decides the spending. UK government spending for 2016–2017 was £780

[12]For example, as detailed in the report by the Royal Society of Arts, https://medium.com/the-age-of-automation/the-age-of-automation-c1755969d3e2 [Accessed 3rd March 2018].

[13]https://data.oecd.org/gga/general-government-spending.htm [Accessed 3rd March 2018].

billion, and its breakdown tells us much about the public goods our taxes purchase. The biggest share of spending is across three areas: social protection at 31.1%, health at 18.8% and education at 13.2%. All three deliver public goods that in the era of Bright and Cadbury were mostly purchased privately, and which extreme libertarians want restored to the private sphere today. If we further break down social protection we find that by far the largest single component of it is pensions at 42%. This means that pensions are 13% of government spending, roughly equal to education, and roughly twice as much as defence.[14]

If we want to explore what the respective legacies of Bright and Cadbury tell us about the size of the state we would need to work through the complete list of major government spending items. However pensions offer us a microcosm of the greater expenditure because they represent the largest component of welfare and a significant portion of the total budget; because, apart from children, pensioners are the least likely to contribute to tax revenues; and because the elderly are now far less likely to be supported by family than in Victorian times.

Pensions are also an archetypal 'good' that can be delivered either by the state sector via taxation or by the private sector directly by purchasing an annuity. For an individual to purchase an annuity their income must exceed expenditure to the amount of that annuity contribution at least, if paid into over a working lifetime, or savings on retirement must amount to a lump sum sufficient to purchase it. The working poor in Cadbury's time had no such surplus income or possibility of saving, and were reliant during retirement on their family to support them, or on the Victorian workhouse or poor house. The working poor now—though now able to buy goods at a low cost unimaginable to the Victorians—are in fact no better able to save for an annuity and are likely to be totally reliant on the state pension or pension credit in old age.

Let us speculate on Bright's and Cadbury's position on pensions. Bright's efforts were directed at the removal of the aristocracy's hold on land—whether in mainland Britain or in Ireland—via universal franchise and abolition of the Corn Laws. Bright would therefore probably believe that with a smallholding every family would support those family members too old to work and there would be no burden on the state at all. Cadbury's efforts also incorporated sufficient garden in the Bournville workers' cottages, to supplement the diet, and above-average wages so workers could save for old age. But his firm also paid out pensions, as did other enlightened industrialist, and his son Edward Cadbury was amongst prominent businessmen who helped push the Old-Age Pensions Act of 1908 into law, a foundational part of modern welfare. Although strict conditions adhered to this early state pension it was non-contributory. The 'Cadbury position' on pensions, as suggested earlier might be this: not all employers could be relied on to pay pensions and not all working people, particularly women, were employed sufficiently to rely on an employer in the first place.

[14]https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_spending_in_the_United_Kingdom [Accessed 3rd March 2018] or https://www.ukpublicspending.co.uk/total_2017UKbt_17bc5n [Accessed 3rd March 2018].

Now let us turn to Friedman and Marx respectively to see where Bright and Cadbury's legacies can be placed on the question of pensions. Friedman's position on welfare and pensions is set out in chapter eleven of his highly influential book *Capitalism and Freedom*. He is quite against any form of state pension, objecting to both its compulsory contributions component and its redistribution component and declares that if we are going to help the poor what difference does age make? Why have separate state aid for the elderly? To consider these points in reverse order, why indeed is an old age pension a separate form of welfare? The Quaker answer might be this: that the working poor are forced by necessity to undertake physical labour, often unskilled, that age and infirmity finally makes impossible. The labourer, unlike Friedman, cannot coast through old age on lecture tours. It is a simple human dignity to provide a basic provision, a financial safety net for the working poor who have worked all their life and are no longer able to. Having identified this particular demographic as those most in need of the state pension it is then easy to see why the state pension is intrinsically redistributive: it is designed for the poorer section of society. And why make contributions compulsory? Because it restores the dignity of a link between the work of a lifetime and the leisure of retirement (Burton 2018: p. 5). In the UK the old age pension is linked to National Insurance contributions which are a percentage of earnings. There is no link therefore between the *amount* of contribution and the value of the pension, merely that there *was* a contribution. Friedman's objection to all this is that everybody is in a position to make their own pension provision. If 90% of the population were unable to, then there would be a case for the state pension he argues, but if only 1% are unable to then there is no case (Freidman 2002: p. 188). In the UK today 21% of women and 9% of men retire with no personal pension,[15] in a nation with far higher average per capita wealth than in the 1960s when Friedman was writing. Without the state pension their position would be desperate. But Friedman (2002: p. 188) offers no figures, assumes that it is only 1%, and makes no suggestion as to how the 1% can be helped.

Turning to Marx we can be in no doubt that all Marxist-inspired countries instituted state pensions. What is extreme in the Marxist position is not the pension but the entire appropriation of private sector business to pay for it and other welfare items.

We can now ask, where on the neoliberal spectrum towards the extreme of Friedman would we place Bright? And where on the socialist spectrum towards Marx would we place Cadbury? The latter question is relatively easy to answer: Cadbury saw the plight of the working poor in Birmingham's factory slums and worked through capitalism to erase its worst side-effects. He had no ideological objection to capitalism at all, and as a gifted businessman was under no illusion that just anyone could manage a successful enterprise. His concerns for the working poor were the same as Marx's, and while Marx, Cadbury, Booth, Engels, Rowntree and Disraeli were all conscious of the 'two nations' that industrialisation was creating

[15] https://www.theguardian.com/money/2017/oct/21/uk-retirees-state-pension-financial-future [Accessed 3rd March 2018].

and either drew on the same government statistics to support their views or carried out their own research, Cadbury's answer to the problem has little in common with Marx's.

Bright's position appears however to be close to Friedman's. It is the breezy certainty that if the working person be given the vote and a piece of land they will support themselves with no difficulty at all times and in all circumstances. It is *freedom* that Bright argues for above all, the central theme also of Freidman's work. But does freedom put food on the table if you have no land? Bright's commitment to universal franchise as the solution to the poverty of working people implies a belief that they would subsequently vote in their class interests and thus improve their lot. To the extent that they did they eventually voted in the Labour governments of post-war Britain to usher in the necessary changes. And what were the changes exactly? A welfare state. The exact opposite of what both Bright and Friedman believe in.

The logic of Bright and Friedman seems powerless to prevent the burgeoning safety net that, in different degrees, is the feature of modern democracies. The logic of Marx likewise has had little purchase on these states. So, why, we must ask, does the logic of Cadbury seem to have won the day? This logic says that in the early days it was only the paternalism of industrialists such as the Quakers which lifted the working poor out of desperation and that this paternalism cannot be left to the whims of employers but must be adopted by the state. Why has the passage of time endorsed the logic of Cadbury rather than Bright? Is it faulty? Should we not reverse it to restore the natural freedoms of the modern-day yeoman and his family?

Although Marx provided the phrase it is perhaps Cadbury who best understood what 'the means of production' signify in the modern world. For the hunter-gatherer stepping out of cave or tent the means of production were scattered through the natural world. For Cadbury's urban poor in Birmingham there was not a scrap of land anywhere near the front door to grow a potato or let a pig forage on, assuming one could afford the seed potato or piglet in the first place. There are simply no means of production anywhere that do not belong to or have not been created by others, and so the working poor are faced with indentured labour—as Engels movingly describes—or death by starvation. Bright inherited a cotton mill, and may well have steered it to further success by his own talents, but what use such talents to those born with nothing and subject to long hours at low wages in factories, Rachmanism in housing, the loan shark, the grasping pub landlord, and other purveyors of narcotic escapism from the drudgery of factory toil? Friedman insists that these people should save for an annuity for old age, but how is that possible when you are already borrowing each week ahead of payday? And what happens when you are 'repudiated' by the industrialist, as Engels puts it, in an economic downturn or because you are ill or because a drop forge has taken off your right arm?

Libertarians declares that health care, unemployment insurance, old age annuities, legal services and education are all private goods to be paid for by the citizen not the state. If the state were shrunk to the point that everyone had to end their reliance on it and become an entrepreneur, the modern-day equivalent of the stout Jeffersonian yeoman, we would all flourish, they say. Cadbury saw it differently and when the working poor of Birmingham and elsewhere had the vote they voted for the

welfare state not the 'freedom' to starve. And basic economics reinforces this: even if a working person owns the basic means of production, such as carpenter's or plumber's tools, or the basic kit for hairdressing, how easy is it to set up on one's own? In all industries the economies of scale inexorably drive down the number of operators. In Britain today to start a smallholding something like £1 million is needed in capital for the land and agricultural machinery. The yeoman of Jefferson's time, of Quaker history, and perhaps lingering into the lifetime of Bright—particularly in Ireland—was clearly destined to disappear, and Cadbury was on the right side of this argument. When Friedman (2002: p. 13) suggests that 'the household always has the alternative of producing directly for itself, it need not enter into any exchange unless it benefits from it,' he is clearly wrong in the modern world. Has he tried growing potatoes or rearing a pig in a council flat or on the sidewalk in Skid Row?

The Quaker history also tells us something about the entrepreneur, especially if we view this individual through the lens of the economist Joseph Schumpeter, one of the few to give consideration to the question. His account of the typical—and extremely rare—entrepreneur matches the Quakers such as Cadbury to a tee (King 2014: p. 173). While the yeoman is required to innovate only very slowly and take minimum risk while doing so, the entrepreneur is a unique risk-taking individual that has totally shaped the modern world. Without them there would simply be none of the modern goods or services we expect, whether paid for by private citizens or the state.

5 Full-Spectrum Public Goods

We could venture that the Hamiltonians—translated here as the 'Cadburyites'—remain put in charge of policy, while modern-day Jeffersonians that wish to shrink the state—'Friedmanites' we can call them—still seem to be in charge of rhetoric. Quakers do not easily shake off their yeoman heritage, their self-reliance and their internal equivalent to the 'Big Society' whereby they help each other in need. Quakers are instinctive entrepreneurs and may not see why the reach of the state into business has to be so extensive. But Quakers have always responded to the needy outside their own community and view the homeless of today and those forced to depend on foodbanks as call on their conscience. To help Quakers consider what the fundamental covenant should be between private sector business and the state we have explored a single public good: the old age pension. Perhaps it would indeed be absurd to shrink or abolish it, perhaps that would indeed be counter to all Quaker values. Pensions are only 13% of government spending. How about all the other components? Are unemployment benefits too generous? At 0.33% of government spending that seems unlikely. Incapacity, disability and injury benefits at around 5%? That again seems like a small price to pay. If five pence in every pound of tax paid goes to the disabled can a Quaker really argue with that? Or the big items, health

at 18.8% and education at 13.2%?[16] And so on. It is the logic of Cadbury that has shaped this policy it seems.

There is also the other argument, that the state is not in fact big enough to compensate for modern means of production and its concentration in the hands of the very few. The shrinking of many welfare budgets since the economic crash of 2008 is termed 'austerity' and many economists believe that it was a mistake (e.g. Pettifor 2013), citing Keynes as the originator of the idea that government should spend more on a downturn not less, to the benefit of private sector enterprise as much as those dependent on welfare.

6 Conclusions

The history of the Quakers makes them well placed to thoughtfully contemplate the covenant between the business sector and the welfare state. Instinctively inclined to the legacy of Bright perhaps, while logically persuaded by the opposite legacy of Cadbury, it is no easy task of discernment to pronounce on the 'size' of the state. The reference to a science fiction film in 'honey I shrank the state' implies that those who wish to shrink the state are mad scientists. John Bright, the Austrian school, and Milton Friedman are far from mad however and deserve serious consideration. So how should discernment proceed? Where does a Quakerly balance lie between public and private goods? Perhaps the method explored here is useful. We have looked at a single public good, the old age pension, and drawn certain conclusions from its provision by the state. It is not difficult to contemplate all categories of public spending and triangulate them against the legacies of Bright and Cadbury, drawing also on economic thinkers of the left and right, and answer the question: is the state too big or is it too small to meet the social conscience of the Quakers? A social conscience historically well-placed to observe that without a flourishing economy built by entrepreneurs nothing can be done for the needy in the first place? At the same time this conscience notes that the paternalism of the early Quaker businesses faded as the state took on paternalistic roles in health, education, pensions and so on. However, if the state explicitly retreats from these obligations should business not explicitly take them on again?

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Quakers, Free Trade and Social Responsibility

Richard Turnbull

1 Introduction

A conundrum lies at the heart of reflecting upon the role of the Quakers in relation to 'free trade,' and their exercise of both business and social responsibility.[1]

John Bright, a Quaker, and the then Member of Parliament for Durham,[2] pleaded in his maiden speech in the House of Commons, 'for the adoption of the principle of perfect freedom of trade' (Hansard, 7th August 1843). Bright, statesman and campaigner, the unquiet Quaker (Cash 2017), aligns himself four-square with neo-liberal free trade. Quakers in Britain—the umbrella of the British Yearly Meeting based at Friends House—in their contemporary work on economic justice and trade relationships argue that the 'global economic system is posited on continued expansion and growth, and in its pursuit of growth it is often unjust, violent and destructive' (Minute 23, 2011) and requires 'a fundamental rethink of global trade rules,' (http://www.quaker.org.uk/our-work/economic-justice/trade). A rather different perspective.

Bright was not alone. Not only so, but the complexity deepens. The first Quaker Member of Parliament, Joseph Pease, argued against the factory reformer, Lord Ashley,[3] that 'if the hours of labour were abridged, he must. . .inevitably close his manufactory' (Hansard, 1st July, 1839). John Bright accused Ashley, in his promotion

[1]This chapter primarily focusses on the Quaker role in the British campaign for free trade in the nineteenth century.

[2]Bright sat for Durham 1843–1847, Manchester 1847–1857, Birmingham 1857–1885, Birmingham Central 1885–1889.

[3]Anthony Ashley Cooper (1801–1885), Lord Ashley until 1851 when he succeeded as the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury. See Richard Turnbull, *Shaftesbury,* Oxford, Lion Hudson, 2010.

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of the 1844 Factories Bill, of 'the most extraordinary misstatements and the grossest exaggerations,' and dismissed Ashley's evidence as absurd and unfair (Hansard, 15th March 1844). Bright admitted that he employed 69 boys and 84 girls between the ages of 13 and 16. In a factory owned by a fellow Quaker, Edmund Ashworth, there were 126 boys and 113 girls, aged between 13 and 16, and 98 children under 13 years of age. Parliament had, in respect of the manufacturers, Bright complained, 'interfered with their natural progress, you have crippled them by your restrictions.' The people, he argued, 'ask for freedom for their industry, for the removal of the shackles on their trade; you deny it to them, and then forbid them to labour, as if working less would give them more food. . .Give them liberty to work, give them the market of the world for their produce' (Hansard, 15th March 1844). Ashley and Bright literally tussled (verbally) in the Commons. At the final debate on the Ten Hours Bill, in 1847, Bright described the legislation as 'one of the worst measures ever passed in the shape of an Act of the Legislature' (Hansard, 10th February 1847).

So, the first Quaker Parliamentarians opposed factory legislation which protected children and young people and advocated free trade. Shaftesbury described Bright as his most malignant opponent and Elizabeth Isichei, in her study of Victorian Quakers noted that:

> No Quaker played a prominent part in the agitation for the limitation of factory hours. Where they appear in its history at all, it is almost always as its inveterate opponents (Isechei 1970, p. 247).

Yet, both historically and in contemporary debate, Quakers and Quaker practices are quoted approvingly as examples of enlightened entrepreneurs, as early adopters of honourable business and commercial practices, as employers who set trends and examples and indeed as philanthropists and social reformers. James Walvin extols their trust and integrity—'their produce was sound, their prices fair, their services honest, their word good and their agreements honourable' (Walvin 1998, p. 210). Yet he also recognises the tensions which arose from their acquisition of wealth within a moral community and that the Quakers were not alone nor universally enlightened (Walvin 1998). Ian Bradley refers to the Quakers as 'among the most enlightened of all Victorian entrepreneurs and shared a commitment to the welfare of their employees which has perhaps never been equalled' (Bradley 2007, p. 125).

How then are we to reconcile this conundrum?

There are a number of options. The first is to argue that the picture drawn of the benevolent Victorian Quaker business magnate is in fact a myth, a later construct (Rowlinson and Hassard 1993). Although this calls attention to the danger of 'house histories' and placing more weight on the shoulders of Cadbury, Rowntree and others than they can reasonably bear, with the consequential danger of hagiography and lack of academic rigour, this approach also fails to give due weight to the Quakers disproportionate influence for good. The second, and more fruitful option, is to recognise the conundrum and complexity and seek, not to excuse the failings, but at least to understand them. In this line of argument, which this chapter will explore further, there were particular spiritual, cultural and political reasons which help explain both the adoption of the mantra of free trade and the opposition to some

aspects of social reform. In addition, Quaker beliefs were not static and some aspects can be explained by development over time. An element of the conundrum remains and, academically, it is right that it does so and is neither elevated nor submerged. The fact remains that many Quaker business families were leaders in philanthropic and social enterprise and were pioneers of much good business practice. However, they were not unique, faced many internal and external pressures, reflected many of the characteristics of the time and made some errors of judgement. They cannot, however, be ignored.

2 Quakers and Free Trade

In order to understand why Quakers embraced free trade we need to think about how a number of disparate elements came together in the Quaker person and character. A few salient facts set the scene. According to the 1851 religious census (accepting all of the caveats) the number of Quakers amounted to 17,000 or 0.1% of the population, half the number of Unitarians and smaller than the remains of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. This was approximately half the number in the mid-eighteenth century. So, the number of Quakers was both small and declining by the middle decades of the nineteenth century. As we will see professionals and merchants were disproportionately represented. Traditionally Quaker lifestyle was characterised by simplicity of disposition, consumption and dress, hence the description 'men in grey.' All of these factors faced challenge from both internal and external pressures in the nineteenth century. However, central to the explanation of our conundrum is the recognition that Quakers displayed not only peculiarities of life and practice, but also distinctive beliefs around religious liberty formed and shaped by their history and which was translated into beliefs around economic and political liberty in later centuries.

2.1 Quakers and Religious Liberty

A central characteristic of the Quakers from their early years was that of a belief in liberty. They were shaped in this by both their political context and their theological beliefs. This emphasis was finely honed during many years of persecution. They were in essence both 'free thinkers' and 'free spirits.'

The Quakers emerged from the ministry of George Fox (1624–1691). The Quakers were one particular aspect of Protestant dissent with a strong emphasis on freedom—from both the established church and the state (the difference between the two not being at all obvious outside of the period of the Commonwealth (1649–1660)). The Quakers began to effectively organise from around 1652. Their radical free thinking was a challenge as much to Cromwell as it was to the Stuart dynasty. The rather austere Calvinism of the Puritans often left the heart cold. This provided a ready opening for the Quakers with their quest for an essentially

experiential faith with God speaking neither through Kings nor Lord Protectors but directly to the heart of the believer.

The concept of the inner light was the force which equipped the Quaker with a freedom of belief, conscience and practice, with a power that could not be easily contained. The like-minded began to gather; the message received a ready-hearing. Freedom of thought, freedom also from clergy, sacraments and, at least in the beginning, buildings. The free reign of the Spirit was equipping the Quaker character. Difficult to handle for Cromwell, a fundamental challenge to the very fabric of society once the Stuarts had returned in the shape of Charles II (1660–1685)—'radical religion was seen as a challenge to order and was not tolerated' (Turnbull 2014, p. 14). The viciousness of the Clarendon Code, four Acts of Parliament enacted by Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, has been largely lost to history. The Corporation Act (1661) required all holders of public office to take Holy Communion according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England and to reject Cromwell's Commonwealth. The Act of Uniformity (1662) imposed the Book of Common Prayer. The Conventicle Act (1664) prevented more than five people meeting for worship outside the parish church unless they belonged to the same household. The Five Mile Act (1665) forbade ministers who had left their livings—being unable in conscience to swear the oaths demanded by the Act of Uniformity—from coming within five miles of their previous livings. Although aimed at all forms of religious dissent the 'Quakers, radical dissenters both spiritually and politically, were among the most persecuted' (Turnbull 2014, p. 14).

Oppression and imprisonment seared the passion for religious liberty into the heart and character of the Quaker in a way that no rule book or even moral code ever could. This utter commitment to liberty came also to be reflected in Quaker political beliefs in times when religious diversity was at least tolerated. Nevertheless, the long-term impact of some of the demands of the establishment continued to have negative impact on the Quaker business community into the early decades of the twentieth century. The principles of religious liberty in both thought and practice became hard-wired into the Quaker conscience. Not every other aspect of Quaker life did so. Both of these factors played a part in the development, and, indeed, the conundrum at the heart of this chapter. Liberty—religious, political and economic, but countered by developments in belief and practice in a variety of directions. This, however, is simply the first building block.

2.2 Quakers and Politics

Political action and involvement by Quakers was severely restricted prior to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 which opened up the possibility of public office. However, although an essential marking post along the way—and reflective of greater religious and political toleration—prior to the repeal many Quakers had become 'occasional conformists' either to enable some political involvement in a town or perhaps also, for a prominent local business leader, to

enhance status. In addition, the growth of new cities under charter (rather than ancient cities controlled by guilds) also aided the way for Quaker involvement in politics. The quietist tradition of Quakerism rather mitigated against political involvement. Indeed, although it is not fair to say that the annual Epistle from the Yearly Meeting was unpolitical—amongst the strictures against arms, to attend worship and conduct family prayers—there are reflections upon the slave trade and the condition of the poor. However, it is impossible to read these letters without concluding that these writings were essentially pietistic; that the true Christian life consisted in a separation from the affairs of this world in spiritual submission to God. So, in 1763, we read, 'we beseech you, who are engaging in the Affairs of this Life, that in the first place, you seek carefully after his Favour, whose is the Earth and the Fulness thereof. . .' (Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1763). Consequently, the advice on political involvement was negative. 'We wish to caution all our members against entering into political parties,' (Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1818, p. 454) and in 1832:

> We, therefore, tenderly but earnestly exhort all our dear friends to be very careful that they do not, by involving themselves in political questions, endanger their religious welfare. (Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1832, p. 250)

Perhaps this Epistle and the history of Quaker quietism was not read by Joseph Pease, the first Quaker to enter Parliament, in 1833 as the member for South Durham. Pease had been elected in 1832 but was unable to take his seat due to his unwillingness to swear the oath; within a year the principle of affirmation had been passed. The Yearly Meeting Epistle mentions the acceptance of the principle of affirmation, but not the arrival of the first Quaker Member of Parliament.

In her survey of Victorian Quakerism, Elizabeth Isichei, describes the Friends outlook on politics as paradoxical. She points out that the Society of Friends was a 'well organized pressure group, yet officially deplored interest and activity in elections and party politics' (Isechei 1970, p. 193). The change, as it came, was rapid, 'one of the most rapid and complete reversals of attitude in Quaker history' (Isechei 1970, p. 193).

Joseph Pease was elected as a Whig. A railway magnate from a prominent Durham family, Pease was hardly radical. The door, however, had been opened and more radical voices began to be heard. Outside of Parliament, Joseph Sturge and Joseph Metford entered the fray, the latter faced a reaction within the Society and was silenced. He later allied with the Chartists causing further disquiet. In 1843 John Bright entered Parliament for the first time and became the individual in whom religious freedom and liberty and radical politics combined, not only with each other but also with economic liberty. This coalition of interests came about partly due to the perfect storm of the battle over the Corn Laws.

Slowly, but surely the number of Friends in Parliament increased. The alliance with Whig and then Liberal causes was natural due to the alliance of the motifs of religious and political freedom. The transformation of the Tory Party into a party of Free Trade and the advent of Liberal Unionism over Gladstone's policy of home rule for Ireland destroyed the precise identification. So too did much disappointment with the social reform of Liberal governments. The Tories, not least under Disraeli, but

with patriarchs such as Shaftesbury thundering in the Lords, made much more progress. In a way this simply illustrates the conundrum we are concerned with. Although only one Quaker entered Parliament as a Conservative in Victoria's reign, from 1886 there were Friends on both sides of the House (Isechei 1970). Many were industrialists. There were also ex-Quakers. Quakers, Cadbury among them, also played increasing roles in local government. However, without question, the outstanding individual was John Bright. Radical politics and free-thinking Quakers in Parliament; the second key building block.

2.3 Quakers in Business

Perhaps if the Quakers had been more ordinary workers, or at least were more obviously representative of working class social interests, this ideological alliance of religious, political and economic radicalism might not have come about in the way that it did. However, despite the Quaker resistance to the elites of Church and state, the Friends were themselves an elite of a different sort.

Abraham Darby (1678–1717) was the Quaker founder of a dynasty of ironmasters. Arthur Raistrick notes the influence:

> A scrutiny of the iron trade during the eighteenth century soon reveals that the Quakers were a very prominent element in the structure of the industry, and were contributing heavily, not only by the provision of capital, but by technical improvements, to the trade's advancement (Raistrick 1993).

The 'free thinking', 'free-spirit' of Quakerism appealed more to artisans, merchants and middling sort than it did to ordinary workers (who were often deeply conservative in social and political attitudes). Since these groups were highly intelligent and often had some resources they were faced with the problems of being excluded from not only civic office but also the universities. Consequently, they turned their brilliant minds to science, technology and to business. It is perhaps, therefore, slightly less surprising that Quakers emerged into banking and finance—the origins of both Barclays and Lloyds lie with the Quakers, the foundation of Friends Provident in 1832 is a more explicit reminder. The extent of Quaker business involvement in manufacturing is, comparative to their size, really rather startling. Nevertheless, from shoes to chemicals (Clarks to Crosfield), biscuits to pharmaceuticals (Huntley and Palmer to Allen and Hanbury), not even to mention chocolate (Frys and Cadburys) the prominence of the Quakers is unmistakeable. Hilton suggests around 5% of businesses were Quaker—a reminder that the overwhelming majority were not, but a proportion 50 times greater than their proportion of the general population (Hilton 2008).

In his survey of politics and dissent in the nineteenth century, David Bebbington provides evidence of the social class of the Society of Friends. Drawing on the work of Hugh McLeod, Bebbington notes that between 1885 and 1913 at Quaker weddings in inner London, 'more husbands were employers or managers than were manual workers of any kind.' Hence his conclusion that Quakers 'largely because of

their distance from popular religion, normally possessed a higher proportion of professionals and employers than other denominations' (Bebbington 1982, p. 4).

The Quaker firms were often family businesses—this enabled control to be maintained and provided a locus for the employment of future generations. Few remained so as the nineteenth century moved into the twentieth in the light of easier accessibility to limited liability from 1855 onwards. The Friends, however, remained prominent, not least through the series of Quaker Employers Conferences. This link between families and businesses through the Quaker network is well illustrated by the example of Joseph Crosfield and Sons, a chemical company established in Warrington, later absorbed by Lever Brothers. Joseph Crosfield's father, George, established a grocery business, and as Musson notes, the 'Crosfields' Quaker connections made possible young George's entry into what was apparently a fairly prosperous business, of which he soon acquired ownership' (Musson 1965, p. 5). Joseph was the fourth son, born in 1792. A key role of the Quaker business networks was to provide apprenticeships and Joseph was apprenticed to a Quaker business owner in Newcastle, Anthony Clapham, in trade as a chemist and subsequently as a soap manufacturer. Joseph learnt the trade and then returned to Warrington in 1815 to establish his own soap manufacturing business. The full story belongs elsewhere but also in good Quaker tradition the initial capital was provided from within the family (Musson 1965). What is also clear is that in accordance with the long sweep of Quaker manufacturing history, Joseph Crosfield had also been equipped with key scientific and technical knowledge to enable him to establish his business. Joseph also involved himself in Warrington's local politics from the 1820s (another Quaker who did not read the Epistles from the Yearly Meeting), naturally, of course, as a radical and Liberal. He was an advocate of both political reform and free trade (opposing tariffs on soap), subscribed to the Anti-Corn-Law League and admired Bright (Musson 1965).

Many other stories could be told and can be read elsewhere. The point here is to illustrate the Quaker business heritage and to explain some of its characteristics. This is the third of our building blocks in explaining the Quaker commitment to free trade and yet complexity if not ambiguity in wider areas of social reform. The name of John Bright is now arising regularly and it is to Bright and the battle over the Corn Laws that we must now turn.

2.4 John Bright and the Corn Laws

The abolition of the Corn Laws did not occur in a vacuum. Neither was opposition to the protectionist cause unified. Was the objective access to cheap food for the poor or relief and encouragement for the manufacturing interest? The repeal of the Corn Laws was simply one aspect, albeit perhaps the most publicly potent, of the dismantling of mercantilism and sure but steady advances in favour of free trade. Hence, we should not be surprised to see change and development in opinion. Indeed, the defeat of Charles Villiers' motion for an enquiry into the operation of the Corn Laws on 18th March 1839 saw Shaftesbury and Peel both in the lobby in

defence of the agricultural interest; within a few years both had changed their mind. Joseph Pease, the Quaker MP, was in same voting lobby; another Quaker, John Bright, was a leading advocate of abolition. A degree of caution in interpretation is advisable. Indeed, it was the defeat of Villiers' motion (342–195) that led to the Manchester branch of the Anti-Corn Law Association, which had been instituted in 1838, transforming, on 20th March 1839 into the national Anti-Corn Law League.

Earl Grey's Whig government, elected on the back of the 1832 Reform Act, looked both ways at the same time when it came to tariff reform. What really sealed the fate of the Corn Laws was the economic depression in the period after 1837. The tussle between agriculture and the landed interest on the one hand and trade and manufacturing on the other was a debate over both future prosperity and the ultimate source of wealth (Hilton 2008). The economic slump and a financial deficit finished off the Corn Laws notwithstanding the fact that Prime Minister Peel was elected to defend them. In 1842 Peel raised taxes and reduced tariffs; crucially income from import duties remained steady. Alongside this were supply shortages—as manufacturing suffered workers were unable to be supplied with bread at reasonable cost whilst agricultural incomes were protected. Ultimately it was this juxtaposition that changed Tory minds. The failure of the 1845 Irish potato crop was then simply the immediate catalyst.

Bright, together with Richard Cobden, who was the Radical MP for Stockport from 1841–1847, campaigned both inside and outside of Parliament. The Anti-Corn Law League was extraordinary. Meetings, petitions, speeches—they brilliantly captured the mood, a watershed in both culture and economics. The Chartists felt side-lined in their demands for political reform, and the League managed to invest their cause with religious fervour both literally in some respects, but also with the evangelistic zeal and indeed the theatre of their activities.

Bright made his maiden speech in the House of Commons on the topic pleading 'for the total abolition of the Corn Law, and for the adoption of the principle of perfect freedom of trade. The Corn Law is the main pillar in the system of monopoly' (Hansard, 7th August 1843). Bright's radicalism was genuine. He lamented the loss of the radical edge of the industrial bourgeois after the victory on the Corn Laws (Hilton 2008). In the debates leading up to the formal abolition bill he argued that 'we have always advocated the repeal of the Corn Laws, because they were unjust, in defiance of the laws of God, and an odious abuse of the laws of man' (Hansard, 17th February 1846). This reminds us that the clash over the Corn Laws had religious overtones. Many dissenting ministers lined up with the repealers, advocating free trade as a divine principle. Rather different from the more retributive tenor of traditional evangelical and other Christian economics from the established church which ranged from the near fatalism of Malthus to the moral retribution of rewards and punishments of Chalmers. As Hilton notes, 'orthodox believers were often scandalized by this way of blaming economic distress on Corn Laws rather than on original sin' (Hilton 1993, p. 247).

The Corn Laws finally fell, in terms of the second reading in the House of Commons of the abolition bill, on 27th March 1846. Royal Assent came a few months later. The majority was 88, the Conservatives split 2-1 against repeal—with

Peel in the minority, whilst the Liberals were (nearly) united in support. Peel fell from office.

How then does this narrative fit with the interests and values of Quakers?

Many Quakers remained uneasy with Bright and the activities of the League fearing for the reputation of the Society (Walvin 1998).

The Quakers were, of course, well represented among the manufacturing interests, and mainly Liberals for all the reasons previously given. So, at least part of the complexity—not least given the ambiguity of the Quaker industrialists towards protective legislation for children and workers—is whether they were driven by economic self-interest. Bright undoubtedly had blind spots—perhaps because so much social legislation in the nineteenth century came from the Tories—but his vision was large and expansive and had a social context. Bright essentially argued that new and freer markets were part of the solution to social distress and would not simply lead to a fall in wages. Indeed, artificial protection of the price of corn had led to 'a high aristocracy and a poor tenantry' not to mention poorly cultivated land. Farmers, he argued, had been protected into 'a state of decrepitude' (Hansard, 17th February 1846). The opening up of trade would provide food to starving people. Yet his statement to the House of Commons on 15th March 1844 that there was something worse than working 22 out of 24 hours in a day, and that was starving to death, was certainly indefensible (Hansard, 15th March 1844). Bright's belief in freedom was also a belief in the freedom to dispose of one's own labour as one pleased. Though for a child, even in an enlightened industrialist's factory, it is difficult share the optimism.

3 Quakers and Social Responsibility

3.1 The Quaker Conscience

Did the Quakers possess social conscience? The evidence is significantly in their favour.

Two things emerged from the early history of the Quakers and the attendant persecution.

First, was an awareness of suffering. Well into the nineteenth century the Yearly Meeting received reports of sufferings—local Friends facing fines, sometimes crippling, for non-payment of tithes or church rates. There were also some imprisonments for refusing military service (Yearly Epistle, 1810, p. 151). So, although the nature and perhaps the intensity of Quaker persecution may have changed from the seventeenth century, the fact of the oppression remained the same. The consequence of this was that principles of liberty and awareness of suffering were seared into the Quaker conscience.

Second, and to some degree consequently, the Friends developed an eagerness for change and an awareness of injustice (Walvin 1998). Hence Quakers became concerned with those who faced imprisonment as they had themselves experienced,

others who faced wider oppression and their own history of fighting for their liberties came to inhabit their consciences.

This conscience was expressed in a number of ways in the public arena and was not without areas of tension. One question which arises—and is significant for the conundrum at the heart of this chapter—is the extent to which the Quaker conscience extended beyond the boundaries of their own communities. Much of the working out of the Quaker conscience took place either in relation to other Quakers (that is, within the community) or increasingly in respect of wider, but local communities—soup kitchens, work as Poor Law Guardians and so on. However, in a number of respects, the Quaker conscience extended onto the national stage. Two particular examples are in relation to anti-slavery and also prison reform.

So, regarding the campaign against slavery, the extent and importance of Quaker involvement has been long recognised (Hilton 2008). Nine of the twelve members of the London Abolition Committee were Friends and the role of Thomas Fowell Buxton (from a Quaker family and at least an attendee at Quaker meetings) is acknowledged as significant. This campaign, characterised by meetings (Quakers knew how to conduct meetings), campaigns, political influence and lobbying, pamphlets and petitions both shook Quaker quietism but also brought the Quakers into co-operation and collaboration with the wider evangelical movement—the two movements shared both earnestness and moral conscience. A similar pattern can be seen in the work of Elizabeth Fry, part of the evangelical Quaker Gurney family. Compassion, dealing with poverty, social reform were matters that concerned religious and non-religious people across the entire political spectrum. Elizabeth Fry became a famous and prominent Quaker because of the zeal and drive she demonstrated in prison reform. In this instance it was a prominent individual who drove matters.

For those involved in business, the Quaker conscience expressed itself in several ways. Certainly, there was sometimes pressure exerted from within the Quaker community if their dealings raised concerns. More importantly, however, it was this Quaker conscience that drove entrepreneurship. Self-denial and abstinence prepared the way for the long wait of the entrepreneur for a return. It was this same conscience that dictated honesty in pricing, fair dealing, quality products, and, of course, in employment practices (Bradley 2007; Turnbull 2014).

Quakers were idealists and there was some tension between the ideal and the practical, whether in relation to war and peace, the slave trade or children employed in factories. Chartists broke up an anti-slavery rally to draw attention to slavery at home and Joseph Pease faced criticism for promoting anti-slavery whilst tolerating, it was alleged, oppressive working conditions in his own factories. Bright's commitment to free trade may even have left him exposed to claims that he down played the importance of anti-slavery—Peel pointed out his somewhat contradictory position (Isechei 1970). The Anti-Slavery society divided over the Free Trade question. As Walvin notes:

> Economic self-interest versus ethical and theological outrage swirled around the subject of slavery throughout the nineteenth century, drawing Quakers into a complex, highly publicised and bitterly divisive political debate which many of them disliked and resisted (Walvin 1998, p. 149)

Perhaps the same conscience of liberty that encouraged John Bright to adopt free trade, inspired other Quakers to fight for social reform? Perhaps this also led to certain blind spots, but not only was there a Quaker conscience but it was formative both in business and social concern.

3.2 Quaker Philanthropy

How did Quakers become wealthy, how did they react to such wealth and how did they use it? We should not underestimate the reality of Quaker business wealth nor the tensions that it generated. John Gurney (banking), George Palmer (biscuits), Joseph Rowntree (confectionary), George Cadbury (chocolate) and Jon Horniman (tea) were amongst prominent individuals who became wealthy. Philanthropy was a natural outlet for a much wider range of people, but ever more so for those for whom simplicity of life style was part of their conscience and soul. Gurney noted that he had received chastisements from God on account of his wealth (Hilton 1993).

Philanthropy, at least during the Victorian era rather became an industry of its own. In the absence of significant social provision by the state (though the Poor Laws existed in order to provide some form of safety net, but this usually involved entering 'the workhouse') charitable provision in education and social welfare was extensive and significant, albeit patchy and inadequate in a number of ways. Indeed, certain characteristics of the voluntary movement were inimical to some Quaker values. In particular the tendency for voluntary charity work to be a rather publicly worn badge of the middle classes together the patronage and subscription lists of the societies was rather contrary to the normal Quaker approach. Consequently, a good deal of Quaker philanthropy was local. In respect of education, the Quakers founded their own schools. Nevertheless, social need was such that many business leaders and other people of means and wealth considered it a central part of their duty to society (and for some to their God) to use their wealth for the relief of need and for social good. This approach was not restricted to religious motivations, evangelical or otherwise, and nor was it unique to Quakers. However, there is evidence that in second half of the nineteenth century perhaps three-quarters of such philanthropic enterprises were under evangelical control (Heasman 1962). Quaker conscience would make Quaker people natural philanthropists and the relationship of Quakers and evangelicals in this period merely reinforces the part that the Friends played. Indeed, the most prominent Victorian Quaker philanthropists were evangelical (Isechei 1970). Thomas Chalmers, a prominent evangelical, acknowledged this partnership (Hilton 1993). There 'can be no doubt that the part played by Quakers on the philanthropic scene was wholly disproportionate to their limited numbers' (Isechei 1970, p. 212). The scene of Victorian philanthropy was one of 'chaotic vitality' and Quaker influence was dominated by the successful and wealthy (Isechei 1970, p. 212).

3.3 Quakers as Employers

The Quaker business owners were compassionate employers with a genuine concern for their workforce. The questions which arise for us are whether the Quakers were unique (they were not), the degree to which they pioneered good practice (to an extent, considerable in some respects) and areas where they may not have acted with complete propriety (a few). Yet the Quaker employers have left for us a legacy not only of good employee provisions, but also of excellence in business practice, in honesty, integrity, in pricing and quality. Perhaps it is this combination of factors which enables us to describe the Victorian Quaker entrepreneurs as remarkable. The picture we can draw is fascinating, if complex. Not all Quaker businesses succeeded or became household names. Many successful Quaker business magnates left the Society of Friends, but not all. Some found wealth too much to bear in the light of the spiritual strictures of the Society, but many others found philanthropic outlets.

First, then, were the Quaker employers unique? In short, no. Quakers were not alone in seeking to be good employers. There were many enlightened entrepreneurs, some religiously motived, often by a wider non-conformity rather than simply Quakerism and some not at all. Examples include Titus Salt and William Lever who remained ardent Congregationalist Christians throughout their lives. The reality was that it was Midland and Northern cities that were the centres of new industries, often newly enfranchised, the homes of Liberal not Tory tradition and of nonconformity rather than the Established Church.

One of the characteristics of both Cadbury at Bournville and Rowntree at York was the establishment of voluntary societies for the general welfare of employees. These societies ranged from libraries, savings banks, clothing clubs, to recreational and sporting clubs (Turnbull 2014; Walvin 1998). The voluntary society was one of the characteristic methods employed by those concerned with social welfare and social reform in the nineteenth century. They represented a genuine attempt to improve the conditions and welfare of workers and others who suffered in an urban industrial society. They were characterised by local control, a combination of philanthropy, micro finance and social enterprise. More recent scholarship has criticised the power relationships, the paternalism and the guilt complexes of the middle class. This is unfair not only because of a reading back of contemporary social values but also because it fails to recognise the real impact that such societies had. Perhaps the model villages, extraordinary in many respects, though not uniquely Quaker, epitomise both the strengths and the weaknesses. A concern for housing, light, space recreation and welfare all being central features, together with schemes for purchase were enlightened. Certainly, these ideas foreshadowed the 'garden city movement.' Yet, there was a paternalism which could fall into oppressiveness. However, we should not judge too harshly. The Quaker employers may not have been unique in this regard, but that does not make them any less genuine.

Second, to what extent were the Quaker employers pioneers? There is some evidence that especially as the nineteenth century drew to a close that the Quakers were more pioneering than some in extending and expanding their welfare provisions

in respect of basic working conditions. Long hours and low pay, the dismissal of young men at 21 years of age, and women upon marriage, were the norm inside and outside of the Quaker factories. Trade unions were seen as antithetical to Quaker principles. However, over time the Quaker employers did move to introduce half-day holidays and a more structured approach to wages and conditions. Crosfields managed to reduce hours and not wages, and all the employers moved to a position of setting out clearly the terms and conditions of employment. Rowntree established a pension scheme in 1906 from age 65—two years earlier than the first state provision, from age 70, and all three of the chocolate magnates appointed dentists and medical officers. Most of the Quaker employers' encouraged 'sick clubs' to provide for wages whilst ill. George Palmer of Huntley and Palmer established a sick fund in 1849, a library and reading room in 1854 and a penny bank to encourage thrift in 1868 (Bradley 2007). A pension scheme and factory outings also featured.

Third, were there any failures or blind spots? Yes. The most important one is the use of child labour in at least some Quaker factories against the increasingly prevailing national opinion. To that we will return in our conclusion. Huntley and Palmer had 12-hour days, no paid holiday and management raised and lowered wages twice a year (Bradley 2007). There is also the infamous case of the women's matchgirls' strike at Bryant and May in 1888 in protest at low pay and poor conditions leading to the foundation of the first woman's trade union. The original founders of the firm were Quakers and there remained Quaker influence on the Board, at least nominally so. However, the firm had already incorporated before the strike and the ethos of the firm had certainly moved some way from that of the founders. We should neither condemn nor whitewash. The incident is a reminder of the complexity, of Quaker decline, the rise of trade unionism and the difficulty of passing ethical culture down the generations, Quaker or otherwise.

In some respects, it is quite difficult to be certain of the extent of good employment practices by the Quakers. More work needs to be done on specific companies in respect of wages, hours and welfare provision. However, overall it is probably fair to say that in some respects the Quaker employers reflected the norms of the times, but that their concern for their workforce was genuine, extended beyond the factory gate, and hence in a number of ways they were pioneers, early adopters and prepared the way for a more rigorous and fairer approach to working conditions. Enlightened, but not unique. The major blind spot was child labour and hours of labour where they were not pioneers. The main purpose of this chapter is not to excuse such blind spots but to provide a proper explanation. Part of the picture is the recognition that in many other respects the Quakers were at the forefront of reform.

4 Conclusions

The conundrum with which we started this chapter was that of how Quakers managed to simultaneously embrace free trade and utterly fail to support proper working conditions in their factories for children and at the same time come to be seen as model employers.

The failure to support the proper protection of children and young people is an inexcusable blind spot caused by a combination of political and class prejudice and an obsession with the abolition of the Corn Laws in the interests of free trade that blinded the very Quakers in whom a social conscience was so deeply rooted.

However, there are several factors which do help to explain the conundrum and leave us with a significantly more positive picture of Quaker industrialists.

First, we have shown unequivocally that Quaker conscience was character and life-forming and influenced Quaker practice both within and outside of the business enterprise. Quakers were disproportionately represented in industry and for the most part that was a positive influence. Their passion for liberty and freedom was applied in the economic as well as the social arena.

Second, we have demonstrated that the motifs of conscience and liberty were very deep rooted within the Quaker character and that this led to a highly developed social conscience. Although for other reasons this conscience was sometimes expressed primarily towards other Quakers there is ample evidence also of wider concerns both locally and nationally. The wider influence of evangelicalism is important here as this was a unifying factor in much social reform and, indeed, due to the moral code, at least some scepticism towards the consequences of economic freedom.

Third, we have shown the Quaker's were pioneering industrialists and employers in a number of respects. The Quaker employers certainly reflected many of the accepted practices at the time which did not mark them out as enlightened; however, it is also the case that they were at the forefront of development of more progressive industrial and working practices, proper provision and care for the workforces and indeed a wider concern for their communities.

In addition to these factors we need to recognise the development of Quaker views over time. If one might put it this way, the emphasis on free trade moderated and the commitment to good employment practices increased as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth. Views are not static and that is true for the Quaker as much as anyone else.

The Quakers were not unique. Many successful Quaker business magnates found it very difficult to maintain the cultural practices and expectations of the Friends. However, the history of the Friends means that the values which formed and shaped them were seared very deep into their consciences. The consequences for business and business practices were thus largely positive, as indeed they were for the wider community. The 'enlightened Quaker businesses' are not a myth but a reality. A reality, though, that was not without its complexities.

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The Quakers and the Joint Stock Company: Uneasy Bedfellows

Donncha Kavanagh and Martin Brigham

1 Introduction

The twenty-first century has witnessed a number of corporate scandals and private-sector take-overs that have called into question the shareholder-focused economy. By way of contrast, this chapter focuses on the Quakers as a (largely forgotten) exemplar of good organisation and good governance that has traditionally distinguished itself from the shareholder model. Since their origins in the mid-seventeenth century, the Quakers were known for their honest and honorable business practices, their enlightened approach to employee welfare, their concern for wider society, and their willingness to innovate. Today, most of these 'Quaker' businesses are no longer either owned or controlled by Quakers, and have almost invariably adopted the conventional shareholder model of corporate governance. In this chapter, we identify innovations in corporate law in the mid-nineteenth century and especially the introduction of limited liability as important, though largely overlooked, reasons for their demise. These changes provided the legal basis for the Quaker family firms to incorporate, which many of them did in the late nineteenth century. We argue that this change inexorably decanted the unique Quaker ethos out of these companies during the twentieth century as the Quakers slowly lost both ownership and control of their businesses. We then inquire into how the Quaker story might help us reimagine the theory and practice of corporate governance and management.

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Table 1 Some Quaker companies, showing date of establishment

	Company/Family
Accounting	Price Waterhouse (1865)
Banking	Barclays (1690), Lloyds (1765), Guerney (1775)
Biscuits	Huntley & Palmer (1822), Carr (1831), Jacobs (1851)
Brewing	Truman & Hanbury (1781), Young & Co. (1831), Burton (1842)
Chemicals	Allen & Hanbury (1715), Crosfields (1814), Reckitt (1840), Albright & Wilson (1856)
Chocolate	Fry's (1761), Huntley & Palmers (1822), Cadbury (1824), Rowntree (1862)
Clockmaking	Tompion (1670), Quare (1671), Graham (1738), Huntsman (1740)
Glass	Waterford Crystal (1783)
Engineering	Ransomes (1789), Baker Perkins (1878)
Life Insurance	Friends Provident (1832)
Match manufacturing	Bryant & May (1843)
Metals	Bristol Brass Company (1702), London Lead Mining (1705), Rawlinson (1720), Huntsman (1740), Ransome (1789)
Newspapers	News Chronicle (1855)
Paper & Packaging	John Dickinson Stationary (1804), E.S. & A. Robinson (1844)
Pottery & China	Cookworthy (1730), Champion (1773)
Retailing	Laws Stores (1885), Macy's (1858)
Shoemakers	C & J Clark (1825)
Shipbuilding	Swan Hunter (1880)
Steelmaking	Consett Iron Company (1840), Stewarts & Lloyds (1859)
Textiles	Gurney (1683), Were (1686), Barclays (1690), English Sewing Cotton (1789)

Note: Because of mergers, acquisitions and name changes, the dates indicated might be contested

2 Quakers and Commerce

Though small in number, the Quakers have produced a remarkable and disproportionate number of businesspeople, scientists, thinkers, and campaigners for justice, peace and human rights (Furtado 2013). For our purposes, it is worth highlighting that an extraordinary number of the family firms, on which the British industrial system of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was based, were Quaker owned, including many of the largest and most technologically advanced. Table 1 lists some of the more important Quaker companies, most of which were formed in England and Wales. Most of these have now been merged into or acquired by other companies and so their Quaker roots can be easily forgotten.

Quaker businesses were highly innovative and their ongoing commercial success was typically based on the development of new technologies and processes, drawing on the latest scientific thinking (many of the leading botanists and chemists during the eighteenth century were Quakers (Raistrick 1950/1968)). They were also innovative with respect to the management and social aspects of their businesses and

Table 2 Business innovations pioneered by Quakers

Marketing	Fixed prices; press advertising
Operations	Vertical integration of extraction, production and distribution
Finance	Commercial paper
Employee relations	Adult education on company time; hot meals for employees; housing for employees to be purchased over time at cost and low interest rates; workers' hostels; pensions; pensions for widows; indexed pensions; free medical and dental services for employees
Governance	Functional department organisation; multidivisional organisation; participative management; consensus building; works councils; appeals committees; profit sharing; cooperative ownership; employee selection of managers
Accounting	Formal accounting and auditing
R&D	Research & development departments; hiring of university professors as consultants
Banking	Provincial Banking; the cheque; bills of exchange

were the first—or among the first—to adopt a wide range of business initiatives, as catalogued in Table 2 (drawn from Windsor's (1980) study of Quakers in business).

Some of the leading management thinkers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were also Quakers: Frederick Taylor (1856–1915) was the son of a notable Quaker family in Philadelphia, while Mary Parker Follett (1868–1933) and Wroe Alderson (1898–1965), often spoken of as the father of marketing, were active Quakers. And it was in this American milieu that another Quaker, Joseph Wharton (1826–1909), founded America's first business school, the Wharton School in the University of Pennsylvania in 1881. Wharton also co-founded and was the major shareholder in Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and employed Frederick Taylor in 1898 with the express purpose of applying more scientific approaches to managing the factory (Copley 1923).

However, even though some of the important figures in US business history were Quakers, their influence was much less than it was in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is the focus of this chapter. Indeed the late nineteenth century appears to have been a turning point as most of the Quaker firms listed in Table 1 inexorably lost their distinctive 'Quaker' ethos during the twentieth century, so that today these firms' Quaker roots are little more than a historical curiosity. This raises the question as to how and why this Quaker ethos was lost, and whether things might have been different.

Before examining this in more detail, we should add a few notes of caution. First, it is easy to over-emphasise the idea of a distinctive 'Quaker ethos' and the role that this played in so-called 'Quaker' businesses. For instance, Rowlinson and Hassard (1993) have argued that it was not Quaker beliefs but rather contemporary social movements of the late nineteenth century that led Cadbury to develop specific labour-management institutions, which were then retrospectively linked to a Quaker ethos in a (perhaps cynical) attempt to create a distinctive and enduring Cadbury culture and tradition. Moreover, the social ethos associated with Cadbury and Rowntree was not replicated across all Quaker enterprises; for example, the Quaker

firm of Bryant and May had extremely poor working conditions which led to the famous matchgirls strike of 1888.

That said, the notion of a "Quaker employer" as an ideal type is still meaningful, while recognising that actual practices varied considerably between firms and industries and across time and space. It was certainly compelling enough in early twentieth century to form the basis for a series of Quaker employer conferences, held in 1918, 1928, 1938 and 1948. The overall number of Quaker employers is indicated by the fact that invitations to the 1918 conference were sent to 375 Quaker firms deemed to be employing upwards of 50 persons, while the conference report estimated that Quaker firms employed over 100,000 people at the time. The conferences usually attracted over 100 Quakers from at least 75 businesses, including leading firms like C. & J. Clark, Rowntree, Cadbury, and Reckitt.

3 An Alternative Business Model Emerges

Our central argument is that the emergence of the joint stock company as the popular, if not default, mode of economic organisation in the second half of the nineteenth century was inimical to the Quaker approach to business. Quaker businesses had little option in the late nineteenth century other than to convert to this organisational form (i.e. to incorporate) but that decision meant that, over time, they lost their Quaker ethos. To understand this, we need to unpack what incorporation meant and how it was so detrimental to the Quaker approach to business.

To begin, it is important to emphasise that Quaker businesses formed from the late seventeenth to the late nineteenth centuries were invariably partnerships, which was the normal form of business organisation at that time. The corporation, as we know it, was not an available option. Up to the late nineteenth century, the collection of ideas that underpin the contemporary corporation were either hotly contested or perceived as distinctly odd, or not applicable to the type of businesses in which the Quakers were involved. There were many different related and separate ideas, but we summarise the following three as central. First, a company is an autonomous entity separate from the individuals who form it. The company continues to exist after the original members have either died or left the company. Second, the potential liabilities of a company's principals can be limited. Third, shareholders have distinctive rights and responsibilities and these are different from those who manage the company's affairs. One such right is the right of a shareholder to buy and sell company shares in a market. Any responsibilities a shareholder might have also end upon the sale of that person's share of the company.

Each of these ideas has a different history and it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the threads came to be woven together into a coherent economic paradigm. It is useful to chronicle the development of these ideas over time and how the Quaker belief system sat within the discourse.

4 The Company as a Separate Legal Personality

The idea that a company has a separate legal personality would certainly have appeared odd to most business people in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This is not to say that the idea of a separate, fictitious legal personality did not exist prior to that period; Blackstone (1756, Chap. 18) traces the origin of such corporate bodies (*corpora corporata*) to Roman times and their idea of "forming one whole out of many individuals" found expression in various spheres, but particular in religion, where all sorts of spiritual corporations were to be found, and in education, where the concepts of 'university' and 'college' instantiated the idea of being gathered together (Williston 1888a, b). There is also a tradition of a partnership being considered a single, distinctive entity, separate from the constituent partners—the word 'college' comes from the Latin *collegium*, meaning 'partnership'—but from medieval times the partnership, as a distinctive entity, had evolved into the joint stock company. Thus, from the early seventeenth century, English businesses took two forms: ordinary partnerships and the joint-stock company (Carney 1995). The latter, which was essentially an altered form of partnership, had most of the attributes of the corporation including free transferability of shares while limited liability could be achieved by contract or by purchasing liability insurance. Importantly, such joint-stock companies could only gain the status of having separate incorporate personhood only if it was granted by, as Coke put it in the *Case of Sutton's Hospital* (1612), a 'lawful authority of incorporation', which he further clarified as meaning that a corporation could only be created by common law, parliament, royal charter, or by prescription (Holdsworth 1922). As a gift from the crown or the state, incorporation typically came with monopoly rights, and so the right to incorporate was only granted in special cases, such as overseas ventures (the East India Company, which gained its charter in 1600, was perhaps the best-known example) and infrastructure projects—e.g. canals, railways, public utilities—where the capital requirement was high and where there was a clear public benefit to incorporation. And if that right was abused, then the king reserved the power to appropriate the corporation, as the Attorney General, Sir Robert Sawyer, made clear in 1682, when he argued that just as the law recognises the crime of conspiracy, it was appropriate to regulate any group with much greater power than an individual. Hence, ordinary partnerships were by far the dominant form of economic organisation during Britain's industrial revolution, right up to the end of the nineteenth century (Taylor 2014). In particular, Quaker businesses were invariably partnerships, with notable exceptions such as the Stockton & Darlington Railway Company, formed in 1821 by a group of Quaker businessmen.

At times, the joint-stock mechanism was abused, most famously in the case of the South Sea Company, a joint-stock company that, in 1711, was granted a monopoly to trade with South America and to consolidate the national debt. The company stock rose rapidly in value but then collapsed, with investors losing significant amounts of money in what came to be known as the South Sea Bubble. The government responded with the Bubble Act of 1719 which forbade the creation of joint-stock companies without royal charter, and it also disallowed the creation of freely

transferable shares by joint-stock companies as well as denying these entities access to the courts (Carney 1995). The persistent and pervasive fear of and hostility to corporations was well articulated by Baron Thurlow when, in 1793, he said that 'corporations have neither bodies to be punished, nor souls to be condemned; they therefore do as they like'.

But, notwithstanding the law, people found ways to create quasi-corporations. So, even though unincorporated groups of individuals could not own property as a group, they could create a trust to hold the property in trust for the group, with mutual covenants between individual 'shareholders' and selected trustees. Thus, large unincorporated joint–stock associations emerged in the latter part of the eighteenth century. While these lacked a legal personality, it wasn't quite clear what they were. Amid this confusion, fraud flourished with many investors losing money in the early nineteenth century having invested in joint-stock associations (Ireland 2010). Investors—or *rentier* classes—also complained that there were limited opportunities to invest (in 1824, there were only 124 incorporated joint-stock companies in the United Kingdom (Harris 2013)) and hence they put pressure on the government to repeal the Bubble Act, which was done in 1820. However, the fraud and investors' losses continued, reaching new heights in the railway mania of the 1840s. This eventually led to the Joint Stock Companies Act of 1844 which required the public registration of all companies with transferable shares, and all companies with 25 or more members. Here, the central idea was to *compel* joint-stock companies to incorporate so that their activities would be public. This was a watershed moment in that it turned what had previously been a gift conferred by the state into a right available to everyone.

The Quaker perspective on the issue was framed, most importantly, by their belief in the importance of the individual, which meant that for Quakers, and for many others, the 'corporation' is a collection of individuals rather than a singular, distinct entity. This is clear from the language used: up to the middle of the nineteenth century, companies, whether incorporated or not, were invariably referred to in the plural rather than the singular—the term 'company' being short for a 'company of proprietors' or similar (Taylor 2014, p. 12). As the idea of the company as a distinctly separate entity emerged around that time, singular verbs and nouns came to dominate and the use of plural constructions to describe the company went into decline (Lamoreaux 2004, pp. 44–45). This was a widely-held belief, but what made the Quakers distinctive was their long-standing tradition of individualism and their consequent suspicion of collectivist models of the world. This was also an important reason why many Quakers disliked trade unions and the socialist focus on collective action, power and social class (Freeman 2013). Hence, the notion of the company as a unitary entity, separate from its constituting individuals, was contrary to their individualistic ideology.

5 Limited Liability

Contemporaneous with the debate about incorporation was a separate but related debate about *limited liability* which we will now outline. Again, the issue had a long history, going at least as far back as the fifteenth century when monastic communities and trade guilds holding property had the protection of limited liability under English law. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the Quaker businesses were flourishing, default on a liability was commonplace as the English economy was based largely on a system of debt and credit, rather than a 'cash-nexus'. In this context, since limited liability was generally not available, character, personality and morality were of the utmost importance (Muldrew 1998/2016; Finn 2007; Graeber 2011; Taylor 2014). But even though limited liability was not the norm, there were long-standing arguments that this should be changed, usually based on the thesis that unlimited liability disincentivized wealthy individuals from investing in risky ventures, which stymied innovation and growth. Developments in the early nineteenth century brought more attention to the issue, following Thornton's publication of his book *Paper Credit*, which advanced monetary theory by exploring the damage caused when money supply and credit contracted (Thornton 1802). English investors were also being lured to invest their money in France because the French *société en commandite* allowed a form of limited partnerships where the active managing partners were unlimitedly liable but the money-providing, 'sleeping' partners had the benefit of limited liability. This accelerated after 1832 when the French courts allowed this form of partnership to issue shares not specifically registered to any individual but which were instead the property of the holder (Smith 2004, p. 72). In addition, the state of New York had enacted a limited partnership act in 1822 (Kempin 1960). Thus the debate heated up considerably around that time. By tradition and sentiment, the Quakers were hostile to the notion of limited liability, which was aligned with their reputation for being scrupulously honest in business, and with their abhorrence of bankruptcy and failing to pay one's debts. However, there were exceptions; most notably some leading female Quakers—Elizabeth Pease, Jane Smeal and Anne Knight—were active in the Chartist movement of the 1830s and 1840s, which was a broad-based movement focused on advancing the cause of the working classes through social and political reform. One plank of the Chartists' strategy was to provide corporate identity and limited liability to working class cooperatives or associations. The problem facing such entities was well expressed in this exchange at a House of Commons Select Committee meeting (Slaney 1850):

> 507. *What are the provisions or obstacles in the law which prevent them from associating together for any purposes?*—One is that they cannot purchase land; they understand generally that there are legal impediments to their holding land, except as individuals; and as they have no hope of ever purchasing land but in an associative capacity, that is considered a very great grievance. . ..
>
> 514. *What other difficulties do you perceive?*—We find that any rogue may peril the success of an association, by availing himself of what is understood to be the law of partnership; and

> even supposing that he is not a rogue, if we take him in as an associate, with legal liabilities weighing upon him, we share them immediately; if he incurs them after he becomes a member of the working association, the resources of the association are pledged legally to their discharge. . .
>
> 517. *What mode do you suggest for getting over the difficulty?*—That we might associate with limited liability.

The Committee acceded to this request and its final report included a qualified endorsement of limited liability. Similar endorsements were made by other parliamentary committees around that time often on the basis that limited liability would encourage the middle and working classes to participate more fully in the economy (Kahan 2009). However, the idea was hotly resisted by others, and there was much public debate about the matter, especially between 1850 and 1854 (Saville 1956). The arguments against the idea might be summarised as follows:

1. Owners with limited liability would not watch over the managers carefully enough (a point made forcefully by, among others, Adam Smith (1776/1981, pp. 741–758)).
2. Limited liability would encourage excessive risk-taking, and in the event of failure the loss would be borne by others (creditors and banks). This was the moral hazard argument (Djelic and Bothello 2013).
3. Corporations with limited liability would drain capital, making it more difficult for traditional partnerships or non-corporate firms to thrive or survive, which would upset the social order and encourage monopolies to emerge.
4. It was unnecessary because there was no shortage of capital in England in the mid-nineteenth century, as businesses usually had sufficient retained profits to meet their investment needs: 'The manufacturers were on the whole against the introduction of limited liability' (Jefferys 1938, p. 41).
5. There was a 'natural justice' argument that individual responsibility for one's debts was right and that changing this would be unethical.
6. This principle of individual responsibility was a foundation of the British economy and underpinned Britain's preeminent position in the global economy. Limited liability was thus seen as "un-English" (Taylor 2014, p. 7).
7. Some believed that it would create unreasonable and unrealisable expectations among the masses.

The debates were intense in formal public fora (for example in 1854 the Royal Commission on the Mercantile Laws and the Law of Partnership recommended against making limited liability generally available) and in newspapers, debating societies, chambers of commerce and the like. While the Chartists and Christian socialists were advocating limited liability as a way of advancing the cause of the working class and as a way of democratising the economy, it is clear that by the mid-nineteenth century, the rentier class and the liberals were very much in the van (Djelic 2013). Indicative of the shift in mood was the repeal of the Usury Act in 1850, an Act that had, since 1660, placed strict limits on the interest that private lenders could charge.

The rentier investors and liberals also won the day with regard to limited liability, as the Companies Act was amended in 1855 to give limited liability to corporations but not to partnerships (Ireland 1996; Djelic 2013). Banks and insurance companies were excluded until the Act was again amended in 1862. The 1855 Act was confined to companies with a minimum of 25 members but an amendment in 1856 allowed seven or more persons to 'form themselves' into an incorporated company while limited liability was extended to cooperatives in 1862.

For the Quakers, the issue of limited liability struck to the core of their belief system as honesty in trade, including the avoidance of debt, was a condition of membership of the Religious Society of Friends from its inception in the 1660s. As early as 1688, Friends were told, through the system of *Advices*, that none should 'launch into trading and worldly business beyond what they can manage honourably and with reputation; so that they may keep their words with all men. . .the payment of just debts be not delayed' (Society of Friends 1802, p. 195). The message was consistent and constant. In 1754, an 'epistle'—a letter from one Friends' body to another—exhorted members at monthly meetings 'to be properly watchful over one another, and early to caution all against running beyond their depth, and entangling themselves in a greater multiplicity of trade and business than they can extricate themselves from with honour and reputation' (Society of Friends 1858: Epistle 1754, pp. 290–291). The notion of limited liability directly contradicted this, in that, for many, it rewarded and encouraged dishonesty. And, in line with the 'Protestant ethic,' failure in the realm of work raised suspicions of sin, imprudence and a breach of the religious imperative to make one's outward life congruent with one's inward life.

While advocates of limited liability pointed to the difference between a loss caused by intentional dishonesty and a loss resulting from unintentional carelessness or bad luck, and also highlighted the value of mitigating practices, such as publishing company registration information, such nuances made little impression on the Quakers. This was partly because, notwithstanding their deep engagement in the world of commerce, most Quakers had, with some exceptions, largely withdrawn from the public sphere and mainstream politics during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and up until the mid-nineteenth century they deeply distrusted elections and party politics (Isichei 1970). Not surprisingly, therefore, they made little contribution to public discourse about the concept of limited liability prior to passing of the Companies Act and its various amendments. Many Quakers at the London Yearly Meeting of 1918 voiced serious concern about the immorality of limited liability, but the reality was that that debate had effectively concluded over 50 years previously.

6 The Shareholder

The effect of these legislative changes was to create a clear distinction between the shareholders and the managers, which marked a major change from the partnership model—favoured by the Quakers—where the owners were invariably actively involved in managing the business.

Quakers saw their business as a service if not a religious calling, with this service motive operating as a counter to the profit motive. This is not to say that the Quakers were against making a profit; rather they saw profit as a necessary by-product of a successful business, which ultimately was for a service to God and the common good. Hence, the Quakers had little truck with *rentiers*—those living on income from property or investments—who became more prominent in the early nineteenth century and who were depicted as wholly self-interested. The problem for rentiers was that industrialists—and Quakers were disproportionately represented within this group—were usually able to meet their financial needs through retained profits, which left the rentiers with few options. They had no desire to become active partners in individual firms, while lending money to the partnership was not attractive as the usury laws limited their maximum rate of return. Many in society took a distinctly negative view of rentiers: for instance, *The Times* derided them in 1840 as wanting 'to be able to embark in business without being a man of business; to be able to share in the profits of trade without knowledge of trade, or any education in it; without abilities, without character, without any attention or exertion' (9 October 1840). However, the Quakers' attitude to rentiers was more profound in that it was informed by a religious belief system that sacralised work for the common good. That said, the Quakers were not against investment and indeed it was their understanding of finance that enabled them to dominate banking in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Quaker bankers financed various transport infrastructure projects, such as the Stockton and Darlington railway which opened in 1825, but such investments were based on individual wealth as well as the trust, confidence and personal relationships that were a feature of Quaker networks (Turnbull 2014). The issue is further complicated because some saw little difference between the Quakers and the rentiers. For instance, Cobbett (1830, p. 151) was more than disdainful of Quaker retailers stating that:

> . . .they never work. Here is a sect of non-labourers. One would think that their religion bound them under a curse not to work. Some part of the people of all other sects work; sweat at work; do something that is useful to other people; but here is a sect of buyers and sellers. They make nothing; they cause nothing to come; they breed as well as other sects; but they make none of the raiment or houses, and cause none of the food to come.

Cobbett suggested that a value-added tax should be implemented (p. 365) and perhaps had such a tax been in place his vitriol might have been lessened. Undoubtedly, he would have heaped even more scorn on the rentiers who made a profit through buying and selling shares and the overall investing model that eventually emerged in the late nineteenth century which allowed rentiers to easily trade shares in all sorts of enterprises. Notwithstanding Cobbett, a fairer interpretation of the

Quakers of the nineteenth century is probably that buying and selling consumer goods is categorically different from buying and selling shares.

Regardless of these different understandings, the new joint-stock model clearly differentiated between the rights and responsibilities of shareholders and the management team, and this shift was particularly at variance with long-standing Quaker business practice. Most Quaker businesses were partnerships made up of a small number of closely-related participants who were actively involved in the firm, sharing ownership of the assets, and having joint and several unlimited liability. If there were investors, then these were invariably well-known, if not related, to the partners and were expected to take an active interest in the business. In contrast, the new dispensation created a clear demarcation between shareholders and managers. Amongst many others, Adam Smith (1776/1981, p. 741) was concerned about the agency issue that this change created:

> the directors of such companies, however, being the managers rather of other people's money than of their own, it cannot well be expected that they should watch over it with the same anxious vigilance with which the partners in a private copartnery frequently watch over their own. . .Negligence and profusion, therefore, must always prevail, more or less, in the management of the affairs of such a company.

Easy incorporation changed all that, and inevitably ownership was separated from management.

The new shareholder structure associated with incorporation also typically increased the number of shareholders quite significantly, and there was no requirement for the shareholders to know one another, which was quite different from the Quaker partnerships where the owners knew one another intimately. Decision-making by the shareholders in this context was also quite different. Under the shareholding structure, decisions were made by majority vote, a decision-making process with which Quakers have traditionally been uncomfortable (Morley 1993).

7 Incorporation and Post-Incorporation

The legislative changes were slow to have an effect on the ground. Between 1856 and 1865 on average only 500 limited companies were registered annually in the United Kingdom (Ireland 1984, p. 244). This was partly because many people, especially manufacturers, were against the changes, but it was also because partnerships were not allowed to have limited liability. From 1866 to 1874 the annual average increased to 700, and between 1875 and 1883 it increased to over 1000 (Ireland 1984, p. 244). However, these numbers are inflated as many companies never survived infancy and many others were not functioning enterprises. Thus, partnerships and sole traders were still very much the dominant form of business organisation in the late nineteenth century, with Jefferys (1938) estimating that in 1885 limited companies acounted for only between 5 and 10% of all important business organisations, excluding sole traders and public utilities. Two significant

Table 3 Average annual number of registrations of limited companies in UK

Period	Average annual number of registrations of limited companies in UK
1856–1865	500
1866–1874	700
1875–1883	1000
1880–1886	1500
1887–1894	2500
1895–1908	4400
1908–1914	6700

events led to a much greater rate of incorporation in the latter part of the nineteenth century. First, the Long Depression of 1873–1879 saw an increasing number of bankruptcies—shareholders in the City of Glasgow Bank, which went bankrupt in 1878, had to pay out £2750 for every £100 invested—which highlighted the benefits of the private limited company. Second, in 1877 the company lawyer Francis Palmer published a guidebook, *Private Companies; or how to convert your business into a private company, and the benefit of so,* in which he observed that even small partnerships and sole traders could incorporate using nominees to meet the minimum requirements of seven members (Palmer 1877). Palmer's book was influential—by 1900 it was in its 18th edition—and the rate of incorporation steadily increased as shown in Table 3 (from Ireland (1984, p. 245).

The Quaker businesses, which were almost all partnerships, followed this pattern, with most of the prominent Quaker businesses incorporating around that time: Consett Iron Company (1864), Ransomes (1884), Bryant & May (1884), Truman & Hanbury (1888); Reckitt (1888), Albright & Wilson (1892), Allen & Hanbury (1893); Carr (1894), Fry's (1896), Crosfields (1896), Rowntree (1897), Huntley & Palmer (1898), Cadbury's (1899), Baker Perkins (1902), C & J Clark (1903) Swan Hunter (1903), Stewarts & Lloyds (1903) (from Grace's Guide to British Industrial History—https://www.gracesguide.co.uk).

The reasons for incorporating were, in many ways, straightforward. The businesses wanted to expand and the availability of incorporation and limited liability was an obvious way to effect this. Converting from a partnership to a limited private company was seen positively by the Quaker partnerships, given that so many of the leading businesses took that route. And while the Quaker businesses were typically growing when they incorporated, that growth usually continued after incorporation (Fig. 1).

Fitzgerald's (2007, pp. 69–72) study of Rowntree provides a good insight into the type of reasoning the Quaker firms employed to justify incorporation. Most importantly, these businesses needed capital to fund expansion and it was clear that these monies would have to be publicly raised. Most firms did not become public companies but instead raised preference shares and debentures on regional stock exchanges, while the existing partners and the controlling family were issued with ordinary stock. In Rowntree's case, the controlling partner, Joseph Rowntree, was able to raise the necessary finance without losing control of the firm. Moreover,

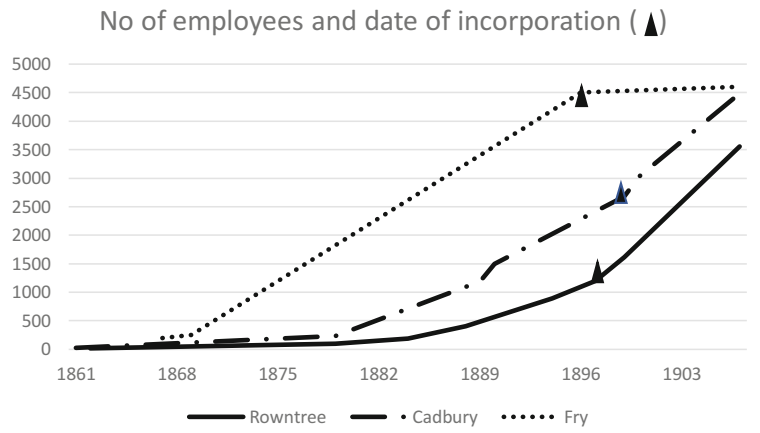

Fig. 1 No of employees in Rowntree, Cadbury and Fry's (from Fitzgerald (2007, p. 64))

incorporation also enabled him to give his relatives a stake and formal position in the firm, while the formation of a board meant that directors with specific responsibilities could be appointed. Crucially, the Rowntree family retained ownership and control in an attempt to continue—in fact if not in form—as not only a family enterprise but a *Quaker* family enterprise.

In many ways, incorporation had the desired effect for most of the Quaker firms, with many experiencing significant growth in the early twentieth century. For instance, Cadbury, which took over Fry's in 1916 and became the British Cocoa and Chocalate in 1919, employed 10,000 in Bourneville alone in 1938 and, by 1961, employed some 23,500 workers (Grace's Guide). Rowntree also expanded and, by 1987, when it was taken over by Nestlé, it operated 25 factories in nine countries and employed 33,000 people (Hyde et al. 1991).

However, this expansion and success masked the inexorable decline of the distinctly Quaker ethos in business and it is clear that the great wave of incorporation in the 1890s marked the beginning of the end of the Quaker business philosophy. The issues were complex and incorporation was certainly not the only reason why the philosophy unravelled, but it did coincide with a major transition in how Quakers conceptualised their role in the economy and society. Important events in that process included the Richmond Conference in 1887, the Manchester Conference in 1895, the London Yearly Meeting in 1918, and the first World Conference held in London in 1920. The seminal Manchester Conference of 1895 marked a transition from nineteenth century Evangelical Quakerism to Liberal Quakerism (Southern 2010). Broadly speaking, liberal (or modernist) Quakers rejected reliance on the Bible as the foundation of their faith and instead emphasised the early tradition of the divine "Inner Light" to be found within all people. Liberals celebrated individual reason, worth and experience, believed in democracy and scientific inquiry, held an optimistic world view, and were keen to improve society. At the centre of this shift—sometimes referred to as the Quaker Renaissance—was Joseph Rowntree's eldest son, John

Wilhelm Rowntree (1868–1905) who became a director of Rowntrees when it incorporated in 1897. His brother, Seebohm (1871–1954), had similar values and in 1899 he conducted a major study of poverty in York (Rowntree 1901), which heavily influenced the New Liberalism movement and inspired many liberal welfare reforms of the early twentieth century. The First World War also made Quakers more acutely aware of the connection between war, social order, and capitalism, and in 1915, they established a War & Social Order Committee to look into issues surrounding social inequality and the conditions that might bring about war. This committee reported to the London Yearly Meeting in 1918, which formulated eight principles in a document titled "Foundations of a True Social Order" (see http://www.quakersocialorder.org.uk/). What was becoming clear was that Quaker employers needed to focus on the overall capitalist system, and its potentially horrible consequences, as much as what was happening in their individual businesses. These concerns are well-illustrated by the topics discussed at the first Quaker Employer Conference held in 1918: "the Responsibilities of Quaker Employers"; "the Claims of Labour"; "Wages"; "The Status of the Worker"; "Working Conditions"; "Profit-sharing schemes"; "Security of Employment"; "The appropriation of Surplus Profits".

The major disparity between the wealth of the Quaker employer and the workers instantiated not only capitalism's contradictions but also an inconsistency between Quaker belief in equality and the reality on the ground. Not surprisingly, the Quaker enthusiasm for commerce waned around this time. Even though it would have been possible for the Quaker families to continue to control their businesses by judicious adjustments to the company's capital structure—much as the Ford family retained control of the Ford Motor Company throughout the twentieth century—this did not happen. Instead, the Quakers moved, or were shifted, inexorably out of the commercial world as ownership passed progressively out of the families and into institutions. The dilution typically occurred through a series of mergers and takeovers. For example, Cadbury and Fry merged in 1918 and then Cadbury subsequently merged with Schweppes in 1969; Huntley & Palmer merged with Peek, Frean & Co in 1921 to become Associated Biscuit Manufacturers which was then taken over by Nabisco in 1982; Reckitt's merged with J. & J. Colman in 1938, and this entity merged with Benckiser NV in 1999; Bryant & May merged with various other companies until it was eventually taken over by Swedish Match; Truman's was taken over by Grand Metropolitan in 1971; Albright and Wilson was acquired by Tenneco in 1971; Allen & Hanburys was acquired by Glaxo Laboratories in 1958; Carr's was acquired by United Biscuits in 1972; Lever Brothers acquired Crosfields in 1919; APV acquired Baker Perkins in 1987; Rowntree's merged with Mackintosh in 1969 and this was taken over by Nestlé in 1988. Others were nationalised, such as Consett Iron Company (in 1947), Swan Hunter (in 1977), and Stewarts & Lloyds (in 1951). But even before the mergers, the distinctive Quaker ethos was already in decline in the Quaker businesses: it was gone at Fry by the 1920s and was to decline at Rowntree from the 1930s, though it persisted in Cadbury until 1969 when Cadbury merged with Schweppes (Smith et al. 1990; Fitzgerald 2007, p. 215).

8 Conclusion

The Quakers' role in—and ultimate withdrawal from—commerce is a complex story that should not be reduced to a single line of reasoning. It is clear that many liberal Quakers became deeply uncomfortable as they reflected on the inequalities associated with and generated by capitalism. The paternalistic model that had developed in Quaker enterprises during the nineteenth century was also perhaps ill-suited to the scale of operations that mass production demanded. The number of Quakers in the general population was always low—and it decreased as a percentage during the early twentieth century—which is also an important part of the story. What this chapter has highlighted is the profound change associated with the three features of incorporation—the company as a separate legal personality, limited liability, and the distinctive rights and responsibilities of the shareholder—and how these were inimical to the Quaker belief system.

This chapter has described how, in the first half of the twentieth century, the Quakers lost the preeminent position they held in the commercial world for much of the previous two centuries. While many Quakers willingly decamped from this world—preferring to focus on social issues, conflict resolution, justice and human rights—it is also important to recognise the political dimension to how their contribution to and exit from commerce has been represented. For example, the historical evidence casts much doubt on the validity of Chandler's (1962, 1977) argument that the relative success of American multinationals at the turn of the century was because managerial hierarchies became larger and appeared more quickly in these companies than in their British counterparts. According to Chandler, British companies were slow to adopt modern management methods, new techniques of mass production, and novel cost accounting procedures as they were stymied by an outmoded form of British capitalism characterised by the continuance of family control and management. However, Fitzgerald's (2007, pp. 187–193) description of management practices in Rowntree and Cadbury and Matthews et al.'s (2003) study of Albright & Wilson, severely challenges Chandler's thesis and his implicit celebration of "managerialism" and the large firm. Our analysis adds to this by highlighting how the joint-stock companies were essentially political entities and that there is a political dimension to any narrative, such as Chandler's.

We see this political dimension in the way the Quakers have been largely ignored in the management literature and, surprisingly, in the history of management thought, which typically locates the discipline's origins in the mid to late nineteenth century, well over a century after most of the Quaker businesses had been founded but, hardly coincidentally, just when they were incorporating. For instance, Barley and Kunda (1992) begin their story about the evolution of managerial ideologies in 1870; Eastman and Bailey (1998) start their story in 1890, as does Guillén (1994) when he identified scientific management as the first management model; Shenhav (1995, 1999) begins his study of the (engineering) foundations of organization theory in 1879; Wren (1997: xii) notes that "about 1880…the literature took a quantum jump as a result of the workshop management movement"; while Towne

(1886), one of the first engineers to see management as a new social role for engineers, published his influential article, *The Engineer as an Economist*, in 1886. The Quakers, and the particular form of business ethics espoused by Quaker employers, is neatly overlooked in these narratives that invariably celebrate the manager and the particular role that management plays in the contemporary organisation.

Our study also shows that things could have been different. Hence, we do not accept Hansmann and Kraakman's (2000) end-of-history argument that the shareholder-centred corporate governance structure, which emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, is now the only viable model of corporate law. The Quaker story shows that this particular configuration is and was a highly contingent social construction, that other models might have emerged, and could very well emerge in the future. Given contemporary concerns about the corporation, it is timely that we re-imagine the powers and responsibilities of this organisational form and its mode of governance. The Quakers provide a useful basis for such re-imagining.

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Part III
Complicated Quakers

Thomas Jefferson's Complicated Friends

Sue Kozel

An example of Quaker abolition and paternalism. *Permission granted by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Seal of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Abolition of Slavery,* c. 1800, E 441. A58 vol. 15 no. 1, Record Number 8865, Vol. 15, p. 53, digital reproduction

Scholar Maurice Jackson has written about prominent Quakers like abolitionist Anthony Benezet as having embraced European and American ideals of natural rights and that the Quaker examples of abolition and charity in the eighteenth century were examples of enlightened leadership.[1] Jacquelyn C. Miller noted that even non-Quakers like Benjamin Franklin sought to identify with "Quaker philosophy"

[1]Maurice Jackson, "'What Shall be Done for the Negroes' Anthony Benezet's Legacy" in Maurice Jackson and Susan Kozel (eds.) *Quakers and their Allies in the Abolitionist Cause, 1754–1808,* First Edition Paperback (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 60–61.

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and embrace some of the leading Quaker values as exemplifying liberal capitalism and incorporating enlightenment ideas.[2] Within Quaker enlightenment can also be found the instinct to protest publicly as well as the ability to raise controversial issues by not pushing their confrontation in an aggressive manner. But this paper looks at the issue of whether Quaker relationships with their ethical consequences with former US President, primary author of the US Declaration of Independence, and founder of the University of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, in personal interactions, writing, and/or employment, did go far enough given in business and personal ethics some Quakers worked with Jefferson to oversee or supply products for Jefferson's slave plantation.

In this important correspondence, Gerard T. Hopkins, the Clerk of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, representing Maryland and parts of adjacent Virginia, wrote Jefferson in 1807 thanking him for ending the slave trade as part of the US Constitution. 'But, there remains a subject inexpressibly dear to our hearts, which has particularly engaged our feelings,' noted the meeting clerk, on the ending of slavery and slave trade.[3] Furthermore, the letter asked for Jefferson's leadership in ending the "oppression" that is part of the human family, meaning the ending of the slave trade and the existence of slavery, the latter a topic not addressed in the Constitution.[4] Jefferson happily responded that all may 'rejoice' with what is not clearly stated but is the end of the slave trade in 1808, but his language makes it seem that slavery has ended or that he hopes in the future there will be a time where all humanity can experience 'life, liberty, and happiness' but he does not discuss what role if any he will contribute to the ending of slavery.[5]

This exchange illustrates our dilemma. While Quaker memorials advocating the end of slavery or the end of the slave trade presented strong argument, when compared with some individual Quaker correspondences or interactions, the letters and personal relationships of Quakers did not always push Jefferson far enough, especially when he declined action or leadership to end slavery. Yes, correspondence and the submission of

[2]Jacquelyn C. Miller, "Franklin and Friends, Benjamin Franklin's Ties to Quakers and Quakerism," *Pennsylvania History* Vol 57, No. 4 (October 1990): 318–319, 320, 325.

[3]"To Thomas Jefferson from Gerard T. Hopkins, 9 November 1807," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017. Accessed November 15, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/99-01-02-6752. Sue Kozel would like to thank Peter Onuf for his strong encouragement and critical editing eye on Jefferson research. She also thanks Onuf and Annette Gordon-Reed for challenging her ideas on Quakers and Jefferson during the 2012 Institute for Constitutional History Seminar at the New York Historical Society. She thanks Maurice Jackson for his continued support. She thanks the editors of this volume for the opportunity to publish first this new scholarship and in particular Nic Burton for his advocacy.

[4]"To Thomas Jefferson from Gerard T. Hopkins, 9 November 1807."

[5]"From Thomas Jefferson to Gerard T. Hopkins, 13 November 1807," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017. Accessed November 25, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/99-01-02-6776 Jefferson wrote, "Whatever may have been the circumstances which influenced our forefathers to permit the introduction of personal bondage into any part of these states, & to participate in the wrongs committed on an unoffending quarter of the globe, we may rejoice that such circumstances, & such a sense of them, exist no longer."

Quaker memorials on the topic of ending the slave trade and slavery are well known, with 7 petitions/memorials submitted to Congress by "Quakers" and 40 additional positions put forth by the Society of Friends or various abolition societies to the Constitutional Convention and subsequent sessions of Congress.[6] The February 3, 1790, petition by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, headed by Benjamin Franklin and including Quaker and non-Quaker members, prompted a February 12 debate in Congress with South Carolina and Georgia protesting the discussion of 'securing the blessings of liberty. . .without distinction of color.'[7] We see the language in the Pennsylvania Abolition Society's Constitution that established African American men and women as "free men and free women" with the gradual abolition of slavery advocated in Pennsylvania in 1787.[8] Shortly after the debate begins, Jefferson is appointed Secretary of State under President Washington. We know the Quaker advocacy and leadership legacy for the abolition of slavery and the end of the African slave trade.[9] Consequently,

[6]A brilliant summary of abolitionist petitions is presented by Gary Nash in his writings on Quaker Warner Mifflin. Gary B. Nash, "Warner Mifflin (1745–1798): The Remarkable Life of an Unflinching Abolitionist," in Maurice Jackson and Susan Kozel (eds.), *Quakers and their Allies in the Abolitionist Cause, 1754–1808* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017 paperback), 14–22. Edward Needles, *A Historical Memoir of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Abolition of Slavery* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1848), 6 (Wistar becomes President), 39, 59, 73. Google ebook. No reference to Thomas Jefferson. Accessed November 26, 2017, https://books.google.com/books?id=QnITAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=jefferson&f=false

[7]"American Slavery, Congressional Records," African American Heritage, National Archives. Accessed November 1, 2017, https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/slavery-records-congress.html, Walter B. Hill, "Living with the Hydra: The Documentation of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Federal Records," Prologue, Selected Articles Vol 32, No. 4 (Winter 2004): 1. Accessed October 15, 2017. https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2000/winter/hydra-slave-trade-documentation-1.html, Transcript, "Memorial of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, 3 February 1790. Birth of a Nation: The First Federal Congress1789–1791. Accessed October 16, 2017, https://www2.gwu.edu/~ffcp/exhibit/p11/p11_5text.html, https://www2.gwu.edu/~ffcp/exhibit/p11/p11_4.html. "Benjamin Franklin Petitions to Congress," The Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives. Accessed October 1, 2017, https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/franklin"Abolition Timeline," The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition. Accessed October 1, 2017, https://glc.yale.edu/abolitionism-timeline "Anti-Slavery Timeline," Teach US History.org. Accessed November 1, 2017, http://www.teachushistory.org/second-great-awakening-age-reform/articles/anti-slavery-timeline

[8]Section X, *The constitution of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery: and the Relief of Free Negroes, unlawfully held in bondage. Begun in the year 1774, and enlarged on the twenty-third of April, 1787. To which are added, The Acts of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery* (Philadelphia, Joseph James, 1787), 12. Accessed October 1, 2017, http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/ref/collection/HC_QuakSlav/id/1059

[9]See critical debates in abolitionist circles in Maurice Jackson and Susan Kozel, Ed., *Quakers and their Allies in the Abolitionist Cause, 1754–1808* First Edition Paperback (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 1–8. The introduction provides an overview of the history of abolition societies and the role of Quakers within these groups that had Quaker and non-Quaker members. Susan Kozel, "In Pursuit of Natural Rights and Liberty—The Brothers Waln in Greater Philadelphia and the Atlantic World," in Maurice Jackson and Sue Kozel, eds. *Quakers and their Allies in the Abolitionist Cause, 1754–1808* First Edition Paperback (London: Routledge, Taylor &

we must ask why, as some Quakers write organizationally or individually to urge Jefferson to take action to end slavery, other Friends would join Jefferson in business operations that supported slavery or ignored the discussion of slavery as part of business and personal interactions. Was it, as Caspar Wistar was described in an APS memorial program, that Quakers sought to preserve their values and principles, 'without sacrificing' friendships?[10]

Mike King, in his provocative text *Quakernomics*, creates an important measure for how one might evaluate the diverse social justice and capitalistic impacts of Quakers on world economies.[11] The idea of an "ethical capitalism" underscores, as a byproduct of Quakernomics, compelling paternalistic practices because the motive for profitability is sometimes balanced with a desire to improve the lives of the community of workers who help create the wealth for emerging and steadfast capitalists. King argues that this idea of ethical capitalism is directly tied to the religion of the Society of Friends, the employers' voluntarist practices, and the paternalism some Quakers use to motivate and reward the behavior of others.[12] This chapter tests the lens of Quakernomics by evaluating some Quaker relationships with slave owner and American icon Thomas Jefferson in the period from 1769 through the Early American Republic. Jefferson considers himself a patriarch, as analyzed by Annette Gordon-Reed and Peter S. Onuf, and his paternalism makes an interesting counterpoint to the paternalism of King's Quakers.[13] While Jefferson was not a Quaker, prominent and lesser-known Quakers chose to work with him to advance their advocacy of issues whether within personal business relationships or the investigation of exploration, for example. We will find that some positive examples of Quakernomics exist and other times not. Certainly scholars like Verna

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Francis Group, 2017), 125–140. Quaker Richard Waln wrote a Quaker elder regarding how a young African American man was helped against his will and deprived of his "natural right to liberty." Letter from Richard Waln to John Gaunt of Friends of Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting, November 14, 1788, HSP Richard Waln papers, 1651, Box 1, Bound Book Waln Letters 1766–1794.

[10]William Tilghman, *An eulogium in commemoration of Doctor Caspar Wistar, late president of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge: delivered before the Society, pursuant to their appointment, in the German Lutheran Church in Fourth Street, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 11th day of March, 1818* (Philadelphia: E. Earle, 1818), 35. Digital Collections, US National Library of Medicine. Accessed October 26, 2017, https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/bookviewer?PID=nlm:nlmuid-2575016R-bk

[11]Mike King, *Quakernomics, An Ethical* Capitalism (London: Anthem Press, 2014), 5–6. Definition of Quakernomics as an economic and commerce-related practice.

[12]King, *Quakernomics, 5*–6. Includes a discussion of the Quaker Business Method. See page 254 for his key quote on "ethical capitalism." In the text, I have interpreted some of King's foundational ideas, and here I will note the "voluntarist" aspect is among the most complicated and challenging. Paternalism, at root, has a way of pushing people to modify behaviors, and I disagree with King on the voluntary aspects. See the article by Gerald Dworkin, "Paternalism" as part of the Stanford Encyclopedia for Philosophy. Accessed February 25, 2017, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/paternalism/

[13]Annette Gordon-Reed and Peter S. Onuf, *"Most Blessed of the Patriarchs" Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination,* (New York: Liveright Publishing Company, 2016), xx. Jefferson called himself a Patriarch as quoted by Gordon-Reed and Onuf, xii–xxi.

M. Cavey have noted the Quaker ethos of peace testimony and the avoidance of conflict in personal and religious relations between Quakers.[14]

At issue in this investigation is an inquiry about Quaker ethical choices in their personal and business relations regarding why some Quakers appear to have put aside their abolitionist principles to work with Jefferson. Some Quakers worked as either direct employees, industrial suppliers, merchant providers of goods, or scientists and enlightenment colleagues of Jefferson at Monticello, while he served in the Virginia legislature or Continental Congress and/or during his leadership in the American Philosophical Society. Additionally other Quakers pushed agendas with Jefferson as a President of the United States and/or a retired gentleman farmer on topics ranging from scientific investigation, patents, exploration, philosophical engagement, slave nail factory work, mill management, or surveying work. Philadelphia-born Quaker Joseph Bringhurst wrote to Jefferson that on an 1803 visit to New York, Bringhurst met Quakers who were happy that Jefferson was the President and hoped he would continue in the position.[15] A member of the American Philosophical Society, like his father James Bringhurst, Joseph does not appear from letters to have financial dealings with Jefferson. John Bringhurst will have business dealings with Jefferson described later in this chapter. John, like James, is an abolitionist. James will befriend a prominent abolitionist New York Quaker, John Murray, and will be engaged in supporting his manumission and abolitionist efforts. But as will be discussed later, there is confusion with the interpretation of documents as to whether James or John is the Bringhurst in question.[16] What we do know is that James, John, and Joseph Bringhurst are members of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society or the Delaware Abolition Society during different years according to records.[17] The renowned historian Gary B. Nash noted that James acknowledges

[14]Verna M. Cavey, "Fighting Among Friends, the Quaker Separation of 1827," in *Social Conflicts and Collective Identities,* Patricia C. Coy and Lynn. M. Woehrie, ed. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 142–143.

[15]"To Thomas Jefferson from Joseph Bringhurst, 8 July 1803," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-40-02-0520. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 40, *4 March–10 July 1803*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 679–680.]. Accessed November 15, 2017.

[16]An Inventory of the Collection of Bringhurst Family Correspondence, 1780–1941, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/friends/ead/m046brin.xml. Accessed Oct. 18, 2017. This paper will sort out the controversies using footnotes from the Jefferson Papers and comparing the records interpreted by other scholars and authors.

[17]"To Thomas Jefferson from Joseph Bringhurst, 8 July 1803," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified November 26, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-40-02-0520. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 40, *4 March–10 July 1803*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 679–680.] *An inventory of the Collection of the Bringhurst Family Correspondence, 1790–1941*, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. This Joseph Bringhurst is the son of James, and Joseph was a member of the American Philosophical Society. *Centennial Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Society, for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in*

the unabashed leadership of Delaware Quaker Abolitionist Warner Mifflin in a 1790 letter, indicating that he was 'abused,' while he advocated for 'Africans.'[18]

The image for the Pennsylvania Society for the Promoting the Abolition of Slavery reeks of paternalism with the dignified Caucasian man extending a hand to a free slave who has been broken from chains and mostly naked seeks to live the well wishes of the motto, "work and be happy."[19] Other Quakers are using language in the late eighteenth century like New Jersey Quaker Richard Waln arguing that enslaved African Americans have a "natural right to liberty." One might be able to argue that liberty is tied to happiness in the Pennsylvania Society for the Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, but language is nuanced. Waln is writing about a Quaker who in 1788 was still holding a young man who was promised freedom in New Jersey.[20] King, in his advocacy of a new way to evaluate Quaker economic ideas which build upon profit and social justice, describes how some Quakers will be paternalistic in their approaches to help some industrial employees with a sick plan, charity for religious chapels even for the Church of England, corporate shares to loyal employees, work outings, pensions, and teaching the substitution of chocolate for alcohol in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in English industrial settings.[21]

This article's narrow focus will investigate Jefferson's relationship with five Quakers: Iron Industrialist and prison reformer *Caleb Lownes*; manager of slaves and the Poplar Forest plantations for Jefferson, *Bowling Clark; James and John Bringhurst*, Philadelphia Quakers and merchants; and American Philosophical Society (APS) leader and Jefferson friend, abolitionist *Caspar Wistar*. Of course, *Robert Pleasants* could have been included, but much has been written about his leadership by preeminent scholars to advocate for education for slaves and the abolition of slavery and his correspondence with Jefferson.[22] My purpose is to illuminate the

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Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race (Philadelphia: Grant, Faires & Rodgers, Printers, 1875), 55, 57, 42. Accessed November 26, 2017,https://archive.org/details/centennialannive00lcpenn

[18]Gary B. Nash, *Warner Mifflin, Unflinching Quaker Abolitionist* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 176.

[19]*Seal of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Abolition,* c. 1800.

[20]Letter from Richard Waln to John Gaunt of Friends of Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting, November 14, 1788, HSP Richard Waln papers, 1651, Box 1, Bound Book Waln Letters 1766–1794.

[21]King, *Quakernomics, An Ethical Capitalism*, 39–40, 55, 68, 77, 254.

[22]Jay Worrall, *The Friendly Virginians, America's First Quakers* (Athens, GA: Iberia Publishing Co., 1994)175–177. A brilliant dissertation focuses on the mindful ways that Pleasants persistently advocate for abolition. William Fernandez Hardin. *LITIGATING THE LASH: QUAKER* EMANCIPATOR ROBERT PLEASANTS, THE LAWOF SLAVERY, AND THE MEANING OF MANUMISSION IN *REVOLUTIONARY AND EARLY NATIONAL VIRGINIA,* Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Vanderbilt University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in History, May, 2013. Nashville, Tennessee. Accessed Sep. 20, 2017, https://etd.library.vanderbilt.edu//available/etd-03292013-113550/unrestricted/HardinWF.pdf. See pages 92–100 for discussion regarding the emancipation debates in Virginia during the Revolution. There was division over whether white and newly freed

relationships of other lesser-known Quaker relationships. These complicated relationships illuminate some of the challenges the Quakers had to choose to confront or sometimes ignore when working, for pay or as a colleague, with Jefferson. *Quakernomics* author King notes that Quaker entrepreneurs do advocate the 'principles of social justice or more specifically economic justice' in business relationships in Britain. But, are the examples of Jefferson and key Quakers grounded in these same ideas?[23] The answer is tied inextricably to the criteria used to evaluate the relationships, and in the British colonies and the American case, the answer appears to be "no."

1 Jefferson and Slavery

Throughout his slave-owning life, Jefferson will have owned over 600 slaves at Monticello and his other neighboring plantation and mill projects.[24] It is hard to separate Jefferson, the man of liberty and the Declaration of Independence from Jefferson the man of slavery, and our Quakers must have addressed that issue as well in choices they made about working with Jefferson.

As Historian Mark D. McGarvie attests, one of the most troubling aftershocks that continue to make Americanists uneasy is Jefferson's 'toleration of slavery.'[25] Peter S. Onuf, in *Jefferson's Empire, the Language of American Nationhood,* notes that Jefferson in 1821 advocates for colonization as the best solution for ending slavery. Jefferson believed races of free white men and slaves and free blacks could not live together in the United States as free men, especially with the example of slave rebellion in Haiti looming and in the aftermath of Gabriel's Rebellion in Virginia.[26] George Tucker had proposed a gradual abolition of slavery prior to 1800 but then

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blacks could live in the same community. Pleasants did not want emancipation that required removal from Virginia. Pleasants had wanted free public schools for blacks. 206. A. Glen Crothers, *Quakers Living in the Lion's Mouth, The Society of Friends in Northern Virginia, 1730–1865* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012), 108–109,188, 133. Pleasants would disagree with Virginia Friends and join with Methodists to form the Virginia Abolition Society in 1790, according to Crothers.

[23]King, *Quakernomics*, 6.

[24]"Property," Plantations and Slavery, Monticello.org. Accessed November 1, 2017, https://www.monticello.org/site/plantation-and-slavery/property. The website discusses how Jefferson inherited initially 145 slaves from his father-in-law, and then through slave breeding and other purchases the number grew to over 600 slaves during the course of his lifetime.

[25]Mark D. McGarvie, "'In perfect accordance with his character': Thomas Jefferson, Slavery, and the Law" *Indiana Magazine of History,* Vol 95, Issue 2 (1999) 142. https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/imh/article/view/11739/17186

[26]Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 2000), 151. "From Thomas Jefferson to St. George Tucker, 28 August 1797," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017. Accessed November 1, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-29-02-0405. [Original source: *The*

modified his position to support freedom with lesser rights for newly freed African Americans.[27] Onuf describes how Jefferson saw Africans taken in slavery as captives of war and representing a 'captive nation' in a state of war.[28] Is Jefferson's opposition to the federal government intervening in the abolition of slavery based on his consistent application to limit federal power wondered McGarvie?[29] Or is his interest a personal one? In 1790, Jefferson had reacted to a legislative proposal for the creation of the manufacturing of subsidized woolen textiles in Virginia as a way to compete with Britain and to grant possible gradual emancipation of African Americans; Jefferson did not address the idea of gradual emancipation.[30] Why, as Jefferson argues in *Notes on Virginia,* that slavery turns slave owners into tyrants, did he not advocate for freedom of African Americans to stay in Virginia and in the United States?[31] Despite a long-term relationship with a slave woman who was his wife's half-sister, Sally Hemings, that produced children, Jefferson did not believe that blacks and whites could live harmoniously in America. Certainly Quakers knew about Jefferson's slave relationship as evidenced by media coverage during the Jefferson presidential run, such as stories by James Callender, who in 1802

Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 29, *1 March 1796–31 December 1797*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, pp. 519–520.]

[27]St. George Tucker, *A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It, in the State of Virginia* (Philadelphia, Matthew Carey, 1796), 76, See full book at https://archive.org/stream/dissertationonsla00tuck#page/76/mode/2up

Tucker quotes Jefferson's comments in Notes on Virginia. Page 89 Tucker uses Jefferson's language that Africans are inferior and therefore should not have equal citizenship with whites. Tucker argues that emancipated Blacks do not want or are not always capable of full rights on Page 90. Accessed November 20, 2017,

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/media_player?mets_filename=evm00000591mets.xml. Tucker's proposal felt like the Black Codes of Mississippi 1865 that would deny free blacks rights to weapons, right to serve on juries, or right to marry whites, for example.

[28]Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood,* 149–150.

[29]McGarvie made this argument by quoting Drew G. McCoy's analysis of conflicts between Jefferson and his neighbor and ardent abolitionist Edward Coles in an exchange of letters. See McCoy's *Last of the Fathers*. Drew G. McCoy, *Last of the Fathers, James Madison and the Republic Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 312–313.

[30]Thomas Jefferson, "Jefferson's Opinion on the Proposal for Manufacture of Woolen Textiles in Virginia", 3 Dec. 1790, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017. Accessed November 25, 2017, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-18-02-0088

[31]Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia, Query XVIII: Manners,* Teaching American History. Accessed November 1, 2017, http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/notes-on-the-state-of-virginia-query-xviii-manners/. Here are the key quotes: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. . ..The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities."

names Hemings as Jefferson's concubine, but Quakers continued to work with Jefferson.[32]

2 The Jefferson Effect

While the term "celebrity" was not one widely used in the time of Jefferson's life, I would like to argue that Jefferson was indeed an intellectual and iconic celebrity, based on the scholarship of renowned historians who captured his public image and visibility, both positive and negative. For example, Annette Gordon-Reed and Peter S. Onuf wrote about Jefferson being a 'Republican patriarch.'[33] They further describe him as a 'republican icon', a 'self-described' member of the aristocracy who was visited by pilgrims seeking to visit the 'iconic' Jefferson and his 'shrine,' the plantation of Monticello. 'Awestruck' were those who visited Monticello as Jefferson retired and lived as an aging patriarch in his domain.[34] Author Jon Meacham uses terms including 'handsome' and 'charismatic' to describe Jefferson.[35] Using what I am calling "The Jefferson Effect," Jefferson appears to have possessed a charm, a level of notoriety, and the intellectual and physical presence that enhanced his abilities to work with, guide, and manipulate those in his private and public life as would a celebrity. An unabashed republican with aristocratic tendencies, Jefferson saw that happiness, as he defined it, would allow for American families to flourish with vast lands to be settled, making families free to keep property and help their families keep property and wealth.[36] Of course, slave families did not have this republican luxury of property ownership, and I don't think Jefferson's practice of allowing slaves to sometimes grow their own food to sell to him or other plantations constitutes the republican idea of private property ownership that free Caucasians would have.[37] But in many works on Jefferson, Quakers are often not mentioned, and when they are, it is in the context of Jefferson's work on the 1779 and later 1786 Virginia laws on religious tolerance or the

[32]"Sally Hemings" *The Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia.* Accessed October 28, 2017, https://www.monticello.org/site/plantation-and-slavery/sally-hemings See also the encyclopedia's article on James Callender. Accessed October 28, 2017, https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/james-callender. Also, the Thomas Jefferson Foundation accepts the DNA testing that says that he is the father of Sally Hemings' children. Appendix Thomas Jefferson Foundation, "Appendix H: Sally Hemings and Her Children," *Report of the Research Committee and Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings.* 2000. Accessed October 28, 2017, https://www.monticello.org/site/plantation-and-slavery/appendix-h-sally-hemings-and-her-children

[33]Gordon-Reed and Onuf, *"Most Blessed of the Patriarchs" Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination,* xx.

[34]Gordon-Reed and Onuf, *"Most Blessed of the Patriarchs" Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination* 161, 247, 263.

[35]Jon Meacham, *Thomas Jefferson and the Art of Power* (New York: Random House, 2012), 40.

[36]Gordon-Reed and Onuf, *"Most Blessed of the Patriarchs" Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination* 141–142.

[37]Jefferson on slaves selling goods—Cinder Lucia.

idea that he saw Quakers as English or the Quaker petitions before Congress.[38] What about all those relations he had with Quakers? Why are they ignored? I think it comes down to some scholars of Jefferson not treating the Quaker contacts as meaningful or important, dismissing the significance of his relationships.

Quaker historian Jay Worrall wrote about the 'Quakerly' influences on Jefferson's youth due to his familial relatives who either married Quakers or were directly related to Quakers. Worrall notes that Jefferson's mother, a Randolph, was related to families within whom the Randolphs of Virginia had married into Quaker families of the Flemings, Pleasants, and Woodson.[39] Can those comments be true that Jefferson did indeed embrace Quaker ideas? And in 1810, Jefferson attacks Quakers in correspondence as being disloyal to the United States of America and too oriented to British values? Jefferson's interactions and opinions on Quakers change frequently.[40]

3 Five Quaker Connections

Of the five Quakers reviewed, four were abolitionists (Wistar, both Bringhursts, and Lownes), and two served as members of the American Philosophical Society (Wistar and James Bringhurst). Three could be considered intellectuals regarding their commitment to inquiry and leadership in reforming science, natural rights, slavery, and/or prison (Wistar, James Bringhurst and Lownes). Wistar's brother, Thomas, will serve with Lownes on the Quaker Prison Committee, and we can surmise that there might have been discussions among the brothers Wistar regarding Lownes' leadership. I am especially intrigued by Bowling Clark because he is not an abolitionist Quaker and sells and manages slaves for Jefferson, so his contrast is valuable in our review. Wistar's eulogy shows him as a man categorized by putting aside petty differences to build upon friendships and relationships. Maybe this is the guiding light for Quakers: building relationships as a minority voice in a world built on corruption, enslavement, exploitation, and anti-enlightenment ideas, to build

[38]Gordon-Reed and Onuf, *"Most Blessed of the Patriarchs" Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination* 5, 104. No reference in the Meacham Text. No reference in, Francis P. Cogliano, *Thomas Jefferson: Reputation and Legacy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006). Reference to Quaker's loyalty to "Mother-Country," meaning England in Peter S. Onuf, *The Mind of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, The University of Virginia Press, 2012), 168. No Reference. Brian Steele, *Thomas Jefferson and American Nationhood* Cambridge Studies on the American South (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[39]Worrall, *The Friendly Virginians, America's First Quakers,* 272–273.

[40]Peter Onuf to Sue Kozel, February 9, 2013, email. This email quotes a draft letter from Thomas Jefferson to William Baldwin dated January 19, 1810, in which Jefferson denounces the example of a Quaker "as essential an Englishman" and are devoted to the "Mother-society," which means England. Jefferson acknowledged good patriots are among the Quakers but does not name them, other than attacking Mr. Pemberton.

working coalitions with Quakers and non-Quakers to build new knowledge to serve their God's will and objectives.

4 James and John Bringhurst

With strong abolitionist beliefs, James and/or John Bringhurst befriend Thomas Jefferson in a client relationship, accepting Isaac Granger, one of Jefferson's Monticello slaves, as an apprentice in his store in Philadelphia. Both men are members of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and have important relationships with Jefferson. The sources and many scholars use these names interchangeably.[41] James belonged to the Pine Street Meeting in Philadelphia; owned land in Burlington County, New Jersey; and, as a member of the American Philosophical Society, served on its building committee in 1789.[42] James counts among his friends John Murray, an abolitionist Quaker who founds the Society for the Manumission of Slaves in New York.[43] Jefferson receives an 1805 letter from Bringhurst thanking the President for appointing his son to the office of Postmaster in Delaware and sends a gift of a book that he believes will help Jefferson. The title and the content of the book are unknown.[44] Within days, Jefferson writes back on January 9 thanking

[41]Primary Resource, "Life of Isaac Jefferson of Petersburg, Virginia, Blacksmith" by Isaac Jefferson (1847), *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Chapter 12, Page 11. Accessed May 25, 2016, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/_Life_of_Isaac_Jefferson_of_Petersburg_Virginia_Blacksmith_by_Isaac_Jefferson_1847. A reference to "old Bringhouse," the way he referred to Bringhurst. Page 13 mentions Jim Bringhouse. James Adam Bear, Jr. *Jefferson at Monticello: Memoirs of a Monticello Slave* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1967) 13–17. Information From Ebook Preview Amazon. Accessed November 30, 2017, https://www.amazon.com/Jefferson-Monticello-Recollections-Slave-Overseer/dp/0813900220

See Bear, 13–16 for discussions of descriptions of "Old Bringhouse," how Isaac described the old Tinsmith who taught him his trade and came to Monticello. Lucia Stanton believes this is John Bringhouse. I believe this is John Bringhurst. Email from Lucia Stanton to Sue Kozel, May 30, 2016.

[42]James Bringhurst Papers. Accessed November 15, 2017 https://catalog.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/find/Record/.b2685341/Details#tabnav, "Part III. Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, Compiled by One of the Secretaries, from the Manuscript Minutes of Its Meetings from 1744–1838" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 22, No. 119 (Jul., 1885), pp. 171. Accessed January 2, 2018, https://www.jstor.org/stable/i240332

[43]An Inventory of the Collection of Bringhurst Family Correspondence, 1780–1941, MSS046, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. Accessed November 1, 2017, http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/friends/ead/m046brin.xml

[44]*James Bringhurst to Thomas Jefferson, January 3, 1805.* -01-03, 1805. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. Accessed November 25, 2017 https://www.loc.gov/item/mtjbib014203/

Bringhurst for the thoughtful gift.[45] There is sometimes confusion in some of the Jefferson entries or reflections by Isaac Granger where he may be calling James Bringhurst, John. This John Bringhurst visited Monticello in 1797, the same year that Isaac Granger recalls that James Bringhurst visits Monticello to help set up a tin-making work area.[46] John is described as a successful merchant but was disowned by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1794.[47] In a letter to Jefferson from John Bringhurst, the writer identifies himself as the brother of James Bringhurst at 131 South Front St. and has left James instructions to pay Jefferson all funds required.[48] Jefferson Scholar, Lucia C. Stanton, has expressed her concerns over inconsistent source references to both James and John Bringhurst, but she believes only John visited Monticello in 1797.[49] In her book, *'Those Who Labor for My Happiness': Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello,* she built on some of the earlier writing of James Adam Bear and researched further the nail factory and the reflections of Jefferson slave Isaac Granger. Stanton noted that Granger remembered listening to a Quaker Tinsmith about Quaker anti-slavery while serving as his apprentice.[50] Granger called this Bringhurst "Old Bringhouse" and described him as an old, small man who had Granger as the only black child in his tin shop.[51] Of course, Granger was a slave. John Bringhurst came to Monticello to set up the tin shop in 1797, and when he came he brought a pistol that Jefferson also purchased for

[45]*Thomas Jefferson to James Bringhurst, January 9, 1805*. -01-09, 1805. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. Accessed November 25, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/item/mtjbib014226/

[46]Jefferson, Thomas. Letter to James Bringhurst, January 9, 1805. The Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 1. General Correspondence. 1606–1827. Library of Congress. Available online via the Library of Congress American Memory project. Accessed November 10, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/resource/mtj1.032_0183_0184/?sp=1

[47]"From Thomas Jefferson to John Bringhurst, 26 July 1793," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017. Accessed November 15, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-26-02-0506. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 26, *11 May–31 August 1793*, ed. John Catanzariti. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, pp. 569–570.] See notes for references to John Bringhurst.

[48]"To Thomas Jefferson from John Bringhurst, [11 September 1793]," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017. Accessed November 25, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-27-02-0085. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 27, *1 September–31 December 1793*, ed. John Catanzariti. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 88.].

[49]Email from Lucia Stanton to Sue Kozel, May 30, 2016.

[50]Lucia C. Stanton, *"those Who Labor for My Happiness": Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello*. Jeffersonian America (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 127. See Bear, 13–16 for discussions of descriptions of Old Bringhouse, how Isaac described the old Tinsmith who taught him his trade and came to Monticello.

[51]See Bear, 13–16 for discussions of descriptions of "Old Bringhouse," how Isaac described the old Tinsmith who taught him his trade and came to Monticello. Stanton believes this is John Bringhouse.

$5.[52] The same John Bringhurst also sold china to President George Washington.[53] When the yellow fever epidemic was raging in Philadelphia in 1793, Jefferson moved to "Gray's Ferry," where James Bringhurst owned a country estate at "Gray's Ferry," and it is unclear if Jefferson rented the Bringhurst land.[54] We do know that Jefferson purchased a pistol and other assorted goods from James Bringhurst in 1775 in Philadelphia and paid his accounts in 1776.[55] Again, we have the names of two Bringhursts in Jefferson records for merchant goods. Strange for pacifist Quakers to be engaged in the sale of arms, which violates the ideals of peace testimony and non-violence.[56] What cannot be denied is that both Bringhursts committed their money to abolition work, and they had opportunities to have contact with Jefferson.

5 Caspar Wistar

The President of the American Philosophical Society (APS) in 1815, Philadelphia Quaker Caspar Wistar, had the ear of Thomas Jefferson. Wistar and Jefferson shared correspondence or copied and shared materials for each other in over 140 letters on topics ranging from the Hessian fly (sometimes Caspar is spelled as Casper), the Louis and Clark expedition, Mastodon bones, diseases of Spanish colonization,

[52]"Memorandum Books, 1797," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017. Accessed December 18, 2017 http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/02-02-02-0007. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Second Series, *Jefferson's Memorandum Books*, vol. 2, ed. James A Bear, Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 951–976.], See entry for Dec. 17 and the purchase of a pistol. See also this exchange from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson discussing Bringhurst's visit. "To Thomas Jefferson from James Madison, 2 August 1797," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017. Accessed November 25, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-29-02-0387. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 29, *1 March 1796–31 December 1797*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, p. 488.]

[53]"Thomas Jefferson's Conversation with Washington, 13 December 1792," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017. Accessed November 25, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-11-02-0306. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 11, *16 August 1792–15 January 1793*, ed. Christine Sternberg Patrick. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002, pp. 510–511.]

[54]An inventory of the Bringhurst Correspondence. http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/friends/ead/m046brin.xml

[55]"Letter from Thomas Jefferson to James Bringhurst." 15 Jan. 1791. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017). Accessed November 25, 2017, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-18-02-0167 Main Series, Volume 18 (4 November 1790–-24 January 1791), 493. See the editor's note.

[56]*The Quaker Peace Testimony.* Accessed August 26, 2017, http://www.quaker.org/minnfm/peace/. See the extensive discussion and thoughtful links on non-violence. Accessed January 2, 2018, http://www.pym.org/publications/pym-pamphlets/quaker-peace-testimony/

yellow fever, and experiment protocols on issues including sea water, botany, forests, and Native American tribes, but only one on slavery.[57] Jefferson had contact with Quaker and non-Quaker elites in the Society over an 18-year period, and with reluctance, APS accepted his resignation and Caspar Wistar was elected to be the new President.[58] Maybe Wistar was so successful with Jefferson because he made an important choice as to how to work with people, as evidenced by this quote in his eulogy, 'Such was the conduct of Wistar, who preserved his principles, without sacrificing his friendships.'[59] Furthermore, Wistar died as a Quaker committed to his religious convictions.[60] In 1805, he sent President Jefferson a skillfully crafted letter, mentioning in passing that his brother Thomas would like to bring to the President's attention the need for the abolition of slavery.[61] The President had just finished negotiating the Louisiana Purchase and Quakers were concerned about the expansion of slavery into a new territory that would one day become a state. There was an attempt to limit slavery from the Louisiana Territory for one year that failed in 1804.[62] Edward William Van Cleve argued that between 1790 and 1808, slaveholding laws expanded and limited the anti-slavery goals through federal government public policy enactments.[63] Jefferson had supported the expansion of slavery in the Louisiana Territory, and that is most likely why Wistar's brother was raising his concern.[64] Of course, Jefferson had set up, as President, discussions with a handful of men including Dr. Wistar to provide instructions and advice to Meriwether Lewis about his planned survey of the Louisiana Territory. Jefferson stressed in this 1803 letter to Lewis that there must be secrecy in the discussion with these select men, and he felt it advisable to seek the counsel of key APS members. Jefferson confirms that he has leaked some information about the Lewis and Clark expedition exploring the "Mississippi" but does not want anything else publicly disclosed.[65] Interestingly, there is no record in the Jefferson Papers of Wistar writing

[57]The letter count comes from reviewing the entries for Wistar in The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Digital Edition, edited by James P. McClure and Jefferson Looney. Rotunda.upress.virginia.edu

[58]"To Thomas Jefferson from R.M. Patterson, Secretary APS, January 20, 1815," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017. Accessed November 26, 2017, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-08-02-0169

Retirement Series, Volume 8 (1 October 1814–31 August 1815), 202.

[59]Tilghman, *An eulogium in commemoration of Doctor Caspar Wistar,*. . . 35.

[60]Tilghman, *An eulogium in commemoration of Doctor Caspar Wistar*. . . 34.

[61]"To Thomas Jefferson from Caspar Wistar, 15 January 1805," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified December 28, 2016. Accessed January 2, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/99-01-02-1003

[62]"Anti-Slavery Timeline," *Digital History*. Accessed November 26, 2017, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=2&psid=3538

[63]George William Van Cleve, *A Slaveholder's Union: Slavery, Politics, and the Constitution in the Early American Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 6, 10, 188.

[64]Van Cleve, *A Slaveholder's Union: Slavery, Politics, and the Constitution in the Early American Republic,* 217.

[65]"Letter to Lewis Meriwether from Thomas Jefferson, April 27, 1803," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville:

Jefferson directly and personally about the abolition of slavery. Wistar is on record purchasing a slave in 1791 in order to free the slave.[66]

We do know that when John Vaughn informed Jefferson of Wistar's death in 1818, he wrote Jefferson within one hour of the death of the 'warm and enlightened supporter' and referred to the American Philosophical Society and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School as his key affiliations.[67] There was no mention of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery that Wistar led in 1813, when he was replacing the distinguished deceased leader Benjamin Rush.[68] There were two people who Jefferson had met with Lewis about his exploration, Rush and Wistar. Jefferson wrote Wistar in February 1803 indicating that he asked Lewis to personally meet with Wistar in Philadelphia to discuss the details of the proposed, secret, trip.[69]

Philip Thornton agreed to lease his natural bridge to Jefferson in 1814, but what is most interesting is that Wistar sent a note to Jefferson in 1808 extolling the virtues of the physician Thornton. Serving as a character witness in the letter, Wistar is defending the skills of a person who would own 37 slaves in Virginia, not something an abolitionist might advocate normally.[70]

University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017. Accessed November 26, 2017, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-40-02-0204], Main Series, Volume 40 (4 March–10 July 1803), 277.

[66]Edmund Raymond Turner, "The Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Vol 36, No. 2 (1912), 141, JSTOR. Accessed November 26, 2017,
http://www.jstor.org/stable/20085586

[67]From John Vaughn to Thomas Jefferson, 22 January 1818 Evg 9. o'clock, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017. Accessed November 26, 2017, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-12-02-0317 Retirement Series, Volume 12 (1 September 1817–21 April 1818), 387.

[68]"Caspar Wistar, (1761–1818) Historical Marker," *Historical Markers,* ExplorePA.org. Accessed November 20, 2017, http://explorepahistory.com/hmarker.php?markerId=1-A-181

[69]"To Caspar Wistar from Thomas Jefferson, Feb. 28, 1803," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017. Accessed November 27 2017,
http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-39-02-0510

Main Series, Volume 39 (13 November 1802–3 March 1803), 601. Neither Benjamin Rush nor Caspar Wistar had been told by Jefferson that he was communicating with each one about the expedition. "To Benjamin Rush from Thomas Jefferson, Feb. 28, 1803," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017. Accessed November 26, 2017, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-39-02-0507 Main Series, Volume 39 (13 November 1802–3 March 1803) 598.

[70]"From Philip Thornton to Thomas Jefferson, November 19th, 1814," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017. Accessed November 26, 2017, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-08-02-0078

Retirement Series, Volume 8 (1 October 1814–31 August 1815), 96. In the editor's note is reference a 28, November 1808 letter from Wistar to Jefferson at the Library of Congress, where

In William Tilghman's *An eulogium in commemoration of Doctor Caspar Wistar*, the leadership of the abolitionist in Wistar was noted on page 42, where even in illness he wanted all men to receive well wishes and is quoted as advocating the gradual abolition of slavery.[71] Thomas Jefferson received Tilghman's eulogy at the request of the APS, and in eulogy, Jefferson would have read about ending slavery and how 'benevolence and charity categorized all his actions.'[72] We do not know how Jefferson reacted to the abolitionist language in the memorial.

6 Bowling Clark

Quaker Bowling Clark was hired by Thomas Jefferson to manage his 4819 acre plantation near Lynchburg, which Jefferson gained after the death of his wife's father, John Wayles.[73] Clark was a member of the Sugarloaf Meeting near Lynchburg, Virginia, and his family owned land in Abermarle and Louisa Counties.[74] There is a free black named Bowling Clark in Campbell County, Virginia, in 1806, who may or may not be a relative of our Jefferson overseer.[75] From 1789 to 1801, Clark

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Wistar writes in four pages about Thornton's character. See https://www.loc.gov/search/?q=Caspar+Wistar+to+TJ%2C+28+Nov.+1808+&fa=segmentof%3Amtj1.042_1086_1089%2F&st=gallery

[71]Tilghman, *An eulogium in commemoration of Doctor Caspar Wistar*. . ., 42.

[72]Tilghman, *An eulogium in commemoration of Doctor Caspar Wistar*. . . 43. "To Thomas Jefferson from William Tilghman, 26 March 1818," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017. Accessed November 26, 2017, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-12-02-0465

Retirement Series, Volume 12 (1 September 1817–21 April 1818), 556.

[73]"The Retreat, History" *History of Thomas Jefferson's Home at Poplar Forest* https://www.poplarforest.org/visit/the-retreat/history/ Letter From Thomas Jefferson to Bowling Clark, 5 August 1792 *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified November 26, 2017. Accessed November 8, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-24-02-0260. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 24, *1 June–31 December 1792*, ed. John Catanzariti. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990, pp. 279–280.] The notes by Princeton University indicate that Clark's Quaker family had lands spreading two Virginia Counties, including the one that was home to Monticello. Jay Worrall, *The Friendly Virginians, America's First Quakers* (Athens, GA: Iberia Publishing Co., 1994), 273.

[74]Worrall, *The Friendly Virginians, America's First Quakers,* 273.

[75]Monroe N. Work, *An Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro 1916–1917*, (Alabama: Tuskegee Institute, 1916), 134. Accessed December 3, 2017, https://books.google.com/books?id=-MEKAAAAIAAJ&pg=PP7&lpg=PP7&dq=Monroe+N.+Work,+An+Annual+Encyclopedia+of+the+Negro+1916-1917,&source=bl&ots=kj8oUknuX0&sig=WauqvL9jMOjRzOLxhSCM3JVlo-E&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiAzpCy9ODaAhWlhOAKHf5mB0IQ6AEITjAI#v=onepage&q=Monroe%20N.%20Work%2C%20An%20Annual%20Encyclopedia%20of%20the%20Negro%201916-1917%2C&f=false What is remarkable is that free black Bowling Clark lived as a master with his wife who was listed as a slave because if they were both free, he would have been banished from Virginia, according to the text.

managed the Poplar Forest lands, and in an August 1792 letter, Jefferson asks Clark for a list of "Negroes" he has managed, their ages, and an assessment of "the stock" as well as an assessment of the wheat and tobacco crops.[76] At Poplar Forest, slaves performed work including field work, road building, livestock tending, spinning, brick making, and the like. While slave quarters have been excavated, the burial sites for deceased slaves are unknown.[77] In 1790, Jefferson presented 1000 acres of the land and six slave families to his daughter Martha when she married.

In a September 1792 letter, Jefferson asks Clark to prepare the sale of several slaves, including two older slaves Jefferson indicates have to be taken for no payment along with their younger relatives.[78] Jefferson is looking to push his slaves to generate more collections of cotton and hemp and asks Clark to push the slaves. 'I send you herewith some blank bonds for the sale of the negroes,' said Jefferson.[79] In an 1801 letter, Clark writes Jefferson that his "Negroes" are healthy, as he reports on the state of affairs including livestock reports and awaits instructions from Jefferson.[80] In an explanatory note to the 1812 letter from Jefferson to Bowling Clark, he is said to have owned ten slaves at the time of his death.[81] Jefferson and Clark exchanged nearly 100 letters, according the Founders Online site, but they are missing even though entries of dates are recorded, and therefore the letters cannot be analyzed.[82]

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[76]"From Thomas Jefferson to Bowling Clark, 5 August 1792," *Founders Online.*

[77]"The Enslaved People of Poplar Forest," *Thomas Jefferson's Life and Times*. Accessed on November 1, 2017, https://www.poplarforest.org/learn/thomas-jeffersons-life-and-times/the-enslaved-people-of-poplar-forest/

[78]"From Thomas Jefferson to Bowling Clark, 21 September 1792," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last June 29, 2017. Accessed November 1, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-24-02-0370. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 24, *1 June–31 December 1792*, ed. John Catanzariti. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990, pp. 408–410.]

[79]"From Thomas Jefferson to Bowling Clark Letter, 21 September, 1792."

[80]"To Thomas Jefferson from Bowling Clark, 13 November 1801," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017. Accessed November 1, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-35-02-0502. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 35, *1 August–30 November 1801*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, pp. 659–660.]

[81]"Thomas Jefferson to Bowling Clark, 14 May 1812," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-05-02-0034. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 5, *1 May 1812–10 March 1813*, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, pp. 39–40.] Accessed November 1, 2017.

[82]"Memorandum from Bowling Clark, April 1794," *Founders Online,* National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-28-02-0062. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 28, *1 January 1794–29 February 1796*, ed. John Catanzariti. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, pp. 65–66.] Accessed on November 1, 2017. at least 9 letters missing. At least 80 letters missing. From "Thomas Jefferson to Bowling Clark Letter, 13 November 1801." 2 Letters Note Found.

7 Caleb Lownes

Quakers sold goods to Jefferson in the form of pots, stoves, and other metal work. According to Worall, Quaker Isaac Zane sold pans and stoves to Jefferson, and Quaker Bowling Clark, a member of the Sugar Loaf Mountain Meeting, managed Jefferson's Poplar Forest, where some of the enslaved young men originated who worked at the Jefferson Nail Factory.[83] Some of the young men came from Poplar Forest, another part of the Jefferson plantation system, but many were from Monticello.[84] When it came to iron, an abolitionist Quaker provided this good for Jefferson's nail factory, Caleb Lownes.[85] But Philadelphia philanthropist and Iron industrialist Lownes worked on prison reform and was the first prison administrator in the United States before he began working with Jefferson.[86] This Quaker was also a member of the Quaker Prison Committee along with Thomas Wister, Caspar's brother, and was active in providing relief to Philadelphia during the 1793 yellow fever outbreak, where he served as secretary for the committee. Before the outbreak he served with distinguished Quakers on the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, which held its first meeting on May 8, 1787.[87] There were six Quakers that served as Secretaries for the Prison Society, including Lownes in 1797, and Lownes also served on the Quaker Education Committee to assist with training to help African Americans with educational opportunities and to become citizens.[88] Lownes' influence was spread widely, as he was also a member of a special Quaker Committee to fight the abduction of sailors by Barbary Pirates.[89] An

[83]Worrall, *The Friendly Virginians: America's First Quakers,* 273.

[84]Stanton, *"those Who Labor for My Happiness": Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello,* 148. "Nailery," *Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia*. Accessed November 26, 2017, https://www.monticello.org/site/plantation-and-slavery/naileryThis website has a wonderful timeline for the expansion of the Nailery.

[85]*Centennial Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Society, for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the Africa,* 42, 52.

[86]Negley K Teeters. "The Pennsylvania Prison Society. A Century and a Half of Penal Reform." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1931–1951)* 28, no. 3 (1937): 374–375. Accessed November 11, 2017, doi:https://doi.org/10.2307/1136719

[87]M. Carey, *The New Olive Branch: Or an Attempt to Establish an Identity of interest between Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce*, 2nd Ed. (Philadelphia: M. Carey and Sons, 1821), 31, 33,34,35,36,37, 38. Finding Aid for Pennsylvania Prison Society Records, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2006. Collection 1946, 3. Accessed November 26, 2017, http://hsp.org/sites/default/files/legacy_files/migrated/findingaid1946prisonsociety.pdf

[88]Margaret Morris Haviland, *In the World, But Not of the World: The Humanitarian Activities of Philadelphia Quakers, 1790–1820,* A Dissertation Unpublished (University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 200, 233. Accessed January 2, 2018, https://search-proquest-com.kean.idm.oclc.org/pqdtglobal/docview/304012873/fulltextPDF/394BF8E2376949A1PQ/1?accountid=11809

[89]Daniel Rolph, *A Little Known Activity of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society,* blog published 2-28-2013, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Accessed November 26, 2017, https://hsp.org/blogs/history-hits/a-little-known-activity-of-the-pennsylvania-abolition-society

active member of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, Lownes served as a prison inspector and commissioner.[90] He also supplied the iron for the Jefferson nail factory in Monticello in 1794. His brother James Lownes is a Quaker in the Richmond Meeting in Virginia, and a scholar suggests that James is a brother to Caleb, the Philadelphia Quaker engaged in prison reform and business with Jefferson.[91]

While James Adam Bear began writing on Jefferson's nail factory in 1967, later, Lucia C. Stanton's description broke down the details of the Quaker-supplied slave labor factory at Monticello in her book. The story of Thomas Jefferson's Nail Factory at Mulberry Row in Monticello has been documented further by Stanton in her extraordinary work, *'Those who Labor for My Happiness': Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello,* where she discussed Philadelphia Quaker, iron magnate, and prison reformer Caleb Lownes supplying the iron for this slave workforce. Quaker Lownes was initially a good man for Jefferson, but there were problems with the delivery of services. Lownes was recognized for his innovation with prison reform, but he also encouraged solitary confinement as a tool to terrorize and discipline prisoners. Stanton makes an argument that Jefferson threatened slaves who stole or committed violence with sale far from Monticello.[92] According to Stanton, Lownes had planned to integrate nail making into prisons as a way to help prisoners develop skills by 1795.[93] Lownes suffered disgrace by appearing to have stolen money from the Walnut Street Prison, and later paying some back, but a lawsuit was initiated in 1806 to secure the stolen funds.[94] The Jefferson Papers contains a note that Lownes was disowned by the Quakers in 1809.[95] We do know that Lownes, a man of many talents, including the creation of the first engraving of the Coat of Arms that became the Seal for Pennsylvania, ended up disgraced.

Margaret Bayard, a Washington socialite during Jefferson's time, describes Lownes as a man who had dinner with her husband shortly before Jefferson's term ended in 1809.[96] Lownes was scheduled to deliver nail rod in 1794, and then due to

[90]LeRoy B. DePue, "The Walnut Street Prison: Pennsylvania's First Penitentiary" Vol 18, No. 2, *Pennsylvania History* (1951): pp.142–143. Accessed October 31, 2017, Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/27769197

[91]Jay Worrall wrote that James Lownes "was also a brother of Caleb Lownes, the Quaker mainspring of the penitentiary movement in Philadelphia." Jay Worrall, *The Friendly Virginians: America's First Quakers* (Athens, GA: Iberian, 1994), 325.

[92]Stanton, *"those Who Labor for My Happiness": Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello,* 86.

[93]Stanton, *"those Who Labor for My Happiness": Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello,* 77, 78, 86, 22.

[94]Teeters, *The Cradle of the Penitentiary: the Walnut Street Jail At Philadelphia, 1773–1835,* 38.

[95]"Thomas Jefferson to Caleb Lownes," December 18, 1793. Note to Letter. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2017. Accessed November 25, 2017, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-27-02-0512

[96]Galliard Hunt, editor, *The first forty years of Washington society, portrayed by the family letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith (Margaret Bayard) from the collection of her grandson, J. Henley Smith* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 54–55, 56. https://archive.org/stream/firstfortyyears00huntgoog#page/n104/mode/2up/search/Monticello

unreliability, Jefferson switched from Lownes to another provider in 1796. That end of the business relationship did not stop Jefferson and close associates of his from socializing with Lownes. Furthermore, Lownes was one of two men who dined with President Jefferson on an undisclosed evening, and Bayard writes that normally Jefferson dines with no more than 14 persons at a time.[97] Fond of Jefferson, Ms. Bayard notes that when she visited Monticello in 1809, she found "poor" slave cabins but assured her reader that these cabins were better than those on other plantations she had visited.[98]

By 1796, the Philadelphia Walnut Street Prison run by Caleb Lownes was involved in nail making, but there were questions about the ability of the contractor involved to generate a profit. Prior to joining the prison, he was listed as an iron merchant working at the address of 9 Carter's Alley.[99] There is no mention of the nail experience Lownes had with Jefferson in the writing.[100] But might there be a connection between solitary confinement as a punishment for those in Lownes's jail who refuse to work and enabling Jefferson to put slaves to work so they are not idle?[101] And, the prison was organized so that nail cutters, for example, sat with nail cutters, with prisoners promptly returning to work after quietly consuming meals.[102]

Around the same time, AME Church founder Richard Allen had also planned to create a nail factory for free blacks in Philadelphia, but his idea did not come to fruition as he envisioned due to the 1793 yellow fever and the debt he was assuming with his loan from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society to found the Free Africa School for free and apprenticed blacks in Philadelphia. His nail factory was to be a vehicle to bring young enslaved men to apprentice in the nail factory and earn money, as Richard Newman wrote, to receive freedom dues.[103] It is unknown whether Allen, Lownes, and Jefferson may have been inspired by each other's plans to develop nail factories, but it was Afro-Christian leader Richard Allen who saw it as empowering to create freedom for slaves where Jefferson saw his factory as creating wealth for himself and not freedom for his young slaves. We know that Jefferson lived in Philadelphia along the Schuylkill River during the spring and

[97]Hunt, *The first forty years of Washington society, portrayed by the family letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith (Margaret Bayard) from the collection of her grandson, J. Henley Smith*, 388–389.

[98]Hunt, *The first forty years of Washington society, portrayed by the family letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith (Margaret Bayard) from the collection of her grandson, J. Henley Smith*, 68.

[99]Negley King Teeters, *The Cradle of the Penitentiary: the Walnut Street Jail At Philadelphia, 1773–1835.* [Philadelphia, sponsored by the Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1955), 37. Accessed November 25, 2017, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015037399212;view=1up;seq=8

[100]DePue, "The Walnut Street Prison: Pennsylvania's First Penitentiary," 140–141.

[101]Teeters, *The Cradle of the Penitentiary: the Walnut Street Jail At Philadelphia, 1773–1835,* 49.

[102]Teeters, *The Cradle of the Penitentiary: the Walnut Street Jail At Philadelphia, 1773–1835,* 48.

[103]Gary Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 153–154. Richard Newman, *Freedom's Prophet, Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers* (NY: New York University Press, 2009), 57, 83, 84, 98.

summer of 1793, 400 yards from Gray's Ferry.[104] Therefore, it is reasonable to assume he may have learned of Reverend Allen's nail factory to empower runaway slaves and free blacks with paid work.

To complicate matters there is a Quaker Lowndes family in Richmond, Virginia, and sometimes the surname is listed both ways, Lowndes and Lownes.[105] In Jefferson's records, members of the Bringhurst family, sometimes named Joseph, James, and/or John, had business dealings with Jefferson in apprenticing one of Jefferson's slaves, Isaac, in a Philadelphia merchant shop for tin making, who later worked in the nail factory, as previously mentioned. There must have been contact between the Bringhursts and the Lownes given the connection with John Bringhurst and the Monticello tin shop and the Isaac, Jefferson's slave in the tin shop, also working in the nailery.

8 Conclusion

Some of our Quakers who had contact with Thomas Jefferson, as featured in this article, chose not to address slavery in correspondence or records available through the Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, and Founders Online. Of course, they could have spoken privately with him. We have a testimonial that one Quaker, described as "old Bringhouse" and who we believe to be John Bringhurst, appears to have discussed anti-slavery issues with young Isaac Granger, a Jefferson slave who was apprenticed in the Quaker's Philadelphia tin shop in Philadelphia. This same Quaker was invited to visit Monticello, so it appears that no adverse consequences emerged from clandestine discussions. Caspar Wistar, who had an extraordinary relationship as a trusted confidant and adviser to Jefferson, did not write him about abolition other than to introduce an idea from his brother. The only time he broached the topic of abolition was on behalf of his brother Thomas who was concerned about the spread of slavery into the new Louisiana Territory. There is an ethical dilemma here, while not a business-related one, certainly, Wistar's close working relationship with scientists, merchants, and Jefferson in the APS gave him an entry others did not have. As was mentioned in the eulogy honoring the distinguished doctor and enlightenment leader in Philadelphia, he also made the choice of not alienating his friends by discussing controversial topics. While one might conclude reasonably that Wistar was embracing his Quaker peace testimony and adherence to the avoidance of conflict in interactions when speaking with Jefferson, one wonders if this appropriately served ethical considerations or blurred the impact of Quaker advocacy of abolition. Jefferson saw himself as a Patriarch but rarely did he entrust employees to

[104] Steven Currall, "Jefferson's Monticello on the Schuylkill," *Hidden City Philadelphia, December 9, 2010*. Accessed November 1, 2017, https://hiddencityphila.org/2011/12/jefferson%E2%80%99s-monticello-on-the-schuylkill/

[105] Worrall, *The Friendly Virginians: America's First Quakers,* 273, 275, 300.

manage his plantations without written oversight and when back in Virginia, face-to-face observation. He hired a Quaker manager for Poplar Forest who owned slaves at the time he died. I argue that Caleb Lownes was probably the closest to Jefferson in terms of paternalism, believing that the prison system should be run to teach skills that would help inmates with employment. This Quaker ironmonger had an ethical lapse, selling iron rod to Jefferson for slave labour production of nails. Jefferson believed in punishing slaves who stole from the nailery or were not productive, and Jefferson's family lived off those early nailery profits. Lownes thought he was changing the prison landscape with reforms, and he too operated a nailery in the Walnut Street Prison after he sold Jefferson the supplies to run the nailery. What we don't know is what Lownes and Jefferson discussed during a dinner at the White House or private social events? Could the ideas of enlightenment and liberal values been overlooked for Lownes' personal business gain and his Quaker-infused business ethical practices therefore suffered in the name of profit? I am leaning toward that conclusion.

It seemed few of our selection of Quakers dared to raise in writing with the nation's premiere advocate of liberty the need for the abolition of slavery to give African American peoples their natural right to liberty. Was the shadow of Jefferson's celebrity so great that it engulfed all those Quakers who worked with him in various capacities? Were those Quakers working with Jefferson and who advocated for social justice, scientific advancement, natural rights, abolition, and/or ethical enlightenment practice ensnared into Jefferson a carefully constructed world of paternalism?

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John Bellers (1654–1725): 'A Veritable Phenomenon in the History of Political Economy'

Paul N. Anderson

What sort of a person would be an inspiration to Karl Marx *and* a champion of free trade, an advocate of gainful employment *and* hard work, a herald of providing education and medical care for the poor while *also* seeing their labour as the greatest resources of the rich, a prophetic voice seeking to curb the ills of heavy drinking *and* the developing of worthy living quarters for workers, a challenger of dishonesty in public service and in Parliament while *also* calling for a unified state of Europe and Christian unity, an exhorter of Friends to spiritual discipline, anger management, and prayer while *also* disparaging corporal punishment, needless imprisonment, and the death penalty?

Such a person is John Bellers (1654–1725), and as Vail Palmer points out, only two leaders of Quakerism in the early years the movement are known beyond its religious appraisals: William Penn and John Bellers.[1] Interestingly, however, the contribution of Bellers is better known among Marxist historians and socialism theorists than among students of Quakerism and religious history.[2] While Bellers is covered in many textbooks on Marxism, his place in introductory Quaker texts is either absent or modest.[3] Nonetheless, Bellers deserves a place as a leading

[1]T. Vail Palmer, "Religion and Ethics in the Thought of John Bellers," *Truth's Bright Embrace: Essays in Honor of Arthur O. Roberts*, edited by Howard R. Macy and Paul N. Anderson (Newberg: George Fox University Press, 1996), p. 61.

[2]The wife of Lenin, Nadezhda K. Krupskaya, refers to Bellers as "the first educator in the Marxist tradition." Cf. John T. Zepper, "John Bellers—Educator of Marx?" *Science & Society* 47.1 (1979), p. 87.

[3]For helpful treatments of Bellers in Quaker texts see William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism,* 2nd ed. prepared by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1961), pp. 571–594; Neave Brayshaw, *The Quakers: Their Story & Message* (3rd edn., London: William

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representative of early Quakerism, whose contribution and work deserves a fresh consideration by historians of modernism and Quakerism, as well.[4] Ruth Fry published excerpts of his works in 1935, but the full compendium of Bellers' writings remained unavailable until they were gathered and published by George Clarke in 1987, who cites his multivalent contribution as follows:

> The range of his thinking covers an immense field: the abolition of mass poverty and endemic unemployment; free education for all; a nationwide free health service—the health of its citizens should be a direct responsibility of the State rather than be dependent upon fickle charity. He pressed home the need for prison reform: imprisonment should equate with reformation rather than retribution. He was among the first, perhaps the very first, to propose the abolition of capital punishment. He proposed the formation of 'an European State' which included legislation for a council of the various religions.[5]

John Bellers became a member of Britain's Royal Society in 1719, but he is remembered most broadly as "champion of the poor and of a league of nations," seen by Eduard Bernstein, for instance, as a link between Cromwell and Communism.[6] Referenced at least ten times in *Das Kapital*,[7] Karl Marx refers to him as follows:

> As John Bellers, *a veritable phenomenon in the history of Political Economy*, saw most clearly at the end of the 17th century, the necessity for abolishing the present system of

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Sessions Ltd, 1946), pp. 203–204; Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1979), pp. 160–161; John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), pp. 110–112; Alfreda Vipont, *The Story of Quakerism* (3rd edn., Richmond, IN: Friends United Press), pp. 115, 132–134, 164; Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968), pp. 82–88. An outline of Bellers' proposal for a College of Industry is presented in *Early Quaker Writings*, edited by Hugh Barbour and Arthur O. Roberts (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), pp. 451–459. See also Stephen Allott, *Quaker Pioneers* (London: Bannisdale Press, 1963); Charles Kohler, *A Quartet of Quakers* (London: Friends Home Service Committee, 1978).

[4]Seeing Bellers as a fitting representative of Quakerism, see Karl Seipp, *John Bellers, ein Vertreter des frühen Quäkertums* (John Bellers, a Representative of Early Quakerism; Nürnberg, 1933). See also the robust treatment of Bellers in Auguste Jorns, *The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work,* translated by Thomas Kine Brown, Jr. (Port Washington, NY: Kennicat, 1931/1969), pp. 75–88, 143–152, 162–172. In Braithwaite's words, "John Bellers was by far the greatest of the early Quaker social reformers, and it has been right to give prominence to his work, so that he may become known in his own land." (*The Second Period of Quakerism*, p. 594).

[5]A. Ruth Fry, *John Bellers 1654–1725: Quaker Economist and Social Reformer* (London: Casell & Co., 1935), see also *John Bellers: His Life, Times and Writings,* edited by George Clarke (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), quotation 18. Quotations of Bellers here are paraphrased from Clarke's book.

[6]The subtitle of chapter 17 on John Bellers in Eduard Bernstein, *Cromwell and Communism: Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution*, translated from the 1895 German edition by H. J. Stenning (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1930), pp. 253–280. On Bellers' political and economic contributions, see also Karl Seipp, *John Bellers: Ein Vertreter des früihen Quakertums (*Niirnberg: Quaker-verlag, 1933); Philip S. Belasco, "John Bellers," *Economica* 5.14 (1925) pp. 165–174. Karl Seipp, *John Bellers, ein Vertreter des frühen Quäkertums* (John Bellers, a Representative of Early Quakerism; Nürnberg, 1933).

[7]According to Zepper, "John Bellers—Educator of Marx?" (reference, p. 87, n. 5).

> education and division of labour, which beget hypertrophy and atrophy at the two opposite extremities of society.[8]

Given that Bellers launched his first appeal to Parliament in 1696 with the reasoned epigraph: "TO THE THINKING and PUBLICK-SPIRITED," it is thus understandable to see his contribution interpreted as: (a) departing from the fiery and apocalyptic vision of first-generation Quakerism, (b) putting forward a rational and secular vision of social reform, or (c) advocating historical materialism against capitalism as a narrow economic philosophy. When the overall thrust of his 21 publications is considered in detail, however, each of these assumptions is problematic, and even wrong. While Bellers' work has contributed remarkably to the establishing of hallmark structures of modern society—including but extending beyond economic theories of value—it grew directly out of the faith and experience of British Friends at the time, and the goal was nothing short of bringing forth the divine will on earth as it is in heaven. First, though, considering something of Bellers' own story and situation is in order.

1 The Quaker Background and Situation of John Bellers

As a second generation Friend, John Bellers grew up in London, son of Mary Read and Francis Bellers. His father was a thriving grocery merchant with extensive business interests, and John grew up with a good number of first-hand experiences with business, trade, commerce, manufacturing, and management. Clarke surmises that Francis and Mary Bellers became convinced Friends in connection with the 1654 campaign of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill to "conquer London," and their family was centrally involved in the endeavors of Friends in southern England from the first decade of the Quaker movement on.

Hailing from Alcester, south of Birmingham, Francis would have been favorably disposed toward Quakers, Levellers, Diggers, and other dissenting groups, as they were active in the area.[9] As a child, young John would have witnessed the persecution of Friends following a number of anti-Quaker laws passed between 1661 and 1665; thus, his concerns for the plight of prisoners likely resulted from first-hand experience and responses of Friends to those concerns. He was arrested three times during the years of 1684 and 1685 simply for meeting with other Friends, so his own encounters with

[8]Emphasis mine. These references to and quotations of Bellers are taken from Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I, Book One: The Process of Production of Capital* (First published in German in 1867, English edition first published in 1887 with some modernization of spelling; Moscow: Progress Publishers; translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling; edited by Frederick Engels; Transcribed: Zodiac, Hinrich Kuhls, Allan Thurrott, Bill McDorman, Bert Schultz and Martha Gimenez (1995–1996); Proofed: by Andy Blunden and Chris Clayton (2008), Mark Harris (2010), Dave Allinson (2015). https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-I.pdf (p. 355, n. 229).

[9]Clarke, pp. 1–3. A half century earlier, Gerrard Winstanley had also argued that the rich were greatly indebted to the labours of the poor; Bellers clearly follows that trajectory, Clarke, p. 19.

prisons, the poor, and the disenfranchised would have been extensive, despite coming from a well-to-do family.

His family was connected with London's Six Weeks Meeting—the 'Prime Meeting in the City,' according to Fox[10]—and when his father died in 1679, John assumed the role of the head of the family. John followed his father in leadership among Friends, and in 1680, he was appointed Treasurer of the Box Fund, which organized assistance for poor and unemployed Friends. This fund also granted aid to refugees from other countries, sometimes claiming to be Friends in order to receive benefits, so Bellers was charged with creating livelihoods for immigrant refugees early in his adulthood. In addition to his occupational work as a cloth merchant, these experiences gave him a good deal of knowledge about the economic needs of the poor and practical ways of meeting those needs. He served on the Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting from 1681 onwards, representing Yorkshire, and he was well known by leading Friends of Britain at the time. The signing of several of his proposals by 45 leading Friends of the day bears out that fact.[11]

As a member of the Second Day's Morning Meeting, working with Quaker tracts and promotional writings, Bellers also fostered a concern to get Quaker convictions considered in reasoned ways among Friends and in the world at large. Rather than engage in pamphlet or tract debates, where the views of adversaries received as much attention as the convictions of Friends, Bellers proposed in 1698 that 10,000 copies of Robert Barclay's *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* be printed and sent to leaders of Parliament and every township. While this particular plan was unsuccessful, two years later, 6606 copies of Barclay's *Apology* were published by London Yearly Meeting and made available for purchase. They were not distributed gratis, to Bellers' disappointment, but this was nonetheless a significant step, as Barclay's *Apology* had been published only in Amsterdam before that time.[12] Nonetheless, from working with a number of publication ventures, Bellers was emboldened also to publish his own concerns, some of which the Second Day's Morning Meeting did support, and many of these were sent to Parliament, religious leaders, the Queen, and other Friends.

In 1685, he purchased a 10,000-acre plot of land in Pennsylvania for the resettling of French Huguenot Protestants in the New World. They were being persecuted following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and Bellers organized provision for their resettlement in America. In 1686, he married Frances Fettiplace, and they became

[10]Clarke, pp. 2–4. The Six Weeks Meeting oversaw all of the Friends Meetings in London, and Francis was a member since its inception in 1671. He was also present at the first Meeting for Sufferings in 1676, and he was a trustee of the Devonshire House, which from 1678 onward served as the central headquarters for Friends for the next two and a half centuries.

[11]These signatures are included as documenting the corporate support of leading Friends of the day, bolstering the weight of his proposals for the College of Industry in 1697 and his epistle to Friends in 1723.

[12]Clarke, pp. 4–5, 253–254. Barclay's *Apology* was published in Latin in 1676 and in English in 1678, and to this day, it remains the most comprehensive theological articulation of Quaker convictions and beliefs.

close to such leading Quakers as William Penn, John Penington, and Thomas Ellwood, living at The Grange, Chalfont St Peter (the former home of Isaac Penington) connecting also with Jordans Friends Meeting, where the births of their four children are recorded. He was also friends with Sir Hans Sloane (founder of the British Museum) and other leaders of British society. In 1717, Frances and two of their children died, perhaps from smallpox. In the following years, John continued his work, publishing several letters to Friends, a letter to Parliament, and a letter "to the criminals in prison." In these final writings, many of his lifelong concerns are once again levied (including repeated references to his vision for a College of Industry) in a pastoral tone, and several are concluded with a prayer. John Bellers died in 1725 of unspecified illness.

2 Proposals for a College of Industry of All Useful Trades and Husbandry

The central passion in the lifetime writings of John Bellers was a Proposal for a College of Industry, whereby the poor could find employment, become productive, and contribute meaningfully to society. Rather than seeing this as an appeal to charity, Bellers sought to design a plan that would render a profit for investors and raise standards of living within society at large. He knew such a plan could work because of his management of the Quaker Box Fund, which provided employment for the poor; and, given his experience with a number of family business enterprises, he believed that such a venture could be run profitably, to the benefit of all.

The second half of the seventeenth century in England was a tumultuous time economically. Following the Civil War (1642–1651) and the end of Cromwell's Commonwealth (1660), those who owned property did well, but others fell behind economically. Prices went up, but wages went down, and the gap between the rich and the poor grew starkly.[13] This resulted in the return of feudalism, which the established Church sometimes supported in return for the support of the rich. While Britain moved toward a free economy, it was still controlled by the merchants, industrialists, and bankers, who were more concerned with making profits than the wellbeing of the populace. Workers laboured from dawn to dusk, and if they became ill or died, they were simply replaced by others who needed work to avoid starvation.

While London was the commercial center of the world at this time, it was not a healthy place to live. Many diseases afflicted the inhabitants, and the death rate exceeded the birthrate, as three out of four children died before their first birthday.[14] Those with no income were forced either to beg or to steal, lest they starve, and while some children who had been turned out into the streets found a meager existence in

[13] According to Bernstein (1930), the salary of a soldier during Cromwell's reign had dropped by 40% just three decades later; wages went down, despite the fact that prices overall had risen.

[14] Clarke, pp. 11–13.

workhouses, others developed gangs of rogues, known as "the Black Guard children." These were simply written off as criminals to be imprisoned, punished, or sentenced to death—sometimes for minor crimes. Further, even standard trades were subject to catastrophic ups and downs, as a change in fashion could put clothing makers and marketers out of work, or an agricultural downturn could sink farmers and produce merchants financially. The years between 1693 and 1699 were especially dire along these lines, and they were known as "the Hungry Years."[15]

It was at this time that John Bellers proposed his College of Industry as a means of turning things around—a model for the entire society to follow if it were willing. Bolstered by the abandoning of the 1662 Licensing Act in 1695 (having been renewed in 1685 and 1690, a code prohibiting the publication of unsanctioned books and pamphlets), Bellers published the first of his 21 pamphlets that year, addressing fellow Friends.[16] Citing the words of Jesus in John 12:36, he addressed it "To the Children of Light. In Scorn Called Quakers." After receiving critical feedback, he revised his work and published it formally in 1696, addressing it to Parliament.[17] In addition to the introductory letter to Friends and the proposal itself, Bellers cited Lord Chief Justice Hale's 1683 pamphlet, "Discourse Touching Provision for the Poor,"[18] included a letter "To the Lords and Commons in Parliament," and capped it off with "An Appeal to Friends Concerning the Education of Children."[19]

In proposing his scheme, Bellers declares his purpose at the outset: 'There are three things I aim at: first, profit for the rich (which will be life to the rest); second, a plentiful living for the poor, without difficulty; third, a good education for youth, that may tend to prepare their souls into the nature of the good ground.'[20] He also poses a number of insights, quips, and maxims, conveying elements of wisdom, as follows:[21]

- 'It's the interest of the rich to take care of the poor, and their education, by which they will care for their own heirs.'
- 'However prevalent arguments of charity may be to some, when profit is joined with it, it will raise most money, provide for most people, hold longest, and do [the] most good. For what sap is to a tree, that profit is to all business: by increasing and keeping it alive.'

[15]Clarke, pp. 12–13.

[16]Clarke, pp. 42–43.

[17]It was also published again, with endorsements by leading Friends, in 1697.

[18]Published posthumously (1609–1676), Justice Hale was known for his honesty, integrity, and advocacy for the poor.

[19]The final printing in 1697 includes an endorsement by 45 leading Quakers, including William Penn, Leonard Fell, Robert Barclay, and Thomas Ellwood.

[20]Clarke, p. 53; rendered in modern English.

[21]These quotations are rendered in modern English, taken from his 1696 introduction (Clarke, pp. 53–55).

- 'As a good and plentiful living must be the poor's encouragement, so [is] their increase [to] the advantage of the rich. Without them, they cannot be rich; for if one had a hundred thousand acres of land, and as many pounds in money, and as many cattle, without a labourer, what would the rich man be, but a labourer?'
- '... the labour of the poor being the mines of the rich.'
- 'This college-fellowship will make labour, and not money, the standard to value all necessaries by.'
- 'Money in the body politic, is what a crutch is to the natural body—crippled; but when the body is sound, the crutch is but troublesome. So when the particular interest is made a public interest, in such a college, money will be of little use there.'
- 'And it's as much more charity to put the poor in a way to live by honest labour, than to maintain them idle; as it would be to set a man's broken leg, that he might go himself, rather than always to carry him.'

Having outlined the theoretical bases for his proposal, Bellers then lays out strategic elements of his vision, including lists of advantages for all parties involved.

Advantages to the nation and society: first, two third of the people will be working and also gainfully employed; second, jobs and trades themselves will be preserved so that people can retain employment over the long term; third, the land itself will be cultivated through agriculture and development (husbandry) so that it will be more useful. (57–58)

Ten proposals for the founders include the following: (1) 18,000 pounds would be raised to purchase land, stock (cattle and agriculture), trade tools and machinery, buildings; (2) the value would be tabulated annually, and investors would be awarded a portion of the profit in accordance with the fraction of their investment; (3) the more founders and skilled tradesmen the better; (4) 25 pounds is the minimum investment; (5) one vote is awarded to each investor (of 50 or 100 pounds) with five votes being the maximum; (6) 12 or more proprietors will be chosen annually to inspect, evaluate, and advise the college; (7) these positions would not be salaried, but the trustees would be hosted by the college; (8) corrections would involve either the abatement of food or expulsion, not corporal punishment or detention within the college, lest their poor example be corruptive; (9) because the whole success (under God's providence) will lie in a right beginning, adherence to rules and displaying good lives and tempers will set a pattern of upright and plentiful living for generations to come; (10) if subscriptions rise much beyond those of the initial founders, later supporters will share in proportion to their subscriptions at the time. (58–59)

Thus, a hypothetical model would include the following features for a college of 300 persons—including men and women and children, adults, and the elderly—with between 200 and 220 working for profitability and community maintenance.[22] In

[22] A digest of Bellers' schematic outline (Clarke, pp. 56–57); some overlap between the categories is inferred (some of the men's work would be done by the elderly, etc.). For a good summary and overview, see Barbour and Roberts, *Early Quaker Writings*, pp. 451–459.

Bellers' estimation, this would include 118 adult labourers of all trades (36 different trades listed—44 tradesmen, 82 women and girls, 24 men and boys on the farm); 8 women and girls doing childcare and bed-making; "men's work" done by as many as 140 (including some of the trades listed above); 100 elderly and children housed there, contributing to community as able, including doing some of the men's work. Bellers offered a number of different schemes and ratios, but he believed that working communities of one or two thousand could also work, bring increased profit to the founders. Bellers then lists advantages to different groups, and he lists rules, as well.

Nine advantages to the rich and the founders are as follows: (1) they will make greater profits and have more for themselves and their heirs; (2) they will also have access to the goods produced; (3) larger colleges can produce even greater profits, especially if international trade results in surplus goods creating new markets; (4) if the poor are given jobs, replacing debauchery with temperance, society will be better for it; (5) investors will receive an allowance from the profits, thereby increasing their income; (6) the college could provide a living space for investors' family members; (7) investing in property is not likely to be lost or stolen, as can happen with money; (8) people living in the estate could learn about work instead of simply wasting their time with play; (9) housing people in colleges would support ten times as many people as alms-houses or hospitals because they would be gainfully productive. (Clarke, pp. 59–61)

Eight advantages to workers and the poor include: (1) the poor will move from poverty to riches, which will allow them to marry, have families, and enjoy greater health and prosperity; (2) each man will be able to provide for himself and his family, and the stability of long-term employment is thereby ensured; (3) steady employment will reduce loss of income resulting from bad debts, exorbitant ("dear") crediting, and lawsuits; (4) as workers approach their senior years, they can be ensured a livable situation, as there will still be meaningful work for them to do within the college; (5) the cares for one's life are provided for better for the elderly in the college than outside the college, as one can continue to contribute, even if in less strenuous ways; (6) since worldly cares are addressed, the college can become a suitable place for religious instruction and a school of virtue; (7) the college would welcome the poor into the model of primitive Christianity, where all was held and shared in common, allowing them to share in the miraculous blessings that the rich enjoy; (8) such a college would enjoy permanence and longevity, as a corporate venture possesses greater generativity and resilience than individual ones. (Clarke, pp. 61–62)

Rules for governing college workers include the following: (1) all colleges and hospitals in England and Holland should be visited to take inventory of and learn from their useful rules and orders; (2) trade standards should be considered within each of the professions so as to inform fitting rules and laws; (3) this should be called a "college" rather than a "work-house," as the former implies a more grateful and educative approach; (4) members of the college, as well as master-workers versus apprentices, and women versus girls, should be distinguished by uniform dress and caps; (5) a number of boys and girls should wait at table upon men and women, thus

enhancing the workers' standard of living; (6) living wards should be designated for young men and boys, young women and girls, married persons, and the sick and the lame; (7) the college should provide separate work areas for men and women; (8) men would be apprentices until the age of 24 and women until the age of 21 (or marriage), and they would then have liberty to leave or stay in the college as they wished. (Clarke, pp. 62–63)

Educating children and teaching them languages would involve: (1) learning vocabulary and dictionary meanings of words, leading then to understanding sentences and rules of grammar; (2) studying 4 hours in the morning and 4 hours in the afternoon is too much to sustain interest, as exercise and labour are good for the body and the mind; (3) while a rebellious temper must be subdued by correction, corporal punishment ("stripes") weakens the presence of mind needed for ready learning, whereas a child's love of learning is fostered by rewards and emulation; (4) while learning is worthwhile and gives "a useful varnish," the body is supported by hands and legs, not just the head, lest "the head grows too big for the body," causing the whole "to fall into rickets;" (5) though learning is useful, a virtuous and industrious education leads more readily to happiness "here and hereafter." (Clarke, pp. 63–65)

In training the youth to pursue virtue and to develop temperance and productivity versus debauchery and idleness, a good education will make a person with "little estate" happier than one with "great estate" without it. In learning to mind the rational over feeling, and 'the will being the greatest enemy a man hath, when it is not subject to he will of God; how valuable it is then for a child's will to be kept under another direction than its own? It will be less difficult to submit it to the will of God, when grown a man, especially if seasoned with religious lessons of Scriptures.'

Thus, a college education will have several advantages over a private one, including: (1) learning many types of skills and tools; (2) learning all languages being used within the college, including one's mother tongue; (3) helping children and adults alike submit more easily to rules and laws later in life; (4) they will be prevented from folly more effectively under the eyesight of a schoolmaster than by a family member; (5) as company is the delight of all creatures, being well governed within the college will avoid temptations and evils that are learned abroad; (6) a library of books, a Physick-Garden, and a laboratory for preparing medicines would provide all the conveniences and comforts a person could want, making such a college "an epitomy of the world" (Clarke, pp. 65–66). Bellers concludes:

> I believe the present idle hands of the poor of this nation are able to raise provision and manufacturers that would bring England as much treasure as the mines do Spain, if send them conveniences abroad; when that can be thought the nation's interest more than breeding up people with it among ourselves, which I think would be the greatest improvement of the lands of England that can be; it being the multitude of people that makes land in Europe more valuable than land in America, or in Holland than in Ireland; regular people (of all visible creatures) being the life and perfection of treasure, the strength nations, and glory of princes. (66)

While Bellers proposed such a scheme repeatedly until the end of his life three decades later, it was never implemented fully. Despite the appraisal that 'schemes

were always too good to work, but not fantastic,'[23] a more realistic assessment is that individual features of the proposal did find their way into implementation in more limited ways, even if Bellers' full-fledged vision was never actualized.[24] In 1696, Bristol Friends developed their own Workhouse, developed after Bellers' 1680 scheme, which purchased flax and cloth so that the poor and those in prison could make textiles and earn a wage. The Bristol Workhouse was able to provide employment for poor Quakers, education for their children and orphans, and residency for the elderly and infirm. In London, Bellers' appeal gave way to the establishing of the Clerkenwell Workhouse and School as a means of caring for orphans and the elderly. It later moved to Saffron Walden, where it continued as a school, educating children of Friends and others with some distinction.[25]

While the charitable purpose of these and other institutions was strong, the workhouse emphasis fell short of Bellers' vision of a more collegial community, and sometimes the harsh treatments by supervisors and underfunded resources made the conditions difficult. In other ways, though, Bellers' vision caught on, and as Quakers developed businesses, industries, schools, and enterprises on their own terms, many of his ideas were implemented variously over the next two centuries or more. For instance, the Quaker industries developing around iron production in Coalbrookdale, around linen and textile manufacturing in Bessbrooke, and around chocolate making in Bournville are all characterized as providing housing and enhanced living conditions for their workers. And, Friends schools at Ackworth, Lisburn, and Bootham, for instance, have served students well, whether coming from Quaker backgrounds or otherwise. In these and other ways, elements of Bellers' vision of a College of Industry developed in their own ways and continued evolving, as situations required, for decades and centuries to come.[26]

[23]Barbour and Roberts, *Early Quaker Writings*, p. 451; see also Palmer's critique, "Religion and Ethics in the Thought of John Bellers," p. 74.

[24]See, for instance, analyses of change following Bellers' contributions: Joan Kent and Steve King, "Changing Patterns of Poor Relief in Some English Parishes circa 1650–1750," *Rural History* 14.2 (2003), pp. 119–156; Nigel Smith, "John Bellers: His Life, Times and Writings," *Bunyan Studies* 1.1 (1988), pp. 82–83.

[25]In addition to challenges regarding funding and livability, being a community without money brought on other problems, as Deidre Lynch's analysis notes: "Recent Studies in the Restoration and Eighteenth Century," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 47.3 (2007), pp. 723–773.

[26]Along these lines, Kenneth Boulding's appraisal of Bellers' work as having great evolutionary potential is developed by Keith Helmuth, "John Bellers and the Evolutionary Potential of Quakerism," *Quakers, Politics, and Economics,* edited by David R. Ross and Michael T. Snarr, Quakers and the Disciplines Series 5 (Longmeadow, MA: Full Media Services, 2018), pp. 263–282.

3 Bellers' Proposals as Practical Extensions of Early Friends' Concerns

While the tone, style, and thrust of Bellers' published proposals are indeed different from the explosive writings of first-generation Friends, they cannot be seen as substantive departures from the convictions of Fox, Burrows, Howgill, and others. If anything, Bellers sees himself as carrying out the admonitions of Fox and first-generation Friends in programmatic ways, capping his 30 years of publishing and 50 years of activism by circulating in 1724 Fox's Epistle: "Advice and Warning to the Magistrates of London, in the Year 1657 Concerning the Poor."[27] Again, were it not for Bellers' organizing to have Barclay's *Apology* published in Britain, it might never have had the impact it did within the English-speaking world. Further, in standing with William Penn in calling for peaceable ways forward in Europe, Bellers proved to be a leader among contemporary Friends of international significance, extending the original concerns of Friends within evolving contexts and settings. Additionally, because of his connectedness with the likes of Sir Hans Sloane and other societal leaders in the South, Bellers was able to reach some audiences that earlier Friends from rural districts were unable to do.

More specifically, it is clear that many of Bellers' proposals and schemes simply reflect expanding the conscience-based social concerns that Friends were already doing—expanded in entrepreneurial and civic directions. Some of these program adaptations are as follows:

- *Providing jobs for the unemployed and the poor*—Friends in London had been creating jobs and gainful employment for the poor and the unemployed for several years; Bellers served as the head of the Box Fund as of 1680, expanding its outreach to include proposing colleges of industry, where the needs of the poor, children, and the elderly could be addressed entrepreneurially.
- *Providing education for children*—Friends in London, Bristol, and elsewhere emphasized literacy and the gaining of practical skills through educational and experiential ventures; it is no surprise that Bellers sought to expand those values nationally.
- *Manufacturing and trade ventures*—having garnered experience in grocery, textile, and trade industries, Bellers thus devised plans to help prisoners and workers spin flax and make clothing as means of creating income.
- *Refugee immigration programs*—Friends had from the beginning of the movement offered hospitality to traveling Friends and those in need; Bellers expanded that service and organized means of caring for immigrants coming from abroad.
- *Resettlement of oppressed Huguenot families in the New World*—Pennsylvania was already opened up to those suffering religious persecution in Europe; Bellers simply followed the lead of Penn and contributed to the Holy Experiment by purchasing 10,000 acres where, religious refugees could prosper.

[27] Clarke, pp. 252–269.

- *Prison ministries and outreach*—Friends had long cared for their fellow members in prison, feeding and clothing them; Bellers simply expanded those services to others, including some ways of making money with sewing and embroidery.
- *Nonviolence and peaceable concerns*—Since 1660, Friends' Testimony to King Charles II and the world was that that they were committed to peace and nonviolence; Bellers extended that concern to call for a reduction in the corporal punishment of prisoners and the abolishment of the death penalty.
- *The peace of Europe*—William Penn had published a vision for the peace of Europe; Bellers extended the vision by calling for something like a League of Nations and a forerunner of the World Council of Churches.

Indeed, the style and delivery of Bellers' writings are different from those of his Quaker predecessors, yet they must be viewed as developments and programmatic extensions of Quaker concerns rather than as departures from the first generation leaders. That's the way movements develop. For instance, regarding a biblical and theological basis for the movement, Robert Barclay consolidated and systematized many of the convictions of Fox, Penington, and others, while also contributing his own analysis as a factor of his education and perspective. Bellers did something similar in relation to Quaker social and welfare concerns. Thus, while the thrust of his vision and work was somewhat cooler and more conventional than the fiery apocalyptic ministries of Fox and Burrough,[28] his concerns reflect a movement within Quakerism towards more of a realized eschatology, wherein Friends and other followers of Jesus sought to actualize God's will on earth as it is in heaven.

This is made clear in several particular ways. First, Bellers speaks to the social concerns of the situation of Friends and the larger society, as the plight of the poor, immigrants, orphans, elderly, and others was terribly dismal. As the Friends movement grew, so did their concerns with people around and within the movement. Second, Bellers is greatly concerned with propagating the message of Friends. Thus, he endeavors to have Barclay's *Apology* published in England and distributed widely—furthering the theological basis for the movement.[29] Third, Bellers publishes again the 1654 epistle of George Fox in his appeal to care for the needs of the poor. In that sense, Bellers did not see himself as departing from the first generation of Friends and their concerns; he saw himself as furthering those original concerns within his generation between four and seven decades later. The following appeals of George Fox are also Bellers':

- Friends should care for the sick, the fatherless, and the widows (the essence of pure and undefiled religion, as declared in James 1:28)

[28]See Vail Palmer's analysis of the movement from dynamic readings of Scripture during the first decades of the movement, in contrast to more programmatic and text-citing references to Scripture as a source of authority: "Quaker Peace Witness: the Biblical and Historical Roots," *Quaker Religious Thought* 23.2 and 3 (#s 68 and 69, 1988), pp. 40–41.

[29]In in his 1724 letter to Friends, Bellers adds his 1697 advocacy for the publishing of Barclay's *Apology* two decades earlier, arguing 11 reasons for printing 10,000 copies and making them available gratis to Parliament, ministers of state, and magistrates.

- Friends should be willing to share of their abundance with the poor and those in need, as those who despise the poor despise their Maker
- The Word of the Lord to all is to care for the poor and to provide a way for them to work as a means of furthering the blessing of all
- Caring for the needy produces the fruits of true religion and works of charity, the fruits of love, and the fruits of the Spirit (Galatians 5:22–23)
- The one who gives to the poor lends to the Lord, and the Lord restores double from his storehouse
- Friends are called to stand in the wisdom of God as preservers of Creation, caring for the poor and the sick, and come and "do the work of the Lord while ye have power."

As the situations faced by Friends entering the eighteenth century were different from those faced by Friends half a century earlier, the social situations of many Friends had also changed. As the movement had now grown from several hundred to as many as 50,000 by its fifth decade, and Friends not only called for change and societal reform; they became agents of renewal, themselves. Therefore, it was not enough simply to issue prophetic calls for repentance; Friends helped to build the structures of society that would make realized eschatology possible. As John Punshon puts it,[30]

> Whereas the social testimony of early Friends had been directed to the pride of the wealthy, Bellers' activity was devoted to the amelioration of the conditions of the poor. This most certainly arose from his spiritual convictions, but at the same time extended the primarily political concerns of William Penn into the field of economic and social policy. Bellers the business man was no mean economist.

4 Bellers' Proposals as Realistic Means of Furthering the Kingdom of God

While Marxism has come to be identified as an atheistic countering of religion as "opiate of the people," most of its ideals are rooted in the Judeo-Christian values outlined in Scripture and western religious traditions.[31] Indeed, the weight of established religion has at times been used to resist reform and progressive

[30]John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1986), pp. 110–111.

[31]That famous statement by Karl Marx is from his essay, "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," translated by Annette Jolin and Joseph O'Malley (*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), and the fuller reference is:

> Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people.
>
> The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is the demand for their real happiness. To call on them to give up their illusions about their condition is to call on them to

movements in some cases, but religious origins of conscience and organized reforms have also been robust over the centuries, and this fact has often gone underrepresented over the years. This is especially the case with reference to Karl Marx's incorporation of Bellers' insights into his own ideological platform, which were deeply rooted in Christian conviction. Put tersely, Bellers' being a "veritable phenomenon in the history of political economy" was a direct result of religious conviction, not an exception to it.

While Karl Marx turned against religion during his university years, siding with Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, and others, he had earlier argued that, in contrast to the frivolous philosophy of the Epicurians, 'union with Christ bestows inner exaltation, consolation in suffering, calm assurance, and a heart which is open to love of mankind, to all that is noble, to all that is great, not out of ambition, not through a desire for fame, but only because of Christ.'[32] Thus, even though atheistic Marxism in Russia and elsewhere was bolstered by concerns similar to those Quakers addressed—established churches too easily helped the poor and the disadvantaged cope with their dire situations rather than seeking to change them—the Quaker approach sought to challenge societal structures *in the name of Christian convictions* rather than denying them altogether. Bellers' contribution to socialism must therefore be seen as rooted in Christian concern, rather than against religion, although Bellers is also happy to challenge religious lethargy, distortions, and abuses in the name of authentic Christianity.

The link between Bellers and Marx is also due to the contributions of Christian socialism in Britain a century or more after Bellers' writings were published. Ironically, while Bellers' influence among Friends must be seen as indirect for the next two centuries, the 1817 discovery of his *Proposals for Raising a College of Industry* by the social reformer, Francis Place, is what launched it again into public view. Interestingly, Place discovered the pamphlet by Bellers when rearranging his library, and he brought it straightaway to Robert Owen, who had just published his own book on *A New View of Society*.[33] Owen then published 1000 copies of it so as to get it considered in public discussions, and nearly four decades later published it fully as an appendix in his life story, saying of his own work in relation to Bellers',[34]

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give up a condition that requires illusions. The criticism of religion is, therefore, in embryo, the criticism of that vale of tears of which religion is the halo.

[32]Written in August 1835, "The Union of Believers With Christ According to John 15:1–14, Showing its Basis and Essence, its Absolute Necessity, and its Effects" by Karl Marx argues that union with Christ is the basis of virtue and loving concern for the other—attested by the history of civilization from Plato to the modern era.

[33]Robert Owen, *A New View of Society: Or, Essays on the Formation of the Human Character, Preparatory to the Development of a Plan for Gradually Ameliorating the Condition of Mankind* (1816; reprinted, Clifton, NY: Augustus M. Kelley, 1972).

[34]Robert Owen, *The Life of Robert Owen* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1857) Vol. 1. A (reference, p. 76): Appendix L, "Proposals for a College of Industry of All Useful Trades and Husbandry," pp. 155–181.

> None, I believe not one, of the principles, have the least claim to originality; they have been repeatedly advocated and recommended by superior minds, from the earliest period of history. I have no claim to priority, even in regard to the combinations of these principles in theory; this belongs, as far as I know, to John Bellers, who published them, and most ably recommended them to be adopted in practice in the year 1696. Without any aid from natural experience, he has most distinctly shown how they might be applied to the improvement of society, according to the facts then known to exist; thus evincing that his mind had the power to contemplate a point 120 years beyond his contemporaries. His work appeared to be so curious and valuable, that on discovering it, I have had it reprinted, verbatim, in order to bind up with the papers I have written on the same subject. Whatever merit can be due to an individual for the discovery of a plan that, in its consequences, is calculated to effect more substantial and permanent benefit to mankind than any ever yet contemplated by the human mind, it all belongs to John Bellers.

Noteworthy here are three points. First, while Bellers' works remained uncited for a full century after they were published, their impact is still discernible within British, European, and American societies. This is either a factor of growing social consciousness of which Bellers was aware or a reflection of social consciousness which he may have influenced within society at large. Second, it is fallacious to assume that a valid critique of one set of religion-related ethical flaws means that all religion-related views and actions are equally flawed. There is huge diversity within every major religion, and the same would be true of Atheism or any other life-philosophy. Thus, critiques of religion within socialism need not, and should not, displace its religious origins, if one is to be intellectually honest. Third, while Bellers was addressing many of the issues that socialists and communist later addressed, it is wrong to see the Quaker movement as simply being a proletariat forerunner of communism. On this score, Vail Palmer challenges effectively Bernstein's revisionist analysis, while still appreciating his treatments of Bellers' contribution to social reform.[35]

Along these lines, Marx takes note of some of Bellers' work, but its overall religious thrust remains obscured in his treatment, as he references only two of Bellers' 21 published works, yet over half of them relate directly or indirectly to his first pamphlet: *Proposals for Raising a College of Industry*. Nonetheless, here are the references to Bellers made by Marx in his magnum opus.[36]

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[35]Christopher Hill commits this intellectual error in *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1972), pp. 231–258, following the lead of Bernstein (1930). Vail Palmer, however, challenges Bernstein's interpretation on several compelling grounds, especially noting the radically eschatological thrust of such early Quakers as Edward Burrows, George Fox, Francis Howgill, and others. T. Vail Palmer, "A Revisionist Revised: A New Look at Bernstein's *Cromwell and Communism*," *Practiced in the Presence: Essays in Honor of T. Canby Jones*, edited by D. Neil Snarr & Daniel L. Smith-Christopher (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1994), pp. 36–59.

[36]The full title for the revised version is (original spelling used here; elsewhere, Bellers' language has been rendered in modern English): *Proposals for Raising a College of Industry of all Useful Trades and Husbandry, with Profit for the Rich, A Plentiful Living for the Poor, and a Good Education for Youth. Which will be Advantage to the Government, by the Increase of the People, and their Riches.* The other work of Bellers cited by Marx is his 1699 essay, *Essays about the Poor, Manufacturers, Trade, Plantations, & Immorality, And of the Excellency and Divinity of Inward*

Citations of John Bellers by Karl Marx in *Das Kapital*

- 'Money . . . is a pledge.' (insuring further trade and commodities, p. 97, n. 41)
- 'The poor stand still, because the rich have no money to employ them, though they have the same land and hands to provide victuals and clothes, as ever they had; . . .which is the true riches of a nation, and not the money.' (moving from credit to cash systems of financing heaps theoretical fright upon practical panic; p. 99, n. 50)
- 'What money is more than of absolute necessity for a Home Trade, is dead stock . . . and brings no profit to that country it's kept in, but as it is transported in trade, as well as imported.' (money is as valuable as its demand; p. 102, n. 66)
- 'The uncertainty of fashions does increase necessitous poor. It has two great mischiefs in it. First, The journeymen are miserable in winter for want of work, the mercers and master-weavers not daring to lay out their stocks to keep the journeymen employed before the spring comes, and they know what the fashion will then be; Secondly, In the spring the journeymen are not sufficient, but the master-weavers must draw in many prentices, that they may supply the trade of the kingdom in a quarter or half a year, which robs the plough of hands, drains the country of labourers, and in a great part stocks the city with beggars, and starves some in winter that are ashamed to beg.' (pp. 352–353, n. 209)
- 'An idle learning being little better than the learning of idleness. . .. Bodily labour, it's a primitive institution of God. . .. Labour being as proper for the bodies' health as eating is for its living; for what pains a man saves by ease, he will find in disease. . .. Labour adds oil to the lamp of life, when thinking inflames it. . .. A childish silly employ, leaves the children's minds silly.' (a challenge here to Basedow and those using play, versus work, as a means of furthering education; p. 355, n. 229)
- 'For if one had a hundred thousand acres of land and as many pounds in money, and as many cattle, without a labourer, what would the rich man be, but a labourer? And as the labourers make men rich, so the more labourers there will be, the more rich men . . . the labour of the poor being the mines of the rich.' (p. 435)

From this set of quotations, several things are clear about Bellers' influence upon Marx and his overall theory. First, money (and thus, capital) is not the primary value within an industrious society; rather, labour is, and it should be valued accordingly. Second, rather than seeing the poor as a detriment to society, they should be seen as its greatest resource; if their energies could be yoked to productive ventures, all would be winners. Third, the greatest value of money is that it facilitates trade and enterprise—domestically and internationally—its value is not ultimate but facilitative. Fourth, there is great unevenness in terms of shifting fashion, supply of labour, and demand for labour; thus evening out these systems would facilitate prosperity

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light Demonstrated from the Attributes of God, and the Nature of Mans Soul, as well as from the Testimony of the Holy Scriptures.

and wellbeing. Fifth, physical labour is productive for learning processes—not simply for entertainment reasons; thus, physical work and exercise should be drawn into ventures of industry, for the good of the labourer and that which is produced. Sixth, without labourers, landowners would be as poor as those without land—making husbandry and agriculture as important as owning land; thus, labourers in the field are what gives the landed classes economic buoyancy.

The practicality of these insights goes without saying, and much of the effectiveness of the Marxist ideal is indebted to the wisdom and insight of John Bellers. On the other hand, Marx misses the overall thrust of Bellers' approach, even within the two essays he cites.[37] While Marx might be excused for not noting the clear Johannine references in his first letter to Friends,[38] Bellers introduces the two works Marx cites with three biblical passages:[39]

- "The sluggard shall be clothed with rags." (Prov 23:21)
- "He that will not work, shall not eat." (2 Thes 3:10)
- "Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will preserve him, and keep him alive, and he shall be blessed upon the Earth; and thou wilt not deliver him into the will of his enemies. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness." (Psalm 41:1–3)

While the Christian bases for Bellers' opening proposal are inescapable, they are even more explicit in his second proposal, *Essays about the Poor, Manufacturers, Trade, Plantations & Immorality*, as described in the subtitle: *And the Excellency and Divinity of the Inward Light: Demonstrated from the Attributes of God, and the Nature of Man's Soul, as Well as from the Testimony of the Holy Scriptures.* While the Christian basis for this essay builds on John 1:9,[40] the biblical foundations for his concerns are laid out subtly and explicitly throughout the rest of these essays. After citing King William III's address to Parliament in December of 1698, Bellers

[37]According to Palmer, "A Revisionist Revised" (p. 56). "Marx's own attitude toward Bellers seems to be one of surprise and wonderment that a thinker as early as the seventeenth century could have had such insight into a variety of points. The problem, which Bernstein tends to gloss over, is that these insights remain just that—isolated insights, not really tied together in a far-reaching theology, political theory, or philosophy of history."

[38]Bellers opens his first communication citing the words of Jesus in John 12:36: "It's the glorious title the great founder of Christianity hath given you that walk therein, when he said, 'Whilst ye have the Light, walk ye in the Light, that ye may become the Children of the Light.'" He continues, citing John 13:34–35: "...show forth the more the Christianity of your faith, by the virtuous works that come from it, of which love and charity is the chief,... by which love to one another, your Master and great doctor of the Christian religion, said, all men should know such were his disciples." (Clarke, p. 48).

[39]The first two introduce his *Proposal for a College of Industry*; the third passage introduces his *Essays about the Poor*, etc. (Clarke, pp. 50, 83).

[40]The Quaker doctrine of the Inward Light, available to all persons—at least potentially, requiring people to mind the light and to walk in it—is rooted in a broad embrace of John 1:9: "The true light, which enlightens everyone, was coming into the world." (NRSV).

addresses these essays to both houses of Parliament: the Lords and the Commons, subtly referencing 1 Corinthians 6:9 (the bodies of the poor are temples of the Holy Ghost) and Mark 12:29–31 (the love of God and neighbour). More explicitly, he concludes the introduction to his essays by citing Proverbs 29:4 ("The righteous consider the cause of the poor, but the wicked regard not to know it.") and 31:9 ("Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.").

Bellers then addresses a number of issues in several shorter essays:[41]

- "How the Poor's Wants Will be Best Answered, and the Nation's Strength and Riches Increased"
- "Essay to Show That 500 Labourers, Regularly Employed, are Capable of Earning £3000 More Than Will Keep Them"
- "Essay to Show How 500 Thousand Poor are Capable to Add 43 Millions Value to the Nation"
- "The Increase of Regular Labouring People is the Kingdom's Greatest Treasure, Strength, and Honor"
- "Of Manufacturers: Employing the Poor Upon Any One Manufacture Constantly, Will Run Out the Stock They Are Employed With"
- "The Uncertainty of Fashions Doth Increase Necessitous Poor"
- "Of Trade"
- "Of Traders"
- "Of Foreign Trade"
- "Of Money"
- "Of English Plantations"
- "A Word to the Rich"
- "Essay for Abating Immoralities"
- "Some Reasons for Putting Felons to Death"
- "The Excellency and Divinity of Inward Light, Demonstrated From the Attributes of God, and the Nature of Man's Soul: As Well As From the Testimony of the Holy Scriptures"
- "Of Christian Virtue"
- "Of Divine Worship"
- "A Cloud of Witnesses Recorded in the Holy Scripture"

As Bellers develops his arguments, Scripture references document the bases for his concerns (Psalm 127:1; Proverbs 13:23; 14:28, 34; 22:7; 28:2; Amos 8:4; Matthew 6:12; 18:33; 1 Peter 5:8), but it is really in his last four sections that he cites Scriptures most expansively. In his essay on the Inward Light, Bellers roots his argument that the human soul 'is the most invisible, spiritual, and intellectual part of this creation' in the eternal, infinite, omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient, and invisible power and wisdom of God. Because God is infinite and omnipresent, God is within the bodies of humans as well as outside them. In supporting the thesis that God's revelatory light, spirit, and life are the source of human intellect and

[41]These titles are rendered in modern paraphrase (Clarke, pp. 88–112).

conscience (though not equally meted out), Bellers cites Acts 17: 23–28; Amos 4:13; Ephesians 5:13; and 1 John 1:5.

On the source of Christian virtue, Bellers advocates putting on the armor of God (Ephesians 6:10–18) and taking every thought captive in obedience to Christ. (2 Corinthians 10:5). On the character of divine worship, he cites John 4:21–24, where authentic worship is independent of form or place; it is in spirit and in truth. In his final section, Bellers argues for the manifestation of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit within the lives of humans on the basis of biblical teachings, addressing also the problem of those who reproach the light.[42]

- *Of God's Manifestation in Humans*: Proverbs 20:27; Job 32:8; Isaiah 2:5; 57:15–16; 60:19; Romans 1:19; 1 Corinthians 3:16–17; 6:19; 2 Corinthians 6:16; 4:5, 7; Ephesians 4:6; 5:8; Hebrews 4:12; 1 Peter 2:9; 1 John 1:7
- *Of Christ's Manifestation in Humans*: Luke 2:30–32; John 1:4; 14:16–17, 23; Romans 8:9; 1 Corinthians 3:11; 2 Corinthians 3:11; 13:3, 5; Galatians 1:12; Ephesians 3:19; 4:7–13; 6:14; 1 Thessalonians 5:5; Colossians 1:12–13, 26–27; 1 Peter 1:11; Revelation 3:20
- *Of the Holy Spirit's Manifestation in Humans*: John 7:38–39; 14:26; Acts 2:4, 17; Romans 8:11, 15–16; 1 Corinthians 2:13; 12:3–6, 132 Corinthians 3:7–8, 17–18; 5:5; Galatians 5:16; 6:8; Ephesians 4:30; 5:18; 1 Thessalonians 5:19; 2 Thessalonians 2:13; 1 John 2:20, 27; 4:13
- *Some Considerations for Them that Reproach the Light*: Job 24:13; John 1:5; 3:19–21; 5:38–47; 1 Corinthians 2:14; 2 Corinthians 4:3; 2 Peter 3:3–4; Jude 1:4, 10–11, 16–19

As is obvious by the above facts, Bellers not only argues his concerns for the poor by means of appealing to reason, realities, and biblical texts, but his concerns themselves are rooted in biblical understandings of what it means to be human and what the Creator expects of humanity. Therefore, while Marx drew from these two writings of Bellers, he failed to acknowledge the thoroughly Christian and biblical bases for Bellers' vision for society, as well as the religious character of his social concerns. Of course, neither socialism nor communism need be atheistic for their programs to be successful, and both Christian socialism and liberation theology have clear biblical roots. What has been misrepresented, however, in the name of realism, is a partial and skewed image of what Bellers and the early Friends stood for, including the thoroughly Christian center of their realism concerns and motivations. Bellers thus begins and concludes his introduction to his first proposal with these words:

> Christianity mends, but mars no person's good nature; it binds us to love our neighbor, and [by] that love, to desire our country's prosperity. . .. And it's as much more charity to put the

[42]I have rendered "Men" as "Humans" in the inclusive sense, and the biblical texts have been reordered canonically.

> poor in a way to live by honest labour, then to maintain them idle; as it would be to set a man's broken leg, that he might go himself, rather than always to carry him.[43]

5 Additional Proposals by John Bellers

While John Bellers is best known for his influences upon political and economic theories, his overall vision for the betterment of society and humanity at large must be taken into consideration before his contribution to be appreciated fully. Given that Bellers was seeking to further something of a realized eschatology in the modern era—carrying out the Divine Will on earth as it is in heaven—taking note of his additional concerns and proposals is essential for appreciating the comprehensive scope of his vision. Again, the thoroughly biblical character of his vision must be taken into consideration, as ignoring this feature would be intellectually dishonest.

5.1 The Education of Children

Central to his Proposal for a College of Industry is a vision for the education of children. After all, if adults are going to contribute meaningfully to society, they must be educated and trained, and the best time for that to happen is during their developing years. This concern comes through several times in Bellers' writings, but it is laid out most explicitly in the revised edition of his Proposal on a College of Industry, where he concludes his treatise in 1697 with "An Epistle to Friends concerning the Education of Children" (Clarke, pp. 77–79; cf. 51, 54, 223–225, 247–249, 256). Within this proposal and elsewhere in his writings, Bellers argues for teaching children vocabulary, the elements of grammar, virtue, and skills needed to work meaningfully an productively. Long term, this is the most efficient and productive means of building a stable and prosperous society: to educate children so that they will be productive and law abiding the rest of their lives. It is far less costly to educate people as to the virtues and values that society holds dear than to incarcerate them in prisons and to pay the cost of their unemployment and aimlessness otherwise.

[43]Clarke, pp. 52, 55. With these two sentences Bellers opens and concludes the introduction to his 1696 proposal for a College of Industry.

5.2 Concerns Over Penal Injustices: Imprisonment, Corporal Punishment, Capital Punishment

In becoming aware of the conditions of prisoners, John Bellers raised several concerns regarding injustices of penal systems. First, he sought to ameliorate the conditions of prisoners themselves, organizing productive things for them to do in prison, including providing sewing and embroidery materials so that inmates good make good uses of their time and even earn a bit of money (Clarke, pp. 274, 278). He also sought to provide reading materials, such as Bibles and other literature, so that inmates could learn and grow personally. Second, Bellers spoke out against corporal punishment, arguing for positive reinforcement instead of "stripes" and whipping (Clarke, pp. 102–103). Third, Bellers called for an abolishment of the death penalty, as lawbreakers were often sentenced to death, even for minor infractions (Clarke, pp. 102–103). After all, Christ calls us to forgive as we would want to be forgiven (Matthew 6:12; 18:33), and society ought to value the lives of individuals more fully. While Cesare Beccaria is often credited with being the first in Europe to advocate for the abolition of capital punishment, 'Bellers predates him by 65 years.'[44] According to Helmuth, 'his argument against the death penalty was without precedent. He was the first social thinker in history to reason his way to the abolition of this moral and legal custom. His argument was a seamless blend of social psychology, economics, and moral advancement.'[45]

5.3 Advocacy for Just and Free-Market Enterprise

As a contemporary of Adam Smith, Bellers called for the freedom of trade within the nation and between nations. He believed this would be the surest way to increase prosperity, as goods could provide income more effectively if markets were free and unrestricted. According to Philip Belasco, Bellers' insights developed in ways independent of France, as they reflect his own impressions and observations from how things actually work in society at large: 'The eloquence of Bellers himself has been deemed sufficient in justifying some mention or recognition of the part he played in the history of economic thought.'[46] Bellers advocates the advancement of trade, as it improves the economic conditions of all involved (Clarke, pp. 84, 232–234, 239). It improves conditions locally and abroad, distributing wealth for all involved, and it should not be limited unnecessarily (Clarke, pp. 86, 94–97).

[44]Clarke, p. 82, n. 1, citing the work of J. A. Farrer, *Crimes and Punishment* (London 1880).

[45]Keith Helmuth, "John Bellers and the Evolutionary Potential of Quakerism," p. 270.

[46]Belasco, "John Bellers," p. 174. See also Mark Neocleous, "War on Waste: Law, Original Accumulation, and the Violence of Capital," *Science & Society* 75.4 (2011), pp. 506–528 (esp. pp. 514–515).

5.4 Cautions Against Anger and Violence

In his essay against anger, Bellers argued that unbridled emotions too easily lead to uncontrolled violence. 'Anger is the parent of murder, as lust is the parent of adultery, and the root of it, as an acorn is of an oak.' (Clarke, p. 117) Thus, rather than deal with the violent and destructive consequences of anger, it is more efficient and effective to address the root (Clarke, pp. 117–122). Citing some forty New Testament passages regarding "the Duty and Necessity of Love," Bellers reminds his readers that love covers a multitude of sins (1 Peter 4:8); one should not sin in one's anger nor let the sun go down on one's wrath (Ephesians 4:26); one cannot claim to love God, whom one has not seen, if one does not love one's brother, whom one has seen (1 John 4:7–21). After all, the Kingdom of God is not one of anger, trouble, or torment; but it is one of peace, joy, and the Holy Spirit (Clarke, p. 116). Many economic setbacks and societal distress—including crime, punishment, and suffering—can be alleviated if individuals would act more lovingly and less abrasively toward one another, and anger management along those lines (dealing with such "perturbations") is key.

5.5 Watch unto Prayer

In addition to arguing for programmatic reform and advances, John Bellers also called for personal transformation, rooted in a vital life of watchful prayer. It is not enough to simply try to address anger and its disruptive consequences behaviorally; those who profess to "believe in the Light" must also "walk in the Light," which is how they become Children of the Light, overcoming deeds of darkness (1 John 1:7).[47] Thus, 'Watchfulness is the great preparation of the soul, in order *to bring every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ* (1 Cor. 10:5), and he that thinks no evil will be sure to act none.' (Clarke, p. 124) The transformative power of true and authentic worship—the essential key to holiness and Christian virtue—lies not in the hearing of the best preachers, but in prayerful watchfulness and 'the quickening of the soul to God' (Clarke, pp. 106–107, 124–125). Thus, one must prepare for the meeting for worship by cultivating a spirit of watchfulness and prayer beforehand, and such is the key to entering into the *New Jerusalem*, as envisioned in Scripture.[48]

[47]The full title of this 1703 essay, following the essay on anger (1702) is: "Watch Unto Prayer: Or Considerations for All Who Profess They Believe in the Light" (Clarke, pp. 123–126). Clarke thus rightly connects these two essays together.

[48]Bellers builds his case citing nearly a dozen additional Scripture passages: Isaiah 55:7; Matthew 24:42; 26:41; Mark 13:37; Luke 12:37; 21:36; Galatians 6:15–16; Ephesians 6:18; Colossians, 4:2; 1 Peter 5:8; Revelation 3:2–3.

5.6 The Care of Refugees

In addition to purchasing a tract of land in Pennsylvania to which French Huguenots were able to travel and develop new lives, Bellers also proposed to Queen Anne and Parliament that a welfare system be set up in England to care for 'the poor Palatines' (1709, Clarke, pp. 129–131). Given that some 15,000 French Protestants were emigrating to Britain as a result of their ethno-religious persecution in France, Bellers once more proposed an adaptation of his College of Industry model, in which communities of industry, education, and housing could be set up as a means of both making a profit for founders and bringing in a living wage for the collegians. Rather than see immigrants be regarded as a burden upon society, Bellers advocated their being organized into productive systems of labour, whereby they would make a profitable contribution to their new homeland. In putting forth his thesis, Bellers shows how such a scheme might even make a profit for the founders, estimating potential income and salutary outcomes. While some communities were established in England, others relocated in Ireland, and some were resettled in New York. Along these lines, Bellers wrote an additional appeal to Parliament in 1723, calling for "Employing the Poor to Profit" (Clarke, pp. 238–244).

5.7 Some Reasons for a European State

Following the important essay by William Penn regarding ways forward in furthering the Peace of Europe, Bellers put forward his own proposal in 1710, calling for a unified state of Europe. Given that much suffering as a result of the many of the wars in Europe had been caused by one state making war against another (Clarke, pp. 67, 136–137, 146), Bellers argued that nations should settle their differences politically and in direct conversation with one another, rather than resorting to military settlements of disputes. Given the huge economic losses, waste, and suffering caused by war (Clarke, pp. 85, 143–145, 168), alternatives to violence must be explored comprehensively. According to Peter van den Dungen, 'What was particularly revolutionary in the original Quaker doctrine is the commitment to nonviolence. This found expression as early as 1660 in a declaration signed by Fox and 11 other Quakers which has become known as 'The Peace Testimony'. Around 1700 two prominent Quakers, William Penn and John Bellers, put forward two designs for ridding the continent of the great scourge of war.' Thus, the contributions of Penn and Bellers influenced the quest for nonviolent approaches to problem solving in the Age of the Enlightenment, and according to Clarke, they 'predate the more widely known proposal of Abbé St Pierre, who greatly influenced Rousseau and Kant.'[49]

[49]Clarke, p. 132. For a fuller treatment of Penn's and Bellers' impact upon St Pierre, see Peter van den Dungen, "The Plans for European Peace by Quaker Authors William Penn (1693) and John

Rather than see religion as the a propagative cause of war, Bellers argues that war is the enemy of religion, and he calls for religious leaders to stand for nonviolent ways of addressing conflicts, as such would be a powerful Christian witness in keeping with the peaceable way of Christ.[50]

5.8 Religious Cooperation and Ecumenism

Bellers continues his appeal to religious leaders the following year (1711) by writing a proposal to the Archbishop, bishops, and clergy in the Province of Canterbury, calling for a convention and congress as a means of settling disputes between religious parties and groups. He believes England could set an example for the rest of Europe to follow, thus minimizing the likelihood of conflict and violence among the churches and states more universally, as well. He called for dialogue and mutual support between 'high churches' and 'low churches,' serving as 'good neighbors' though differing in religious forms (Clarke, pp. 155–156). He also believes that Christian unity would make a powerful witness to the world, and he calls for interfaith dialogue between persons of faith—Christian's, Jews, and Muslims. In that sense, he not only advocates bases upon which the World Council of Churches was founded in 1947; he also anticipates the interfaith dialogues of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Before citing the poem, *Of Divine Love*, by the celebrated poet, Edmund Waller (Clarke, pp. 157–158), Bellers concludes his treatise with this prayer:

> God who is Light, most excellent and glorious in majesty, and omnipresent, filling all places; and therefore enlightening all men, suitable to their capacities of receiving it, sanctify your souls, that in his brightness, receiving counsel and wisdom, you may shine as lights to the world, in purity, charity, and meekness, possessing in your spirits, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, *Amen*.

5.9 Addressing Political Corruptions

Lest it be assumed that political divisiveness and violence were a factor of conflicts between states and faiths alone, Bellers addresses pointedly the political corruption and ills inherent to partisan tensions within Britain itself. Given that bribery and dishonesty were especially rife within parliamentary elections and transactions during the first decade of eighteenth century Britain, Bellers published "A Essay

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Bellers (1710)," *Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofía, Política y Humanidades* 16.32 (2014), pp. 53–67.

[50]Clarke, pp. 145–153. Thus, "Imposing religion, without reaching the understanding, is not leading men to heaven." (Clarke, p. 147) See also Philip S. Belasco, *Authority in Church and State* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928), pp. 96–107.

Towards the Ease of Elections of Members of Parliament" in 1712, calling for bipartisan reform (Clarke, pp. 161–164). In so doing, Bellers addresses several ills related to parliamentary elections. First, in combatting excessive drinking that accompanied voting, Bellers argues that those selling liquor abruptly before voting (thus, seeking to impact election outcomes, not having done so previously) should be denied voting privileges. Second, Bellers proposes that those succumbing to bribes related to voting should be fined, making elections themselves less quarrelsome. Third, qualified electors should be clarified, alleviating the need to resort to oaths and swearing of veracity and reducing charges of perjury. Bellers follows this essay with two others, seeking to reduce tensions between Whigs and Tories (1712)[51] and opposing the Schism Bill, which was never enacted (1714).[52]

5.10 The Institutionalization and Improvement of Medical Care

In addition to his proposals for a College of Industry and the education of children, one of Bellers' most influential contributions was *An Essay Towards the Improvement of Physick.* In his 1714 letter to Parliament, Bellers proposed 12 ways forward in the improvement of medical services throughout Britain. According to Bellers, (1) hospitals should be built in or near London for the poor; (2) that hospital should be under the direct care of the Queen's physicians; (3) there should be one hospital for the blind; (4) one hospital should be for the incurable; (5) a public laboratory should be organized to experiment with curative chemicals, vegetables, and minerals so that advances in medications could be furthered; (6) at least one hospital should be established in 'each of our two Universities' (Oxford and Cambridge) with individuated wards for particular distempers; (7) at least one doctor should be appointed to care for the sick and the poor in each city or parish, visiting at least once a week and paid for by the Overseers of the Poor; (8) daily reports of extraordinary medicines should be published in order to distinguish effective medicines from poor ones; (9) physicians and surgeons should be sent to the East, the West Indies, and America to benefit from the knowledge of effective medical treatments internationally and cross-culturally; (10) a College of Physicians and a Company of Surgeons should be established by the state, so as to ascertain and educate regarding best practices in medicine; (11) the Royal Society should award an annual prize in medicine; (12) both Houses of Parliament should appoint a committee each session, receiving a report on the state of medicine and medical discoveries, so as to support such advances properly (Clarke, pp. 177–220). Along these lines, John Bellers was a

[51] *Some Considerations as an Essay Towards Reconciling the Old and New Ministry* (citing Matthew 12:25 as a biblical basis for political unity and cooperation: "Every kingdom divided against itself cannot stand." Clarke, pp. 165–171).

[52] This essay by Bellers is lost (Clarke, pp. 172–173).

forerunner of national health care systems and the advance of modern medical care over the following three centuries.[53]

5.11 Epistles to Friends

In addition to sending public missives to Parliament, the Queen, and religious leaders, John Bellers wrote a plurality of his public letters to Friends.[54] His admonitions echoed the rest of his concerns, especially advocating endeavors to design systems of employment, care, and housing for the poor, the sick, and the disenfranchised. Reflecting something of a pastoral concern, his admonitions against anger and for an active prayer life were designed to further personal and spiritual transformation among those claiming to be Children of Light, and in that sense, his calls for repentance were levied more internally than externally.

5.12 Advocacy of Prison Reform and Hope for Criminals

As Friends, had spent inordinate time in England's prisons, Bellers not only advocated prison reform, but he also sought to encourage prisoners directly in writing to them at the close of his life. Acknowledging the deplorable conditions of prisons in his earlier writings (1699, Clarke, pp. 102–103), in his last publication before he passed away, Bellers wrote an epistle *To the Criminals in Prison*. In that pastoral letter, Bellers cites 20 biblical passages reminding his audience that Christ is present as the Inward Light (John 1:9), promising to commune with them if they open their hearts to him (Revelation 3:20), leading and guiding through the Comforter—the Spirit of Truth—who will guide them into all truth (John 14:26; 16:8:13), leading them to watch and pray at all times (Mark 13:33, 37). It is the God of Light in whom we live, move, and have our being (Acts 17:28)—the Creator of the universe, who reveals his thoughts to humanity (Amos 4:13; Romans 1:19). He goes on to speak of repentance, penance, and redemption and concludes with pastoral counsel,

[53]Martin Boom, "Editorial—Primary Prevention in the Eighteenth Century England: An Historical Note on John Bellers," *Journal of Primary Prevention* 21.4 (2000), pp. 425–429; Wendy Moore, "Two Hundred and Thirty Years Before Beveridge," *British Medical Journal* (2008), p. 571; George Rosen, "An Eighteenth Century Plan for a National Health Service," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 16 (1944), pp. 429–436; Mary E. Fissell, *Patients, Power and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 67–68.

[54]Bellers' first proposal of a College of Industry was sent to Friends in 1695 (Clarke, pp. 47–79); his essays on anger and prayer were addressed to Friends in 1702 and 1703 (Clarke, pp. 115–126); and Bellers wrote epistles to Friends in 1718, 1723, and 1724 (Clarke, pp. 223–235; 247–251, 255–269). His final letter *To the Criminals in Prison* in 1724 was also sent to Friends, who distributed it among prisoners as they visited and ministered to them (Clarke, pp. 272–279).

encouraging inmates to read the Scriptures often, and a prayer that God will keep them and their families and lead them in paths of virtue and righteousness. This pamphlet would be given to prisoners for their edification as Friends visited them in prison.

6 Conclusion: On Veritable Phenomena and Epitomes of the World

While Karl Marx's referred to John Bellers as 'a veritable phenomenon' and 'a phenomenal figure in the history of political economy' in 1867,[55] the spiritual basis of his concerns went unacknowledged by Marx, despite possessing impressive similarities with Marx's pre-university essay on abiding in Christ (John 15:1–14). As Bellers' platform was deeply rooted in Christian concern, one wonders if Marxist socialism would have been more robust and effective if its religious heritage had been explored and considered more seriously. It is also wrong to see Bellers as too far removed from the first generation of Friends, as he saw himself carrying for the vision of George Fox and other early Friends, furthering the ideals of what William Penn described as "Primitive Chritianity Revived." As Braithwaite points out, 'the beginnings of Quaker organization were bound up, as in the early Church, with the needs of the poor and of travelling ministers.'[56]

Finally, while the main thrust of Bellers' lifelong pursuit involved establishing Colleges of Industry, whereby the lives of the poor and unemployed could be turned around by providing training, employment, and a place to live, it must be viewed within his overall set of concerns. The comprehensive scope of Bellers' vision for a new society involved nothing short of a holistic strategy for addressing human needs in just, organized, and profitable ways. As an "epitome of the world," Bellers' proposals of a College of Industry were but a part of a larger vision of what it would look like to carry forth the divine will on earth as it is in heaven. Thus, the spiritual basis and core of this and other "veritable phenomena" deserve consideration as societal engineers seek to identify and address human needs with the best resources possible. Along these lines, the life and work of John Bellers points the way forward, as a veritable phenomenon, not despite its religious foundations, but precisely because of them.

[55]Karl Marx, *Capital,* Eden and Cedar Paul, trans., Everyman's Library 848 and 849 (London: J. M. Dent & Sons), Vol. 1, 527, n. 1—cited by Vail Palmer, "Religion and Ethics in the Thought of John Bellers," p. 61.

[56]Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism,* p. 560.

The Publications of John Bellers[57]

I

1. "Proposals for Raising a COLLEDGE OF INDUSTRY (first edition)" (pp. 42–47)
2. "TO THE CHILDREN OF LIGHT" (pp. 48–49)
3. "Proposals for Raising a COLLEDGE OF INDUSTRY (revised edition) (pp. 50–73)
4. "To THE LORDS & COMMONS In Parliament Assembled" (pp. 74–76)
5. "An Epistle to Friends concerning the EDUCATION OF CHILDREN" (pp. 77–79)

II

6. "Essays about the Poor, Manufacturers, Trade, Plantations, & Immorality, etc." (pp. 80–112)

III

7. "A CAUTION Against all PERTURBATIONS, etc." (pp. 113–123)
8. "WATCH unto PRAYER" (pp. 124–126)

IV

9. "To the Lords and other Commissioners, appointed by the QUEEN to take Care of the Poor PALATINES" (pp. 127–131)

V

10. "Some REASONS For an European State" (pp. 132–153)

VI

11. "To the Archbishop, Bishops and Clergy, of the Province of Canterbury, etc." (pp. 154–158)

VII

12. "An ESSAY Towards the Ease of Election of MEMBERS of PARLIAMENT" 159–165;
13. "Some CONSIDERATIONS as an ESSAY towards RECONCILING the OLD and NEW MINISTRY" (pp. 166–171)

VIII

14. "Considerations on the Schism Bill" (pp. 172–173)

IX

15. "An ESSAY Towards the improvement of PHYSICK" (pp. 174–220)

X

[57]These are the publications of John Bellers, as arranged chronologically and to some degree thematically, by George Clarke—his spelling and page numbers, here.

16. "An Epistle to the Quarterly Meeting of LONDON and MIDDLESEX" (pp. 221–236)

XI

17. "AN ESSAY FOR Imploying the Poor to Profit" (pp. 236–244)

XII

18. "To the Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly Meetings of Great Britain and Elsewhere" (pp. 245–251)

XIII

19. "AN ABSTRACT OF George Fox's Advice and Warning TO the Magistrates of London, in the Year 1657 CONCERNING THE POOR" (pp. 252–269)

XIV

20. "An EPISTLE to Friends of the Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly Meetings; Concerning the Prisoners, and Sick, in the Prisons, and Hospitals of Great Britain" (pp. 270–275)
21. "To the Criminals in Prison" (pp. 276–279)

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N. Burton, R. Turnbull (eds.), *Quakers, Business and Corporate Responsibility*,
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