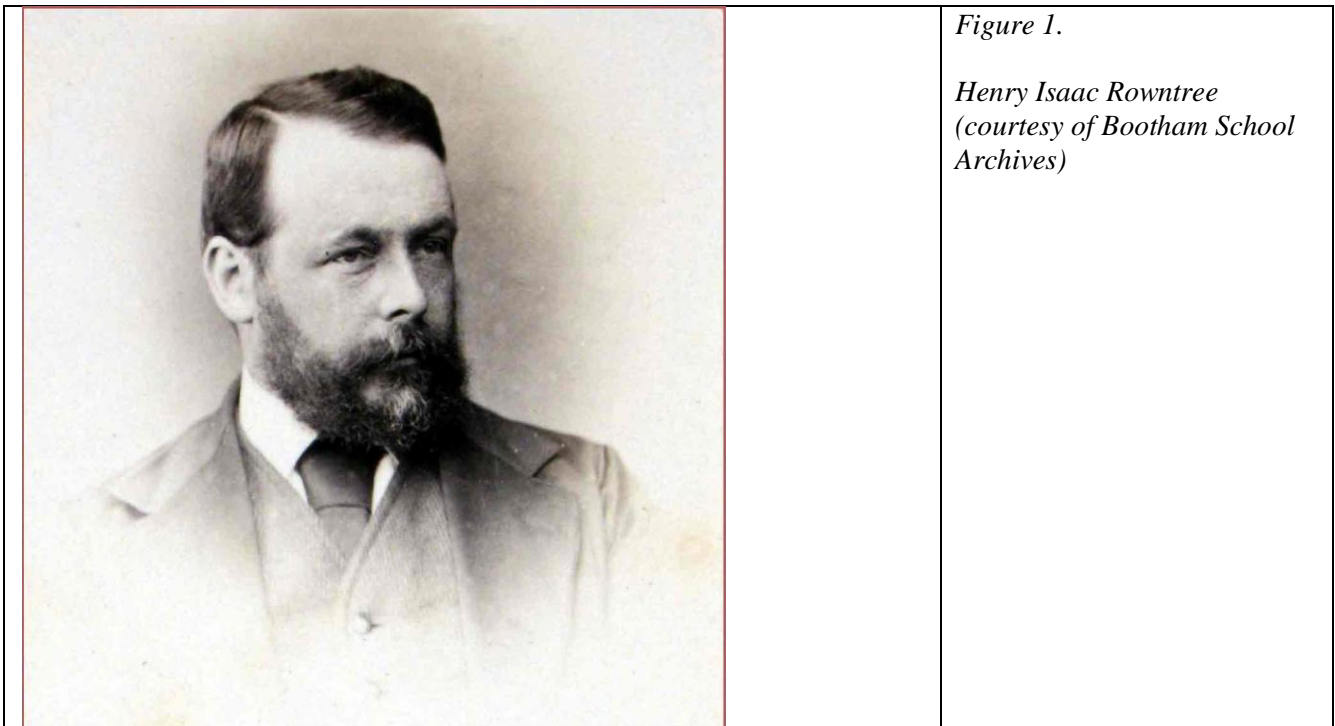


## *Henry Isaac Rowntree: his life and legacy*

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*Elizabeth Jackson*

*Summary:* Although Joseph Rowntree is the name which springs to mind when thinking of York's great chocolate and confectionery business, the family only got into this field through the initiative of his brother Henry Isaac, whose life and career are explored here. He emerges as a likeable and impulsive character, fully sharing the progressive social and political views of his father and siblings, putting his beliefs into effect through the Adult Schools and York Temperance Society, and even founding a newspaper, the *Yorkshire Express*, to advance the Radical Liberal cause. Yet he lacked the business brain and methodical approach of brother Joseph, who was ultimately drawn into the cocoa business to get him out of trouble.



### ***Introduction.***

One afternoon in the early eighteen-sixties William S. Rowntree, then a pupil at Bootham school, encountered his 'cousin' Henry in a York street, and was taken by him to see a new cocoa grinding machine installed in a small room in his works near the corner of Coppergate and Castlegate. Henry explained his visionary aim - to manufacture something that would come to be essential in every home.<sup>1</sup> William liked Henry – his kindness, humour and racy stories made him a hero in the boy's eyes. And he enjoyed visiting at the house on the corner of Bootham and St Mary's where Henry lived with his widowed mother Sarah, his older brothers John and Joseph having already married and set up home. John and Joseph were partners in the successful York grocery business at 28 Pavement which their father Joseph had established in 1822. Henry however had taken on a business of his own in 1862, a small cocoa manufacturing company. After his brother Joseph joined him in the venture in 1869, it would eventually prosper magnificently as the Rowntree chocolate and confectionery firm, but Henry did not live to see this. He died suddenly in May 1883 at the age of 45, leaving a wife and three children.

### *Childhood and education*

The elder Joseph (1801-59) came to York in 1822 from Scarborough, where his Quaker family owned a grocery shop. After ten hard-working years establishing his York business, he married Sarah Stephenson in May 1832 and they had three sons: John (born 1834), Joseph (1836) and Henry Isaac (1838) and two daughters Hannah (1840) and finally Sarah (1843), who died in childhood. The large Pavement establishment always included a number of apprentices living in and learning the grocery trade, young men from Quaker families but not usually from the York area. George Cadbury and Lewis Fry were among those receiving training, along with the three Rowntree brothers. John at 21 and Joseph at 23 became partners in the family firm.

Henry Isaac Rowntree was born in York on 11 February 1838. When he was seven the family ceased living over the shop and moved to a doubled-fronted family house with large garden at 11 Blossom Street, and three years later they took a substantial residence at 39 Bootham, close by the Quaker boys' school which all three brothers attended, after being educated at home in their early years. Finally their father built for himself the large square grey-brick house at the corner of Bootham and St Mary's, intending this for his retirement, but at the age of 58 he died there in November 1859.

Henry attended Bootham, the Quaker school of which his father was a governor, for six years, from the age of ten in March 1848 until June 1854. He was not a studious pupil and was more attracted by mechanical and practical subjects. Two letters from his father show him trying to stimulate his son's interest. While visiting Bangor in July 1850 he wrote at length about the 'tubular bridge which like a vast gallery spans the Menai Straits...I thought of my dear Harry...I have got a little book which I intend sending thee'. And again from Bangor in July 1856 he sent Henry a description of the workings of a huge slate quarry they had visited.<sup>2</sup> It was expected that whenever family members were away from home, they would send back regular bulletins of their activities and visits. When the younger Joseph was sent in February 1857 to work for a few months at a large wholesale grocer's in the city of London, he wrote frequent letters home, much appreciated by his father – 'How pleasant it has been...to have frequent letters from thee'.<sup>3</sup> Where his parents were concerned however Henry seems to have been a reluctant correspondent. In August 1856 while he and John were travelling in Ireland John received this plea: 'By thy journal which reached us this afternoon I find you have seen Cork and Queenstown...We have received nothing from dear Henry: pray do tell him, with my dear love, that we should be glad to hear what he said, what he thought and how he fared'.<sup>4</sup>

Bootham school results were disappointing. In the 1853 summer examinations Henry came bottom of the class of 16 - in each of Latin, Geography, Spelling, Dictation, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Science, Writing and Ancient History he came 15th or 16th, but in English History he did best, coming 5th. The next and final year he did slightly better, coming 10th overall out of 14. He even managed top in English History, but Dictation, Writing, Mathematical subjects and Science were still poor.<sup>5</sup> The 'improving' reading recommended by his father was also problematic. There was a story that when his father asked how he was progressing with a weighty volume he glibly replied that he had lost the place but would get one of the apprentices to find it for him. This evidence decided his father to devote more expense to Henry's education by sending him to Grove House School, Tottenham, where for the fees of £100<sup>6</sup> a year 'the sons of the Society of Friends' were educated in small classes. Henry was a pupil from August 1854 until June 1855. It seems that after his six years at Bootham Henry was still having problems with writing neatly and spelling correctly, and the skills necessary for a career in business were still beyond him. His father's concern is clear from a letter sent shortly after the boy's arrival at Tottenham:

'My dear Harry... What art thou pursuing particularly? Do not be afraid of sending us details, anything which interests thee will...be of interest to us. I hope thou finds that thou art making some progress in acquiring knowledge, and the power of completely executing what thou undertakes. Do not give up: be determined to spell correctly, to write legibly, and to place thy matter fairly on the paper...I would fain hope that it is thy

daily endeavour to act in such a manner as, while it benefits thyself, will give inexpressible comfort to Thy tenderly attached Father'.<sup>7</sup>

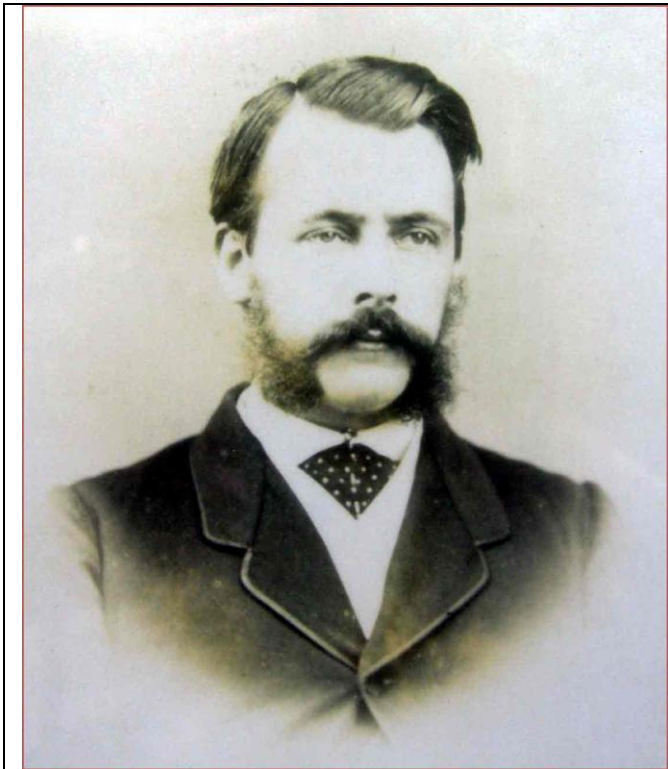
Possibly it was the knowledge that his letters would be scrutinised by the parental eye for their spelling, grammar and suitable content that caused his unwillingness to write home. Corresponding with his brother Joseph by contrast caused him no problems. His only surviving childhood letter, written from Scarborough in 1851, described to Joseph a spectacular stormy sky of a deep red 'coulour', with streaks 'from 60 to 70 feet in hight'. Afterwards 'their were some splendid fireworks', especially rockets which 'when they burst sent out a shower of sparks which floted in the air'.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps also his father might have wished that his youngest son could show more respect to the gravity of Quaker Meeting, but Henry could not help seeing the humorous side of any situation. Before 1857 when a couple were to marry they must appear at Meeting to give notice and say a few words expressing their joy at the forthcoming union. The story goes that on one occasion the young man got through his ordeal acceptably but his young shy fiancée spoke haltingly in a very low tone, and was visibly relieved to sit down. Henry at once got up and said in a loud impressive voice: "Our Friend was ...very imperfectly heard at this end of the meeting, and would she repeat what she said?" so that the girl had to go through the ordeal again.<sup>9</sup>

After Tottenham, for the next five years Henry lived the busy life of the grocery apprentice at 28 Pavement during the week, attending Meeting and teaching boys' classes on Sundays. When Joseph was working in London in 1857 Henry wrote to him regularly in a relaxed easy style, telling his brother what was happening in York. '24 hours of incessant rain have made York very clean and fresh'.<sup>10</sup> One evening he visited Bishopthorpe – 'it was a splendid night and the reflection of the stars and the lights in the river was very beautiful'. Seeing '3 or 4 meteors...with long trains of fire' inspired him to read 'the work on the great comet'; (so no difficulty reading about a subject which interested him). He described 'the stress of business' - 'On First Day I was at Osbaldwick [visiting Thomas Allis,<sup>11</sup>] on second I was engaged about the school till 9pm, on third John's lecture on money, on fourth a teachers' meeting, on fifth paying the bride's visit at C. Robinson's,<sup>12</sup> and on sixth an election meeting...John's lecture on money was short, interesting & inculcating sound anti-badger[sic] views'. He gave his opinion on one of the new apprentices: 'We had George Cadbury to dinner and tea,...our new hand, he has not been at all accustomed to the retail trade, and will never, I think, make much out of it, he seems kind and chearful[sic]'. The winter was so severe that the rivers froze and he could enjoy excellent skating on the Foss opposite the Workhouse. But this also meant that the York Soup Kitchen had to open. His father had taken the lead in founding and organising York's soup kitchen which opened each winter from 1846 in premises on Black Horse Passage, just around the corner from his shop. It was one of Henry's duties to supervise the kitchen before coming to work, and in February-March 1857 he reported demand for soup was high, with over 3200 quarts sold per session.

Henry was evidently at this time teaching a Sunday class of boys at Hope Street, and endeavoured to enliven their learning with singing and science. 'We tried an experiment with our class this afternoon...we got them to sing their hymns, it answered completely, next week it is intended to try the whole school, using our class as tame elephants. The boys seemed to enjoy the singing and when...all the boys repeated the 'Better land' I never heard a piece so entirely murdered'. Later he was in 'great want of two little glass baloons[sic] to show of[sic] the effect of the different pressure on water, on the same principal[sic] as those men we had in a jar that J. Spence gave us...I believe they are sold at a philosophical instrument makers nearly opposite to King William's monument'. Joseph apparently knew what he meant and sent the balloons to York, and was then asked to send down a hydrometer which could be bought from one of the shops in the Strand. Being himself a confident public speaker and adept with the magic lantern, Henry criticised a lecture on Palestine by A. Watson. 'It was well written but he sadly wants greater assurance of delivery, and the views only showed second rate, chiefly from want of light. If thou could get to know the source of Lenzes[sic] for a first rate magic lantern from Smith & Beck I should be much obliged.'<sup>13</sup>

### *Cocoa manufacture on a modest scale*



*Figure 2.*

*Henry Isaac Rowntree as a young man  
(courtesy of Mrs. Maud Fürst)*

After unmemorable school results, followed by five years apprenticed in the Pavement grocery business, where weighing, counting, measuring, and neat exact meticulous procedures formed the daily round, it was perhaps with a feeling of escape and challenge that Henry entered the world of manufacture, inhabited by skilful artisans and fascinating machinery. In 1860 Henry went to work in the Tuke & Casson tea, chocolate and cocoa business in Castlegate, and soon after became manager of the cocoa, chocolate and chicory department. The firm had been established in 1825 as a grocery shop by Mary Tuke, and continued by her nephew William, who expanded into tea dealing and cocoa and chocolate manufacture. His grandson Samuel Tuke, a Quaker and fellow grocer, was a close associate and confidant of the elder Joseph Rowntree, who could see the likely fate of his friend's firm, for he knew that Samuel's sons were not interested in continuing the York business. Probably he perceived, possibly even arranged, an opening there for Henry.

In his will the elder Joseph left £1000 to each of his children and directed his trustees John and Joseph to advance to Henry a further sum of money 'for the purpose of enabling him to engage in business'. They might exercise their discretion to advance to him out of the estate 'on security of his promisory notes bearing interest at 5% per annum such sums as they may think suitable not exceeding £2000'.<sup>14</sup> Although on his death in 1859 the elder Joseph's business was prosperous, he apparently did not envisage the grocery firm with all three brothers as partners. Possibly he did not see in Henry sufficient of the qualities he regarded as essential in the grocery business, such as steadiness, business acumen, attention to detail, and mathematical soundness, qualities which he knew without a doubt were possessed in abundance by John and Joseph; but he wished nevertheless to support Henry in some other field more suited to his interests.

After Samuel Tuke's death in 1857 his sons engaged John Casson as a partner, and in June 1862 he purchased the tea side of the business. It seems that for a while during 1861 all three Rowntree brothers considered taking some stake in the cocoa side of the concern. John's letter to Joseph (30 September 1861) seems to suggest they were considering renting the property – '£80 is quite as high a rent as we should pay' - although the Tuke family thought it worth £110 - 'I think I can quietly settle down in the belief it is best for us not to

take the concern'. He apparently feared that Joseph might be interested in it for himself – 'In considering it lately I have felt rather apprehensive. I should feel very closely bound to the Pavement business if thou were withdrawn'.<sup>15</sup> Joseph kept his fiancée Julia informed: 'Nothing has yet transpired about the Castlegate business, the question remains unsettled as ever' (24 November 1861); then 'John Casson comes next 5<sup>th</sup> day and a good deal may hang upon his visit' (29 December 1861), and finally he concluded (6 January 1862) 'I have almost fixed not to take Tuke's old place on Castlegate but what the other brothers will do in a business way is not known'.<sup>16</sup> At any rate, using the legacy from his father's will, Henry did finally buy, as sole owner, the side of the business that he had been managing. Replying to Julia's invitation to her marriage with Joseph, to take place on 15 August 1862, he explained he could not be away from York until 'about the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> month' as the 'striking event' when he 'begins business' was due to take place on 1 July 1862.<sup>17</sup>

It was announced by the Tukes that the manufacture of Cocoa, Chocolate and Chicory had been relinquished in favour of their friend H. I. Rowntree, who had been for some time practically engaged on the concern. At the same time Henry issued a circular informing customers that by the introduction of 'new and improved machinery' he was prepared to execute orders promptly,<sup>18</sup> perhaps a reference to the cocoa grinding machine he had shown so proudly to young William Rowntree.

H. I. Rowntree, on the corner of Coppergate and Castlegate, was a modest concern employing a dozen men with an output of around 12cwt (600kg) of cocoa per week.<sup>19</sup> The Tukes' sales of cocoa and chocolate in 1859 had totalled £2645.18s. 4d<sup>20</sup> and in Henry's first year of ownership still fell short of £3000. By contrast Cadbury's sales were ten times this amount, and Fry's twenty times.<sup>21</sup> Henry soon decided on new premises and by 1864 had moved the firm to Tanners Moat. He purchased a four-storey block facing the south-west end of Lendal Bridge, bounded by Tanner's Moat, Wellington Row and Queen Street<sup>22</sup> and comprising a tavern (the *Old Ebor*), Calvert's foundry, cottages and dwelling houses. Its close proximity to the railway station and road and river transport made this an ideal location. Henry bought it for £1000. His cash book shows that by 1865 he had taken possession of his £1000 legacy (May 1860), a gift of £95 from his mother (1864) and £2000 from his father's estate (1865).<sup>23</sup>

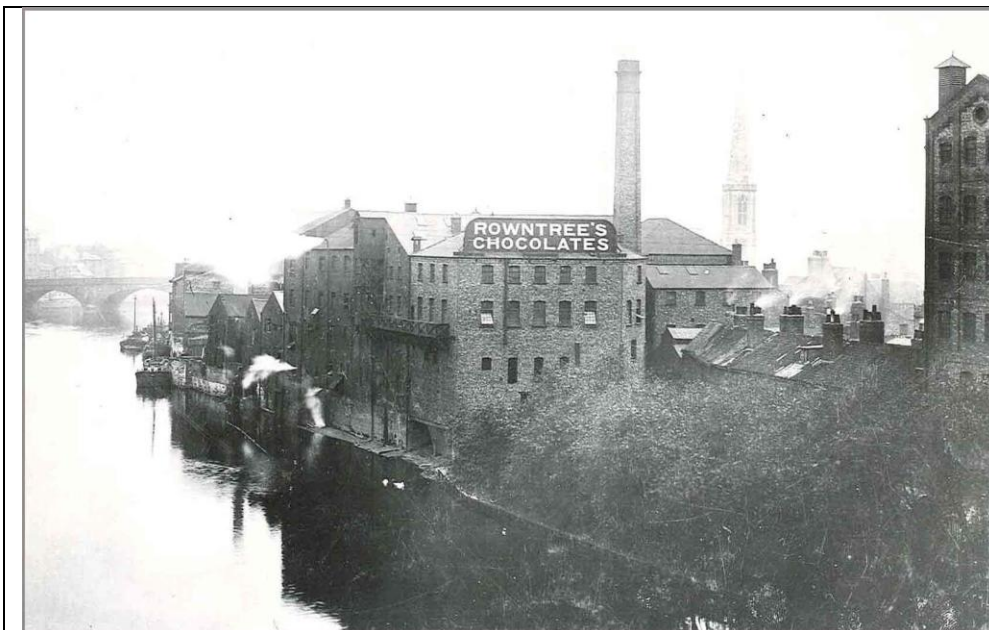


Figure 3.

Prior to moving to Haxby Road, Rowntree's operated from these premises, seen from Lendal Bridge.

(Joseph Rowntree Foundation)

Two thirds of the firm's output was Rock Cocoa, in varying qualities. In England in the eighteen-sixties sales of eating chocolate were very small compared with the established drinking cocoa brands such as Rock, which was sold in cakes and had to be boiled with milk or water. At this time only the Dutch firm Van Houten possessed the secret of a press which would extract much of the extraneous fat or cocoa butter from the bean,



producing a purer cocoa essence or powder with which to make a more appetising hot drink, and leaving the butter to be used in eating chocolate. Cadbury's acquired such a machine in 1865 at great expense, but Henry was working with the old technology and traditional products.<sup>24</sup> His Rock Cocoa and the coarser Farinaceous cocoa both contained cocoa shell as well as nib and when mixed with hot water tended to be oily, as a result of the high cocoa butter content. Unable to produce pure cocoa essence, Henry had only a minimal supply of cocoa butter for eating chocolate, and so made very little. The 1862 Ledger Account lists some 250 regular customers.



Figure 4.

Rock Cocoa packaging  
(courtesy of Joe Dickinson)

Manufacturing processes were primitive and rudimentary. There were machines for roasting and grinding cocoa beans, sifting the powder and 'caking' the final product. Power was by steam boiler and engine. There was no protective clothing. Henry was often to be seen with greasy hands and sleeves rolled up.<sup>25</sup> Hours were long: 6am to 6pm, weekdays, and until 2pm on Saturday.<sup>26</sup> A donkey and cart took goods through the streets. Heavy sacks of raw materials and ingredients had to be carried by hand from room to room and up and down the building between each manufacturing stage. Writing to Julia (5 August 1863) Joseph reported that Henry was helping his man to lift a bag of cocoa yesterday and 'quite strained himself, so that this morning he found he could not get up'.<sup>27</sup>

When Henry first worked in the Tuke business Henry Hipsley was the manager, but shortly after the change of ownership in November 1862 he was given leave by York Quaker Meeting to 'travel in the ministry' to India and did not return until July 1864,<sup>28</sup> when he seems to have retired. Four other key employees from Tuke times were William Wise, Isaac Dickinson, William Fearby and William Wood (who soon retired due to ill health). Fearby was works foreman in charge of machinery, in particular the grinding and sifting processes for Rock Cocoa, and stayed until 1872. Isaac Dickinson was responsible for the steam engine and boiler. William Wise remained until the 1880s as packing-room foreman, handling all goods sent out. After the move to Tanners Moat, Dickinson and Wise lived rent-free on the premises, Dickinson at the top and Wise at the bottom, thereby ensuring the security of the works.<sup>29</sup> On the sales side Richard Wilson was already in the business as the only traveller, until John Alexander Bevington was engaged in 1865. He had served his grocery apprenticeship at the Rowntree shop, but accepted Henry's offer to be London representative, and remained in this post for 46 years.

Henry's favourite joking claim: 'Their rock is not as our rock, even our enemies themselves being judges' (from *Deuteronomy*, chapter 32), was given some credence in 1866 when his principal product won one of the 113 medals awarded at the Yorkshire Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition, held in York from July to October 1866. Thereafter it was sold as *Prize Medal Rock Cocoa*, which no doubt increased its sales and enhanced the firm's reputation.

### ***York's Fine Art and Industrial Exhibitions: 1866 & 1879***

After the phenomenal success of the 1851 Great Exhibition other provincial towns copied the idea.<sup>30</sup> Henry and his friend William Pumphrey<sup>31</sup> paid a visit to Wakefield's Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition in 1865. This convinced them that there was nothing to prevent York holding such an event, and they came back 'determined to agitate the question'.<sup>32</sup> Henry was a member of the full Executive Committee, which included the Lord Mayor, the Dean of York, George Leeman MP and local newspaper proprietors the Hargroves, and he also served on the 'Machinery' and 'Printing' sub-committees. A large ornate temporary pavilion was erected in the grounds of Bootham Park Hospital. The Prince and Princess of Wales arrived by train on 10<sup>th</sup> August 1866 and passed under several ceremonial arches en route to the Exhibition.

Henry was responsible for facsimiles of Magna Carta and the death warrant of Charles I, beehives stocked with living bees, and a working model of a steam engine and boiler with pressure and water gauges, whistles, etc. and heated by gas. His medal was awarded for the purity and excellence of his rock cocoa and other preparations from the cocoa nut, and for the interesting manner in which raw materials and stages of manufacture were exhibited<sup>33</sup>. A second similar exhibition was held from May to November 1879, for which the present Art Gallery building was built. William Pumphrey was again one of the organisers but Henry was not. However H. I. Rowntree again won a medal for the excellence of their Rock and other cocoa and chocolate<sup>34</sup>. The manufacture of their latest products, Queen chocolate cakes and Exhibition Creams, was demonstrated on their working stand. Henry was especially proud of their 'shaker' machine – 'whenever the moulding of Queen chocolate was being shown a crowd was soon attracted, much to Henry's satisfaction, but not to that of the other exhibitors'<sup>35</sup>. George Barker, who from 1877 was in charge of grinding sugar and mixing cocoa powders, recalled doing 'six months hard' working the machinery at the exhibition<sup>36</sup>.

### ***Ebor Building Society***

The eighteen-fifties and sixties saw a rapid growth of building societies in the provinces. In York the Ebor Permanent Benefit Society was established in May 1868 by solicitor George Leeman 'for Liberals and railwaymen'<sup>37</sup>. Realising the benefit to his business of being involved in the city's commercial and civic life, Henry readily accepted an offer to be its first Chairman, which he remained for the rest of his life. Members' meetings were held monthly at Leeman's office at 16 Coney Street, and a Scarborough office was opened in August 1869. Readers of the *Yorkshire Express* were told that shares were within reach of all who could save about one shilling per week, and investing was recommended 'as a safe and easy medium by which to get rid of those very disagreeable things – rent days'<sup>38</sup>. Staff at the cocoa works remarked on his use of a rubber stamp with his signature, instead of signing the cheques personally.<sup>39</sup>

### ***Mr. Councillor Rowntree***

A seat on the Council was another obvious benefit to the business. Henry's eldest brother John was already a Councillor and made Alderman in 1868. Their father had served in all 13 years as a Liberal Councillor and in November 1853 was elected York's first Quaker Alderman. His service would have been longer but for fifteen years George Hudson and his Tory following were dominant, and unlike other Councillors Rowntree refused to secure election by 'treating' and paying for votes. After Hudson's fall from grace in 1849 the Liberals were again in unbroken ascendancy for some forty years. This meant that elections were somewhat tame affairs. In the November 1867 elections for Micklegate Ward 'Mr F. Stowe, Mount Villas and Mr H.I. Rowntree, St Mary's, were elected without opposition...Neither...addressed the electors and the proceedings terminated without any vote of thanks'.<sup>40</sup> Henry served only one three-year term until November 1870, when 'there was an entire absence of excitement in any ward and not a single contest. In Micklegate ... Mr Rowntree, not choosing to contest the ward, issued a retiring address' (which was not reported).<sup>41</sup> He also served as

Chairman, and later Vice-president, of the Micklegate Liberal Association and Chairman of the North Riding Liberal Association.

Like his father before him he served on the Local Board of Health, a sub-committee of 14 Councillors chaired by the Lord Mayor, which met weekly, working on the mundane but necessary work of city management. It dealt with paving, drainage, upkeep of urinals, removal of night soil, scavenging, slaughter houses, lighting, 'nuisances' of all kinds, such as smoke and steam coming from industrial premises or butchers failing to carry away offal from slaughtering cattle. Numbers of lodgers in households had to be licensed, numbers of gallons of petroleum allowed to be stored had to be controlled, operators of Hackney carriages had to be listed, foot and mouth outbreaks had to be dealt with. Its reports were brought before the monthly Council meetings which Henry regularly attended. Here he voted against a proposal to demolish the Assembly Rooms portico (March 1868). He opposed a reduction in the rates from 1s.5d to 1s.4d in the £ (August 1868). He joined a subcommittee to report on the price which should be paid for land near Latherthorpe Bridge (September 1868). He voted in favour of paying £1300 to purchase Church Lane property for the purpose of improvements (July 1869). He conferred with the North Eastern Railway and voted in favour of building a bridge to connect the Mount with Holgate Lane, to replace a level crossing (February 1870).<sup>42</sup>

During Henry's term easily the most controversial local issue, and for him rather more stimulating, was the proposal to build a covered market in York, which soon turned into 'the battle of the sites'.<sup>43</sup> Here was a project which provoked strong feeling, controversy, close voting, many newspaper column inches, and could be of real value to the city. The main market had been situated in Parliament Street since 1836, and a covered space would provide much improved facilities, especially for the many traders travelling in from outside York. A Council committee was appointed in July 1869 to make recommendations and four possible sites were suggested – Davygate, The Shambles, Church Street and the White Swan Yard. In October 1869 the Council, by a majority of five, decided in favour of the Davygate site, which would cost less than the Shambles and only a trifle more than the White Swan.<sup>44</sup> By December the required Bill petitioning Parliament had been prepared. But the Davygate scheme had been opposed at four public meetings, 20 out of 24 councillors had voted against and 3097 citizens had sent objections.<sup>45</sup> The Rowntree brothers favoured the White Swan scheme, which was closest to the Pavement shop, and argued that Davygate would entail the demolition of Harkers Hotel, houses opposite the Mansion House and the widening of Coney Street, whereas their preference would be more central and involve no demolitions or new currents of traffic.<sup>46</sup> As a last resort they tried, without success, to put forward the idea of a temporary structure in Parliament Street.<sup>47</sup>

Ultimately the decision came down to cost. As Mr Councillor Rowntree said, 'he thought they need not be in a hurry to incur an expenditure of £30,000 or £40,000' and it certainly should be put to a public meeting of ratepayers – 'no great question of imperial policy was decided without a dissolution of Parliament (Laughter)'.<sup>48</sup> Everyone knew the ratepayers would never agree to the required rise in local taxation. And as Alderman John Rowntree sagely warned, the imminent Education Act was about to involve a large expenditure on free schools in York. Finally in February 1870 Alderman Leeman succeeded, by a majority of one, in shelving the Bill for a covered market, an amenity which York still does not enjoy.

### ***Adult schools and temperance***

In 1832 the elder Joseph was one of a group of Friends involved in setting up the undenominational British School in Hope Street, off Walmgate in the midst of York's worst slums. In 1850 the inspector's report stated that its schoolmaster William Osborn in a short time had raised the number of pupils from 20 to 200, and in 1854 it received its first annual grant. The school's reputation was high and by 1867 the number on its roll was 546.<sup>49</sup> A 'First Day' or Sunday morning school for boys aged between 8 and 15 was started in 1848 on these premises, and it was here that Henry had his first experience of teaching his boys' class. Not only children but older people began attending to learn basic literacy skills and this led to the Adult Schools



starting in York. Adult Schools could help to reduce adult illiteracy and give working people the chance to catch up on the basic schooling they had missed as children.

The men's class was moved in 1857 from Hope Street to premises behind the Rowntree shop in Lady Peckitt's Yard, and divided into two groups, John taking 'A' and Joseph 'B'. In 1871 the two were further divided into five: 'A' to 'D' plus Elementary, and the new teachers were Henry, George Baker, Julius Pumphrey and James Backwell (three employees from the Rowntree shop).<sup>50</sup> Extended premises were needed by 1875 and a former chapel building in Lady Peckitt's Yard was acquired, which was officially opened by Sarah Rowntree in September 1876, with 220 attending.<sup>51</sup> School hours were from 8.15 to 10am each Sunday, with at least one hour of reading based on the Bible and a half hour of writing.

A major event in the school year was the Annual Tea meeting. After a generous repast (about which Henry was inspired to write a poem)<sup>52</sup>, the report for the year was read aloud and its adoption moved by chosen scholars, followed by speeches, and then entertainment in which Henry usually played a key part. 'When the gases were turned down Henry's magic lantern with its hydrogen light threw out upon a large screen some exquisite photographs'.<sup>53</sup> His repertoire included English scenery, Paris, the Mont Cenis Tunnel, the Suez Canal, and of course Cocoa Manufacture. Sometimes he and William Pumphrey performed 'experiments' with oxygen and hydrogen gas, as well as 'the Fairy Fountain'. Sometimes William Osborn, the Hope Street School Headmaster 'exhibited and explained a model of Vesuvius in volcanic action'.<sup>54</sup> Summer outings were also organised. In September 1866 after cricket on the Knavesmire, croquet in John's garden, tea, hymns, and a lecture by Henry on the contents of the Fine Art Exhibition, 53 members and wives were conveyed in 10 carriages to the Bootham pavilion to visit the exhibition.<sup>55</sup> In August 1867 a party of 140 took a steamer trip along the Ouse.<sup>56</sup> And the most ambitious trip was in September 1867 when Henry took a party of 90 working men to Paris for a week, setting off from York at 4am. Joseph noted a week later that Henry has returned from Paris very tired.<sup>57</sup>

Teachers in the Adult Schools regularly encountered pupils either demoralised by hard drinking or struggling against the constant temptation of easily obtainable cheap alcohol. The elder Joseph had subscribed to York Temperance Society and regularly pronounced in the local press on York's drink problem with compelling statistical evidence. In 1851, for example, he had counted 302 premises selling drink, which amounted to 1 for every 26 families.<sup>58</sup> The *Yorkshire Express* (4 December 1869) published the statistic that £30million was spent per year in the U.K. on 'ardent spirits' and no less than £43,749,556 annually on beer alone. To help strengthen pupils' resolve to resist temptation and encourage them to support their fellows a Temperance Society became part of the typical Adult School regime. York formed such a group in 1861 which continued to work quietly for its first 10 years, until 'largely as a result of a 'concern' on the part of Henry Isaac Rowntree,...it entered on a vigorous forward movement' based around Saturday evening temperance meetings held in the large schoolroom'.<sup>59</sup>

It was here that Henry's prowess as a communicator came fully into the spotlight. The meetings provided a welcoming alternative to the ale house, were always crowded, and attracted a wider audience than solely adult scholars. 'Under the superintendence of Henry Isaac...the large schoolroom is filled every Saturday night... Meetings consist of temperance addresses, recitations, reading and melodies... The total number of names in the [temperance] pledge book is 227, about 100 being scholars'.<sup>60</sup> The next year the total was 531, 139 being scholars, and the number 'signing the pledge' continued to rise.<sup>61</sup> A harmonium was obtained, played by William Osborn's younger daughter Fanny, (although the other teachers were adamant that 'it shall not on any occasion be used for meetings for worship').<sup>62</sup> One of the cocoa works staff (E. Hartley) had the job of helping with the lantern slides and taking the skeleton along to meetings as a visual aid.<sup>63</sup> According to another of Henry's men his 'realistic slides of the human stomach with and without alcohol are remembered to this day'.<sup>64</sup> The temperance meetings continued steadily, attracting 'numerous pledges' (1880 *Annual Report*), but there is a gap in the set of reports until 1887, when it is reported 'the Temperance Society has been

practically confined to fortnightly Saturday evening entertainments'. Clearly after Henry's sudden death the society lost momentum. In its 1883 *Annual Report* York Temperance Society lamented the loss of its 'active secretary' Henry Isaac Rowntree.

Coffee carts were another of Henry's practical schemes to cut down alcohol consumption among working people. George Pattison, an adult scholar and carpenter at the cocoa works, built the carts in his spare time under Henry's direction, and they were pulled into position by the donkey. Stationed where people passed by in large numbers on their way to and from work they would deflect folk from the alehouses with a cheap hot drink. (Coffee was a halfpenny and buns the same price). At first one stood outside the Queen Street railway workshops and another at the market on Saturdays. The 1873 annual report states that five morning coffee carts had started, were self-supporting and would ultimately clear off the somewhat heavy expense incurred in their establishment. An Exhibition and Bazaar was held to reduce the debt.<sup>65</sup> This successful idea spread and Pattison supplied carts to several other towns.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Marriages and families***

Henry's eldest brother John Stephenson Rowntree was married in summer 1858 to Elizabeth Hotham and they lived at first over the Pavement shop, managing the establishment of young apprentices, and then moved to Mount Villa on Tadcaster Road. Second to be married was Joseph, to Julia Seebohm, in August 1862. She was from a Quaker family of German extraction, and well known to the Rowntrees, as she had been at school in York. In the months before the wedding the widowed Sarah Rowntree organised the work of splitting the large house at the corner of St Mary's into two establishments, with a second separate front entrance on Bootham. Henry described conditions: 'the whole house is delivered up to men, women, and dress makers. They begin at six and end, well there is no end, their name is legion, for they are many'.<sup>67</sup> As the marriage approached Joseph wrote frequently to 'Julie' who was at home with her family. Henry was 'having a very trying time' with toothache and a swollen face, or as Henry put it 'an affliction of the gills'. 'He went with Dr Williams... to have the tooth taken out with chloroform but the dentist was afraid of administering it and gave so little as to make H. wild. Henry dealt some good blows at the bungling dentists and drew blood from one of them', but as Henry put it 'No dentists killed'. A few weeks later 'Henry burst... at 7.30 on 2nd day morning and experienced speedy relief', or as he described it, became 'much less cheeky'.<sup>68</sup> Three months before their wedding Henry described Joseph as 'lost', and told Julie 'add "lostness" at compound interest for three months and think of the result!'<sup>69</sup>

A year after their marriage Joseph and Julia's baby daughter Julia (Lilley) was born but Julia never regained her strength and died of meningitis in September 1863. Hannah Rowntree remained at home to help care for the little girl, until Joseph remarried in November 1867. His second wife Emma Antoinette Seebohm (Tonie), was his first wife's cousin, whom he had met at Hitchin when she came over from Hamburg to visit her English relatives. She was not a Quaker by birth. Joseph's engagement to Tonie relieved Hannah of the responsibility of caring for Lilley, and in October 1869 she married George Gillet and went to live in London. Whilst Tonie was visiting Hamburg in summer 1867 Joseph wrote to her frequently, often giving snippets of news about Henry – 'he very much liked being asked to Hamburg but he is as much afraid of the sea journey as we are and so will be content to wait till he can see you all in England'.<sup>70</sup> When Joseph wrote to say the wedding would be '4 weeks after Hannah's' so there would be '7 weeks... between H's wedding and our return home', he gave no sign of knowing that Henry was also planning to marry. Whether or not his family were aware of his intentions, York Meeting certainly was perturbed to learn that Henry Isaac Rowntree had married Harriet Selina Osborn by licence at Scarborough Registry Office on 28 February 1868, and that she was neither a member nor an attender of any Meeting.

Before 1860 Quakers who 'married out' suffered disownment by their Meetings, and the relaxation of this rule was largely achieved through the efforts of Henry's father and brother John. The elder Joseph, realising that this rule was leading to a steady decline in numbers, lobbied unsuccessfully at Yearly Meeting for the change.

He then encouraged his son John, aged 24, to bring statistical evidence forward on Quaker births, marriages and deaths to prove that reforms were needed, in his prize-winning essay *Quakerism past and present*. The argument was finally accepted and the change agreed a month before Joseph's death in 1859. There still remained certain procedures to be followed, however, and Joseph in planning his second marriage to a non-Quaker ensured they were adhered to correctly. Two months prior to the ceremony, due to take place at Hitchin Meeting, Joseph gave notice to York Meeting of his intended marriage to Emma Antoinette Seebohm, 'a person professing with us and an attender of our meetings for worship for whom the necessary certificate has been received'. Members of each Meeting made 'the needful enquiries' as to the couple's 'clearness to marry' and attended the ceremony to see that it was conducted correctly <sup>71</sup>. Henry on the other hand followed none of the rules and his young bride had not attended any Quaker Meeting.

Two York Meeting overseers were appointed to look into the case and interviewed Henry on the matter in April 1868. He expressed his attachment to the Society, said he should have much preferred being married at the Friends Meeting House 'if the ceremony could have been performed there' for 'he could not have consented to recognise the priestly office', and that 'after much serious consideration' had adopted the plan to conduct the legal contract at the Registrar's Office, with 'a meeting for worship held at his own house afterwards'. His wife had regularly attended Meeting since the marriage. The overseers accepted that Henry had taken care that the marriage was 'performed as nearly as possible in accordance with the views and practices of Friends', and as for his wife not attending beforehand 'with a view to being married at Meeting'... 'We could not but respect' the reasons, (although these reasons were not divulged).<sup>72</sup> No further disciplinary action ensued. The interviewers were unable to meet Selina as she was living at the couple's Scarborough residence, Melrose Villa, Avenue Road. At this address on 31 October 1868 their son Francis Henry was born. Selina was not yet 19 years old.



Figure 5.

Henry's wife Selina (née Osborn) in a studio photograph apparently taken after his death (courtesy of Mrs. Maud Fürst)

John Stephenson Rowntree and Selina's father William Osborn witnessed the marriage but we cannot know whether the occasion was well attended by both families. The Osborn family was well known to the Rowntrees, William being headmaster of the Hope Street school and assistant at adult school occasions, and his younger daughter Frances (Fanny) being accompanist on the harmonium at temperance meetings; but we do not know if they were acquainted with the elder daughter Selina. They were not a wealthy family. In fact William had turned to Joseph for advice in 1862 when 'the poor fellow had lost the savings of 18 years' through lending about £1000 with 'rash generosity' to his brother in law, who 'was suddenly pulled up by other creditors'.<sup>73</sup> One of the factory hands recalled that Isaac Dickinson regularly drove Mr Osborn to and from Hope Street in Henry's trap.<sup>74</sup> After he died (intestate) in December 1876 the William Osborn scholarship was founded with funds raised among some 80 old scholars and personal friends. Joseph and Henry were among the trustees. The purpose of the fund was to encourage promising Hope Street pupils to remain longer in education.

Henry loved Scarborough and felt at home amongst the Rowntree extended family still residing there. By the time of his marriage he had taken to spending part of each year at Melrose Villa, Avenue Road, in the Falsgrave area of Scarborough. He travelled by train and one of the factory hands would transport his bag in advance to the railway station.<sup>75</sup> Avenue Road was close to Westwood, the substantial home of William Rowntree, a wealthy Scarborough draper, and Henry was a frequent visitor there. One evening after supper, as he rose to go, he had apparently casually remarked that perhaps they would be interested to know that he had got a little son.<sup>76</sup>

Henry and Selina's second child Alice Mary was born at their York address, 13 Blossom Street, on 19 January 1870, and another daughter Ethel was born in Scarborough on 5 April 1873. After Alice's birth Selina made an application to be admitted to York Meeting on behalf of herself and her two infant children. She was interviewed by Caleb Williams, John Ford<sup>77</sup> and a member of the Women's Meeting who 'were comforted ...by the evidence of religious sensibility'.<sup>78</sup> She was admitted in May 1870. Henry seems to have owned rather than rented the Blossom Street house, as his 1869 ledger shows amounts paid for Blossom Street Poor Rate beside instalments of £5 per month to Ebor Building Society.<sup>79</sup> Three years later the family moved a little further from the city centre to 22 The Mount, a town house with stables at the bottom of its long garden [note 165]. The numbering of the houses is now much changed but its position, counting the sequence of households in the 1881 Census schedule, is likely to have been about two thirds of the way between the present day Holgate Road junction and Mount Parade. The Census return for 1871 shows that two-year-old Frank and his parents were visiting with Henry's mother at St Marys that evening, while baby Alice stayed at home in Blossom Street with cook and nurse; whilst in 1881, Henry, Selina, Alice and Ethel were at 22 The Mount, with the cook, the maid and the German governess. Frank was away at school.

Almost nothing is known of their family life, apart from one or two family recollections: as a child little Frank suffered from ear trouble but Selina apparently was a strict mama and when he was crying in the night from the pain it was the more tender-hearted Henry who would get up to attend to him. When Meeting was long and tedious and the young boy was sighing with boredom Henry would whisper loudly "Courage, Frankie!" He was also said to have taken the family parrot to Meeting, but this seems less credible.

### *Passionate about politics*

'Like all the Rowntrees Henry was an ardent politician',<sup>80</sup> and devoted follower of the Quaker Liberal reformer John Bright, whom the family knew personally. In his early twenties Joseph had stayed with Bright in Rochdale,<sup>81</sup> and he visited the family when in York.<sup>82</sup> Aged 19, and still unable to vote, Henry was gripped by Joseph's descriptions of the debates in the Commons which he attended regularly during his few months spent working in London. 'It must be very satisfactory to hear all the great men one after another in so short a space of time, so as to be able to compare one with the other'.<sup>83</sup> The 1857 election was the first in which he

took a keen interest: 'the account of Lord John [Russell] at the head of the pole[sic] was very pleasant' but the loss of 'good men' like Bright, Gibson and Cobden was not.

The election took place under the system established by the 1832 Reform Act. The electorate consisted of all male heads of households with property valued at £10 a year, and in York the great majority of these were Freemen of the city.<sup>84</sup> In order to vote their names had to be published in the electors' list (poll book), they cast their votes publicly, and afterwards Poll Books were published showing how everyone had voted. In two member constituencies like York electors had two votes – 'plumpers' were people who voted for one candidate only, 'straights' supported one party interest with both votes, and those who chose one Liberal, one Conservative, were 'splitters'. Bribery, 'treating' and intimidation were rife, with voters fearful of offending patrons, landlords or employers. Polling (hustings) went on for several days and was frequently accompanied by rowdiness and drunkenness.

Henry sent Joseph his York impressions: 'We are in a very curious state [about the election], no one seems able to guess, although many persons knowing very little talk very large'.<sup>85</sup> In the event Joshua Brown Westhead (moderate Whig Liberal) and J.G. Smyth (Conservative) each polled about '1500 a piece' and took the seats, while 'our own man Malcolm Lewin' polled 1006 votes, 'most of them plumpers'. 'This was considered a great triumph...Lewin is very popular and Smyth just the reverse. His hotel 'Harkers' has to be guarded by the police...Whenever he attempted [to speak] either on the hustings or from his own committee room window they first hooted him, and then sang 'Rule Britannia' and drowned his voice. On 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Day they smashed the windows and pelted the police with stones. We expect a row tomorrow but as we have imported 40 police from Wakefield and have 4 to 600 specials, and the military ordered to be ready at any moment, I hope we shall get over pretty well'.<sup>86</sup> In the event the crowd's ardour was cooled by heavy rain and by 'being kept [waiting] from 10 till 20 minutes to 1 before anything was done owing to a mistake in one of the pole[sic] books'.<sup>87</sup>

Lewin, 'our own man' in the sense of being the radical candidate, arrived late in York, a few days before the voting started, and was not known locally, having spent most of his career in India as a judge. He had been brought in as a stalking horse for Brown Westhead<sup>88</sup> and was seconded by Quaker grocer Thomas Coning.<sup>89</sup> He represented 'the advanced section of Liberals...With regard to general politics he evinced the utmost pliability,...prepared apparently to swallow the Radical chart of politics en masse'.<sup>90</sup>

There followed several elections in which the York Liberal party leaders chose two candidates, a moderate Whig and a radical. In 1859 Sir Austin Henry Layard, whom Joseph had admired from the gallery of the Commons, but who had lost his seat in 1857,<sup>91</sup> faced Westhead Brown, and the Liberal vote was even more closely divided, although the radical still lost. In 1865 George Leeman, this time the local man, succeeded in narrowly defeating Westhead Brown and was elected MP along with the Conservative James Lowther.

This decade saw growing pressure for electoral reform. Organisations were formed, such as the National Reform Union founded in Newcastle by Joseph Cowen in 1858. Trade-unionists created the Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association in the summer of 1863. Then in 1864 the National Reform Union, dominated by Liberals, was created by wealthy Manchester merchants, manufacturers and radical MPs to demand fairer distribution of parliamentary seats and franchise for all ratepayers. The next year came the Reform League, which attracted wide working-class support. The latter two groups joined forces to organise a large rally in London in July 1866 at which 100,000 protestors clashed with police, followed by a second in May 1867 (the Hyde Park riots).

Meanwhile John Bright, the most influential Radical Liberal, toured the country drumming up enthusiasm for electoral reform. In Parliament attempts to pass reform bills failed in 1859 and 1860. Gladstone, solid in his position as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was converted to the idea of reform in 1864 and in 1866 Russell and Gladstone tried to put through a further Bill. This alarmed the more moderate Whig Liberals ('Adullamites',



as Bright called them) and they voted with the opposition, causing the Liberal administration to fall. It was replaced by a minority Tory government under Derby in the Lords and Disraeli in the Commons which took advantage of the split within the Liberals to get a new Reform Bill through Parliament. It passed with the support of 45 radical Liberals – there were now sufficient in Parliament to make a difference. The 1867 Representation of the People Act enfranchised male urban householders and male lodgers paying £10 a year rent and created an electorate of 2.5 million voters, or 1 in 3 adult males. The York electorate more than doubled to 9088, although election arrangements remained as before.

In the next election of autumn 1868, the first under the new Act, the York Liberal MP George Leeman was unable to stand for health reasons. When the moderate Westhead again entered the contest the Rowntree brothers, by now more confident in the machinery of politics, decided to take direct action in the matter of selecting a radical candidate. Their choice was Dr John Hall Gladstone, a scientist, Fellow of the Royal Society, an educationalist, with excellent credentials in philanthropic and religious work. His election notice in the York newspapers outlined his platform - the recent Reform Act required further revision regarding ratepaying clauses and redistribution of seats, voting by ballot should be adopted for Parliamentary elections 'to put an end to intimidation', Oxford and Cambridge should admit nonconformists, there should be a national system of primary education and proper legal protection in the workplace for both masters and employees.<sup>92</sup> In other words his views accorded completely with those of his Rowntree sponsors, or as the Tory *Yorkshire Gazette* called them, the 'fussy section', led by the 'Quaker Junta who seek to rule the Liberal Party in York'.<sup>93</sup> This newspaper relished any split in the Liberal vote – 'the safe rich men don't want to vote for the ultra-democrat and the respectable and calm-minded men of all classes would coalesce together to prevent the tide of innovation from running too strongly'.<sup>94</sup> The other weekly newspaper, the *York Herald*, supported moderate Whig Liberalism and was pro-Westhead.

### Newspaper editor-proprietor



For radical folk like the Rowntrees newspapers, with their detailed reporting of political speeches either in or out of Parliament, were vital for keeping up to date with the progress of reform. For the average voter the cheap press was virtually the only source of political news coverage, especially important at elections times. It provided a political education to working men of the kind who attended the Rowntrees' classes and meetings. It informed the choices of those who could vote, and stimulated an appetite for reform in those who could not. John Bright had 'demonstrated the right way to use the cheap press' when he and Richard Cobden founded the radical pro-peace London daily the *Morning Star*, which ran from 1856 to 1865.<sup>95</sup> In the provinces Liberals already dominated the press and in this period new local newspapers with a more reforming agenda began to start up. In Leeds, for example, the moderate Liberal daily was the *Leeds Mercury*, owned by the Baines family, but in 1857 the more radical *Leeds Express* was founded by W.E Forster and the former Chartist Robert Meek Carter. In Newcastle in 1858 Joseph Cowen bought the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* and

*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* and used these papers as vehicles for his reform ideas; whilst in Manchester in 1861 John Taylor, the son of its first editor, revived the early radicalism of the long established *Manchester Guardian*.

York on the eve of the 1868 election still had no newspaper voicing the radical point of view. Henry decided that the best way he could help Dr Gladstone and further the radical cause was to found a newspaper himself. A few weeks before the hustings, on 5 September 1868, he began to publish a new weekly, the *Yorkshire Express*, 4 sheets (8 pages) printed at the Tanners Moat factory and sold for one penny on a Saturday by cocoa works errand boys.

Henry's decision to start a newspaper was not as bizarre as might first appear. The revered John Bright, as noted above, had done this to great effect in the cause of radical Liberalism. The 1860s was a propitious time for newspapers. In 1853 advertisement duty had been removed. 1855 saw the abolition of newspaper stamp duty, and duty on paper was removed in 1861. A.J. Lee quotes an 1863 observation: owning a newspaper had 'for some minds a singular fascination, just as there are men who must have race horses'.<sup>96</sup> It was cheaper to start a weekly paper in the provinces. With a fairly modest capital investment a small newspaper could be run on a shoestring by the inexperienced amateur.<sup>97</sup> In his first issue Henry mentioned 'the various gentlemen who have promised us their cooperation and support'<sup>98</sup>, but he did not name them. Echoing Dr Gladstone's election address, he outlined the causes which as editor he would advocate: the adoption of the ballot, the necessity for the repeal of the ratepaying clauses of the late Reform Bill, measures for the redistribution of political power more in accordance with wealth and numbers, and in religious matters perfect equality in the eyes of the law. 'Leading articles [written by him] would sufficiently show the politics of the paper, ...the paper would speak for itself'.<sup>99</sup>

As regards the printing of the paper, the type and machinery he had secured would ensure 'first class work', but he did not elaborate on his production methods. Major technical improvements in printing technology had been made by this time, such as the method of locking type on to papier-mâché cylinders (instead of the old flat bed), the feeding of paper in a continuous web (instead of sheet by sheet) and type composition by keyboard operation, with mechanised redistribution of letters back to their reservoirs (instead of the old manual processes).<sup>100</sup> It is unlikely that Henry had any of this technology at his disposal however. All that we know is that there was a printing machine left behind in the Calverts Foundry building when he took it over, and printing was done overnight on a Friday by Isaac Dickinson ready for sale next morning from 7am.<sup>101</sup>

There were also advances at this time in news gathering, thanks to the invention of the electric telegraph. Reuters Telegram Company could supply foreign news and stock market information from around the world. News distribution services such as the National Press Agency and Central News both started in the eighteen-sixties and for a subscription would supply county newspapers with 'social and political leaders ...in manuscript, proof or stereotype'. They would even supply partially printed sheets in which provincial editors could insert their local material and advertisements.<sup>102</sup> The Press Association, founded in 1868, could furnish Parliamentary, Stock Exchange, commercial, sporting, markets, and general news, summarised from daily London papers – 'by telegraph once a week for £7.5s.per annum a summary of general news which will make a brave show in a country town'.<sup>103</sup> Whether Henry knew about or made use of such services we have no means of knowing. Tanners Moat staff recalled that one of the clerks attended the Courts each week. Occasionally foreign news stories in the *Yorkshire Express* had 'Reuters Telegram' as source.<sup>104</sup> It was a regular feature for many news items of all kinds to be shown as sourced from other journals; for example, the 5 December 1868 issue had items from *Aberystwyth Observer*, *Sheffield Independent* and *Philadelphia Bulletin*, and pieces culled from *Manchester Guardian*, *Dublin Express* and *Dundee Advertiser* appeared on 19 December. While it is fairly certain from the style and content of the lengthy editorials that these were usually composed by Henry himself, we have no means of knowing how material was selected for inclusion or

columns assembled. If he kept separate paperwork or accounts for the *Express* they have not survived and so it is not known whether he employed a sub-editor, jobbing journalists, or compositors.

His competitor papers in York were well established. Both published on Saturdays, 12 pages for three pence, the *York Herald* had been run by the Hargrove family since 1820 and had incorporated *The Yorkshireman* in 1858, while the *York Gazette*, founded in 1819, had been edited by James L. Foster since 1852.<sup>105</sup> Newspapers cannot survive without regular income from advertising, which in turn depends upon the extent of their circulation. According to the *Newspaper Press Directory* the *Herald* claimed a circulation of 8000, with a readership estimated at 140,000 in Yorkshire, Lancashire, the North East and Lincolnshire. It was 'the organ of the agriculturalists ... and the principal provincial sporting paper in England'.<sup>106</sup> The *Gazette*'s entry stated 'as an advertising medium it cannot be surpassed, being read by the leading gentry, clergy and agricultural and commercial classes in the district'.<sup>107</sup> The *Yorkshire Express* front page always claimed it had the largest circulation in the city of York and an office was opened in Market Street, Scarborough, in November 1868, but its distribution never matched that of its rivals.

Regular income from advertising was vital to the survival of the *Yorkshire Express*, and while the politics of the new paper might attract readers, it would clearly take time to build up a regular clientele of advertisers. By the sixth issue (7 October) there were six columns of adverts. The large drapers Leak & Thorp was usually prominent,<sup>108</sup> as were the businesses of various friends and colleagues, for example Thomas Hills, 26-27 Pavement<sup>109</sup> and James Baker, 29 Pavement.<sup>110</sup> Rowntree products were advertised each week: 'Ask for Rowntree's Rock Cocoa and see that you get it: see also that you get the best quality'... 'Rowntree's Homeopathic Cocoa is specially recommended to invalids and to all who find the best Rock Cocoa too rich'.<sup>111</sup> By May 1869 adverts filled three of the eight pages, but still with a noticeably local York bias. The *Herald* and the *Gazette* were so well established, recognised as reliable providers of advertisements and information, and able to reach readers over most of the north of England, that their 12 pages would always remain the preferred outlets for land and property advertising, auction notices, situations vacant, livestock sales, agricultural market prices and such like.

Up to the time of the hustings in November 1868 election news filled many column inches, with reports of meetings ('enthusiastic Liberal meeting last night', 14 November), appeals for unity ('to win the Liberals must be united, and united they will be invincible', 5 September), satires on the Tories ('the difficulties of a Tory editor', 26 September), and morale-raisers ('the grand spectacle of a united and powerful Liberal party in the city has struck terror into the heart of the Tories', (19 September). Unfortunately in the poll the radical candidate Dr Gladstone came a close third; James Lowther and Brown Westhead were elected.<sup>112</sup> However, in his editorial on 21 November Henry remained philosophical: 'we do not feel in the least discouraged by the result of the election. Never was a manlier, purer or more straightforward fight on the Liberal side'. And when 'repeatedly asked' if the paper would cease now that the election was over, he firmly replied that circulation was rising and he was thinking of enlarging the size of the paper (26 December).<sup>113</sup>

Henry had ample reason for continuing the *Yorkshire Express* after Dr Gladstone's defeat. There remained unfinished election business, in which the Rowntree brothers were deeply involved. Believing they could produce verifiable evidence that the 'infamous means so freely resorted to by the Tories'<sup>114</sup> had distorted the voting, the Rowntree brothers encouraged Dr Gladstone, who had lost so narrowly, to lodge an election petition disputing the results. When hustings had been particularly marred by violence, intimidation and bribery it was not unusual for losing candidates to present a petition to Parliament disputing the result.<sup>115</sup> Even if such petitions were then overturned, their evidence claiming bribery and corruption served to increase pressure for legislation to introduce the secret ballot. Whereas election reports in the *York Gazette* and *York Herald* simply reported on results, Henry's coverage made a point of emphasising the unedifying aspects of the hustings, and reported in detail on conduct at York, Scarborough, Ripon, Knaresbrough and Thirsk. At York 'some poor liberals ... nobly resisted the proffered bribes and even when money was pressed upon them

refused to take the price of their independence'.<sup>116</sup> A year later in the Whitby bye election he described the scene of uproar: 'the police had busy work. Fights were numerous, in which women joined heartily. All the influence that wealth could command has been used by the Conservatives'. He ended the piece by observing 'the working men of Whitby have need of the Ballot'.<sup>117</sup>

Dr Gladstone issued his petition in December 1868, and this was immediately answered by a Tory counter-petition on behalf of Lowther against Westhead. 'Perhaps their petition is a joke', Henry wrote. 'If so, it will be an expensive one'.<sup>118</sup> With the legal expenses involved such petitions were not without cost. In the event it was the issue of the petition's expense which caused Gladstone's efforts to fail. A subscription to defray expenses was opened in January 1869 and a month later was said to be going well.<sup>119</sup> Dr Gladstone wrote to Joseph Rowntree thanking him for all the pains he had taken and suggesting one or two wealthy Yorkshiremen who might be approached;<sup>120</sup> but to no avail. In March a public meeting was held, with Henry and his brother John on the platform, at which Gladstone 'attacked the men who by deliberately refusing to assist in the prosecution of the petition have connived at ... all those acts of bribery and corruption which, soon after the election they denounced in such unmeasured terms'. In late March Gladstone had to withdraw his petition and the Tories immediately retracted theirs against Westhead.<sup>121</sup> By encouraging the petition, with its progress broadcast through the *Yorkshire Express*, 'another medium of communication which is always patting Mr Joseph Rowntree and men of his cloth on the back',<sup>122</sup> the Rowntree brothers' well-intentioned efforts had actually served to magnify the splits among York Liberals, who had found themselves obliged also to find the necessary funds to defend Westhead against Lowther.<sup>123</sup> As the moderate *York Herald*, always loyal to Westhead, pointed out, the responsibility for placing Dr Gladstone in the position of having to defray his own petition expenses 'should weigh seriously on the minds and consciences of some people'.<sup>124</sup> Before the election the *Gazette* had characterised 'the present turmoil in Liberal politics' as 'one immense state of higgledy-piggledy'.<sup>125</sup> After the event the situation was even worse. Henry gave his verdict in the *Express*: 'the Radicals strove hard to free York from the foul name that it had acquired [for dirty elections]', but 'the old Whigs have succeeded in turning it into a Lowther Arcade'.<sup>126</sup> Two years later however unity was more or less restored when Westhead had to retire through ill health and George Leeman took his place, elected unopposed, as York's radical Liberal MP.

Throughout his period as a newspaper editor Henry was on the Council representing Micklegate Ward, and as already mentioned, the most controversial issue was the building of a covered market in York. His newspaper provided an excellent medium through which to canvas for the White Swan site, the Rowntrees' preferred option, and to disparage the supporters of the Davygate option. He used eye-catching headlines, such as '£50,000' above the contention that this would be the cost of the Davygate option, and 'Bootham versus the city',<sup>127</sup> headlining his allegation that the Davygate faction, led by Alderman Hargrove, only had the interests of Bootham ratepayers in mind (the Hargroves lived in St Mary's). Henry called them the 'tyrant majority', to which Hargrove objected as a slur on his character.<sup>128</sup> Henry had a masterly touch with the clever phrase – 'Citizens of York will not submit to exorbitant taxation for the benefit of a non-resident oligarchy' (as many supporters of the Davygate site were thought not to be local).<sup>129</sup> He was witty and amusing and could always lighten the mood, even in stuffy Council meetings. When called to order during a Council meeting on 11 December 1869 he 'esteemed it rather a special honour to be called to order by Mr Tonge (Laughter)'.<sup>130</sup> But some of his views, however wittily expressed, were just too extreme.

Under the headline 'Priest and vestments' he accused York Minster of being 'dedicated to the sensuous rites of ritualistic worship' when there was 'misery and squalor of the worst description' to be found in its shadow,<sup>131</sup> and asked 'Priests, what are they?' with their 'mystical incantations and mumbo jumbo ceremonies'.<sup>132</sup> He denounced racing as 'a mere basis for gambling';<sup>133</sup> 'if a tree is to be known by its fruit, most assuredly York Races are accursed', always attended by thieving, drunkenness and prostitution. He called Yeomanry musters 'when 500 men and horses come to York for 8 days'... 'playing at soldiers' and a 'costly relic of a bygone age' as they 'exercise on the Asylum field to the great edification of the Bootham nurse girls'.<sup>134</sup> The other

York newspapers in covering news of deacons and priests being ordained in the Minster, the Archbishop's activities, racing news and winners from the previous season, the Yorkshire Hussars' Muster and First East Yorkshire Artillery Brigade competitions, were providing the sort of information that was expected from a local paper, without accompanying judgemental remarks. When the Prince of Wales visited Scarborough for shooting, the *Herald* simply reported how much game had been bagged, while Henry condemned the 'flunkeyism' of the local dignitaries who 'built arches' and 'got up illuminations'.<sup>135</sup> As for the House of Lords, it was 'an irresponsible debating club'.<sup>136</sup>

Such views were after all derived from Quakerly hostility to gambling, intemperance, militarism, a professional clergy, and class-based condescension, but they were too extreme and unpalatable for the average newspaper reader. Henry continued as editor-proprietor until 23 October 1869<sup>137</sup> when the business passed to William Oxlade of 7 Nessgate, York, although advertisers were still directed to Tanners Moat, and it was agreed that leading articles would continue to be written by the same 'gentlemen'.<sup>138</sup> This arrangement lasted until issue no. 79, 5 March 1870, when the paper ceased, without notice or explanation. One of the boys who sold the papers, when asked what he thought was the cause of its failure, answered 'Mr Henry put too many of his own opinions into it'.<sup>139</sup> Clearly the time and energy that Henry devoted to the newspaper took him away from running the cocoa works, and was a drain financially on himself and the business. His 1870 accounts show expenditure on the 'Express newspaper' of £100.14s.3d. in January and £68.6s.4d. in July.<sup>140</sup> It also diverted employees from the firm's real purpose. For example Stephen Henry Sidney, who was taken on in 1872 to work in the cream boiling section, had as his first job 'the paper business to clear up and destroy'.<sup>141</sup>

In his keenness to promote the push for further reform, in particular for purity of elections, starting with the secret ballot, Henry had rushed to launch a newspaper, completely without experience, funding, sponsors or guarantors. He had a reputation for being a 'strong radical' and thought his wittily-expressed unusual views would make people want to buy a penny weekly. Whether he had first considered advertising revenues or area of circulation or the strength of his established competitors is doubtful. Forming a second business, when his first was far from secure, was disastrous. He had over-reached himself, for during his time as an editor-proprietor he had plenty of other distractions. He was a conscientious member of the City Council and the Local Board of Health, he got married and became a father, at the Adult School he was teaching and also developing the temperance work, he was Chairman of the Ebor Building Society, and he was in the thick of the tension and drama of the 1868 election and its aftermath.

It is ironical that the 8 January 1870 edition of the *Yorkshire Express* carried a long article (presumably written by Henry) on the new Bankruptcy Law which had just come into force. A large number of petitions had been served on the last day of the old year to avoid the tighter regulations of the new law. 'A fearful amount of commercial dishonesty' and 'trading recklessness' had been going on; 'these persons must have known their insolvent condition'... 'They may have been unskilful book keepers, but when the law threatened them with unpleasant consequences they were quite capable of casting up their accounts sufficiently well to discover that the balance was on the wrong side, that their capital was more than swallowed up, and that they could not meet the demands of their creditors'.<sup>142</sup> Henry could have been describing his own situation, for by the first half of 1869 his business was 'hopelessly embarrassed'<sup>143</sup> and 'left alone he must have succumbed to circumstances'.<sup>144</sup>

### ***In partnership with Joseph***

The partnership between Henry and his elder brother Joseph took effect from 5 July 1869 and the change of name to H. I. Rowntree & Co. was announced to their wider customer base - 'Respected friends' - in a flyer of 3 January 1870 stating that a 'partner has joined the concern'.<sup>145</sup> We can only speculate as to how Henry's impending business failure was approached by the Rowntree brothers. It is difficult to imagine Henry asking Joseph point blank to leave the Pavement shop, especially as Joseph had family anxieties at this time. In May 1869 his daughter Julia (Lilley) died from scarlet fever, and there was great fear for some weeks that his 8



month old son John Wilhelm might catch it too. A possible scenario could be that the forthcoming change in the bankruptcy law prompted Henry to call on Joseph for help in preparing his disordered accounts in the correct fashion, after which the brothers realised the firm was in such a state that drastic action was necessary. Joseph's biographer attributes his decision to leave behind the secure familiarity of the grocery shop to 'the old tradition of family responsibility;<sup>146</sup> but Quakerly responsibility was also a factor. The Society of Friends' *Christian doctrine, practice and discipline* taught Quakers 'the duty of watching over one another for good' ... 'whether it be in the family, in the shop, in the market, the bank or the boardroom'. They were advised to 'be very careful not to contract extravagant debts,' nor to burden themselves with 'too much trading and commerce, beyond their capacities to discharge with a good conscience, ... and be very cautious of running themselves into debt'.<sup>147</sup>

For Quakers, with their emphasis on stewardship as opposed to acquisition of wealth, business failure was regarded as an exceedingly serious matter. In the elder Joseph's day Friends could be disowned by their Meetings for bankruptcy. The member would be visited by Friends appointed by the Meeting, to establish the facts of the case and the member's attitude to them, and the disownment would be recorded in the Monthly Meeting minutes. Such severe punishment had become steadily less common during the 19th century, but John and Joseph must have felt compelled to act, not only to protect Henry personally from the taint of insolvency, but also to safeguard the family's reputation. It affected them all. John had to agree to Joseph's severance of the Pavement shop partnership, which deprived the business of over £7500 of capital, and obliged him to take a new partner, his neighbour Thomas Hills. Perhaps also with the benefit of hindsight John and Joseph felt some regret for passing over the opportunity of taking on the Tuke business themselves, and even a tinge of responsibility for leaving their inexperienced brother so exposed.

Whereas John and Joseph had enjoyed the advantage of working beside their father and his senior assistants, learning all aspects of the grocery business for a number of years before taking partnerships, which further enhanced their business abilities and experience, Henry as an apprentice at 28 Pavement, a *retail* concern, was in a more junior role, an employee, and therefore not party to the full range of issues in running a business. For a comparatively short time in the Tuke business he was manager of one section of a *manufacturing* firm, with more senior and experienced men such as James Casson and Henry Hipsley in overall charge. When he took over on his own account in 1862 he was too inexperienced, not ready for the responsibility, but at the same time fired with enthusiasm and big ideas, propelled by his father's legacy – a dangerous combination. He could not bear to wait until he was more established and secure before launching into major expenditure on machinery and buildings.

The balance sheets that Joseph produced in the first half of 1869 showed the firm was under-capitalised (with just the legacy from their father's will, a bank loan of £2000 and sundry business debts), that Henry owed the business £2057, and that the excess of expenditure over income for the year was £381. 2s.6d. Years later, in an uncharacteristically stern letter to Henry's widow, Joseph described the cocoa business that he joined as 'hopelessly embarrassed' ... 'the book keeping in a state of confusion' and that if he had not intervened 'Henry would have had to call his creditors together'.<sup>148</sup> He made it clear that his intervention had cost him dear. 'At the age of 33 I found I must begin and learn a new business. The struggle was severe and at times it seemed doubtful what the result would be'.<sup>149</sup> He had committed virtually his entire wealth into a business whose owner had not only demonstrated a 'singular inaptitude in business'<sup>150</sup> but was also still obligated to produce a newspaper every Saturday. After his move to Tanner's Moat, Joseph was shocked to find that Henry knew surprisingly little about key elements of his own business, such as recipes, brands of raw cocoa, specialised machinery and the wholesale trade. No doubt these shortcomings resulted from the amount of time and attention he had been devoting to the newspaper as well as all the other distractions in his life. Possibly it was at Joseph's insistence that he looked for a new proprietor for the *Yorkshire Express*, as the paper changed hands just sixteen weeks after Joseph joined the cocoa works.

When Joseph arrived H.I. Rowntree & Co. was still a small concern with fewer than 30 employees. His office was above the counting house with a large end window overlooking Lendal Bridge.<sup>151</sup> He took charge of sales, purchasing of raw materials and ingredients, and costing and pricing of each line, while Henry dealt with manufacture, the machines and the 'hands'. Joseph's rationalising approach, with careful analysis of every detail in order to keep costs down, soon began to make a difference to efficiency. Four cottages on Queen Street and a stable on Tanners Moat were purchased in 1870, and another four cottages in 1880, which were all pulled down to make way for factory premises. As already noted manufacturing processes were primitive. The creams for chocolate centres were made by hand with sugar boiled over a fire. Chocolate covering was kneaded manually. There were no thermometers and temperature would be tested against the skin.<sup>152</sup> The lack of refrigeration made extracting chocolate from moulds a difficult task with much wastage, which was sold to the trade as 'waste tablets'. This was a particular problem with chocolate cream castles introduced in 1876. Henry tried using cooling air, and then having moulds filled at night with plain chocolate, but neither idea helped.<sup>153</sup>

Henry was much happier taking sole responsibility for the manufacturing side of the business. Thomas Appleton, who as a young man worked with Henry and went on to become General Manager at Rowntree & Co., remembered him as 'a real pragmatist...in the sense of over-leaping obstacles, meeting difficulties, fitting means to ends'. 'He loved making alterations, always seeing some possible improvement in the layout or methods of work. Immediately an idea occurred to him he had...to act upon it straightaway. He did not want plans and estimates'. This method led to Bentley Grantham from George Mansfield's building firm being continually at the factory carrying out modifications under Henry's direction, and in 1880 he became foreman of the works joinery department. This impulsiveness and fascination with experimenting caused machines to be badly damaged on several occasions through pressing them beyond their limit, but Henry rarely took note of the foreman's warnings.<sup>154</sup> Early in 1882 the firm bought a new boiler from Horsfields of Dewsbury. The installer, James Archer, so impressed Joseph and Henry that he was taken on full time. He transformed the old mechanics shop, where the tools were mainly hammers, chisels and a file or two, into an engineering department, and began overhauling all the machinery, most of which was old and outdated.<sup>155</sup>

The rudimentary technology sometimes had disastrous consequences. A fire in August 1876 caused damage costing £591.11s.4d, and Joseph had to press the Yorkshire Insurance Company for payment as the loss 'was so much more than the amount for which we are insured'.<sup>156</sup> A terrible accident with the steam boiler caused the death of Isaac Dickinson in May 1872. 'By some unaccountable carelessness' he opened the manhole before letting off the steam, so that the steam and hot water washed through with terrific force and fatally scalded him.<sup>157</sup> And in December 1874 the factory foreman Thomas Butterfield was killed by an accident with the grinding stones. Henry said at his funeral that he had lost a valuable servant and a faithful friend.<sup>158</sup>

During the eighteen-seventies numerous new lines were put on the market. In 1872 Shilling Eating chocolate, cakes of confectionery chocolate and Pearl Diamond and Star cocoa; in 1873 de Sante Plain, Nonpareil chocolate drops, small creams and cream balls; in 1876 Chocolate Cream Castles, chocolate cigars, chocolate rolls and oval fancy picture boxes of creams; in 1878-9 Queen Chocolate and Exhibition Creams.<sup>159</sup> The confectionery line which was to have the greatest impact upon the firm's fortunes was introduced in 1881 and was a major departure from cocoa products. When in 1879 Claude Gaget, who had trained with the Compagnie Francaise, arrived with samples of gum pastilles Henry and Joseph decided to engage him to see if a product could be developed which would break the French monopoly. The boiling equipment required was much less costly than cocoa pressing machinery, but the process of developing pastilles of high enough quality took a long time. Joseph, who had an exceptionally sensitive palate, guided Gaget in respect of taste and flavour. The meticulous and volatile confectioner would make a ceremony out of presenting samples to Henry, placing them in a circle on the tray, with one in the middle, perfect in shape and crystalline colour.<sup>160</sup> This went on for two years before the brothers were ready to put the Crystallised Gum Pastilles on the market.

They were an immediate success, and rapidly became the mainstay of the firm's confectionery sales. An old flour mill on North Street was purchased in May 1882 to accommodate the manufacture.

In Henry's time as sole owner, the firm's sales income, from a starting point of around £3000, increased annually by only a few hundred pounds. During the first years of the partnership the rise was healthier: £7387 in 1870, £10,860 in 1873, £12,506 in 1874, but £55,547 in 1883.<sup>161</sup> The steady increase in sales income was due to the many new lines being put on the market, followed by a sharp rise when the impact of gum pastilles' success began to take effect. In the early days a small cart could carry the day's output, but in the eighteen-eighties an entire lorry was needed to take the day's output of cocoa, chocolate and confectionery to the station.<sup>162</sup> However it was a struggle to keep costs down. With such a labour intensive business staff numbers inevitably grew: from 30 on the payroll in 1872, 40 in 1874, 100 in 1880 and 200 in 1883. In 1869-70 the weekly wage bill was £7.2s. but by 1883 it had grown to £85.10s.<sup>163</sup> Joseph and Henry, with their grocers' training, took the greatest care in manufacture and used only the finest and best ingredients. The little scene played out every Monday morning provides an illustration of the trouble taken to get things right. Using a small two-cylinder gas roaster, samples of the cocoa beans that were to be offered at the next day's London auction were roasted and tasted, each one – perhaps Trinidad, Grenada or Caracas – being noted as best for Prize Medal Rock, or Homeopathic, or chocolate powder, or some other product. Then a telegram was despatched before 1pm telling the agents which beans to purchase.<sup>164 165</sup>

As the eighteen-seventies went on and trade increased Joseph gathered his office team around him, and some were recruited at a surprisingly young age. Thomas Appleton began in accounts aged 22, but others had come straight from school, such as Arthur Sharpe (book keeping), G. W. R. (Robert) Wright (office boy), William Farrow (export correspondence and invoicing) all aged 13 years, and George May (general office) 16 years. Some stayed many years in the firm.<sup>166</sup> Henry built up a group of 'key men' on the factory side which by 1883 numbered 14, some of whom it has to be said were 'persuaded' from other chocolate firms.<sup>167</sup> Samuel Hanks who came as foreman in 1872 had worked at J.S. Fry in Bristol, and Charles Carmichael, a skilled chocolate workman, had been employed in a London factory. Such employees earned 30 shillings a week which was considered a very good wage.<sup>168</sup>

At the bottom of the scale were the factory girls. Women overlookers, Miss Lister (1877-1916), Miss Beesley (1877-1912), Miss Jackson (who married John Fenwick, later the office manager, in 1884) and Miss Butler (who married Samuel Hanks) were recruited to supervise the girls, who were said to be 'a rough crowd'.<sup>169</sup> Girls of 14 started at 3s.6d a week.<sup>170</sup> With office staff calculating wages and time-keeping, Henry's old system of payment, completely based on trust, had to go. Each employee had kept his own time and at the end of the week the foreman went round with a hat full of money asking "how much time has thee got?" Also the old way of recruitment from pre-partnership days – asking "can you carry a ten stone bag of flour?" – was no longer appropriate with the greater variety of roles in the business. Joseph had to check the handwriting of the office staff he took on, and made them copy out lists of various sorts.<sup>171</sup>

The staff respected Joseph's courtesy, consideration and painstaking accuracy. Henry, likeable, good-humoured and always seeing the comical side of a situation, was very popular with his employees. There were many anecdotes and stories about him. He ran a steam pipe from the boiler house to the stable so that the donkey could have a weekly Turkish bath. He was supposed to have installed a parrot in the girls' workroom and taught it to shriek "Now lasses, get on with your work!" Probably this was actually the household pet which was sent down to the works when the family was away on holiday, and it just repeated what it heard the forewoman say many times a day.<sup>172</sup> Travelling to and from Scarborough by train Henry would generally ride in a non-smoker but would sometimes change to a smoking compartment, although he did not smoke. When asked why he did this he replied he always changed when he had a good cigar to give away. He trusted staff completely. When he required an item to be fetched from his home he would provide the man with a map of his house showing where the articles were situated.<sup>173</sup> The partnership was working well, with the

combination of Joseph's business brain and Henry's 'remarkable power of managing men';<sup>174</sup> but the financial side of the business was not yet secure.

The firm's average profit between 1870 and 1879 was £372, but losses were made in 1873 (£544) and in 1876 (£280).<sup>175</sup> Family members helped by lending capital; £1500 from brother John, £1000 from their mother Sarah, and Joseph's wife contributed £1069. The business was not unsound but Joseph's portion of the capital equalled the amount of the mortgages and bank overdraft with which the partnership was burdened.<sup>176</sup> Henry's 'private balance sheet' showed steady accumulations in 'sum owing,' from £539 in 1871 to £3858 in 1883.<sup>177</sup> Although another trading loss of £329 was made in 1883 the situation improved steadily thereafter, thanks to the impact of the Gum Pastilles' success, and Joseph began again to consider the idea of acquiring the expensive pressing machinery needed to produce pure cocoa essence. But Henry did not live to see this progress. He died suddenly on 2 May 1883 of peritonitis, after only a few days' illness.

### *After Henry's death*

Like any Victorian family the Rowntrees bore many bereavements and tragedies. There had been two distressing fatalities in the works. Joseph had lost his young wife in 1863 and his six-year-old daughter in 1869. John's eight children were left motherless in 1875 when his wife Elizabeth was killed in a carriage accident at Ingleton; and he lost his eldest son later in 1883. The shocking suddenness of Henry's death must have left them reeling. He was in his prime, leading an active purposeful life. Many people relied on his strength. John and Joseph, both inclined to be serious and introspective, prized their brother's laughter, optimism, energy and positive approach to life. Selina, left a young widow at 33 with three school-age children, was in a particularly vulnerable position. Her father had died in 1875, her mother now lived in Scarborough and her only sister Frances was now Mrs Windsor Thorp and living in Leeds.

Joseph arranged the Quaker funeral<sup>178</sup> and burial at the Friends Burial Ground in the Retreat grounds. Sarah Rowntree immediately offered Selina a home at 38 St Mary's in the part of the corner house which had been divided off in 1862 before Joseph's marriage. This home remained at Selina's disposal after Sarah's death in 1888, when Joseph purchased the property from his mother's estate. Frank was 14, Alice 13, and Ethel 10 at the time of their father's death. The girls attended The Mount School in York and Frank, who had been at the Friends School, Sidcot, in Somerset, was brought back to finish his schooling at Olivers Mount School, Scarborough. A month after Henry's death arrangements were in hand to find a new occupant for 22 The Mount. Joseph wrote in reply to an enquiry from a Henry Wood Esq telling him the rent would be £42, that the property included a stable at the bottom of the garden which had been let off at £9 a year, and that Mrs Thorp would meet him at the house to show him round.<sup>179</sup> Presumably the £42 rent was to cover mortgage repayments. In the file relating to clearing up the estate, beside accounts for the girls' school fees, and a bill for repairs to 22 The Mount, we find a Leak & Thorp's invoice itemising Selina's dress-making requirements from 3 May to 9 June 1883, totalling £25.9s.11d. The 33 items include silk, ribbon, mantles, bonnet, gloves, buttons, cashmere, alpaca, braid, lining, frilling, etc. and £6.15s.10d for making dresses. No doubt this sudden large expenditure was to provide mourning attire for Selina and her daughters. The probate valuation of furniture, linen, plate, china, books, wearing apparel, jewels and ornaments came to £339.9s.<sup>180</sup>

John and Joseph were executors of Henry's will which was made on 25 February 1868, three days before his marriage, and had never been updated. He left all personal and household effects to his wife; and bequeathed all his personal estate to his two brothers, upon trust to pay all the income arising therefrom to his wife during her lifetime, and thereafter to hold it on trust for any children. He empowered his executors to sell any of his estate at their discretion and to invest the proceeds in their own names, in any stocks, shares, mortgages or other securities, as they might think fit. They should be at liberty to carry on his business of Cocoa Manufacturer, or to sell and relinquish the business as they might think fit so to do. He also left any 'real estate...as trustee or mortgagee' to John and Joseph. In other words Henry entrusted all his business and financial affairs to his brothers, confident that they would look after the interests of his wife and family, and

he apparently had not thought of making any alterations to the will or other formal agreements with Joseph at the time of their partnership.

The probate figures given in the will showed the gross amount of personal estate as £7537, but with debts and funeral expenses of £4963 deducted, this left an estate of £2574.<sup>181</sup> The half-year accounts for 1883 show that Henry still owed over £1400 of capital; so he must have still been paying back (with interest) the advance of £2000 from his father's will. And his personal folio ledger showed he owed £3858 to the business. When Joseph joined the firm he had 'insisted that Henry should have the first £150 made and that they should only divide anything above' that amount.<sup>182</sup> An annual £150 continued to be paid to Selina after her husband's death. Here Joseph seems to be honouring the instruction in Henry's will to provide an income from his personal estate - £150 being a 6% rate of return.

Henry must have been taking a proportion of the annual profits, which averaged out at £693 between 1870 and his death.<sup>183</sup> It seems that his widow did not receive any share of subsequent revenues; for she wrote to Joseph in November 1890 requesting 'a little more than £150 from the business'.<sup>184</sup> She had received a £100 legacy from Sarah Rowntree's will in 1888, but probably she was aware how much more profitable her late husband's business had become - the profit for 1890 was £9008.<sup>185</sup> Her request drew an angry response from her brother in law. Joseph maintained that he 'had given to the business more than [he] had received from it and that in taking over the firm at the figures at which it stood in the stock-taking accounts in the summer of 1883 [he] was giving more for the business than an outsider would have given'. He does not name the figure, but seems to be acting upon Henry's permission to his executors to sell his cocoa business, (or since the partnership, his share in the firm). Moreover Joseph had, he said, 'stepped in and saved Henry from disaster' and had been 'the main means of making whatever income Henry had got from the business'. He simply rejected any notion that there was 'more claim upon me than upon any other near relatives'.<sup>186 187</sup>

Furthermore it was thanks to Joseph that Henry's son Frank received a good education, equipping him to play a valuable role in the company. He had inherited his father's fascination with machines, and after leaving school at 18 was sent on an engineering course at Owen's College, Manchester<sup>188</sup> followed by technical training at the food machinery makers Joseph Baker & Sons at Willesden. In 1893 he joined Rowntree in the Engineering Department, working with James Archer, and remained in this role until the fitting out of the new factory at Haxby Road was completed. In 1897, when the firm became a limited company, he was one of the first Directors and was given five hundred £10 shares by Joseph.<sup>189</sup> Like his father he was genial, relaxed and well-liked, a talented public speaker and enthusiastic teacher and organiser of the Layerthorpe Adult School. His lantern lectures, mainly on travel subjects, were always popular.<sup>190</sup> He travelled widely, to Russia, USA, Morocco and Germany, and especially loved being in the West Indies, where in 1896 he made a long tour with J. Bowes Morrell, which led to the foundation of the Rowntree Jamaican and Dominican estates.<sup>191</sup> In 1897 he married Emily Wilkinson and they had 4 daughters. They first lived at The Cottage, St Mary's and from 1908 at Clifton Villa, Water End.<sup>192</sup> From childhood Frank suffered from poor eyesight and deafness, but it was heart disease which caused his early death in 1918 at the age of 50 after a year's illness.<sup>193</sup>

Henry and Selina's younger daughter Ethel married the artist Harry S. Banks in 1902 and they settled in Somerset. In 1904 Alice married Alfred Oppenheim, an Austrian violinist and music professor, which meant she often travelled abroad with her husband. In successive Census returns Selina may be found spending time with her family, always 'living on her own means'. In 1891 she was at Seamer Road, Scarborough, with Alice (schoolteacher) and Frank (engineering student). In 1901 she was in Lewisham with Ethel and Harry, who were not yet married. In 1911 her address was Ford Cottage, Clifton, York, which suggests that following Joseph's removal from 38 St Mary's to Clifton Lodge in 1905 Selina went to live beside Frank and his family on Water End. Glimpses of her can be found in one or two family photos on holiday in Austria or Switzerland with Frank, Alice and Alice's daughter Rosalie. Only one family letter by Selina has so far been traced, to her daughter Alice dated August 1919, from Beach Road, Weston-super-Mare. She talks of the gloriously hot



weather and her enjoyment of watching the young people going down to the sea to bathe; ('also there's midnight swimming under the moonlight'). She had just received a letter from 'Uncle' Joseph 'but was sorry to notice that tho' he dictated it and signed it, the writing was done by Gulie Harlock' [his assistant]. He said he was 'getting old...and not equal to much writing', but nevertheless was engaged with the present housing shortage and working out schemes to get houses for their returning men.<sup>194</sup> Her affectionate concern is clear, with no trace of bitterness. She had apparently moved to Weston-super-Mare after Frank's death in 1918 to be closer to Ethel and Harry, and she died there on 23 November 1919. In her will she shared personal possessions between her two daughters and left each of them £150 in 5% War Stock.<sup>195</sup>

On 3 March 1897, with the registration of Rowntree & Co. Ltd, the name of the private company H. I. Rowntree & Co. disappeared. Another link with Henry's time was broken in 1908, when the firm ceased operating from Tanners Moat, with all operations removed to Haxby Road. A further major change affecting the control of the company occurred in 1904 when Joseph created three philanthropic Trusts,<sup>196</sup> designed to use the wealth generated by the family business to further the Rowntree family tradition of religious, social and community service. Joseph endowed the Trusts with Rowntree shares in such a way as to give them a controlling interest in the company.

Joseph held a principled view about being personally wealthy. He condemned 'selfish and unscrupulous wealth' and believed the real justification of wealth to be that 'it adds to the potential power of a person's usefulness', enabling him to 'enter upon some public work or personal effort on behalf of others'.<sup>197</sup> In founding the Trusts Joseph included his sons John Wilhelm and Seebohm and his nephew Arnold as trustees right from the start - people who knew his mind, were associated with him in business, and were Quakers - but Frank had no involvement. Joseph was at this point giving away half his wealth. He believed he did this with the wholehearted agreement of his immediate family;<sup>198</sup> but it is doubtful whether nephew Frank was ever consulted. Although personally a generous and warm-hearted individual, he did not share any high-minded objectives for the betterment of society. At this time John Wilhelm was devoting his considerable energies and intellect towards revitalising Quakerism as a living religious faith; and Seebohm had just published *Poverty*. But Frank took a more sardonic view: 'John Wilhelm is trying hard for souls and Seebohm is trying to hurry the millennium so far as the drink question and housing of the poor are concerned. I am sorry to say that the only result I have noticed so far is a large increase in work for myself owing to the unselfish manner in which they hand over their Adult School and other work. Bless them!'<sup>199</sup>

Ironically, when in the nineteen-thirties the firm went through particularly difficult times, it was Frank's son in law, George Harris, who restored Rowntree's direction and focus. In 1923 Frank's eldest daughter Friede married Harris, an accountant, whom she met at the London School of Economics. He joined the Rowntree Company on the sales and marketing side and ten years later was a Director. He became York Board Chairman in 1938 and Chairman of the entire Company in 1941 when Seebohm finally retired. Thanks to Harris's flare for brand marketing, names such as Black Magic (1933), Aero and Kit-Kat (1935), Dairy Box (1936) and Smarties (1937) were all developed under his direction. He was never in sympathy with the Trusts, however, not out of hostility to their work or resentment at his father in law's exclusion, but at having to work within the constraints of their controlling share-holding in the company.

### ***Some conclusions***

The Rowntree family tradition of unselfish effort on behalf of the community sprang from the example of Henry's father, the elder Joseph Rowntree, who was respected and revered for his civic and philanthropic work in York, and among Quakers for his contribution to the Society of Friends and service to education. In their own ways his three sons all shared his concerns and continued his work, absorbed by a similar range of questions: the health of their Quaker faith, local and national Liberal politics, educational opportunities for the unschooled, public health and improvement in living conditions, relieving destitution, and combating the curse of alcoholism. Henry summed up his philosophy in his usual provocative style, reminiscent of *Yorkshire*

*Express* polemics, when he gave this advice to a new baby in the family: ‘Hate alcoholism, Toryism, priestcraft, and all other concrete forms of sin...and believe me, dear Claude, to be now and ever (unless thou turned Tory), thy affectionate cousin H. I. R.’<sup>200</sup>

Henry’s early background was a prosperous business and financially comfortable home. The Rowntrees were part of the network of leading Quakers, both in York and further afield. His father was well acquainted with many local businessmen, the key individuals from Bootham and The Mount Schools, The Retreat mental hospital, the City Council, the local and national Liberal party, as well as a variety of charitable and worthy causes. Thus the Rowntree brothers had access to numerous influential contacts and like-minded individuals, and it was expected of them that they would play their part in community, educational and charitable projects. Above all politics fascinated Henry; the excitement of elections enthralled him, and with his elder brother John on the Council he felt at home in this milieu. But he took the plunge a little too early and too rashly into the murky waters of Whig v. Radical Liberal politics of the eighteen-sixties, where of course he was soon out of his depth. The debacle of the Election petition brought ridicule on the brothers- ‘our bumptious busybodies of York Quakers’<sup>201</sup>, the ‘warlike and pugnacious Quakers’ who drove Dr Gladstone with ‘the Quaker bridle in his mouth’.

Henry loved excitement and surprises, and instinctively sought to communicate moments of enlightenment or enthusiasm with others. Aged 13, struggling with his spelling, he tried to describe to Joseph the stormy sky and fireworks at Scarborough; later he enlivened his boys’ classes with explosive science; he thrilled audiences with the hydrogen light of the magic lantern. He sought to share his fascination with a smoothly running piece of engineering by putting on show his Queen chocolate-moulding machinery for the York Exhibition. He neglected the routine and boring aspects of running a business, such as keeping accounts and records, costing and estimating, because he could not grasp the plain fact that analysis of the figures, logged over a period, will provide the manager with vital information about how the business should be steered. This understanding came naturally to Joseph, who was deeply shocked to realise in 1869, when he found ‘the book-keeping in a state of confusion’, that his brother so entirely lacked a business brain.

There are stocktaking ledgers and lists of customer accounts surviving but there seem to be no accurate records giving the yearly output or value of the Tanners Moat factory earlier than 1869.<sup>202</sup> Joseph may have found the paperwork in such a muddle when he started to unravel the true situation that he discarded Henry’s efforts at book-keeping, for both the cocoa and the newspaper businesses. No doubt he was sincere when he told Selina that ‘the power of rescuing a drunkard’, which Henry possessed, was a far higher power than ‘the power of making money’. However the ability to make money was expected of a Rowntree, and perhaps Joseph felt he should protect Henry’s reputation and hide his shortcomings. As he went on: ‘to many who knew how brilliant H. was and his remarkable power of managing men, this statement of his singular inaptitude in business would excite surprise’.<sup>203</sup>

Henry was well known as a stirring charismatic speaker. He used this gift with great effect to motivate his adult scholars and inspire hard drinkers to turn away from alcohol. Appleton, who worked beside him in the business, described him as a champion of many good causes and ever on the side of the underdog, but probably giving more of his time and strength to outside work than he ought to have done.<sup>204</sup> One obvious example of his overstretching his powers and failing to count the cost to himself was his decision in 1867 to take a party of 90 working men to Paris for a week, setting off from York at 4am. But his life was punctuated with some rather more critical impulsive decisions - the newspaper venture, the hastily arranged marriage at Scarborough Registry Office which caused such consternation in York Quaker Meeting, the ‘experimenting’ with factory machines which led to damage, extra work and cost, exhausting his modest capital too quickly before the business was securely established. He never could wait until pros and cons had been considered and risks calculated, which was Joseph’s instinctive approach. When a good idea occurred to him he had to act, and the consequences frequently got him into difficulties. His personal charm, lively sense of humour,

positive and optimistic attitude to life, and the mixture of practical and pragmatic with quixotic and impulsive, all endeared him to people. Long after his death Henry Isaac anecdotes, jokes and stories were cherished by his family and colleagues.

Frequently in this biographical exercise the trail has ended with speculations and possibilities rather than hard evidence. Unlike John and Joseph, who both habitually wrote down their thoughts, and left behind a body of letters, memoranda, statistics, and addresses, Henry left virtually nothing of a personal nature. No letters to his parents (despite his father's appeals), or to his wife or children, no business correspondence (for he avoided the office, Joseph's domain), no documents relating to property, travelling, York Meeting, etc. For example an intriguing possibility arises from a letter noted by Appleton, dated 25 August 1876 to a Mr Palmer, saying that H.I.R. was going to America, requesting a letter of introduction, and noting that he was to sail on 'Wednesday',<sup>205</sup> with no other hint as to whether Henry ever did cross the Atlantic. There are of course the 79 issues of the *Yorkshire Express*, in which the editorial columns may be assumed to have been written by Henry, and are full of his personal opinions, but it is frustrating that so little has come to light about the key decisive moments in Henry's life, such as the decision to buy the Tuke business, the identity of the 'gentlemen' who would support his newspaper venture, the means by which the newspaper was put together (did Henry really do all the work himself?), the initiation of the partnership with Joseph (were there really no legal documents drawn up?), the story behind the hasty marriage to Selina, the financial settlements at the time of his death (where the figures do not quite add up). We have photographs of Henry and Selina and they were clearly a strikingly handsome couple, but we have no physical descriptions as to height or eye or hair colour.

At the time he died, so tragically early, Henry Isaac Rowntree was chiefly known for his brilliant public speaking and witty, charming personality, his work with the temperance movement and adult schools, for being in politics 'one of the most advanced Radical school', a member of the well known Quaker family, the son of a respected father and brother of the Mayor of York.<sup>206</sup> According to the *Scarborough Gazette* 'the citizens of York have to deplore the loss of one of the most esteemed in their community'<sup>207</sup>. But very little has been written about him. Typically, preceding historical accounts of the Rowntree confectionery company, his contribution as founder, his partnership with Joseph, and untimely death, will take up a few lines. The story of his career leading up to the momentous partnership and his life outside cocoa manufacture remain unrecorded. In fact we should not be at all interested in his life or his business, which was a small undistinguished firm, had he not attracted his brothers' attention by almost going bankrupt. Not only would this have brought discredit to the Quaker family, and had to be prevented at all costs, but it forced Joseph to focus his exceptional business acumen and money-making flare onto saving the little firm, eventually bringing it to spectacular prosperity as one of the largest employers in York. If Henry had been blessed with a better business brain, and Joseph had remained comfortably at 28 Pavement, this interesting episode in the history of confectionery manufacture would never have been enacted, and York's commercial development would have been much the poorer.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Copy of MS notes by William S. Rowntree on his schooldays at Bootham, c.1920. Private collection

<sup>2</sup> Letters to HIR, 18 July 1850 and 17 July 1856 in John S. Rowntree, editor, *A family memoir of Joseph Rowntree*, printed for the use of the family (Birmingham, 1868), Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, ARCH.02

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Joseph Rowntree, 7 April 1857 in John S. Rowntree, editor, *A family memoir of Joseph Rowntree*

<sup>4</sup> Letter to John S. Rowntree, 17 July 1856 in John S. Rowntree, editor, *A family memoir of Joseph Rowntree*

<sup>5</sup> Bootham School, Exam. Mark Sheets. Senior Class Midsummer Examination 1853, 1854

<sup>6</sup> Using [www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/inflation/calculator/flash/index.htm](http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/inflation/calculator/flash/index.htm) for values of monetary amounts £100 in 1883 is equivalent to £9,480 in year 2010

<sup>7</sup> Letter to HIR, 17 August 1854 in John S. Rowntree, editor, *A family memoir of Joseph Rowntree*

- <sup>8</sup> MS letter from HIR to Joseph Rowntree, Scarborough, 1851, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters. The spelling mistakes are Henry's.
- <sup>9</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The evolution of a modern business*, Typescript, n.d, Chapter 2, pp. 12-1, Borthwick Institute, Rowntree R/B4/THA/1/2
- <sup>10</sup> MS letter from HIR to Joseph Rowntree, York, n.d. Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>11</sup> Thomas Allis was formerly Superintendent of The Retreat mental hospital
- <sup>12</sup> Christopher Robinson, manager at 28 Pavement in charge of apprentices, was about to marry
- <sup>13</sup> MS letter from HIR to Joseph Rowntree, York, n.d. Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>14</sup> Copy of Joseph Rowntree Snr.'s will, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives ARCH02/4/3
- <sup>15</sup> MS letter from John S Rowntree to Joseph Rowntree, York, 30 November 1861, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>16</sup> MS letter from Joseph Rowntree to Julia Seebohm, York, 6 January 1862, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>17</sup> MS letter from HIR to Julia Seebohm, York, 4 June 1862, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>18</sup> Anne Vernon, *A Quaker business man: the life of Joseph Rowntree*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1958, p.72
- <sup>19</sup> Vernon, *A Quaker business man*, p. 72
- <sup>20</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The evolution of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 6
- <sup>21</sup> R. Fitzgerald, *Rowntree and the marketing revolution 1862-1969*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 48
- <sup>22</sup> This Queen Street is not the present-day one which follows the walls from the station to Micklegate Bar
- <sup>23</sup> HIR's account book, Borthwick Institute, H.I.Rowntree&Co. General&Corporate accounts 1859-78, HIR/4A/1
- <sup>24</sup> Fitzgerald, *Rowntree and the marketing revolution*, p. 48
- <sup>25</sup> MS letter from G. Tivey to G.W.R.Wright, 16 February 1929, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives R&Co.93/X/14(g)
- <sup>26</sup> L.A.G. Strong, *The story of Rowntree*, Typescript, 1948, p.20, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives R&Co.93/X/18
- <sup>27</sup> MS letter from Joseph Rowntree to Julia Rowntree, 5 August 1863 Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>28</sup> York Clifford Street Monthly Meeting, *Minutes*, November 1862, p. 269, Leeds University Library, Special Collections, B25.1
- <sup>29</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The evolution of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 4-5
- <sup>30</sup> Manchester in 1857, Wolverhampton in 1869
- <sup>31</sup> Pumphrey was a science teacher at Bootham School, and then York's first practising photographer in 1849
- <sup>32</sup> York Herald, *The history of the Yorkshire Fine Art & Industrial Exhibition*, 1866, p.12, York Reference Library
- <sup>33</sup> Yorkshire Fine Art & Industrial Exhibition 1866 *Catalogue and Awards*, York Reference Library
- <sup>34</sup> Yorkshire Fine Art & Industrial Exhibition 1879 *Catalogue and Awards*, York Reference Library
- <sup>35</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The evolution of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 8
- <sup>36</sup> G.W.R.Wright's notes for T. H. Appleton, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, R&Co.93/X/14(a-k)
- <sup>37</sup> NB. York Permanent was Conservative. A.C.Lister's notes on York building societies, York Reference Library
- <sup>38</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 21 November 1868, 21 August 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>39</sup> MS letter from G.Tivey to G.W.R.Wright, 16 February 1929, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives R&Co.93/X/14(g)
- <sup>40</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 2 November 1867, York Reference Library
- <sup>41</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 5 November 1870, York Reference Library
- <sup>42</sup> York City Council, *Minutes*, York City Archives
- <sup>43</sup> *York Herald*, 31 July 1869, York Reference Library
- <sup>44</sup> *York Herald*, 9 October 1869, York Reference Library
- <sup>45</sup> York City Council, *Minutes*, 10 December 1869, York City Archives
- <sup>46</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 24 July 1869, British Library, Newspaper library, Colindale
- <sup>47</sup> *York Herald*, 30 October 1869, York Reference Library
- <sup>48</sup> *York Herald*, 9 October 1869, York Reference Library
- <sup>49</sup> P.M. Tillot, editor, *A history of Yorkshire. The city of York*. The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 448
- <sup>50</sup> York Adult School, *Leaflet – arrangements for 1871*, York City Archives 118/11
- <sup>51</sup> York Adult School, *Annual report December 1876*, York City Archives 118/11
- <sup>52</sup> 'Twas on a Thursday evening/The boys hard work was done/And they so near a dozen score/Sat down to eat up bun.../And for minutes and for minutes/Teacakes in heaps and rows/Stood, were attacked and conquered/Like David's furious foes./I see the long procession/Still passing to and fro,/The teacakes hot and buttered/And the plumb cake much like dough./Oh friends and Sunday schoolboys/With milk and sugar blest/What themes of contemplation/Your mighty teas suggest.../But the tea got completed/And done like the day/And the boys that had eaten it/Vanished away.'
- <sup>53</sup> MS letter from Joseph Rowntree to Julia Rowntree, 26 January 1862, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>54</sup> York Adult School, *Annual report December 1872*, York City Archives 118/11
- <sup>55</sup> York Adult School, *Annual report December 1866*, York City Archives 118/11
- <sup>56</sup> MS letter from Joseph Rowntree to Emma Antoinette Seebohm, 21 August 1867, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>57</sup> MS letter from Joseph Rowntree to Emma Antoinette Seebohm, 12 September 1967, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>58</sup> *Yorkshireman*, 30 August 1851, York Reference Library
- <sup>59</sup> F.J.Gillman, *The story of the York Adult schools*, York, Delittle, Fenwick & Co, 1907, p.23
- <sup>60</sup> York Adult School, *Annual report December 1871*, York City Archives 118/11

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- <sup>61</sup> York Adult School, *Annual report December 1872*, York City Archives 118/11
- <sup>62</sup> York Adult School, *Minutes of teachers' meeting, 9 October 1874*, York City Archives 118/5
- <sup>63</sup> G.W.R.Wright's notes for T. H. Appleton, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, R&Co.93/X/14(a-k)
- <sup>64</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The evolution of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 11
- <sup>65</sup> York Adult School, *Annual report December 1873*, York City Archives 118/11
- <sup>66</sup> Towns mentioned – Newcastle, Gateshead, Shields, London, Leicester, Bradford, Birmingham, Ipswich, Hull in F.J.Gillman, *The story of the York Adult schools*, p.25
- <sup>67</sup> MS letter from HIR to Julia Seebohm, York, 4 June 1862, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>68</sup> MS letter from Joseph Rowntree to Julia Seebohm, 30 May 1862, and MS letter from HIR to Julia Seebohm, York, 4 June 1862, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>69</sup> MS letter from HIR to Julia Seebohm, York, 4 June 1862, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>70</sup> MS letter from Joseph Rowntree to Emma Antoinette Seebohm, n.d. [Autumn 1867], Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>71</sup> York Clifford Street Monthly Meeting 1875-95, *Minutes*, 13 November 1867, p. 363, Leeds University Library, Special Collections, D13
- <sup>72</sup> York Clifford Street Monthly Meeting 1875-95, *Minutes*, 12 April 1868, p. 26, Leeds University Library, Special Collections, D14
- <sup>73</sup> MS letter from HIR to Julia Seebohm, York, 4 August 1862, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>74</sup> G.W.R.Wright's notes for T. H. Appleton, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, R&Co.93/X/14(a-k)
- <sup>75</sup> G.W.R.Wright's notes for T. H. Appleton, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, R&Co.93/X/14(a-k)
- <sup>76</sup> Copy of MS notes by William S. Rowntree on his schooldays at Bootham, c.1920
- <sup>77</sup> John Ford was Headmaster of Bootham School and Caleb Williams was the Rowntree family doctor for many years
- <sup>78</sup> York Clifford Street Monthly Meeting, *Minutes*, 4 June 1870, p. 143, Leeds University Library, Special Collections, D14
- <sup>79</sup> HIR's note book, Borthwick Institute, H.I.Rowntree & Co. General & accounts 1859-78, HIR/1/1
- <sup>80</sup> T.H.Appleton, *The evolution of a modern business*, Chapter 4, p. 11
- <sup>81</sup> A. Vernon, *A Quaker business man*, p. 104
- <sup>82</sup> John Bright, *The diaries of John Bright*, edited by R.A.J. Walling, New York, Morrow, 1931, p. 373
- <sup>83</sup> MS letter from HIR to Joseph Rowntree, 1 March 1857, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>84</sup> Henry became a Freeman in 1859 at the age of 21 by virtue of patrimony. Only Freeman could conduct their trade or profession in York.
- <sup>85</sup> MS letter from HIR to Joseph Rowntree, n.d [March 1857], Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>86</sup> MS letter from HIR to Joseph Rowntree, n.d [March 1857], Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>87</sup> MS letter from HIR to Joseph Rowntree, n.d [March 1857], Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>88</sup> Sheila Wright, *Friends in York: the dynamics of Quaker revival 1785-1931*, Keele, 1995, p. 106-7,224
- <sup>89</sup> MS letter from HIR to Joseph Rowntree, n.d [March 1857], Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>90</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 28 March 1857, York Reference Library
- <sup>91</sup> A. Vernon, *A Quaker business man*, p. 43
- <sup>92</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 26 September 1868, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>93</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 5 September 1868, 3 October 1868, York Reference Library
- <sup>94</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 29 August 1868, 12 September 1868, York Reference Library
- <sup>95</sup> John Vincent, *The formation of the Liberal party 1857-1868*, New York, Scribner, 1967, p. 178
- <sup>96</sup> Alan J. Lee, *The growth of the popular press in England, 1855-1914*, London, Croom Helm, 1976, p. 50
- <sup>97</sup> Alan J. Lee, *The growth of the popular press in England*, p. 84
- <sup>98</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 5 September 1868
- <sup>99</sup> Ibid
- <sup>100</sup> Alan J. Lee, *The growth of the popular press in England, 1855-1914*, London, Croom Helm, 1976, p. 56-7
- <sup>101</sup> G.W.R.Wright's notes for T. H. Appleton, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, R&Co.93/X/14(a-k)
- <sup>102</sup> *Quarterly review*, Vol.150, 1880, p.530
- <sup>103</sup> *Quarterly review*, Vol.150, 1880, p.536
- <sup>104</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 7 November 1868
- <sup>105</sup> *York Herald* reduced its price to 2d. in December 1869
- <sup>106</sup> *Newspaper press directory*; 23rd edition, 1868, London, C. Mitchell & Co.
- <sup>107</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>108</sup> 5 December 1868
- <sup>109</sup> 12 December 1868
- <sup>110</sup> 6 March 1869
- <sup>111</sup> 26 September 1868
- <sup>112</sup> Lowther 3735, Westhead 3279, Gladstone 3038
- <sup>113</sup> Paper size not number of pages
- <sup>114</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 21 November 1868, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>115</sup> In fact the elder Joseph Rowntree had been involved with such a dispute after the 1835 Election, when two petitions, one Liberal, one Quaker, were sent to London, and being a 'friend of purity' he had given evidence to the Select Committee in Parliament.

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- <sup>116</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 21 November 1868, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>117</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 20 November 189, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale'. NB The Ballot Act of 1872 brought in secret voting and was first used on 15 August 1872
- <sup>118</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 12 December 1868, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>119</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 6 February, 20 February 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>120</sup> MS letter from J.H. Gladstone to Joseph Rowntree, n.d, Borthwick Institute, Uncatalogued Rowntree letters
- <sup>121</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 20 March 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>122</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 29 March 1869, York Reference Library
- <sup>123</sup> *York Herald*, 30 January 1869, York Reference Library
- <sup>124</sup> *York Herald*, 2 October 1869, York Reference Library
- <sup>125</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 24 October 1868, York Reference Library
- <sup>126</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 24 April 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>127</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 7 August 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>128</sup> *York Herald*, 12 February 1870, York Reference Library
- <sup>129</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 20 November 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>130</sup> *York Herald*, 11 December 1869, York Reference Library
- <sup>131</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 4 September 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>132</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 25 September 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>133</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 5 February 1870, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>134</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 18 September 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>135</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 6 November 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>136</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 24 July 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>137</sup> HIR's letter to 'The Solicitor, Somerset House', 11 November 1869 in T.H.Appleton, MS notes of information received from correspondence with former employees, Borthwick Institute, Rowntree & Co. R/B4/THA/3
- <sup>138</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 23 October 1869, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>139</sup> T.H.Appleton, *The evolution of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 12
- <sup>140</sup> HIR's account book, Borthwick Institute, H.I.Rowntree&Co. General&Corporate accounts 1859-78,HIR/4A/1
- <sup>141</sup> T.H.Appleton, MS notes of information received from correspondence with former employees
- <sup>142</sup> *Yorkshire Express*, 8 January 1870, British Library, Newspaper Library, Colindale
- <sup>143</sup> Joseph Rowntree, MS Private memorandum to Harriet Selina Rowntree, 25 November 1890, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archive, JR93/VI/15(e) Very private copying book 1885-1900
- <sup>144</sup> T.H.Appleton, *The evolution of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 6
- <sup>145</sup> Printed memorandum 'Respected Friends...', Borthwick Institute, H.I.Rowntree&Co. General&Corporate accounts 1859-78,HIR/9/18
- <sup>146</sup> A. Vernon, *A Quaker business man*, p.73
- <sup>147</sup> London Yearly Meeting, *Christian doctrine, principles and discipline*; 4th edition, London, Friends Book Depository, 1861, pp. 42-3, 64, 93. <http://books.google.com>
- <sup>148</sup> Joseph Rowntree, MS Private memorandum to Harriet Selina Rowntree, 25 November 1890, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archive, JR93/VI/15(e) Very private copying book 1885-1900
- <sup>149</sup> Ibid
- <sup>150</sup> Ibid
- <sup>151</sup> H. Dumville, *Tanners Moat in Joseph Rowntree's day*, Typescript, 1955, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, R&Co.193/X/9
- <sup>152</sup> L.A.G.Strong, *The story of Rowntree*, 1948, p. 22
- <sup>153</sup> G.W.R.Wright's notes for T. H. Appleton, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, R&Co.93/X/14(a-k)
- <sup>154</sup> T.H.A. Appleton, *The making of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 14
- <sup>155</sup> James Archer finally retired from the company in 1912
- <sup>156</sup> Copy of letter from Joseph Rowntree to Yorkshire Insurance Company, 9 August 1876, in T.H.Appleton, MS notes of information received from correspondence with former employees
- <sup>157</sup> T.H.Appleton, MS notes of information received from correspondence with former employees
- <sup>158</sup> T.H.Appleton, *The making of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 4
- <sup>159</sup> Ibid. p. 8
- <sup>160</sup> Ibid. p. 9-10
- <sup>161</sup> Ibid. p. 7
- <sup>162</sup> H. Dumville, *Tanners Moat in Joseph Rowntree's day*, p. 19
- <sup>163</sup> *Analysis of expenditure of H.I.R. & Co. 1869-1892*, Borthwick Institute, H.I.Rowntree&Co. General&Corporate accounts 1859-78,HIR/4A/7
- <sup>164</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The making of a modern business*, Chapter 5, p. 8



- <sup>165</sup> L.A.G.Strong, *The story of Rowntree*, 1948, p. 24
- <sup>166</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The making of a modern business*, Typescript, Chapter 5, p. 6-7
- <sup>167</sup> Deborah Cadbury, *Chocolate wars*, London, Harper, 2010, p. 85
- <sup>168</sup> G.W.R.Wright's notes for T. H. Appleton, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, R&Co.93/X/14(a-k)
- <sup>169</sup> L.A.G.Strong, *The story of Rowntree*, 1948, p. 17
- <sup>170</sup> The staff in 1883 were 9 in the office, 8 travellers, 14 'key men', 80 male workers, 90 female workers. R. Fitzgerald, *Rowntree and the marketing revolution*, p. 636
- <sup>171</sup> A. Vernon, *A Quaker business man*, p. 74
- <sup>172</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The making of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 15
- <sup>173</sup> G.W.R.Wright's notes for T. H. Appleton, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, R&Co.93/X/14(a-k)
- <sup>174</sup> Joseph Rowntree, MS Private memorandum to Harriet Selina Rowntree, 25 November 1890, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archive, JR93/VI/15(e) Very private copying book 1885-1900
- <sup>175</sup> R. Fitzgerald, *Rowntree and the marketing revolution*, p. 57
- <sup>176</sup> Debtor account includes
- |                         |       |
|-------------------------|-------|
| Executors of JR[senior] | £5000 |
| Joseph R                | £7753 |
| E Antoinette R          | £1069 |
| John S R                | £1500 |
| Sarah R                 | £1000 |
| Mortgages               | £4600 |
| Bank overdraft          | £3498 |
| Trade debts owing       | £4860 |
- Folio cash book, Borthwick Institute, H.I.Rowntree&Co. General&Corporate accounts 1859-78,HIR/4A/2 and
- T.H. Appleton, *The making of a modern business*, Chapter 5, p. 1
- <sup>177</sup> Folio ledger, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, ROWN.FAM.C/93/1 and 'HIR's financial position', Borthwick Institute, H.I.Rowntree&Co. General&Corporate accounts 1859-78,HIR/4A/1
- <sup>178</sup> Rev. John Hunter (of Hull, formerly of York) officiated, the service being of the order adopted by the Soc. of Friends, *Scarborough Gazette*, 10 May 1883, p.3
- <sup>179</sup> Letter from Joseph Rowntree to Henry Wood Esq, 5 June 1874, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archive, JR93/VI/15, Private copying book 1883-87
- <sup>180</sup> HIR's estate – paid bills, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives ARCH02/1
- <sup>181</sup> Copy of HIR's will, proved 25 May 1883, Drawbridge & Rowntree, Solicitors, Scarborough
- <sup>182</sup> Joseph Rowntree, MS Private memorandum to Harriet Selina Rowntree, 25 November 1890, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archive, JR93/VI/15(e) Very private copying book 1885-1900
- <sup>183</sup> R. Fitzgerald, *Rowntree and the marketing revolution*, p. 611
- <sup>184</sup> Joseph Rowntree, MS Private memorandum to Harriet Selina Rowntree, 25 November 1890, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archive, JR93/VI/15(e) Very private copying book 1885-1900
- <sup>185</sup> R. Fitzgerald, *Rowntree and the marketing revolution*, p. 611
- <sup>186</sup> Joseph Rowntree, MS Private memorandum to Harriet Selina Rowntree, 25 November 1890, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archive, JR93/VI/15(e) Very private copying book 1885-1900
- <sup>187</sup> From an agreement dated 17 September 1904 Selina seemed to have income from her father's estate, and also received a loan from her son Frank, and from Joseph (£350). 'Mrs Harriet Selina Rowntree's settlement', Typescript letter (copy), Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, Papers of B. S. Rowntree, Joseph Rowntree folder 10 (Box 6)
- <sup>188</sup> Joseph Rowntree's son Seeborn attended Owens College studying chemistry in 1888
- <sup>189</sup> John's two sons Arnold and Theodore were also each given 500 £10 shares; Arnold, who had joined the Gum Department in 1892 but soon moved over to Sales, was made a Director and Theodore became Company Secretary
- <sup>190</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The making of a modern business*, Chapter 7, pp.14-15
- <sup>191</sup> Obituary of F.H.Rowntree, *York Herald*, 22 February, 1818
- <sup>192</sup> Now the Haverford Youth Hostel
- <sup>193</sup> It is noticeable that accounts of Frank Rowntree, eg. Obituary in *Cocoa Works Magazine*, show his year of birth 1869, not 1868
- <sup>194</sup> Copy of MS letter from Selina Rowntree to Alice Oppenheim, 18 August 1919, Private collection
- <sup>195</sup> Using [www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/inflation/calculator/flash/index.htm](http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/inflation/calculator/flash/index.htm) £150 in 1920 is equivalent to just over £5200 in 2010
- <sup>196</sup> The Village Trust and Social Service Trust each received 2000 £10 ordinary shares and 10 £1 deferred shares, valued at £42,500. JRVT also received land and property in New Earswick valued at £14,500. The Charitable Trust received 800 £10 ordinary and 4 £1 deferred shares to the value of £17,000

- <sup>197</sup> Joseph Rowntree, 'Memorandum on the opportunities and dangers of wealth', 1907, Typescript. Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, Papers of B. S. Rowntree, Joseph Rowntree –Letters to/from parents, 9 (Box 6)
- <sup>198</sup> Joseph Rowntree, 'The founder's memorandum, Dec. 1904', in L. E. Waddilove, *Private philanthropy and public welfare*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1983, p. xviii
- <sup>199</sup> MS letter from F.H. Rowntree to J.B. Morrell, n.d, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archives, ROWN.FAM.C/93/4b
- <sup>200</sup> Letter from HIR to Claude Rowntree, 13 April 1882 in C. Brightwen Rowntree, *The Rowntrees of Riseborough*, York, Sessions, 1940 (updated 1996), p. x
- <sup>201</sup> *York Gazette*, 10 April 1869, 27 March 1869
- <sup>202</sup> H. Dumville, *Tanners Moat in Joseph Rowntree's days*, p. 2
- <sup>203</sup> Joseph Rowntree, MS Private memorandum to Harriet Selina Rowntree, 25 November 1890, Borthwick Institute, JRF Archive, JR93/VI/15(e) Very private copying book 1885-1900
- <sup>204</sup> T.H. Appleton, *The making of a modern business*, Chapter 2, p. 10
- <sup>205</sup> T.H.Appleton, MS notes of information received from correspondence with former employees
- <sup>206</sup> Obituary of HIR, *York Gazette*, 5 May1883, which states ' His brother [John Stephenson Rowntree] wears a civic gown'. JSR was Mayor in 1881. Only this obituary and one in *Scarborough Gazette*, 10 May 1883, have so far been found – none in *The Friend*, the microfilm of *York Herald* for this date is almost unreadable and the copy at British Library too fragile to use.
- <sup>207</sup> *Scarborough Gazette*, 10 May 1883, p. 3

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