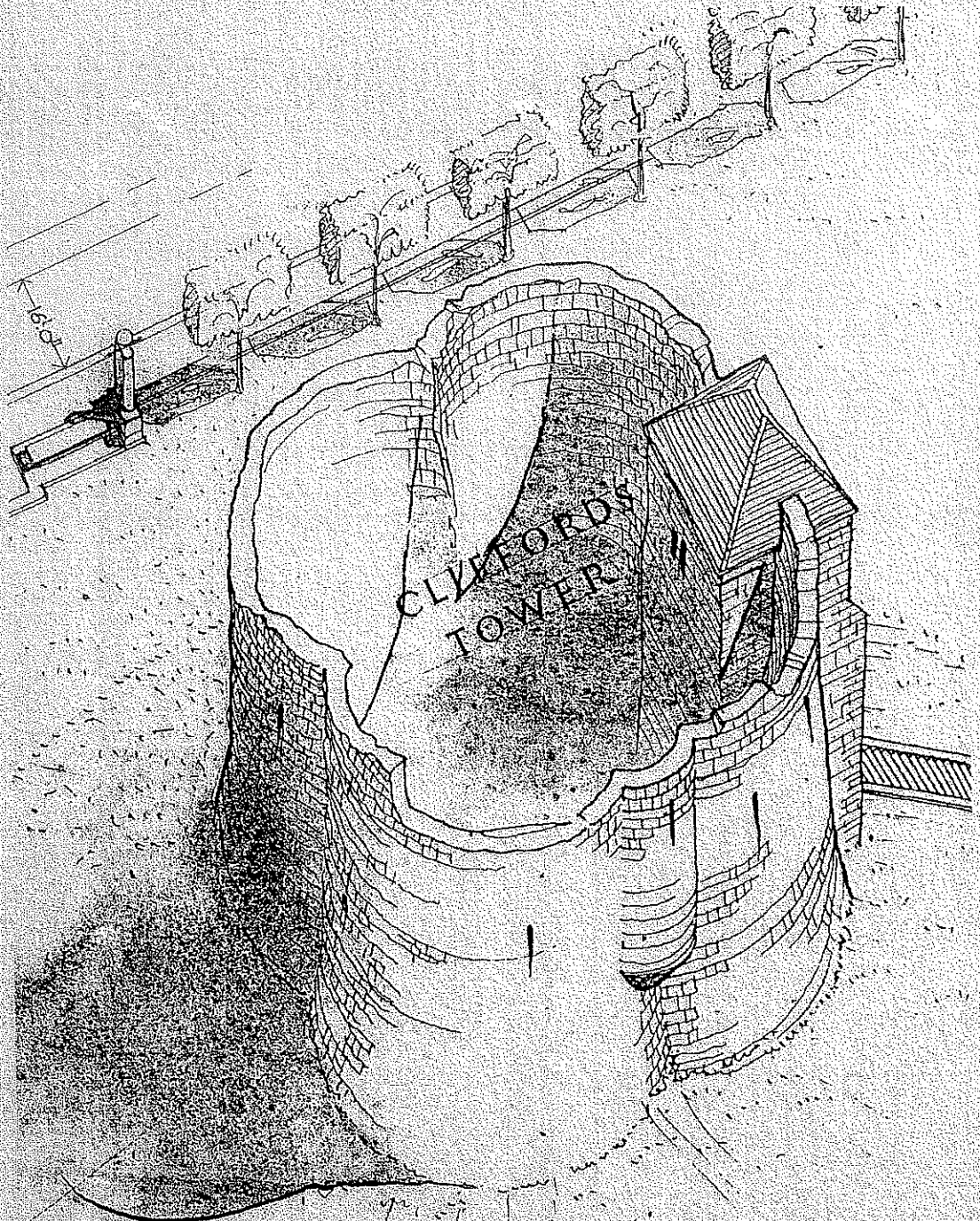


YORK HISTORIAN

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Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society

Founded in 1842, the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society is a registered charity existing to promote the study of the historic heritage of the city of York as well as the county of Yorkshire. It seeks to stimulate interest by arranging lectures and excursions and by issuing publications. It owns the Evelyn collection of historic lantern slides and negatives of York, and has been instrumental in preserving many of the city's unique features.

This volume of *York Historian* is the twenty-third in a resumed series of journals published by the Society, whose contents include articles, notes and records relevant to the history, architecture and archaeology of York and its district. A valuable source of articles is provided by prize-winning entries for the **Sheldon Memorial Trust Essay Prize**, offered annually for the best unpublished essay on history, literature or the arts connected with the city of York and based on original research. The essay prize is open to all comers, and further details may be obtained from the Secretary of the Trust, who should be notified in advance of proposed topics. The Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society is grateful to the Sheldon Memorial Trust for its generous financial assistance in the publication of *York Historian*.

Previous volumes of *York Historian*, whose contents are listed inside the back cover of this volume, may be ordered from **Publications Department, YAYAS, 26 Burtree Avenue, Skelton, York YO30 1YT**. The Society's other publications, listed below, and details of the publications mailing list may be obtained from the same address. Enquiries concerning membership of YAYAS can be made via the Society's website or by contacting the **Membership Secretary: Mrs. M. Harrison, 8 Northfield Way, Appleton Roebuck, York YO23 7EA**. Contributions to *York Historian* from both members of the Society and others are welcomed and should be sent to the Editor.

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Cover: *Clifford's Tower, from Donald McMorran's 1939 aerial perspective of the new civic offices about to be built at York Castle. Behind is part of the stylised avenue of clipped trees, which would have led from Castlegate, past the front of the new offices, up to the Eye of York. (York City Archives).*

Kurt Hunter-Mann	Romans lose their heads in York	2
Hugh Murray	A Case of Mistaken Identity: Hudson v. Leeman	8
Bill Fawcett	The Municipal Offices at York Castle	21
Elizabeth Jackson	Joseph Rowntree (1801-1859), citizen of York	40

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Joseph Rowntree (1801-1859), Citizen of York

Elizabeth Jackson

Summary: The elder Joseph Rowntree (1801-59) tends to be overlooked in favour of his well-known and very active descendants, yet his life and interests in many ways set a pattern for theirs. This article – a much expanded version of a Sheldon prize-winning essay – shows how he played a very active part in public life, notably as one of York's City Commissioners for twenty years and then as a member of its Board of Health. He was concerned to improve public health and education but lived during a period of transition in both local government and in the Society of Friends, and it is shown how the old regimes hampered his efforts in a number of ways and how he contributed to their reform. An appendix gives a chronology of his routine committee work as an Improvement Commissioner, from 1832 to 1850.

Introduction

Joseph Rowntree came to York in 1822, set up a grocery business, married, and founded a family which was to have a powerful impact upon the city, and influence the wider world. He was the father of a much more famous son, also Joseph Rowntree (1836-1925), who developed the York chocolate and confectionery firm.

Rowntree was a Quaker. His achievement of commercial wealth sufficient to qualify him for service on elected public bodies coincided with an important period for Quakers and other nonconformists, following the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828, which had excluded dissenters from civic office. Possibilities were further extended for citizens to engage in local government following the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the formation of local public health boards from the 1840s. Rowntree's public service included terms as a York Improvement Commissioner and a City Councillor and Alderman. His particular interests included public health, education, poverty relief, and railway and river transport. He was a Liberal in politics, and active in civic affairs during the notorious Tory George Hudson's period of influence.

The essay will consider Joseph Rowntree as a citizen of York from the 1820s until his death in 1859, placing his public service in the context of York's commercial and municipal life. It will examine, in the light of his evangelical Quaker conviction, his contribution to education, philanthropy and community service in York, and in the Society of Friends more widely, and briefly indicate how his attitudes and concerns served to influence his more renowned descendants.

Joseph Rowntree, his family and business

Joseph, born 10th June 1801, was sixth of the seven children in the family of John Rowntree (1757-1827) and his wife Elizabeth Lotherington (1764-1835). John came from Riseborough, near Pickering, to Scarborough in 1778, and opened a shop in Carr Street.¹ Elizabeth was from a Scarborough seafaring family; her father was a master mariner and five brothers were sea captains. Both parents came from Quaker families, John serving as Clerk to Scarborough Meeting and Elizabeth eventually as an Overseer and Elder. They were pious and careful for their children's spiritual welfare. Although his older brother John was sent to board at the Quaker Ackworth School, Joseph attended day schools in Scarborough.² By the age of 13 he was assisting his father and brother John to run the grocery shop on Bland's Cliff where he attained 'familiarity with the details of business' and developed his facility with figures.³

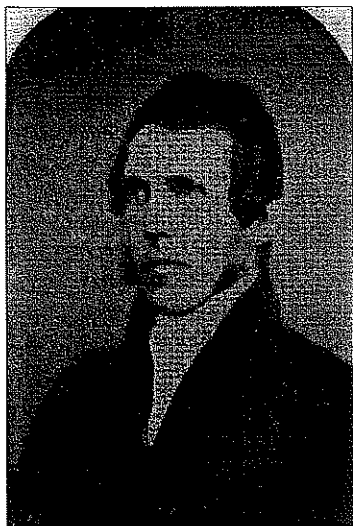


Figure 1. Joseph Rowntree, from an early daguerreotype.

Approaching 21, 'his love of independent action' made him wish to set up on his own, possibly in Leeds or York. The *Family Memoir of Joseph Rowntree* (see bibliography, and subsequently referred to here as the *Memoir*) omits to say how he was financed, for his father's business was not affluent, but it was a family decision and so money was forthcoming. He purchased 28 Pavement, York, at auction and opened as a tea dealer, coffee roaster and grocer in July 1822.⁴ In order to trade in York he had to pay his admission to the Merchant Adventurers, to which he was admitted on 15th July 1822, and to be a Freeman of York, for which he made affirmation as a Quaker on 12th November 1823. He began in the 'ready money retail trade'⁵ but later added the wholesale business, and extended the Pavement premises over the years.

'Close attention to his shop, long hours [open until 8pm weekdays, 10pm on Saturday market day], hard work, strict economy, small expenditure on self, marked the first years of business life'.⁶ The date on the newspaper announcement about opening – 7 Mo. 6, 1822 – advertised his Quaker faith, for



Figure 2.
The bow-windowed frontage of Joseph Rowntree's shop at 28 Pavement.

'considered a good likeness'. He was of average height, with 'pale complexion, gray eyes, and black hair'.¹⁴

Rowntree's older sister Elizabeth (1793-1833) was his housekeeper for ten years until his marriage in May 1832 to Sarah Stephenson of Manchester, niece of the Quaker Minister Elizabeth Robson. Joseph and Sarah had three sons, John (born 1834), Joseph (1836), Henry (1838) and two daughters, Hannah (1840), and finally Sarah (1843) who died in childhood. The large Pavement household, efficiently managed by Elizabeth, then Sarah, always included a number of apprentices living in and learning the grocery trade, young men from Quaker families and not usually York-born.¹⁵ George Cadbury and Lewis Fry were among those receiving this training, as well as Rowntree's sons John, Joseph and Henry. John at 21 and Joseph at 23 were made partners.¹⁶

The family ceased living over the shop in 1845 and moved to a double-fronted family house on Blossom Street.¹⁷ From there they moved in 1848 to a more substantial residence, 39 Bootham, where they lived about ten years, until Rowntree built himself the house of grey brick, with Ionic portico, at the corner of Bootham and St Mary's, which he intended for his retirement. Rowntree continued to attend business daily. A *Memorandum of business and household arrangements* (1852) shows how Christopher Robinson, the manager, and William Hughes, in charge of the apprentices, were entrusted to run the Pavement household 'in all respects as becomes a Christian family'.¹⁸

Rowntree's will, made in July 1855,¹⁹ in which he itemises the extent of the Pavement premises, shows how prosperously the business had expanded in the Lady Peckitt's Yard area.²⁰ Rowntree died in November 1859, having been diagnosed with cancer of the rectum at the beginning of that year. His wife inherited the Bootham house and the elder two sons the business, with legacies to all his children. His business was worth £13,400 gross (at modern values just over one million pounds).²¹ He was interred at the Friends Burial Ground, crowds lined the funeral route, and shops *did* close to mark the bereavement.

York in the period 1822 to 1859

When Rowntree first arrived in York the populated area extended very little beyond the city walls. The site of Parliament Street was a mass of little houses and close courts. Pavement extended unbroken from All Saints Pavement to St Crux Church. The number of houses in York grew from 3,414 in 1821 to 5,958 in 1841.²² Expansion of working class and artisans' housing occurred in the Groves, Layerthorpe, Clementhorpe, and along the Holgate and Acomb Roads. The wealthier moved out along Blossom Street and The Mount, Bootham and Clifton. The poorest lived in the neighbourhoods of St Dennis, Bedern, Walmgate, Fossgate, Peasholme Green and Water Lanes. There were hundreds of lodging houses. The unhealthy area around the Foss was colonised by the most poverty-stricken incomers.

York's population doubled in this period from 21,711 (1821) to 40,433 (1861), the most rapid growth occurring in the 1840s due to the influx of Irish migrants, the developing railway system and opening of the railway workshops.²³ This was a modest expansion in comparison with industrial towns in the West Riding, but York developed no major manufacturing industries, and continued to be 'primarily a market centre for the produce of the surrounding countryside and a place where goods and services were sold'. A high proportion of shopkeepers were engaged in the provision of food and other locally produced necessities.^{24, 25}

Pavement was the site of the main Saturday market, which was also used for auctions, hiring fairs, hustings (usually involving much rowdyism and drunkenness), sideshows, processions etc.²⁶ York was regarded as a 'turbulent city' with excessive drinking seen as a major cause of crime.²⁷

Gas lighting was introduced in 1823. The electric telegraph arrived in May 1846. Coal was expensive, but after the railways came at the end of the 1830s prices were reduced. A new market in Parliament Street opened in 1836. York's first railway opened in May 1839 and the first through train from York to London ran in May 1840. Rowntree endured hours of uncomfortable mail-coach travel to London and other Quaker meetings, but went by train from 1840.²⁸ York became a focal point in the vast network of lines constructed in the 1830s to 1860s,²⁹ and the problem of unreliable river transportation for goods faded in importance. A committee of the Corporation controlled the Ouse navigation and charged tolls, but over many years had neglected the improvements needed to serve a growing city.³⁰ At least the Ouse flowed swiftly, whereas the Foss, dammed at Castle Mills, was stagnant, marshy and un-navigable – and a major danger to public health. Cholera outbreaks occurred in 1832 and 1848.

In 1835, when Rowntree was first elected to the City Council, the Municipal Corporations Act brought an end to York's self-perpetuating, closed, Whig-dominated corporation and gave Tory candidates their chance. Within a few years the Liberals were thrust aside by George Hudson and his Tory following, which remained in ascendancy for a decade. The Liberals, throughout dominated by nonconformists – Unitarians, Independents, Quakers, a few Methodists – again took control after Hudson's downfall, and Rowntree again held a seat from 1852 until his death. In Parliament York was a two-member constituency, the electorate mainly comprising the Freemen. Usually representation was shared between Tory and Liberal, except in 1852 when both were Tory.³¹ In both municipal and Parliamentary elections 'treating' and payment for votes was customary.³²

Having traded in York for eleven years and served as an Improvement Commissioner for the last two, while arguing in 1833 for a Bonded Warehouse to mitigate costs of delays in river transport, Rowntree gave his view of complacent York:

'While other towns have gone forward, the people of York, relying too much on prescriptive rights and ancient importance, had stood still, and that was but another term for going back'.³³

Rowntree's work as an Improvement Commissioner

As towns grew in size and industry proliferated in the 19th century, bringing problems of disease and overcrowding, communities looked to individual local Improvement Acts to provide enabling powers to deal with environmental health matters.³⁴ York's Improvement Commission was set up by a local Act in 1825 after public pressure on the Corporation obliged it to petition Parliament. 40 Commissioners, 10 from each ward, were elected by £10 householders and were given powers to levy a rate of 6 pence in the pound on the rental value of property. The Commission differed from the Corporation in being open to nonconformists; and Commissioners and their electors need not be freemen. Special provisions for Quakers allowed them to affirm, rather than swear an oath, and there were always Quaker members throughout its existence, eg. James Backhouse, William Alexander and John Pemberton. Elections were held in May, and Commissioners served 3 years. Rowntree represented Walmgate ward from June 1831 until 1850. One year into his service on the Commission Rowntree had to join in the grim task of dealing with York's first outbreak of cholera, in which 185 people died.³⁵

The Improvement Commissioners met at their New Street offices two or three times a month, supported by surveyors of works and of nuisances. Rowntree attended regularly – for example 75% of meetings between June 1831 and June 1836. Specific problems and complaints were dealt with by small ad-hoc sub-committees of two or three Commissioners from each ward reporting back to meetings, with general issues debated and resolutions passed by the entire Commission. An

Appendix abstracted from the Minute Books³⁶ shows that Rowntree's committee work focused on paving, flagging, drainage, street widening and lighting. Other Commissioners 'specialised' in cleansing, scavenging, and surveying public health nuisances. It is not clear whether Commissioners investigated particular problems by volunteering, or a rota system, or by order from the Chair.

The Commission addressed several major issues, with Rowntree closely involved. He was one of the Market Trustees who, in co-operation with the Corporation, under the Market Improvement Act 1833, organised the re-siting of the main market from Pavement to Parliament Street in 1836. The question of gas lighting costs created controversy and difficulty, with two rival Gas companies in competition.³⁷ The many complaints received about the filthy condition of the Foss caused the Commission to consider the idea of purchasing the Foss Navigation.³⁸

Debt was always a problem, and Rowntree was called upon several times to examine the situation (see Appendix). Insolvent from the outset,³⁹ by 1837 they were in debt by over £2000, which had risen to £7,600 by 1850,⁴⁰ the year in which the responsibilities of the Commission were transferred to the Local Board of Health. Years later this body was still having to raise over £500 from the rates to meet the interest on the debt transferred from the late City Commissioners.⁴¹

Lord Morpeth's Town Improvement Bill, which led to the 1848 Public Health Act, was energetically debated by the City Commissioners. Under this legislation towns could petition for a Local Board, under the General Board of Health, to be set up where the death rate was above 23 per 1000. The Commissioners, although dubious that control from the central board and their paid inspectors would undermine the rights hitherto enjoyed by the ratepayers,⁴² supported the York Council's petition for a local board in 1850. They firmly believed, however, Rowntree being one of the strongest advocates, that 'municipal corporations were so liable to assume a political character as to render them unfit bodies to discharge the duties involved'.⁴³ In March 1850 the Commission was still passing resolutions that *it* should constitute the Local Board of Health; but in August Rowntree was on the Committee supervising the winding up of its affairs.

Public health

Rowntree's 19 years as a Commissioner afforded him an education in public administration, a close and prolonged acquaintance with York's severe public health and environmental planning problems, an intimate knowledge of the city's topography, and a good reputation for getting things done. He understood the limitations which undermined the Commission's work – not simply financial constraints but principally the lack of statutory powers, and looked to the 1848 legislation to provide:

'the power to secure [for] our streets and dwellings those improvements which are needed for the comfort of the inhabitants' ... The authorities were powerless 'to prevent the improper laying out of new streets, or to secure to those already formed sufficient drainage' ... or prevent... 'the continued addition of nuisances by the erection of new streets without drains'.⁴⁴

The Royal Commission for Inquiry into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts, 1843, instigated preliminary reports on relevant localities in 1844. Thomas Laycock wrote York's report⁴⁵ which concluded that York's unhealthiness was caused by bad sewerage and drainage, bad water, bad air, not only from decomposition of refuse and animal and vegetable matter, but from 'the crowding of the artisan class in a confined space'.⁴⁶

Rowntree agreed with Laycock's severe criticisms of the city's inadequate drainage, for which, as a Commissioner, he must take some responsibility – £1764.15s.0d. had been spent on 6,146 yards of drains, inadequate in size, strength and depth, and draining into the rivers within the built-up area of the city. He found himself part of a local administration which was unable to manage cost-effectively and protect the population from the danger of disease, but his personal ideals matched Laycock's – they were colleagues in the local Health of Towns Association. In his speech at its first meeting, September 1846, Rowntree argued that the sanitary state of the city was a disgrace; attacked window tax as monstrous, with its effect of reducing healthy ventilation; and 'considered the existence of the river Foss in its present state was a most crying outrage'. In a parish bordering the Foss he attributed 17 deaths from typhus fever to its evils, for bad air was believed to be a major cause of typhus and fever at this time.⁴⁷ Its riverbed was 4 feet higher than surrounding land, which badly needed draining, but the Improvement Commissioners had failed to act before cholera reappeared in 1848.

Councillor and Alderman Rowntree, lord paramount of the Board of Health

The decision to bring the Local Board of Health under the Council placed Rowntree in a dilemma – for he had lost his seat back in 1837. Was this one of the reasons why he and other Improvement Commissioners were so keen that *they*, not the Council, should constitute the Local Board? He 'always acted on the plan of *not seeking* public appointments,⁴⁸ but *had* to be a councillor in order to remain actively involved with improving sanitary conditions. He was unfortunate also in standing for one of the two wards (Monk was the other) with the greatest concentration of poor people – the electorate most likely to be influenced by bribery and 'treating', to which practices he was firmly opposed. His nomination for Castlegate in the November 1850 municipal election was somewhat ambivalently supported:

'The merits of Mr Rowntree and the enlarged claims he possesses to the undivided attention of the electors will be conceded by all. With a view of damaging the interests of Mr Rowntree it is already industriously circulated that that gentleman would refuse to take upon himself the office of Town Councillor, even if returned. This is altogether a fiction'.⁴⁹

'Beer flowed', Anderson (Tory) 'paid 5 shillings a vote', and Rowntree, standing 'on purity principles', was defeated.⁵⁰ The Liberals were keen to get him back, however, and in 1852 he replaced unopposed the Liberal John Jackson who died that year. Rowntree was elected as York's first Quaker Alderman in November 1853 and remained on the Council until his death, attending regularly even during his last illness. In 1858, a year before his death, he was elected Lord Mayor, but he declined the honour and paid the £100 fine. His difficulty lay with the duties of Chief Magistrate regarding the administration of oaths, being 'alive to the strength of the conviction of the unlawfulness of oaths held by the Religious Society of Friends'.⁵¹

Council minutes and newspaper reports show him to have been one of the most active members of the Local Board of Health, as it continued the efforts begun by the Improvement Commission, but now able to exploit the powers given by the Public Health Act. Regulations were issued to cover the erection and drainage of new buildings.⁵² The Local Board began to inspect projected house plans.⁵³ In October 1852 it received the report on Walmgate ward⁵⁴ – the usual catalogue of unhealthy conditions – and directed the Surveyor and Inspector of Nuisances to take action on 22 items of improvement. The state of the many lodging houses, 'especially those of the Irish which exist in great numbers in this ward',⁵⁵ was singled out for attention. By 1856 there was 'a marked improvement in the cleanliness' of 254 lodging houses.⁵⁶ Above all, between 1852 and 1859, the problem of the Foss was solved.

Rowntree supported the purchase of the Foss Navigation Company in 1852, for no progress could be made with sanitary improvements in the area while it remained under private management for profit. He urged adoption of the recommendations of the sanitary engineer Robert Rawlinson for deepening the channel and constructing intercepting iron drains alongside the Foss, to divert the drainage and discharge into the Ouse some distance down the New Walk.⁵⁷ A local Act in 1853 enabled these measures: the Foss was cleansed, new sewers installed, the land drained, and by another Act in 1859 the navigation was abandoned outside the city boundary. Rowntree's pride and satisfaction with the work glows in his speech of October 1856 – 'The drainage was as perfect as it could be'.⁵⁸

The Improvement Commissioners' concern about Central Board scrutiny did not prove unfounded however. Rowntree and colleagues had to report progress, account for expenditure, and apply for permission to borrow sums, eg. 'on mortgage of the Rates to be repaid by instalments within a period not exceeding 30 years'.⁵⁹ They could receive reprimands.⁶⁰ Complaints about them could be sent to the President of the Board.⁶¹ Throughout the summer of 1857 Rowntree was attacked in the press over the possible effects of the new sewers on Spurriergate properties:

'Mr Alderman Rowntree...lord paramount of the Board of Health – his will *must* be law – ... has premises in Pavement which extend towards the river Foss, and the drainage into that river is being intercepted that the Foss may flow with limpid purity; Mr Rowntree has no premises in Spurriergate, extending towards the river Ouse...immaterial to him whether or not that river shall become an elongated cesspool...'.⁶²

He was accused of 'mismanagement', 'obstinacy and self-conceit worthy of his cloth' and ignoring the needs of localities (eg. Layerthorpe, Gillygate, Clarence Street, etc) 'not on his list of favourite districts'.⁶³ The Mount sewers were under construction from 1855 to 1857, followed by 'effectual drainage' of the Goodramgate area, and everyone knew how much had been done for owners of property in wealthier districts out of the city purse,⁶⁴ while the inhabitants of Layerthorpe and East Parade were being asked to pay a proportion of the cost. Rowntree did reply that the Mount sewer drained the poorer new neighbourhoods around Holgate, the point being that 'by causing the main sewers to be constructed at the cost of the city, they would secure in all directions good and substantial drainage',⁶⁵ but people were not convinced.

It is difficult to assess whether the controversy was justified, as the most vociferous criticisms of Liberal Rowntree appeared in the staunchly Tory *York Gazette*. Rowntree characteristically declared (over a different issue in 1852) that he 'would not be deterred from performing his duty by ridicule or by having his motives impugned'.⁶⁶ His usual tendency to adopt an uncompromising stance on the moral high ground could lead him into political naivety, and give fellow councillors the opportunity of smearing him to enhance their own following. The *Memoir* is silent on the matter.

Nevertheless, Rowntree was rightly satisfied with 'witnessing the completion of the work he had so much at heart, the thorough drainage of the city, as well as that swamp, known as Foss Islands'⁶⁷ – essential remedial measures, despite being partly motivated by an imperfect understanding of the origins of diseases such as Typhus and 'fever'. Rowntree's work on the Improvement Commission and Local Health Board provided the opportunity to effect actual practical improvements, but the problems facing the growing city were more complex than people understood. Massive costs were involved but Councils had no adequate means of raising funds for capital projects and ongoing improvements other than charging householders (unpopular) or borrowing large sums against future Rate income (storing up debt). Squabbles over the Rates and infighting between richer and poorer localities were inevitable, as Rowntree found to his discomfiture.

Until long after Rowntree's death York's mortality rate continued above the national average.⁶⁸ Many more measures of public health legislation were to follow, introduced in a piecemeal fashion, empowering local councils, but centralising control and burdening ratepayers at the same time. By 1911 the death rate had been halved but Rowntree's son Joseph noted 'city rates in 1862 were 2s 3d in the £, and 6s 4d in 1910. In this city, as in many others, ...the rates have nearly reached their maximum... and the State must take over certain charges now borne by the localities'⁶⁹ – looking ahead to the era of central grants and subsidies.

Rowntree, politics and George Hudson

As a tradesman Rowntree tried to keep quiet at election times,⁷⁰ and he advised his sons to 'abstain from going with a party...further than their consciences permitted'.⁷¹ York was a highly politicised city and Rowntree's high-minded view of political action did him no favours in the turbulence of municipal and parliamentary electoral machinations.⁷² The 1835 General Election controversy illustrated the lengths to which he was led by being a 'friend of purity'. Lowther (Tory) and Dundas (Liberal) were elected – Rowntree plumped for the latter. The result was disputed and two petitions, one Liberal, one Quaker, were sent to London, Rowntree being a leading light in the latter. He had to give evidence to a Select Committee in London in August 1835,⁷³ and was lampooned locally as Mr R. the radical Quaker with a fastidious stomach. The Committee found fault on both sides – intimidation by rowdies (Liberals) and bribes through the post (Tories) – but did not alter the outcome. It served to characterise the usual conduct of York elections – people would 'vote for anybody they can get anything by'.⁷⁴

In the November 1837 municipal election Rowntree, along with many Liberals, lost his seat for Walmgate where 'money was no object when the obtaining of a vote was concerned',⁷⁵ and Rowntree had been smeared in handbills criticising his apparent unfair imposition of Ouse Navigation tolls.⁷⁶ In 1838 Rowntree was nominated an Alderman, but it was at this point that George Hudson came to prominence, and thanks to his influence Rowntree was defeated. For the next decade the York Tory party dominated the Council and was in turn dominated by George Hudson, Lord Mayor three times, from whose railway companies' expansion many people made huge sums.⁷⁷

Upright, fastidious Rowntree clashed on several occasions with the wheeler-dealer politician, not often successfully; although Rowntree prevailed in 1838 over the appointment of a new master at Haughton's School in St Crux parish. Hudson, as Lord Mayor and one of the Trustees, tried to use undue influence to secure his preferred candidate (who would appoint a deputy and appropriate part of the salary), but legal opinion was sought, and Rowntree's chosen 'efficient school master' Joseph Matthews was duly appointed.⁷⁸

Rowntree supported the formation of the York and North Midland Railway Company⁷⁹ and bought a considerable amount of shares, which during the 1840s were paying 10% dividends. He publicly expressed doubt however about the vagueness with which Hudson habitually related the estimated to the actual expenses of projects.⁸⁰ When the financing of the Scarborough line was under discussion (1843-4) Rowntree, noticing that the figures did not add up, questioned the allocations of shares which would unduly benefit Hudson, but he was ignored by the other shareholders.⁸¹

Ironically, in 1849 when Hudson was finally exposed for irregularities in business and deprived of all offices and directorships, it was Rowntree who took on the work of sorting out the deplorable financial affairs of the Company. He reluctantly accepted a Directorship, worked assiduously for six

months, to the detriment of his health and attention to other concerns, but felt obliged to act in the interests of numerous friends and relatives, whose property was invested, as well as his own. Yet it was 'not without enjoyment' for him 'in mastering the large financial and commercial interests of a railway company'.⁸²

Rowntree distrusted party politics, fearing where it might lead a Quaker conscience, 'as under no circumstances can the requirements of Christianity be suspended'.⁸³ He preferred to vote for candidates he could make up his own mind about personally, believing 'each locality should send to Parliament men who were well known, lived among them and in whom they might have confidence'.⁸⁴ Throughout the 18th century Quakers had kept out of public life, favouring silent worship, listening for the Inner Light rather than relying on scripture, eschewing 'creaturely activity'. In the 19th century they did not find it easy to come out of their Quietist isolation.⁸⁵ They were still doubtful whether *voting*, let alone *standing*, in elections was consistent with Quaker principles; such external considerations could distract a man from the inward condition of his soul.⁸⁶

Rowntree stands at a transition between Quietist non-involvement, and the full political commitment of Quakers of later generations. He seems compelled to justify his public life to Quakers who might still be distrustful of all political proceedings. His attitude was always couched in the language of Christian and moral principle –

'He had never thought it his duty to take part in the political proceedings of his fellow citizens, except on occasions when politics had an immediate bearing on morals, and on what he believed to be the best and true interests of man'⁸⁷

– as if it did not seem acceptable to admit that the 'best and true interests' of one's own family and business could equally drive one's motivation to achieve a well governed city.

Rowntree's contribution to the Society of Friends

Biographical accounts in the usual reference sources tend to concentrate on Rowntree's contribution to the Society of Friends, education and philanthropy.⁸⁸ When Rowntree joined York Meeting it numbered about 190.⁸⁹ Quakers formed a very small minority among nonconformists in York (3.4% in 1837 and 2% in 1851).⁹⁰ An established group of substantial tradesmen and merchants, such as the Tukes, Backhouses, Alexanders and Priestmans, were active members. It already had a reputation for being theologically progressive, from the writings of Henry Tuke and Lindley Murray,⁹¹ which began to challenge the old Quaker spiritual order and disseminate evangelical ideas, opening the way to a new doctrine which would draw Quakers closer to other nonconformist denominations.⁹² Rowntree was instinctively attracted to Evangelicalism. His 'great friend and almost daily companion' was Henry Tuke's son Samuel,⁹³ and both admired the leading evangelical Quaker Joseph Gurney, believing his teachings rendered 'essential service to the Society of Friends by bringing before it more clearly ... the fundamental doctrine of salvation and faith in Jesus Christ'.⁹⁴ To Rowntree the Quietist views prevalent in the previous century 'favoured the growth of a sickly Christianity'.⁹⁵

He quickly became involved with both local and national affairs in the Society. Members were of course subject to 'sufferings' (mainly money fines) from their refusal to pay church rates. Wright's lists of York Quakers fined for failure to pay church rates include Rowntree for 1821-1855, and she alludes to Rowntree's leadership of the York campaign for the abolition of church rates.⁹⁶ From 1825 he regularly attended London Yearly Meeting where he witnessed the seething tensions between Evangelicals and traditionalists.⁹⁷

He became an Overseer at York in 1841 and an Elder in 1847. His wife Sarah was also closely involved with the Women's Meeting and sometimes attended Yearly Meeting herself.

While York Meeting was growing at this period, in the rest of the country Quaker numbers were dwindling. Rowntree's final service to the Society was a successful campaign to change the marriage rules, which arrested the steady decline in numbers due to disownment of members who 'married out'. With his son John he amassed statistical evidence proving the link between falling membership and disownments, and pamphleteered and lobbied Quarterly and Yearly Meetings.⁹⁸ John, then aged 24, is usually given credit for effecting this change, due to his prize-winning essay *Quakerism past and present*, which marshalled the statistics on Quaker births, marriages and deaths, showing why reform was needed. John did maintain however that his father 'had the largest part in obtaining its adoption...due to the pains he took to ascertain and exhibit the facts'.⁹⁹ The relaxation in the rules was made a month before Rowntree's death – 'I do believe I have not over-estimated the importance of the proposed change'.¹⁰⁰

A motif running through the essay is the effective use of statistical information as a prelude to proposed reform or action. Interest in statistics and the development of statistical societies began in the 1830s as information became more available, more systematically collected by Government as a means of assessing public health problems and costing proposed measures. Rowntree valued carefully reported statistical evidence as essential to understanding issues and problems. His sons shared his interest – to John 'statistics were all alive with significance – he saw the human facts which lay behind them';¹⁰¹ and the younger Joseph collected data on pauperism and alcoholism in the cause of temperance reform. The York poverty surveys (1899, 1936 and 1950) carried out by Rowntree's grandson Seebohm continue the family tradition.

Education

Rowntree was 'an efficient co-labourer' with Samuel Tuke in developing two major York schools: The Mount and Bootham. Quarterly Meeting had started a boys' boarding school for the children of better-off families in Lawrence Street in 1828, and the equivalent for girls began in Castlegate in 1831. Rowntree was instrumental in achieving their removal to better premises, to Bootham in 1846, and The Mount in 1857. He was particularly involved in the management, staffing and curriculum of the Mount, often providing wise counsel to the staff and entertaining pupils in his home.¹⁰²

With Tuke he helped found the Friends Education Society in 1837 and Flounders Institute in 1848, with the object of training teachers for Quaker schools. Outside York he was closely involved with the management of Ackworth School, for children of poorer families, and in the foundation in 1832 of Rawdon School for children 'connected with the Society of Friends but not in Membership'. His approach to school management, while imbued with Christian moral duty,¹⁰³ was characteristically practical and business-like. For example in 1843, wishing to modernise the curriculum at Ackworth School, he first made a statistical survey of the career choices of all the boys who had left Ackworth since 1799.¹⁰⁴ He regularly made visits to advise on Friends' schools' curricula and the welfare of pupils. These visitations took him to Ireland in 1833, 1846 and 1850.

Schooling for the poor in York also received Rowntree's attention. As usual he backed his low opinion of its deplorable inadequacy¹⁰⁵ with statistical evidence; having participated in 1826 in a census of school attendance among poor children, carried out by a mainly Quaker committee, 'visiting from house to house the whole labouring population'. This found that a quarter of 6-10 year olds attended no school at all, and one-ninth of 12-14 year olds could not read.¹⁰⁶

In 1828 he was one of those involved in setting up the British School for boys in Hope Street.¹⁰⁷ It was here, in the depths of York's worst slums, that the 'First Day School' or Sunday morning classes were started in 1848 for boys aged 8-16, with a second class for the 16-20/25 age group, primarily for the education of illiterate working adults through Bible-based teaching.¹⁰⁸ In 1857 the Adult School moved to premises in Lady Peckitt's yard behind the Pavement shop. Rowntree encouraged his three sons and his shop apprentices to assist with First-Day and Adult School teaching. Although hopeful that the teachers' example would lead pupils towards the Society, Rowntree felt they were not trying to 'proselytise Quakerism', which he thought difficult and unattractive compared with other 'enthusiastic' denominations,¹⁰⁹ which certainly did gain recruits from Sunday classes. Only by tackling illiteracy could the Evangelicals' priority be achieved of inculcating 'right principles of acting' through Bible study.

With school management occupying much of his time, and the welfare of his young shop apprentices his daily responsibility, Rowntree developed a special concern for the problems of young people starting out in life. 'The elasticity of spirits in boyhood almost defies the bandaging of the mind; and at fourteen or thereabouts, the lad escapes, and is subjected to very different influences'.¹¹⁰ Rowntree himself of course had left school early and was largely self-educated.

His guiding principle was the power of Christian, scripture-based education on the development of the young mind. Young people must follow the example of Christ, as found from reading one's Bible, and know themselves answerable to Him for their conduct.¹¹¹ This led him to write a long letter, strikingly direct and intimate, to his son John, aged 15 at Bootham School, warning him against youthful sexual experimentation, encouraging him not to be 'disheartened from thy sense of thy own weakness' in the face of temptation.¹¹² Within the family, Christian duty and love of the Saviour should be above the human love for wife and children:

'May we strengthen each other's faith...in the protecting care of the same Heavenly parent...by the willingness to give up our own inclinations for the promotion of his service'.¹¹³

Meetings for Worship 'were not unfrequently silent'¹¹⁴ and members received little teaching ministry. To develop the religious education of his young assistants, and better equip them for leading First-Day and Adult School classes, Rowntree devoted two hours each Sunday evening for over 20 years to Bible study sessions with them. His facility and skill in drawing out 'the best thoughts of others' were recalled both by William Thistlethwaite and the younger Joseph; 'he had a kindly estimate of men and handled them wisely and in a way they liked'.¹¹⁵ At least three 'alumni' associations of Pavement shop apprentices were formed, two during Rowntree's lifetime, with the aims of mutual assistance and exchange of news with occasional meetings.¹¹⁶

Adult schools began in Birmingham in 1845 and two years later 16 other schools joined in the Friends First Day School Association.¹¹⁷ Involvement with teaching widened the social and religious horizons of Quakers and developed their social conscience. Wright traces a progression in Quaker philanthropy which is mirrored in Rowntree's own career. Firstly *humanitarian* causes such as relief for prisoners, care of the mentally ill, and anti-slavery campaigns began towards the end of the 18th century. Rowntree's pamphlet 'An address on colonial slavery' was published in 1827 and an anti-slavery speech in York reported in May 1828.¹¹⁸ From 1824 he served on The Retreat mental hospital committee. By the 1830s Quakers were involved in crusades against *social evils* such as prostitution and drink, which, together with education projects, such as Hope Street, taught them much about the circumstances and needs of the urban poor. 'A natural unfolding and maturing of social interest',¹¹⁹ in parallel with the Evangelical duty to reach out to sinners and show the way to personal salvation, evolved similarly amongst other religious denominations.

Temperance, Philanthropy and Sabbatarianism

Along with many prominent Quakers, Rowntree subscribed to York Temperance Society, formed in August 1830.¹²⁰ Other denominations joined in; for example Congregationalist minister James Parsons was a key ally. It was believed that temperance societies were 'the best means so far devised of checking and finally annihilating the evils of intemperance'.¹²¹ Rowntree gave statistical evidence of the immense quantity of spirits annually consumed in York – no less than 50,000 gallons,¹²² and that in some areas practically every other house was a drinking den.¹²³ In 1851 he led a petition to the magistrates against any further increase in the number of public houses and dram shops, having counted 302 premises selling drink, which amounted to 1 to every 26 families.¹²⁴

According to a Mount schoolgirl in 1855, Rowntree's 'fame as a philanthropist was in the mouths of all' in York Meeting.¹²⁵ And he felt himself that he had done good work – 'circumstances had brought him into intimate association with poverty and wretchedness, and great as these were at the present time (1852) they had been considerably alleviated in the past few years'.¹²⁶ Besides schooling for the poor and illiterate (Hope Street, Haughton's School, First-Day and Adult schools), Bible Society, City Mission, Religious Tract Society, York Penitentiary Society, York County Hospital, The Retreat hospital and the York Dispensary, he took an interest in the Vagrant Office, and the condition of common lodging houses. He took 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. He drew satisfaction from the efficient practicalities of feeding the hungry, with every detail – the steam boiling equipment, the best recipe, and the distribution ticketing arrangements – coming under his expert supervision.¹²⁷

Rowntree found ample evidence that drunkenness, prostitution and gambling were made worse by Sabbath-breaking.¹²⁸ Brought up to habits of self-denial and Sunday Bible study, he readily espoused Sabbatarianism. From 1839, when train travel began in York, he allied himself with other nonconformists such as James Meek, Methodist glass manufacturer and fellow Liberal, in petitioning railway companies against Sunday rail travel.¹²⁹ He was against the opening of places of amusement such as museums, art galleries, concerts, etc. on the Sabbath.

While Sabbatarianism had no place in earlier Quaker traditions, in the Victorian period the habit of avoiding secular occupations on Sundays was absorbed from the influence of other evangelical churches.¹³⁰ Evangelical Quakers like Rowntree and Tuke recognised the extent of their basic agreement with other Christian denominations. Their common struggle against ungodly, lawless behaviour, intemperance, moral weakness and evil was strengthened by alliances formed to work for particular causes or to protect their businesses, families and lifestyles from the threats of disease, immorality or social unrest. As Quakers however they did not limit their efforts only to the poor and vulnerable, but addressed their castigation to all citizens.

Thus York Races were seen as 'detrimental to the morals and happiness of the inhabitants'.¹³¹ Rowntree did not believe the Theatre should be maintained at public expense.¹³² In 1840, at the celebrations of the Queen's marriage, he protested against the publicly funded *ladies' tea parties* being held in *taverns*. When royalty visited York in May 1850 he complained, along with Parsons and the Tukes, about the lavish wining and dining at the City's expense, the so-called 'refreshment room feed'.¹³³

When Daniel Tuke described Rowntree as 'joyous at a festival' he presumably referred to *private* Friends' and family occasions. Whenever Rowntree saw *public* money being wasted, especially on activities involving intemperance, gambling, greedy and frivolous behaviour, his deep-seated

instinct for careful financial management was rudely affronted. His espousal of Sabbatarianism came not from a killjoy personality, but from sincere belief in the infallibility of the Bible. 'The Creator...gave one day of rest, after six days of toil, [and] it was not in the nature of things, that an arrangement which has been made ever since Creation...could be ignored and set at nought'.¹³⁴ Although aware of the emerging conflict between religion and evolutionary theories – 'there is a quiet assumption, in some parts, of the Scripture narrative being disproved by science, which is in danger of deceiving the unwary reader' – nothing that he read ever shook his conviction: 'I must have much stronger evidence...before I...reject my belief that Scripture came not of old time by the will of man, but that holy men wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost'.¹³⁵

The Rowntree legacy

'Pavement had the power to make men rich and great'.¹³⁶ Rowntree's prosperous business, positioned at the hub of York's commercial life, laid the foundations for family wealth. And by one key decision he became the unwitting begetter of greater prosperity for York than he could ever have imagined. Henry was not to be a partner in the grocery shop like John and Joseph, but by his father's will money could be advanced out of the estate for the purpose of enabling him to engage in business. The cocoa concern which Henry purchased from the Tukes in 1862 eventually prospered magnificently as the Rowntree chocolate and confectionery firm, although Henry died in 1883 and so did not live to see this. Joseph, who had joined him in the venture in 1869, built the business to spectacular prosperity, as one of the largest employers in York.

Rowntree took it to be his unquestioning duty to help alleviate the poverty and suffering he witnessed. Distress funds, doles, coal tickets, subscriptions to worthy causes, the soup kitchen, he was involved in all. These were immediate remedies, without stopping to reflect on underlying causes. Later in the 19th century doubts grew about the wisdom of indiscriminating and over-generous charitable giving. Rather than personal weakness or moral failure, manifested as idleness, drinking or gambling, poverty came to be seen as bound to complex economic and social issues over which individuals could exercise little control, such as unemployment or under-employment, low wages and old age. Philanthropy aimed solely at immediate remedies was wasted effort; issues required systematic investigation. Searching out the underlying causes of social evils would be important work for the three philanthropic Trusts which were founded from the Rowntree family wealth.

In 1904 the three Trusts: Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, Joseph Rowntree Social Service Trust and Joseph Rowntree Village Trust, all of which are still active and influential today, were endowed with Rowntree Company shares, and the latter also by land on which to build New Earswick garden village. Reading through the foundation documents outlining their areas of work,¹³⁷ one at once recognises typical Rowntree concerns – education in the Society of Friends, adult schools, temperance, Liberalism, purity of elections, alleviation of poverty and elimination of insanitary living conditions, evidence-based understanding of social problems – the familiar concerns to which the elder Joseph Rowntree had devoted so much energy, the same causes he had encouraged his family to espouse.

In his own time Rowntree was respected and highly regarded. In York his contributions to commerce, the built environment, public health, transport, education, and the religious and philanthropic life of the city were recognised. Civic work enhanced his commercial life. The growth of his business and broad span of charitable and educational projects raised his own profile and contributed to the expansion and reputation of York Quaker Meeting.

Prosperity among individual Quakers created employment for apprentices and servants;¹³⁸ while the development of Bootham and Mount schools, and Retreat hospital, also increased demand for labour and attracted Friends to York.

But Rowntree is not much remembered now. As an enlightened entrepreneur he was far outshone by the younger Joseph, chocolate magnate and founder of philanthropic trusts. In the Society of Friends his reputation pales beside that of his son John, who became the weightiest of weighty Friends,¹³⁹ or his grandson John Wilhelm who, following his premature death in 1905, was 'raised to the exalted status of [the] full-blown Quaker saint' that 'rescued the Society from the dead-end of out-dated evangelicalism and set it on the path to modernity'.¹⁴⁰ Rowntree's efforts to alleviate poverty hardly register beside his grandson Seebohm's influential poverty surveys and reputation as a pioneer of the welfare state.

In the field of public health York resembled many towns up and down the country, where Improvement Commissions, with their ad hoc methods for dealing with local conditions, provided wealthier public-spirited citizens like Rowntree with a rudimentary introduction to municipal administration. The work of Local Boards of Health went on to reveal the monumental complexity of the task faced by municipalities. But Rowntree did not live long enough to influence events further. In all he served 13 years as a Liberal Councillor. It would have been longer but, thanks to Quaker scruples, he refused to pay for votes, in contrast with most of his fellow councillors. And it was loyalty to old-style Quaker discipline which also made him decline the highest position in local politics.

Rowntrees of succeeding generations also taught classes, sat on school boards, espoused charities, campaigned for temperance, were active Liberals. But they embraced political action more robustly and directly. Henry published a Liberal newspaper.¹⁴¹ John was Councillor, Alderman, and Mayor of York. The younger Joseph wrote books on the drink trade to try to obtain licensing reform. Nephew Joshua¹⁴² and grandson Arnold were Members of Parliament. Quakerly reticence about political action has disappeared.

Rowntree remains one of York's supporting cast of characters, the important but uncharismatic functionary and facilitator. His contemporaries who are better remembered were the leaders, innovators and wealth creators – people like the Tukes, Terrys, Lowther, Leeman, Hudson. Within the Rowntree family however, although his public reputation was later overshadowed by his more famous descendants, their debt to him was fully recognised. Part of the reason their careers proved so memorable and influential is that they had this remarkable man as their example, mentor and inspiration.

NOTES

1. John Rowntree & Sons, Scarborough, *A century and a half of progress*, n.d.[1929], Joseph Rowntree Foundation Archives, ROWN.FAM.A/93.
2. There is a discrepancy in sources about his schooling. John S. Rowntree, editor, *A family memoir of Joseph Rowntree, printed for the use of the family* (Birmingham, 1868), p. 16, states he left school at the age of 13, but Anne Vernon, *A Quaker business man*, (Aylesbury, 1958) p.13, says 11 years. An error also occurs in the new edition of *Dictionary of National Biography*, saying he was educated at a Friends' school near Thirsk; this was actually his father's schooling, see H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004), Vol.48, pp.29-30.
3. Rowntree, *A family memoir of Joseph Rowntree*, pp. 15-18.

4. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 13 July 1822.
5. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 47, Letter from John Broadhead to John and Elizabeth Rowntree, 19 July 1822.
6. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 150.
7. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 545-50, letter from Joseph Rowntree to W.E. Gladstone, 8 January 1853.
8. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 209-10.
9. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 541, letter from Joseph Rowntree to John S. Rowntree, 26 December 1852.
10. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 14.
11. Obituary for Rowntree, *Yorkshire Herald*, 12 November 1859.
12. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, letter from William Thistlethwaite to John Stephenson Rowntree, 13 April 1867, and Phoebe Doncaster, editor, *Memoir of John Stephenson Rowntree: his life and work*, (London, Headley Brothers, 1908), p. 7.
13. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 242-48, 285.
14. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 401.
15. The 1841 Census shows 8 apprentices, including son John, nephew John, and of the others, only one Yorkshire born. 1851 Census shows one of the latter, Christopher Robinson, is now the manager, with 8 apprentices, drawn from various parts of England. Also 4 or 5 female domestic servants, and in 1841 a governess for the older boys.
16. see Anne Vernon, *A Quaker business man: the life of Joseph Rowntree* (Aylesbury, 1958), pp. 31-35
17. To let notice, *Yorkshire Gazette*, 15 April 1848: An excellent family house with outbuildings, stable, coach house and garden, 3 sitting rooms, 6 lodging rooms, besides attics, etc.
18. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 379-83.
19. Copy of Joseph Rowntree's will, Joseph Rowntree Foundation Archives, ARCH02/4/3.
20. eg. Grocery premises, Drapery premises, Shops and Warehouses in Lady Peckitt's Yard, including soap warehouse, offices, coffee roasting room, chicory room, crane, tenement occupied by John Hardcastle, shop fronting Pavement and dwelling behind, sundry workshops, etc.
21. House of Commons Library, *Inflation: the value of the pound 1750-2002*, (Research papers 03/82), November 2003.
22. P.M. Tillott, editor, *A history of Yorkshire. The City of York* The Victoria History of the Counties of England (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 254.
23. Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, p. 260.
24. Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, p. 258-9.
25. York Trade Directories show the competition among grocers and tea dealers was considerable – in 1828 there were 47 grocers and tea dealers in York, 1851 there were 49, 1858 there were 53.
26. W. Cammidge, *Ye olde street of Pavement*, (*Yorkshire Gazette*, [1893]), pp. 181-4.
27. A. J. Peacock, *York in the age of reform* (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of York, 1973), pp. 380-1.
28. 'We left York by the Wellington on Sunday evening, four convicts, females, in the coach', Rowntree, *A family Memoir*, p.121, Rowntree's memorandum on attending Yearly Meeting, May 1829.
29. C. H. Feinstein, 'Population, occupations and economic development 1831-1981', in C. H. Feinstein, editor, *York 1831-1981* (York, 1981), p. 128.
30. Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, p. 262.
31. Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, p. 291.
32. Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, p. 268.
33. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 179, Joseph Rowntree's speech in favour of bonded warehouses.
34. Examples of other towns' local Acts – North Shields 1828, Exeter 1832, Birkenhead 1833, St Helens 1845, St Ives (Huntingdonshire) 1847.
35. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp.162-3.
36. Improvement Commissioners, *Minute Books*, 1825-1850. York City Archives.
37. Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, pp. 461-2.
38. Improvement Commissioners, *Minute Books*, 20 Sept 1845, 20 Jan 1846, York City Archives.
39. 'The debt which 3 or 4 years ago amounted to about £1500 is now reduced to about £1000', *York Courant*, 26 April 1831.
40. Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, p. 278.
41. York City Council, *Minutes*, 8 Aug 1859, York City Archives.
42. York City Council, *Minutes*, 27 April 1847, York City Archives.

43. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 443, Joseph Rowntree's speech on the Town's Improvement Bill, 22 April 1847.
44. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 439-40, Joseph Rowntree's speech on the Town's Improvement Bill, 22 April 1847.
45. Rowntree contributed Appendix 12 on schools for the poor.
46. T. Laycock, *Report on the state of York, 1844*, Parliamentary Papers 1844 (572), pp. 93-129.
47. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 436-39, Joseph Rowntree's speech on the formation of the Health of Towns' Association, 10 September 1846.
48. 'Joseph Rowntree of York', repr. from *Annual Monitor*, 1860, p. 15.
49. *Yorkshireman*, 26 October 1850.
50. A. J. Peacock, *York in the age of reform*, pp. 613-17.
51. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 692-3, Joseph Rowntree's speech on election as Lord Mayor of York, 9 November 1858.
52. York City Council, *Minutes*, 8 Sept 1851, York City Archives.
53. York City Council, *Minutes*, 10 June 1852, York City Archives.
54. See Appendix on JR's work on the Improvement Commission – final entry.
55. York City Council, *Minutes*, 11 October 1852, York City Archives.
56. York City Council, *Minutes*, 4 March 1856, York City Archives.
57. York City Council, *Minutes*, 11 Oct 1852, York City Archives.
58. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 685, 'It was exceedingly interesting...He had noted it on several occasions...it allows the water to run off so excellently as to prevent the stagnation on the islands and the deposition of vegetable matter'. Joseph Rowntree's speech on the successful drainage of the Foss Islands, October 1856.
59. York City Council, *Minutes*, Memorial to General Board, 25 Aug 1856, York City Archives.
60. 'I am ...to express the surprise of the President that ... the Local Board did not apply for this sanction before executing the works...They...might have avoided the illegality of borrowing money...', York City Council, *Minutes*, 9 Feb 1857, York City Archives.
61. 'Memorials have been received from the vestries of St Michael Spurriergate and St Mary Castlegate complaining that the Local Board are about to construct certain sewers...calculated to cause a nuisance and depreciate the value of property', York City Council, *Minutes*, 10 Aug 1857, York City Archives.
62. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 1 Aug 1857.
63. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 16 May 1857.
64. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 18 April 1857.
65. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 16 May 1857.
66. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 558, Joseph Rowntree's speech to York City Council on the proposed sale of the Theatre, December 1852.
67. Obituary for Joseph Rowntree. *Yorkshire Herald*, 5 Nov 1859.
68. 24 per 1000 in the 1840s to 1860s, rising to 25.2 in the 1870s, Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, pp. 282-3.
69. Speech by the younger Joseph Rowntree on receiving Hon. Freedom of City, *Yorkshire Herald*, 18 May 1911.
70. 'Our city is in the spirit of electioneering. Dundas [Whig] is canvassing with much prospect of success. I keep myself very quiet, although I much desire his success', Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 176, Letter from Joseph Rowntree to his wife, 11 October 1833.
71. 'Joseph Rowntree of York', repr. from *Annual Monitor*, 1860, p. 15.
72. See Cammidge, *Ye olde street of Pavement*, pp. 161-5 for descriptions of rowdy, drunken hustings, often taking place in Pavement.
73. 'I expect to be examined to-morrow, and I fear at considerable length...it appears tedious. I sincerely wish that its termination may be friendly to true morality', Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 213, Letter from Joseph Rowntree to his wife, 19 August 1835.
74. Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, p. 268.
75. *York Courant*, 2 November 1837.
76. 'Did not this committee, headed by Mr Rowntree the radical Quaker, INCREASE the tolls on goods...to the utmost height...thereby raising the price of coals, etc – Flour and Salt are exceptions...[in which]...Mr Rowntree deals extensively', *York Herald*, 29 Oct 1836.
77. Tillott, *A history of Yorkshire*, p. 289.
78. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 261-2.

79. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 215-7, Joseph Rowntree's speech at the formation of the York and North Midland Railway Company, *York Courant*, 15 October 1835.
80. Richard S. Lambert, *The railway king, 1800-1871*, (London, 1934), pp.54-5.
81. 'He objected to the principle of giving the chairman a bonus before the Act [setting up the company] was obtained and before the services of the chairman were completed', A.J. Peacock, *George Hudson, 1800-1871: The railway king*, (York, 1988), pp. 111-12.
82. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 483-4.
83. 'Joseph Rowntree of York', repr. from *Annual Monitor*, 1860, p. 15.
84. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 534, Speech by Joseph Rowntree while chairing an election meeting for Robert Pashley, 12 April 1852.
85. Rufus Jones, *The later periods of Quakerism*, (London, 1921), p. 944.
86. Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford, 1970)p. 214.
87. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 530, Joseph Rowntree's speech on the Militia Bill at a meeting of Liberal electors, 13 March 1852.
88. For example, the entries in Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, editors, *The dictionary of national biography*, (Oxford, 1921), vol. 17, p. 367; and in H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004), Vol.48, pp.29-30.
89. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 54; Sheila Wright, *Friends in York: the dynamics of Quaker revival 1780-1860* (Keele, 1995), p. 113 however numbers them around 150.
90. Wright, *Friends in York*, p. 13.
91. Such as Henry Tuke, *The principles of religion as professed by the society of Christians usually called Quakers* (York, 1819) and Lindley Murray, *The duty and benefit of a daily perusal of the Holy Scriptures in families*, (York, 1817).
92. Wright, *Friends in York*, p. 134.
93. Phoebe Doncaster, editor, *Memoir of John Stephenson Rowntree: his life and work*, (London, Headley Brothers, 1908), p. 7.
94. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 57.
95. 'Joseph Rowntree of York', repr. from *Annual Monitor*, 1860, p. 15.
96. Wright, *Friends in York*, pp. 89, 174-6.
97. Thomas C. Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920*, (Oxford, 2001), pp.20 & ff.
98. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 579-591, 651-55, Joseph Rowntree's letters and pamphlets on marriage regulations.
99. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 582; 3 letters from Joseph to John show him helping to edit his son's essay, pp. 662-68, September 1858.
100. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 724, Letter from Joseph Rowntree to the Committee of Meeting for Sufferings, 8 October 1859.
101. Stephen Allott, *Friends in York: the Quaker story in the life of a meeting* (York, 1978), p. 97.
102. 'Went to tea at Joseph Rowntree's. Sarah Rowntree is an exceedingly nice woman... and JR has a bonny little son about a year old, he is just learning to walk' H. W. Sturge and T. Clark, *The Mount School York 1785-1931* (London, Dent, 1931) p.48, Letter from Anne White to her mother, May 1835.
103. 'Believing as I do that the principles of our Christian profession, when heartily received, are eminently adapted to promote the glory of our Creator and the happiness of man, often, when I observe in young persons trained in our schools the absence of those principles, I ask myself 'Have the conductors of that school faithfully exercised the trusts committed to them?...Have their arrangements been the most favourable to shield their young charge from temptations, and their instructions to inculcate right principles of acting?' Rowntree, *A family Memoir*, p.330, Letter from Joseph Rowntree to a Friend, n.d.
104. 'It seems to me but reasonable to enquire whether the record of past experience offers any lessons of instruction', Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 320, Letter from Rowntree accompanying question sheets sent out to monthly meetings.
105. 'He believed that it was a common opinion that there were means at present existing for the education of all the poor in this land - that England was an educated country. He thought there was no fallacy more complete or more injurious in its consequences. It was true they occasionally saw the rising of a new schoolroom, ... but it was well known that every year brought with it an increased population; and if there was not an increase in the means of instructing that population, each succeeding year would find them in a worse situation', Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp.202-3, JR's speech on the British and Foreign School Society, *York Courant*, 10 April 1834.

106. A report signed by Samuel Tuke, 11th April 1826, quoted in Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 82; later published as Manchester Statistical Society, *Report of a Committee on the state of education in the City of York 1836-7* (London, 1837).
107. He was Secretary to the Hope Street School Committee for the rest of his life, Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 103.
108. Wright, *Friends in York*, p. 80-1.
109. Report of the Friends First Day School Association Conference, 1859, pp. 37-46, quoted by Wright, *Friends in York*, p. 81.
110. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p.310, letter from Rowntree to William Thistlethwaite, 12 August 1839.
111. 'The great truth that we must both (and I know not how soon) stand before the judgement seat of Christ, there to answer how we have discharged our duties personally', Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp.384-5, letter from Rowntree to a young man in his employ, York, 1834.
112. 'A very private letter', no. 10 in batch of 45 letters, Joseph Rowntree to John Stephenson Rowntree, Joseph Rowntree Foundation Archives, ARCH.02/5/2a. Not published in the *Memoir*, but copied out in manuscript, possibly for circulation.
113. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 503, Letter from Joseph to Sarah Rowntree, 21 April 1851.
114. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 160.
115. Rowntree, *A family memoir*; letter from William Thistlethwaite to John Stephenson Rowntree, 13 April 1867; and pp.391-99, letter from the younger Joseph Rowntree to his daughter 'little Lilly', December 1867, on life in his father's household.
116. The first, for example, York Bond of Brothers, was formed in March 1849 'to keep alive the friendship and interest which existed among the members during their tarrance with Joseph Rowntree', York Bond of Brotherhood 1849-60. MS letters, Friends House Library, MS Box O,1/11.
117. Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920*, p.44.
118. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 95-103.
119. Jones, *The later periods of Quakerism*, p.956-8.
120. Wright, *Friends in York*, p. 76.
121. *Yorkshire Herald*, 17 Nov 1832.
122. *Yorkshire Herald*, 17 Nov 1832.
123. In Water Lanes for example 'the first house [was] a spirit house' and a 'few yards further there [was] a beer shop, and three spirit shops, and all these within a distance of 92 yards', *York Courant*, 19 Nov 1840.
124. *Yorkshireman*, 30 Aug 1851.
125. Sturge and Clark, *The Mount School York 1785-1931*, p. 72.
126. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 536, Speech by Joseph Rowntree while chairing an election meeting for Robert Pashley, 12 April 1852.
127. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp.417-9, letter from Joseph Rowntree to Samuel Bewley, 31 December 1846, goes into great detail about every aspect – machinery, planning of kitchen, recipe for 100 gallons, including beef, peas, pearl barley, oatmeal, onions, carrots, celery, salt and pepper, etc.
128. *Yorkshireman*, 15, 20 June 1850.
129. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, pp. 265-9.
130. Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 157.
131. *York Courant*, 11 Aug 1836.
132. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 556, Joseph Rowntree's speech to York City Council on the proposed sale of the Theatre, December 1852.
133. This cost £483.13.7, when the Queen and Albert had not in fact stayed long enough to take the meal in York, A. J. Peacock, *York in the age of reform*, p. 604.
134. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 274, Joseph Rowntree's speech in opposition to the National Sunday League, York, January 1856.
135. Rowntree, *A family memoir*, p. 275, letter from Joseph Rowntree to Sarah Rowntree, 1840.
136. Cammidge, *Ye olde street of Pavement*, p. 191.
137. Joseph Rowntree, 'The Founder's memorandum, December 1904' in L. E. Waddilove, *Private philanthropy and public welfare*, (London, Allen & Unwin, 1983), p. xviii.
138. Between 1842 and 1859 Joseph Rowntree employed 51 shop assistants and apprentices, Wright, *Friends in York*, p. 129.
139. John S. Rowntree, *The place of the Society of Friends in the religious life of England* (London, Headley Brothers, 1897).

140. Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920*, p. 140.
141. *Yorkshire Weekly Express*, 1869-70.
142. From the Scarborough branch of the family.

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*Appendix**Routine committee work undertaken by Rowntree as an Improvement Commissioner*

Meeting	Work needed	Location
6.3.32	flagging	Three Grapes Lane
6.3.32	widening	Castlegate
3.4.32	nuisance	Goodramgate
17.4.32	drainage	Goodramgate
7.5.32	accounts	
21.8.32	New market	
21.8.33	hatchway/cellar	Fetter Lane
16.10.32	footpath	Castle Mills Bridge
4.12.32	New market	
15.1.33	accounts	
22.1.33	New market	
5.2.33	projecting window	Stonegate
12.2.33	accounts	

Meeting	Work needed	Location
12.2.33	New market	
19.3.33	widening	Hungate/Garden Place
6.5.33	accounts	
4.7.33	New market	
17.9.33	Accounts – examine IC expenditure	
11.9.33	accounts	
5.6.34	Gas lighting	
5.6.34	Accounts – examine IC expenditure	
5.8.34	widening	Ousegate
16.9.34	house alteration	Stonegate
21.10.34	macadamizing all new roads	
3.2.35	water/Gas install	Market Street
4.5.35	accounts	
4.8.35	drain	Dove's Passage
20.10.35	alterations	St Thomas Hosp/Punch Bowl Inn
15.12.35	new railway line	various Streets
2.1.36	widening	Castlegate
16.2.36	widening	Petergate
15.3.36	widening	St Saviourgate
7.6.36	Gas comps	
5.7.36	Gas main	
18.10.36	nuisance	Black Horse Passage
6.12.36	lighting	Dalton Terr
1.5.37	widening	Silver Street
6.6.37	market trustees	
6.6.37	lighting	suburbs
6.6.37	improvement	St Saviourgate
3.10.37	Accounts – efforts to liquidate balance now owing	
1.5.38	widening	Monkgate
19.6.38	paving	Newgate Lane
17.7.38	purchase ground	St Saviourgate
2.10.38	drainage	Swales' factory
16.10.38	widening	Hungate
5.11.38	widening	Spurriergate
1.1.39	bridge	over Thief Lane
30.5.39	Accounts – look into IC affairs	
30.9.39	drainage	Ousegate
1.10.39	widening	Lendal

Meeting	Work needed	Location
21.4.40	nuisance	Black Horse Passage privies
18.8.40	inspect roads	Holgate
17.11.40	drainage	Black Swan to Jubbergate
20.4.41	accounts	
3.8.41	accounts	
19.10.41	new road	Micklegate to Railway Station
7.12.41	notices to quit	New St
1.3.42	Gas Comps	
20.9.42	junction	Layerthorpe/Lawrence Street
4.10.42	footpath	St Saviourgate to Garden Place
18.4.42	widening	George St
21.3.43	accounts	
1.5.43	accounts	
4.7.43	flagging	Spen Lane
18.7.43	footpaths	Friargate/Water Lanes
15.8.43	projecting window	Mr Vaile's shop
19.9.43	widening	High Ousegate
19.9.43	roadway	Micklegate to Railway Station
3.10.43	flagging	St Andrewgate
6.11.43	drainage	Bootham
5.12.43	condition	Penley's Grove Street
5.12.43	Gas companies	
20.2.44	improvement	Lendal
20.2.44	improvement	Newgate Lane
6.5.44	drainage <u>for next 6 months</u>	
6.5.44	widening	Hungate
30.5.44	widening	Lowther Street
2.7.44	alteration	Ousegate house
6.8.44	flagging	New Street
6.8.44	flagging	Monkgate
20.8.44	drainage	New Street
1.10.44	lighting	Lady Peckitts Yard
1.10.44	lighting	Ouse Bridge
7.1.45	nuisance/manure	Castle Mills
5.5.45	accounts	
20.5.45	lighting	suburbs
20.5.45	water supply	
1.7.45	condition	Jubbergate houses
20.9.45	nuisance	River Foss condition
3.11.45	lighting	Long Close Lane
2.12.45	Waterworks Bill content	

Meeting	Work needed	Location
20.1.46	report on drainage of Foss Islands and purchase of Foss navigation	
3.2.46	condition	Castlegate garden
4.5.46	accounts	
16.6.46	drainage, paving and flagging <u>for 6 months</u>	
16.6.46	accounts	
1.12.46	consider erection of Lendal Bridge	
6.4.47	consideration of Lord Morpeth's Town Improvement Bill	
20.4.47	expenses of River Foss survey	
3.5.47	accounts	
17.8.47	widening	Monk Bar
1.5.48	Gas Comp	
16.5.48	repairs	Castle Mills Bridge
6.2.49	nuisances	St Cuthbert parish
3.4.49	Gas comp	
19.6.49	drainage, paving and flagging <u>for 12 months</u>	
16.4.50	widening	North Street
4.6.50	Commissioners in each ward to make a survey of their respective districts to ascertain their sanitary state	

