

Quaker Women, the Free Produce Movement
and British Anti-Slavery Campaigns:
The Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street
1853 – 1858

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Abstract

Using archival materials in the Library of the Religious Society of Friends in London (LRSF) and the Alfred Gillett Trust, at the shoemaking firm of C. & J. Clark (AGT), this thesis makes an empirical investigation into the 'Free Labour Cotton Depot' in the village of Street, in Somerset in the West Country of England.

The 'depot' was a stall, set up in the village temperance hall and was founded and run by Eleanor Stephens Clark, the Quaker wife of the shoemaking pioneer, James Clark. Between 1853 and 1858 the 'Street Depot' sold a highly specialised range of cotton goods, chiefly cotton cloth by the yard. The goods appealed to particular clientele, for they were verified as 'free labour,' and made from cotton grown by waged, or 'free' labour, rather than slave labour. This catered to customers who wished to participate in the 'Free Produce Movement,' which was a consumer-led strategy, set within the transatlantic anti-slavery movement in the nineteenth century.

Via the case study of the Street Depot, the thesis examines the British Free Produce Movement, and specifically its campaign against slave-grown cotton, from the 1830s to the 1860s. It examines the trading history of the Street Depot and it scrutinises the complex transatlantic free cotton supply chain, which provided free labour cotton cloth. It examines the Quaker and women's networks that operated within the movement, and it situates the work of the Free Produce Movement within the wider transatlantic campaign to end slavery. It examines the hitherto unrecognised anti-slavery work of Quaker wife, Eleanor Clark, and it explores her deeply-held moral opinions. The thesis also analyses the free produce cotton clothes worn by the Clark family, which it views as practical expressions of anti-slavery sentiment. It draws conclusions on the relationship between middle-class Quaker women, free produce activism, practical expressions of anti-slavery feeling and clothing made from free or 'ethical' cotton cloth.



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Black-and-white copy of an original photograph, dating to 1858.

It shows the Clark family of Street, arranged in a line, dressed in free labour cotton clothing.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. This thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed

Dated

Chapter One: Introduction

That if there were no consumers of slave produce, there would be no slaves, is an axiom too self-evident to the meanest capacity, to require us to use a single argument in its demonstration ... [Consumers'] own hands it is true, did not wield the blood-extorting lash, or rivet the fetter, but they know that it was done by others, in order to afford the cheapest rate the luxuries that they neither resign, nor make one exertion to obtain from the hands of freemen ... And the curse of blood is upon them! Though the dark red stain may not be there visibly, yet the blood of all the many thousands of the slain, who have died amid the horrors and loathsomeness of the slave-ship ... of those who have pined away to death beneath the slow tortures of a broken heart, or have perished beneath the tortures of inventive tyranny ... all this lies with a fearful weight upon this most foul and unnatural system, and that insatiable thirst for luxury and wealth in which it first originated, and by which it is still perpetuated.¹

Introduction to Anti-Slavery Activism and the Free Produce Movement

This extract is from an essay, entitled “Consumers,” written by the Philadelphian Quaker and anti-slavery activist, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler (1807 – 1834). It is one of two hundred passionate, emotional and provocative essays and poems, which were published from the 1820s to the 1850s, in both Britain and America.² Chandler was devoted to the anti-slavery cause, and in many of her poems and essays, she advocated what was known as the ‘free produce rationale;’ complete avoidance of any goods made by the labour of slaves. From the 1820s, the rationale became the backbone of a consumer-led strategy in the anti-slavery movement, which became known as the ‘Free Produce Movement.’ From the later nineteenth century this and other forms of consumer activism became known as a ‘boycott.’³

Chandler’s work helps us to understand the sentiments and motivation of the supporters of free produce, dubbed here, the ‘free produce community.’ Her work spoke powerfully to the community; validating actions, inspiring strategies, cementing shared values and

¹ Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “Consumers,” (published 1836) Benjamin Lundy, Essays, Philanthropic and Moral by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler Principally Relating to the Abolition of Slavery in America (Philadelphia, Pa.: Howell, 1836) 113-115.

² Chandler wrote 200+ short essays, dialogues and poems. From 1826, she was published in the Genius of Universal Emancipation from 1829, she headed the papers “Ladies’ Repository.” In 1826 she was a founder member of the Philadelphia Ladies’ Free Produce Society. Her work continued to be published in the 1850s.

³ Monroe Friedman, Consumer Boycotts. Effecting Change Through the Marketplace and Media (London: Routledge, 1999) 5-6. In 1873, George Cunningham Boycott attempted for force tenant farmers of Lord Erne’s estate in County Mayo, Ireland to work for a fraction of their pay. The farmers went on strike, Boycott attempted to do the work himself but was unsuccessful, thus through their solidarity, the farmers won, and withdrawal of labour became known as a ‘boycott.’

articulating sentiment. In many ways, Chandler provided a voice for the community, which was eloquent in explaining the horrors of slavery and proposing an attractive ‘remedy,’ in the form of free labour activity. Her style was, in the words of her publisher Benjamin Lundy, especially pitched at women, for it was “tender, persuasive and heart-reaching.”⁴ Chandler expressed complete emotional revulsion at slave-made goods, and wishing to rouse the conscience of her readers, she argued that ‘we’ the consumers, must be made to “fix the conviction of blood-guiltiness in our bosoms” and to share the “guilt of slavery” through free produce activity.

Memorably, Chandler spelled out the rationale, which she expressed as a simple equation; “Slavery is sustained by the purchase of its productions. If there were no consumers of slave produce, there would be no slaves.”⁵ This made it clear that slavery was reliant on the consumers of slave-made goods, who created the market for slavery’s products.⁶ The antidote was direct and immediate consumer action; the refusal of slave-made goods and the selection of only those made by free labour.

The Thesis

Using archival materials in the Library of the Religious Society of Friends in London (LRSF), and private archives in the Alfred Gillett Trust (AGT) at the shoemaking firm of C. & J. Clark in Street, this thesis makes a detailed, empirical investigation into the ‘Free Labour Cotton Depot.’ This was a small shop in the small village of Street in rural Somerset, in the West Country of England. It sold goods only made by free labour, rather than the labour of slaves, henceforth in the thesis, this establishment will be known as the ‘Street Depot.’ As will be fully explored, the Street Depot was founded and run by Eleanor Stephens Clark (1812 – 1879), the Quaker wife of the shoemaking pioneer, James Clark (1811 – 1906). Between opening in 1853 and closure in 1858, the Street Depot sold a highly specialised range of cotton goods, to customers who wished to participate in the Free Produce Movement.

⁴ Lundy, *Essays* 13.

⁵ Chandler, “Consumers,” 113.

⁶ The movement targeted items containing slave-sugar e.g. rum, sweets, cakes and biscuits. Other products were targeted e.g. indigo dye, tobacco, rice, spices especially cinnamon, black pepper, cloves, cassia, nutmeg, pimento, ginger, arrowroot, citrus fruits, coffee, cocoa and tea. See Anna and Henry Richardson, “There is Death in the Pot!” (London: Gilpin, n.d., ?1848): 40-41, for a list of slave-made products and free labour ones.

The thesis will place something very small, even ‘marginal,’ such as the depot, in the context of a broader campaign, or movement, and specifically the campaign against slave-grown cotton, which ran from the 1830s to the 1860s. It will examine the trading activities at the depot, and it will scrutinise the Anglo-British supply chain, which provided free labour cotton cloth to customers on both sides of the Atlantic. It will examine a specific group of Quaker women, in Street, during a short period during the 1850s, a case study which narrates the story of women’s journey from the private world of home, into the public world of anti-slavery activism. The thesis examines the hitherto unrecognised anti-slavery work of Eleanor Clark, and it will explore the factors that shaped her philanthropy, and the milieu of middle-class, evangelical charitable activity in which she operated. Thus the thesis informs our understanding of how Quaker women’s anti-slavery activism developed during the mid-nineteenth century, and in turn this will inform our understanding of women’s history in a specifically Quaker setting. This provides a background to women’s continuing progress into public culture activities, such as politics during the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus the study of Clark’s free produce activism forms a contribution to the ongoing investigation into women’s activism and feminism.

The study of textiles and dress will play an important role in the thesis, for it examines the issues surrounding Quaker women’s consumption of free labour cotton cloth, and it gives a detailed analysis of the free produce clothes worn by the Clark family. These are revealed through two important photographs of the family (see Figures, 1.1, 2.7, 2.8, 2.8a, 2.9 and 2.10), dubbed here the ‘free produce photographs.’ The thesis will discuss how the free labour cotton clothes shown in the photographs were practical expressions of anti-slavery sentiment, which it argues, were central to the enactment of anti-slavery activism and in building an anti-slavery identity. The thesis takes the view that materiality of these items of clothing provides compelling evidence of the views of the wearers, and this is how the Clarks displayed and communicated their anti-slavery beliefs. The approach of foregrounding objects is now well integrated into the study of dress, especially in the work of Lou Taylor.⁷ The approach of scrutinising objects, rather than text, is less familiar in the

⁷ Lou Taylor, The Study of Dress History (Manchester: M U P, 2002), “Doing the Laundry? A Reassessment of Object-Based Dress History,” Fashion Theory 2:4 (1998): 337-358 and Establishing Dress History (Manchester: M U P, 2004). Anthropologists who focus on dress include: Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Eicher (eds), Dress, Adornment and Social Order (New York: John Higgins, 1965), Roach and Eicher, “The Language of Personal Adornment,” in Justine Cordwell and Ronald Schwarz (eds) The Fabrics of Culture:

studies of slavery. With the exception of works by John Oldfield, Lynne Walker, Vron Ware and Marcus Wood, it is more commonplace to scrutinise texts, rather than objects for information on the anti-slavery movement.⁸ It should however be pointed out, that whilst the works by Oldfield, Walker, Ware and Wood address images and objects, they do not discuss clothing, and therefore this thesis will propose new insights in the field of anti-slavery studies. Dress is of course vitally important, for as anthropologists have shown clothing performs vital functions within human society. As Joanne Eicher explains, dress is “a communicative symbol that serves crucial functions within human lives ... to indicate social roles, to establish social worth ... and [the] reinforcement of beliefs, customs and values.”⁹ The thesis takes this view that dress performs “crucial functions” and it applies it to the context of anti-slavery activism.

The thesis develops from the analysis of several primary sources. The first are textual sources from the nineteenth century; unpublished works such as letters and diaries and printed books and pamphlets. It also draws on editions of certain specialist 19th century newspapers. Notably, these are: the anti-slavery newspaper, The Anti-Slavery Reporter, (especially the period 1845 – 1865); Quaker newspapers, The Friend and the British Friend (especially the period 1845 – 1865); and the free produce newspaper, The Slave; His Wrongs, Their Remedy (published 1851 – 1856). Various archival trading records of the Street Depot have also been consulted, including the record of its accounts, the “Account Book,” and receipts from manufacturers. Objects and visual sources are also of primary importance: the extant clothing of the Clark family, dating to the 1850s; Quaker dress in other collections; manufacturer’s samples of free labour cotton cloth sent to the Street Depot; photographs of Quakers and especially photographic ‘cartes de visite,’ or visiting cards, which often recorded the sitter’s ‘best’ items of dress, for public display.

Summary Introduction to Quakers, Women and the Free Produce Movement

The Anthropology of Adornment (The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton, 1979), Roach, Eicher and Kim Johnson (eds), Dress and Identity (NY: Fairchild, 1995).

⁸ John Oldfield, Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery. The Mobilisation of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade (Manchester, M U P, 1997); Lynne Walker and Vron Ware, “Political Pincushions: decorating the Abolitionist Interior,” in Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd, Domestic Space. Reading the Nineteenth Century Interior (Manchester: M U P, 1999) pp.58-83. Marcus Wood, Blind Memory. Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780 – 1865 (Manchester: M U P, 2000).

⁹ Roach and Eicher, “The Language of Personal Adornment,” 21.

The thesis will examine how the practice of abstention or avoidance of slave-made goods occurred periodically from the early 1700s, until the end of American slavery in 1865. It should be noted that in the 1820s, abstention segued into selective purchasing, facilitated by ‘free produce societies,’ which were run from women’s anti-slavery societies. The first opened in 1826; at the ‘Philadelphia Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society’ in America, and another at the ‘Ladies’ Society at Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves’ in Birmingham, later known as the ‘Female Society for Birmingham,’ and the ‘Birmingham Ladies’ Negro’s Friend Society.’¹⁰ The society in Birmingham was enormously important to many aspects of female anti-slavery activism in Britain, and as will be explained, it was linked with the Street Depot.

Although the Free Produce Movement attracted much support from men, it chiefly concerned women, in their practical capacities, caring for their families and running their homes. In the nineteenth century, and especially under the influence of the evangelical movement, women were unequivocally regarded as the ‘natural’ custodians of the domestic sphere of home, which meant that they were virtually autonomous in deciding what goods were purchased and how they were used across household departments.¹¹ Therefore, at a time when women were excluded from formal positions of power within the national anti-slavery societies, they actually wielded considerable power at home; through the selection, or rejection, of slave-made or free labour products. Women’s agency was recognised by Quaker abolitionist Elizabeth Heyrick (1769 – 1831), who in 1827, wrote that campaigns against slave-goods should be pitched at women, for “they [women] are the chief controllers; they for the most part provide the articles of family consumption.”¹²

This thesis is specific in its focus on Quaker women; Eleanor Clark and her network of free produce supporters. It should be noted that from the outset, Quaker involvement was a powerful factor in determining the success anti-slavery movement, and as charted by leading abolitionist, Thomas Clarkson (1760 – 1846), Quakers held a powerful position of

¹⁰ Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery. The British Campaigns 1780 – 1870* (London: Routledge, 1992) especially 43-62, 89-90, 97-98, 137, 198.

¹¹ John Styles and Amanda Vickery (eds), *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in North America 1700 – 1830* (New Haven and London: Yale U P, 2006) 4.

¹² Elizabeth Heyrick, “An Appeal to the Hearts and Conscience of British Women,” (Leicester: Cockshaw, 1828 [London: n.p., 1827]): 4-5.

moral authority in the movement.¹³ It follows that key supporters such as the Clarks of Street, the Sturges of Birmingham and the Richardsons of Newcastle were all prominent, ‘birthright’ Friends, or members of the Religious Society of Friends, known as ‘Quakers.’ Also relevant is the fact that Quaker families were extraordinarily closely connected to each other, via thriving networks, primarily formed through marriage, for endogamy was practised exclusively until the late 1850s.¹⁴ Close personal friendships, shared moral and evangelical values, mutual attitudes to reform, philanthropy and commerce also cemented the close connections between Quaker women. These networks interlaced and underpinned Quaker connectivity within Britain and America, and they also consolidated free produce activity, which relied on word-of-mouth endorsement.¹⁵ Importantly, the Sturge and Clark families were closely connected through familial contact, for James Clark was a first cousin of Joseph Sturge (1793 – 1857), a key worker in the anti-slavery cause. The Clark-Sturge connection was augmented by personal friendships, shared support for evangelical Quakerism, commitment to social reform and during the 1820s, a joint business venture in corn trading.¹⁶ Joseph’s sister, Sophia Sturge and his second wife, Hannah Dickinson Sturge provided an important link to Eleanor Clark, and they were enthusiastic fellow campaigners in the anti-slavery cause.

Quaker prominence has been recognised by the key historian of the Free Produce Movement, Ruth Nuermberger, who has dubbed the movement, “a Quaker protest against slavery.”¹⁷ Clearly, Quakers were drawn to free produce for a number of reasons; their market-based backgrounds, and desire for a morally responsible lifestyle were compatible with the use of special, ‘ethical’ products. It must be stressed that free produce activity

¹³ Thomas Clarkson, A Portraiture of Quakerism as taken from a view of the Moral Education, Religious Principles, Political and Civil Economy and Character of the Society of Friends 3 vols (London: Longman, 1806), A History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishments of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by British Parliament 2 vols (London: Cass, 1808) and The Memories and Private Life of William Penn (London, 1813).

¹⁴ Elizabeth Isichei, Victorian Quakers (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970) and Ian Bradley, The Call to Seriousness. The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976).

¹⁵ David Brion Davis, “The Quaker Ethic and the Antislavery International,” in Thomas Bender (ed), The Antislavery Debate. Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation (Berkeley, Ca.: U of California, 1992) 36; James Walvin, the Quakers. Money and Morals (London: John Murray, 1997); Edward Milligan, “Introduction,” British Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1775 – 1920 (York: Sessions Book Trust, 2007).

¹⁶ George Barry Sutton, C. & J. Clark a History of Shoemaking in Street (York: Sessions, 1979) 103-125. Sutton explains the complex business arrangements between the families, which included a joint corn factoring business between four of the cousins.

¹⁷ Ruth Ketring Nuermberger, The Free Produce Movement. A Quaker Protest Against Slavery (New York: AMS Press, 1970 [Duke University Press, 1942]).

required commitment by the consumer, for at times, items were hard to find and goods could be more expensive. This meant that free produce activity was relatively confined to wealthy and socially committed persons, such as the Quaker middle classes.¹⁸

The Quaker faith began in the mid-seventeenth century, in the North of England, as part of the dissenting Protestant reform movement.¹⁹ In addition to the Bible, Quakers were guided by distinct moral principles or ‘Testimonies’ which provided a moral framework and encouraged Quakers to act upon their consciences.²⁰ Quakers felt considerable ambivalence with what they called ‘the world,’ meaning society in general, and traditional or ‘plain’ dress acted as a ‘hedge’ or barrier to the debased and corrupted ways of the world.²¹ Importantly, Friends saw clear connections between the world of goods and a debased society where avarice and corruption flourished. Quakers were amongst the first to mark their objection to slavery through refusing to buy slave-made goods, early abstainers being Benjamin Lay (b. 1677) and John Woolman (1720 – 1772).²² Woolman’s influence was formative and long after his death, his trademark plain, homespun, woollen clothing married a personal abhorrence of slavery with a wider critique of luxury. This struck deep roots with Quaker free produce campaigners.²³

This study will chart the progress of the British Free Produce Movement, from the 1790s to the 1860s. The ‘sugar boycotts’ of the 1790s and 1820s were highly effective in mobilising popular support and raising awareness of the possibility of bringing market-based strategies to anti-slavery.²⁴ A landmark was 1839, when Joseph Sturge formed the British

¹⁸ For useful summaries of Quakers in anti-slavery, see James Walvin, “British Abolitionism 1787 – 1838,” in Anthony Tibbles (ed), Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity (Liverpool: Liverpool Museums, 2005 [1994]) 83-93; Christopher Leslie Brown, Moral Capital. The Foundations of British Abolitionism (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of N C P, 2006).

¹⁹ For history of the faith, see: John Punshon, Portrait in Grey. A Short History of the Quakers (London: Quaker Books, 2006 [1984]); Benjamin Pink Dandelion, The Quakers. A Very Short Introduction (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008), with useful annotated bibliography; Dandelion, Introduction to Quakerism. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Thomas Hamm, The Transformation of American Quakerism. Orthodox Friends 1800 – 1907. (Bloomington, Ia.: Indiana UP, 1988).

²⁰ <<http://www.quaker.org.uk>> (accessed 28 February, 2012).

²¹ For explanations of plainness see Punshon, 128, 149-150. For the plain aesthetic see: Frederick Tolles, “‘Of the Best Sort But Plain’: The Quaker Esthetic,” American Quarterly 11:4 (1959): 484-502; Emma Lapsansky-Werner and Anne Verplanck (eds), Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption (Philadelphia, Pa.: U of Pennsylvania P, 2003).

²² For the history of American abstainers, see Nuermberger, 4-7.

²³ Geoffrey Plank, “The First Person in the Antislavery Literature: John Woolman, his Clothes and his Journal,” Slavery and Abolition 30:1 (March, 2009): 67-91, 72.

²⁴ For detailed analysis see Clare Midgley, “Slave Sugar Boycotts, Female Activism and the Domestic Base of British Anti-Slavery Culture,” Slavery and Abolition 17: 3 (1996): 137-162; Charlotte Sussman,

and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS), and in 1849 he founded the British Free Produce Association (BFPA), as a sub-committee. This cemented institutional support for the movement. Unfortunately, the minutes of the BFPA have not survived, and its precise workings may never be known, but its activities are mentioned in the “Minutes” of the BFASS, and were frequently reported in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, the monthly periodical of the Society, edited by Sturge.²⁵ The primary objective of the BFPA was to ease the supply of free produce goods to the marketplace, and it heartily encouraged the opening of free produce shops. The Association opened two free labour warehouses, one in Manchester, run by Josias Browne, and another in London, run by Elizabeth Inglis. Both stores were directly linked to the Street Depot, for Clark bought the bulk of her goods from Browne, and she was associated with Inglis, through a female philanthropic sewing society called ‘The Olive Leaf Society,’ to which they both belonged, and which raised funds for the Connecticut peace and anti-slavery campaigner, Elihu Burritt (1810 – 1879).

The Free Produce Movement’s belief in the efficacy of a market-based strategy to defeat slavery should be seen in the light of the industrialising process that transformed British society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This process greatly increased access to goods of all types, and it served a growing ‘consumer revolution.’²⁶ Possessions, such as textiles and dress became visible markers of taste and identity, especially among the middle classes.²⁷ From the 1760s until the early 1800s, the rise of consumerism coincided with a period of turbulent political activity in America and Europe. During this ‘age of revolutions,’ political and consumer activity became actively intertwined, for goods not only fostered individual and collective identities, they also became powerful and legitimate tools with which to express such opinions.²⁸ Thus politicised consumerism such as free produce activity permitted ordinary people, and especially women, who were

Consuming Anxieties. Consumer Protest, Gender & British Slavery 1713 – 1833 (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford U P, 2000) especially Chapter 4 “Women and the Politics of Sugar,” 110-129.

²⁵ The Minutes of the newly-convened BFASS noted, in Point 6 of its Constitution: “To recommend the use of free-grown produce in preference to slave-grown, and the promotion of fiscal regulations in favour of the former.” “Minute Book Volume 1 of the British Anti-Slavery Society” (27 February, 1839) 3. Rhodes House Library, the Bodleian Library, Oxford MSS Brit Emp s.20 E2/6.

²⁶ Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds) Luxury in the Eighteenth Century. Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds) Consumption and the World of Goods (London: Routledge, 1993).

²⁷ Amanda Vickery, The Gentleman’s Daughter. Women’s Lives in Georgian England (New Haven, Ct.: Yale U P, 1998).

²⁸ Matthew Hilton, Consumerism in 20th Century Britain. The Search for a Historical Movement (Cambridge: C U P, 2003) 1-3.

otherwise disenfranchised from decision-making, to participate in political activism.²⁹ Market-based strategies such as this followed the reasoning of Adam Smith, who in 1776 famously stated that “Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production,” meaning that the two activities were completely reliant on each other.³⁰ Smith’s principles continued to inform economic theories on supply and demand into the nineteenth century and they provided a respected rationale for free produce activism.³¹ From the 1820s the Free Produce Movement gained momentum, and in the opinion of Seymour Drescher, the boycott campaigns were “prime strategies” in the popular anti-slavery movement.³²

The thesis will focus on a specific phase of the Free Produce Movement; the campaign against slave-grown cotton, which ran from the 1830s to the 1860s. This period saw increased female participation in anti-slavery activity, through the practical actions that free produce encouraged. The view that women were revitalising the cause and leading campaigns from the 1820s conflicts somewhat with the old, traditional view of the anti-slavery narrative, as voiced by Howard Temperley in his work British Antislavery 1833 – 1870 (1972). Focusing on the work of the British Anti-Slavery Society, Temperley emphasises that membership grew in the 1790s, growing in the 1830s, peaking in 1833, after which it waned “catastrophically.”³³ This viewpoint however, only considers male membership of the Society, and it does not factor in the dramatic rise in numbers of women. As Clare Midgley has incontrovertibly established, from the 1820s, women joined the cause in large numbers, flocking to the new, all-female anti-slavery societies, where they played “leading roles in the successive stages of the anti-slavery campaign.”³⁴ Since the publication of Midgley’s work (1992), there has been a far greater recognition of women’s work in the anti-slavery movement, and the view expressed by Temperley of

²⁹ Oldfield, 155.

³⁰ Tim Breen, “Will American Consumers Buy a Second American Revolution?” Journal of American History 93:2 (September, 2008): 408-421, 409; Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations 3 vols (London: Penguin, 1999 [1776]) vol 2, 179.

³¹ For the legacies of Smith in the consumer revolutions see Colin Campbell, The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism (London: Alcuin, 2005 [1987]); Rosalind Williams, Dream Worlds. Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth Century France (Berkeley, Ca.: U of California P, 1999).

³² Seymour Drescher, Abolition. A History of Slavery and Antislavery (Cambridge: C U P, 2009) 249.

³³ Howard Temperley, British Antislavery 1833-1870 (London: Longman, 1972); David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U P, 1975) and “What the Abolitionists Were Up Against” in Bender, 17-27; Drescher, Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition (Pittsburgh, Pa: U of Pittsburgh P, 1977).

³⁴ Midgley, Women Against Slavery 3-4.

women's position at the "margins" of abolitionism has now been considerably re-written.³⁵

For example, Drescher's recent volume states that women formed an important and distinctive "independent organisational component" of the British popular anti-slavery movement.³⁶ This thesis will further consolidate the ongoing recognition of women's role in the anti-slavery narrative, through their highly politicised free produce activities.

This thesis proposes that women were decisive in enacting consumer-based activism, they were crucial to the anti-slavery movement and that this journey took them into public culture. Women rooted anti-slavery activity in their domestic lives, bringing free produce goods into their homes, to be eaten, used and worn. It was especially through 'women's work' of sewing, that women created a powerful means of expressing their anti-slavery activism. In addition, since clothing is a public display, it is particularly expressive in communicating the wearer's public identity. Women also sewed free cotton into goods which were sold at anti-slavery and free produce fairs, which raised valuable funds for the cause. In short, whilst creating a strong domestic base for anti-slavery goods, women negotiated wider positions within the three 'spheres' of influence; from the domestic sphere of home, to the 'intermediate' or 'social sphere,' which as Midgley explains, encompassed "organised philanthropic work for women," and into the third, or public sphere of commerce and politics.³⁷ It should be noted that the spheres of influence were not very clearly defined, and that free produce activity enabled participants such as Eleanor Clark to effectively negotiate any boundaries between them.

Introduction to the Campaign Against Slave-Grown Cotton

The focus on the period of the 1830s – 1860s addresses a comparatively obscure aspect of the anti-slavery narrative, which has been subject to less scrutiny than the earlier, Abolition phase from the 1780s to the 1807. In the 1830s, free produce focus switched from sugar to cotton, for the sharp rise in British imports of American slave-grown cotton pushed it into the spotlight, and begged questions as to why its usage was permitted to continue. As is

³⁵ Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism. Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of NC P, 1998) and *Abolitionists Remember. Antislavery Autobiographies and the Unfinished Work of Emancipation* (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of N C P, 2008); Elizabeth Clapp and Julie Roy Jeffrey (eds), *Women, Dissent and Anti-Slavery in Britain and America 1790 – 1865* (Oxford: OUP, 2011); Carol Faulkner *Lucretia Mott's Heresy: Abolition and Women's Rights in Nineteenth Century America* (Philadelphia, Pa.: U of Pennsylvania P, 2011). Temperley 246.

³⁶ Drescher, *Abolition* 249.

³⁷ Midgley, *Feminism and Empire. Women Activists in Britain 1790-1865* (London: Routledge, 2007) 8.

well-established, from the 1830s, the British cotton industry demanded increasing quantities of raw cotton, in order to satisfy the growing ‘hunger’ for cheap, cotton textiles which were mass-produced in Manchester.³⁸ By the early 1840s, raw American cotton, grown by slave-labour had eclipsed other sources, and consequently Britain’s economic reliance on American plantation slavery was startling. In light of the scale of the dependency, the campaign against slave-grown cotton was fraught with practical problems, for global shortages of raw cotton prevented the establishment of a straightforward supply chain, and free-labour cotton remained scarce. In addition, the leading American anti-slavery campaigner, William Lloyd Garrison (1805 – 1879) made a serious attack on free produce, which he viewed as a “dangerous distraction” from the issue of immediate emancipation of the enslaved. This created negative publicity, complicating the pattern of support and creating a ‘great divide’ among abolitionists.³⁹

The thesis will chart how the campaign against slave-cotton was taken up by a number of high-profile American abolitionists, who visited Britain and made a significant impact on British audiences. Notably these were Philadelphia Quakers, Lucretia and James Mott, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of the foremost anti-slavery novel Uncle Tom’s Cabin (1852).⁴⁰ Elihu Burritt also took on a practical role in promoting free cotton to his Olive Leaf ‘League Sisters’ such as Clark, and encouraging new commercial outlets to sell free cotton.⁴¹ Many African-American abolitionists also endorsed the campaign, particularly Henry Highland Garnet (1815 – 1882) and Frederick Douglass (1818 – 1895) who brought

³⁸ Douglas Farnie, The English Cotton Industry and the World Market 1815 – 1896 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979) and Douglas Farnie and Jeremy David (eds), The Fibre that Changed the World. The Cotton Industry in International Perspective 1600 – 1900 (Oxford: O U P, 2004); Mary Rose (ed), The Lancashire Cotton Industry A History Since 1700 (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1996); Beverly Lemire, Cotton (Oxford: Berg, 2011); Arthur Silver, Manchester Men and Indian Cotton 1847 – 1872 (Manchester: M U P, 1966); For the history of cotton’s rise in popularity, see Beverly Lemire, Fashion’s Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain 1600-1800. (Oxford: O U P, 1991). For a useful summary of cotton manufacturing, see: <<http://www.spinningtheweb.org>> (accessed, 28 February, 2012).

³⁹ Temperley, 184-221.

⁴⁰ Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom’s Cabin or Life Among the Lowly (London: Sampson, 1852). For the impacts of the novel, see: Sarah Meer, Uncle Tom Mania. Slavery, Minstrelsy and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s (Athens, Ga.: U of Georgia P, 2005); Audrey Fisch, American Slaves in Victorian England. Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture. (Cambridge: C U P, 2000); Wood, Blind Memory.

⁴¹ Peter Tolis, Elihu Burritt. Crusader For Brotherhood (Hamden Ct.: Archon, 1968); Merle Curti, The Learned Blacksmith (NY: Wilson, 1937) and Wendy Chmielewski, “Women’s Work Against War in 1846: The Transatlantic Peace Movement in Exeter and Philadelphia,” unpublished paper presented at the “British International Studies Association Conference” (University of Exeter, 15-17 December, 2008).

authenticity and gravitas to the campaign.⁴² The outspoken and highly political views of these abolitionists ensured that free produce was associated with some of the most radical and opponents of slavery.⁴³

The thesis will examine how the Quaker network was essential in maintaining the supply chain, in all stages of cotton's journey. Quaker George Washington Taylor (1803 – 1891) of Philadelphia was the key mediator in America, responsible for shipment of raw cotton to Britain, selling cotton as his free produce store and small-scale production of textiles.⁴⁴ When demand outstripped American manufacturing capacity in the 1840s, increasingly cloth was manufactured in Manchester, for the home and export markets.⁴⁵ Here, the Quaker cotton agent, Josias Browne emerged as the primary agent, who was responsible for promoting the cause together with overseeing the manufacture and sale of goods to customers on both sides of the Atlantic, and including Clark. (See manufacturers and suppliers in Appendix 3).⁴⁶

The key exponents of the campaign against slave-grown cotton will be explored. From the 1840s, the Richardson family of Newcastle became the foremost workers in Britain. Anna Atkins Richardson, also known as 'Anna Henry' (c.1806 – 1892), her husband, Henry Richardson (1806 – 1885) and his sister, Ellen Richardson (1808 – 1896) were exceedingly motivated activists, who wrote extensively on the subject.⁴⁷ Between 1851 and 1855, they published the only free produce periodical in Britain, entitled, The Slave; His Wrongs, And Their Remedy, from 1855 – 1856, and when publication was interrupted in 1855, the paper was taken on by Burritt. The first section, "The Wrongs of Slavery" highlighted the abuse of slaves, and the second section, "The Remedy" offered the 'solution,' or free produce. It is significant that a copy is archived among Eleanor Clark's papers relating to the Street Depot, suggesting that The Slave may have informed her work at the depot in Street.⁴⁸

⁴² Richard Blackett, Building an Anti-Slavery Wall. Black Abolitionists and the Atlantic Movement 1830 – 1860 (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State U P, 1983); Peter Ripley, The Black Abolitionist Papers Volume 1 The British Isles 1830-1865. (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of N C P, 1985).

⁴³ Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 378.

⁴⁴ Nuernberger, 84-99. Taylor ran the Philadelphia Free Produce Store between 1847 and 1867, Secretary of the Philadelphia Free Produce Society and editor of Liberator.

⁴⁵ Nuernberger, 60-100.

⁴⁶ Josias Browne wrote pamphlets, To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Societies (n.p., n.d., ?1852) and To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Movement (n.p., n.d., ?1853).

⁴⁷ John William Steel, A Historical Sketch of the Society of Friends in Scorn Called Quakers, in Newcastle and Gateshead 1653 – 1898 (London: Headley Bros., 1899) 189-198; Milligan, 361.

⁴⁸ The Slave. His Wrongs; And Their Remedy (September, 1853) LRSF, MS 8:4, 6.

The Thesis and its Contributions to the Field

The aims and objectives of this thesis are to address several aspects of the anti-slavery narrative, and to make a contribution to our understanding of the period 1830s to the 1860s. Through a specific case study, of the work of Eleanor Clark at the Street Depot, this will put a focus on textiles and dress, and will foreground free produce dress as an important marker of women's anti-slavery identity. In turn this will contribute to understanding of Quaker women's history, and women's journey into public culture.

Free produce depots have been very little researched, and to date, the Street Depot has been discussed in print on just two occasions; in Louis Billington's article, "British Humanitarians and American Cotton 1840 – 1860," (1977) and in another written by the same author, with Rosamund Billington, entitled, "A Burning Zeal for Righteousness," (1987). These give useful, but highly compressed information.⁴⁹ Therefore this study contributes new and specific information on a British free produce depot, and its place in wider contexts.

The thesis will focus on the period 1830s – 1860s, which in general has been a relatively under-represented phase of the anti-slavery movement, with the campaigns of the 1850s being especially under-played. Temperley's work (1972) remains the single text on British anti-slavery in this period, but written forty years ago, this is a work that concentrates on the 'large' work of the Anti-Slavery Society, and which is deeply dismissive of the 'small' community-led activities of the 1850s. Temperley writes on these, "These were all marginal activities. Indeed, the whole of the British antislavery movement had become ... very much a marginal affair, with more than its share of cranks, visionaries and habitual schismatics."⁵⁰ Since these words were written there has been much revisiting of the anti-slavery narrative, and especially the work of women activists has been subject to greater scrutiny. In particular, the body of work by Clare Midgley,⁵¹ Julie Roy Jeffrey⁵² and Carol

⁴⁹ Louis Billington, "British Humanitarians and American Cotton 1840 – 1860," Journal of American Studies. 11:3 (1977): 313-334 and with Rosamund Billington, "'A Burning Zeal for Righteousness': Women in the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1820 – 1860," in Jane Rendall (ed), Equal or Different. Women's Politics 1800 – 1914 (London: Blackwell, 1987) 82-111.

⁵⁰ Temperley, 246.

⁵¹ Works by Clare Midgley include: Women Against Slavery, "Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth Century Britain," Gender and History 5:3 (1993): 343-362; "Women Anti-Slavery Campaigners, with Special Reference to the North East," North-East Labour History Bulletin 29 (1995): 20-1; "Slave Sugar Boycotts"; "'Remember Those in Bonds, as Bound With Them.'" Women's Approach to Anti-Slavery Campaigning in Britain, 1780-1870," in Women, Empire and Migration Joan Grant (ed), (Stoke on Trent: Trentham, 1996) 73-102; "British Women, Women's Rights and Empire, 1790-1850," in Women's Rights and Human Rights:

Faulkner⁵³ has significantly uncovered, addressed and re-assessed women's multifarious roles in the anti-slavery movement, and this includes their work during the 1850s. Three works stand out: Midgley's book Women Against Slavery (1992) which details British women's role in anti-slavery activism; Jeffrey's book, The Great Silent Army (1998) which discusses American women's contributions and Faulkner's article; "The Root of the Evil" (2007) which examines the Free Produce Movement in America. All three works recognise that women's activism gained momentum after the 1820s, and that women's free produce activism in the 1840s and 1850s was important for a number of reasons.⁵⁴ This thesis will add detail on British women's free produce activity and it will contribute specificity to the ground work, larger issues and wider contexts explored by these three important writers.

In terms of addressing the British aspects of the Free Produce Movement, and especially cotton, this thesis will make certain contributions. The single book on the Free Produce Movement remains Ruth Ketring Nuernberger's work, The Free Produce Movement. A Quaker Protest Against Slavery (1942). Written seventy years ago, this important work closely examines free produce activities, but it only addresses America and it offers few insights into British activism.⁵⁵ Subsequent assessments of the movement in Britain, by Kenneth Corfield and later, Elizabeth O'Donnell, acknowledge that the movement was an important episode in the British anti-slavery movement, but these writers concentrate on the campaigns against slave-grown sugar, and do not address cotton in detail.⁵⁶

It is true that historically, whilst early free produce activism against slave-sugar has been extensively discussed, far less research has been devoted to the later campaign against

International Historical Perspectives, Patricia Grimshaw et al (eds) (NY: Palgrave, 2001) 3-15; "British Abolitionism and Feminism Transatlantic Perspective," in Kish Sklar et al (eds) 121-139; Gender and Imperialism, (Manchester: M U P, 1998); Feminism and Empire.

⁵² Works by Julie Roy Jeffrey include The Great Silent Army; Abolitionists Remember. Antislavery Autobiographies and the Unfinished Work of Emancipation (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of N C P, 2008); and with Clapp (eds) Women, Dissent and Anti-Slavery in Britain and America.

⁵³ Works by Carol Faulkner include: "The Root of the Evil." Free Produce and Radical Antislavery 1820-1860," Journal of the Early Republic 23:3 (2007): 377-405; Women's Radical Reconstruction. The Freedmen's Aid Movement, (Philadelphia, Pa.: U of Philadelphia P, 2004); Lucretia Mott's Heresy.

⁵⁴ Midgley, Women Against Slavery; Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism; Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil."

⁵⁵ Nuernberger, The Free Produce Movement.

⁵⁶ Kenneth Corfield, "English Abolitionists and the Refusal of Slave-Grown Goods, 1780-1860," (Unpublished MA thesis, U of London, 1983) 53; Elizabeth O'Donnell, "There is Death in the Pot!" The British Free Produce Movement and the Religious Society of Friends with Particular Reference to the North-East of England," Quaker Studies 13:2 (2009): 184-204.

slave-grown cotton.⁵⁷ At times cotton activism has been viewed as an adjunct to sugar activism, rather than an operation in its own right.⁵⁸ This thesis therefore addresses this ‘gap’ in the free produce narrative, and provides new information on British cotton activism, and especially its use of free labour cotton textiles. The most sustained assessment of free produce in America, has been recently undertaken by Carol Faulkner, in an article published in 2007.⁵⁹ Faulkner takes issue with Temperley’s views, stating “far from being marginal ... free produce offered abolitionists a concrete way to attack slavery.”⁶⁰ Faulkner stresses that free produce activism blossomed among the most radical activists raised several debates, notably the appropriateness of role of women in public life.⁶¹ This thesis agrees emphatically with Faulkner, and adds a British perspective to the understanding of free produce cotton activism.

It should be pointed out that the importance of free produce activism has been emphasised in histories of consumer culture; Monroe Friedman, Lawrence Glickman, Matthew Hilton and Michele Micheletti have all found it to be foundational to the formation of political, consumer identities.⁶² These works however lack detail on the precise mechanisms of free produce work, and therefore this study’s findings on how free labour cotton was made, sold and consumed adds important detail. Whilst the phrase ‘ethical consumption’ did not exist prior to the 1980s, the principle of sourcing products according to moral values has its roots in this period. This has important implications for today, for it helps us to understand how goods continue to be used to build political identity, and notions of self.⁶³

⁵⁷ Midgley, “Slave Sugar Boycotts”; Sussman, “Women and the Politics of Sugar, 1792,” *Representations* 48 (1994): 48-69; Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties*.

⁵⁸ Notably by Drescher, “Women’s Mobilization in the Era of Slave Emancipation,” in Kish Sklar and Brewer (eds) 98-121, 101.

⁵⁹ “The Root of the Evil.” Free Produce and Radical Antislavery 1820-1860,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 23:3 (2007): 377-405.

⁶⁰ Faulkner, “The Root of the Evil,” 379.

⁶¹ Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend. The Life of Lucretia Mott* (Philadelphia: Friends General Conference, 1999 [1980]) 97-112; Midgley, *Women Against Slavery* 154-172.

⁶² Friedman; Lawrence Glickman, “Buy For the Sake of the Slave”: Abolitionism and the Origins of Consumer Activism,” *American Quarterly* 56:4 (2004): 899-912; “Through the Medium of Their Pockets”: Sabbatarianism, Free Produce and Non Intercourse and the Significance of ‘Early Modern’ Consumer Activism,” in Alain Chatriot, Emmanuelle Chasnel and Matthew Hilton (eds) *The Expert Consumer: Associations and Professionals in Consumer Society* (London: Ashgate, 2000) and *Buying Power. A History of Consumer Activism in America* (Chicago, Ill.: U of Chicago P, 2009); Matthew Hilton, *Consumerism in 20th Century Britain. The Search for a Historical Movement* (Cambridge: C U P, 2003); Michele Micheletti *Political Virtue and Shopping. Individuals, Consumerism and Collective Action* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2003).

⁶³ Jo Littler, *Radical Consumption. Shopping For Change* (Milton Keynes: Open U P, 2009) 7-11.

In terms of our understanding of how anti-slavery work helped to propel women into public sphere work, this thesis aims to offer some fresh insights. Since the late 1980s, it has been firmly established that anti-slavery offered women a route into public and political work, notably in works by Jean Fagin Yellin and Julie Roy Jeffrey.⁶⁴ In addition, foundational studies of women's role public and private worlds, in particular by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall present a view of women's intersecting involvement in political, social, domestic, religious and cultural matters.⁶⁵ This thesis will offer an example of how a middle-class Quaker woman negotiated her private- public-political identity, and how her 'lives' were deeply inter-connected. As Jeffrey argues, research is still needed to bring the work of women abolitionists to the fore, and to "make them part of the historical record once more," and this thesis offers a contribution to Jeffrey's call.⁶⁶ This is a process of recovery of information, and repositioning it, for it should be emphasised that whilst the name of C. & J. Clark is well-known in histories of Quaker history, shoemaking and British industrial enterprise, the lives of the Clark women remain far less-researched.⁶⁷ With the exception of important work by Sandra Holton, little research has been carried out on Clark women in the nineteenth century, and to date, the philanthropic activities of Eleanor Clark have not appeared in print.⁶⁸ The thesis therefore illuminates the anti-slavery work of a female member (albeit from a famous family) from the large community of un-named women, memorably described in 1847, by Wendell

⁶⁴ Jean Fagin Yellin, The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture (New Haven, Ct.: Yale U P, 1989) and with John C. Van Horne (eds) The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America (Ithaca, NY.: Cornell UP, 1994); Jeffrey, "Permeable Boundaries" (2001) and Midgley, "British Abolitionism and Feminism."

⁶⁵ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850 (London: Routledge, 1987); Hall, White, Male and Middle Class (Cambridge: Polity, 1992); Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall (eds), Defining the Nation. Class, Race and Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867 (Cambridge: C U P, 2000); Hall, Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867. (Cambridge: Polity, 2002); Hall and Sonya Rose, At Home With the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World (Cambridge: C U P, 2006).

⁶⁶ Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army 13.

⁶⁷ For the Clarks' shoemaking and role in Street see: Michael McGarvie, The Book of Street. A History From Earliest Times to 1925 (Buckingham: C. & J. Clark, 1987); Kenneth Hudson, Towards Precision Shoemaking. C. & J. Clark and the Development of the British Shoemaking Industry (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1968); George Barry Sutton, C. & J. Clark 1833 – 1903. A History of Shoemaking in Street (York: Sessions, 1979); Roger Clark, Somerset Anthology: Twenty-Four Pieces by Roger Clark of Street 1871 – 1961 (York: Sessions, 1975).

⁶⁸ Sandra Holton, "John Bright, Radical Politics and the Ethos of Quakerism," Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies 34:4 (Winter, 2002): 584-605; Holton, "Kinship and Friendship: Quaker Women's Networks and the Women's Movement," Women's History Review 3&4 (2005): 365-384; Holton, Quaker Women. Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends 1780 – 1930 (London: Routledge, 2007).

Phillips Garrison as a “Great army of silent workers, unknown to fame, and yet without whom the generals were powerless.”⁶⁹

For its focus on the wearing of free labour cotton clothing and especially in Chapter Five, the thesis draws on texts which discuss women’s sewing and its relationship with public culture.⁷⁰ It will discuss anti-slavery clothing, and this will offer insights into women’s formation of anti-slavery identity, their notions of empathy and political ideals. Referring to Helen Bradley Foster’s work on slave clothing and drawing from contemporary sources, the thesis proposes that the Clarks were deeply empathic in their use of free labour cotton gingham cloth, as a ‘remembrance’ of the enslaved. As Foster writes, clothing is a powerful medium which “communicates his or her self as an individual to others ... mark[ing] one’s place in humanity.”⁷¹ The thesis will argue that clothing is a powerful medium through which the Clarks communicated their anti-slavery belief, a reading which will be seen in the wider contexts of the development of Quaker dress, and its departure from the traditional, plain style.⁷² The thesis will also consider Quaker dress in relation to mainstream, non-Quaker, Victorian clothes, and it will touch upon Quaker critiques of luxury and fashion.⁷³ The medium of photography is important to this study, for it provides a historical record of what Quakers wore.⁷⁴ Photography also records the Clarks’ free

⁶⁹ Wendell Phillips Garrison, Liberator (19 October, 1847) in Jeffrey, 1.

⁷⁰ Andrea Atkin, ““When Pincushions Are periodicals”: Women’s Work, Race and Material Objects in Female Abolitionism,” ATQ 11:2 (June, 1997): 93-113; Alice Taylor, “Fashion has Extended her Influence to the Cause of Humanity”: the Transatlantic Female Economy of The Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar,” in Beverly Lemire (ed) The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society (London: Ashgate, 2010) 115-142; Walker and Ware, in Bryden and Floyd; Rozsika Parker, The Subversive Stitch. Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine (London: The Women’s Press, 1984); Frank Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980); Vron Ware Beyond the Pale. White Women, Racism and History (London: Verso, 1992).

⁷¹ Helen Bradley Foster, “New Raiments of Self?: African American Clothing in the Antebellum South (Oxford: Berg, 1997) 4, 69.

⁷² Amelia Gummere, A Study in Costume (Philadelphia, 1901); Frederick Tolles, ““Of the Best Sort But Plain.” The Quaker Esthetic,” American Quarterly 11:4 (1959): 484-502; Joan Kendall, “The Development of a Distinctive Form of Quaker dress.” Costume 19 (1985): 58-74; Deborah Kraak, “Variations on Plainness: Quaker Dress in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia,” Costume 34 (2000): 51-63; Suzanne Keen, “Quaker Dress, Sexuality, and the Domestication of reform in the Victorian Novel,” Victorian Literature and Culture (2002): 211-236; Mary Anne Caton, “The Aesthetics of Absence: Quaker Women’s Plain Dress in the Delaware Valley 1790 – 1900,” in Lapsansky and Verplanck, 246-272; J. William Frost, “From Plainness to Simplicity: Changing Quaker Ideals for Material Culture,” in Lapsansky and Verplanck, 16-43.

⁷³ Anne Buck, Victorian Costume (London: Bean, 1984 [1961]); Christina Walkley and Vanda Foster, Crinolines and Crimping Irons. Victorian Clothes and How they Cared for Them (London: Peter Owen, 1978); Sarah Levitt, “Clothing,” in Mary Rose, 154-176; Clare Rose, (ed) Clothing, Society and Culture Nineteenth Century Britain 3 volumes. (London: Pickering, 2011).

⁷⁴ For photography’s various roles see, Steve Edwards, The Making of English Photography. Allegories (Philadelphia, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); Marianne Hirsch, Family Frames. Photography, Narrative and Post-memory (Cambridge Ma.: Harvard U P, 2002).

produce clothes, and since these items do not appear to have survived, this renders the photographs as important witnesses to the Clarks' free produce activity.

Archives and Collections

The thesis draws upon primary materials located in a number of library, archive and study collections in Britain and America.⁷⁵ The two principal archives are the Library of the Religious Society of Friends in London (LRSF) and the Alfred Gillett Trust at C. & J. Clark in Street, in Somerset (AGT). The LRSF is one of the world's four principal, public Quaker collections, with materials on Quaker culture dating to the seventeenth century. It currently holds eighty thousand books and pamphlets and two hundred periodicals, together with large collections of manuscripts, pictures and costume (see Appendix 5 for a selected list of costume items, consulted in this thesis).⁷⁶ The LRSF continues to collect works on Quaker history, thought and topics in which Quakers have been active, notably peace, humanitarianism, education, anti-slavery campaigning and war relief work.⁷⁷

Information on the philanthropic and anti-slavery activities of Eleanor Clark and records of the Street Depot are located in the Library Manuscripts Collection, in Box 8, in folders entitled: "Kansas Freedman's Relief Association," "Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society," and "Papers of Elihu Burritt," with other materials stored in un-captioned folders.⁷⁸ The range of consulted sources include textual materials such as printed pamphlets, broadsheets and advertising circulars; unpublished sources such as private letters, journals and diaries; business and trading correspondence, such as receipts; visual sources such as prints, paintings, illustrated texts, photographs and drawings; material culture such as pieces of cloth, manufacturers' textile samples, dolls, embroideries, sewing equipment and articles of clothing.

⁷⁵ The principal libraries/study collections are: British Library, London; Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, Birmingham; Rhodes House Library, the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Somerset Study Collection, Central Library, Taunton; Somerset Public Records Office, Taunton; Local Studies Collection, Street Library, Somerset; John Rylands Library, University of Manchester; Special Collections, the Quaker Collection Library, Haverford College, Philadelphia, USA; The Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Philadelphia, USA.

⁷⁶ The others are Woodbrooke Quaker Centre, University of Birmingham; Haverford College Library, Philadelphia; Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Philadelphia.

⁷⁷ <<http://www.quaker.or.uk/about-library>> (accessed 6.12.10).

⁷⁸ The Clarks family donated anti-slavery papers in the 1970s or 1980s. I first encountered these in 2007, when researching my MA study of "When Fashion Promoted Humanity: Messages and Meanings in The Wedgwood Slave Medallion 1787 – 1838," (unpublished MA thesis, University of Brighton, 2007).

It is fortunate that the Street Depot's accounts ledger or "Account Book" has survived, for this is a highly significant document, and the only known record of trading for a British free labour cotton depot.⁷⁹ Here yearly summaries and day to day trading were recorded (see the Appendix 6 for yearly summaries of trading, Appendix 7 for a transcription of the record of sales, and Appendix 8 for a sequenced version of sales). All entries were made by Eleanor Clark, using characteristic, traditional, Quaker notation. For example, the date '17th May, 1853' could be recorded by Clark in a number of ways and with differing punctuation, such as; '5th Mo, 17th, 1853' '5 mo, 17, 1853' and '17th, 5th mo, 1853.' The convention of substituting numbers for names was due to the Quaker dislike of pagan names for days of the week and months.

The second archive consulted is the AGT at C. & J. Clark, a private archive, administered by a charitable trust, set up in the nineteenth century by family member, Alfred Gillett, to safeguard the heritage of the Clark family. Until 2012, the archive was situated in 'Greenbank,' a former Clark home which forms part of the headquarters of the firm, on the High Street in Street.⁸⁰ The archive holds approximately three thousand boxes, containing private materials relating to the family and some of the company's business and design records. Prior to the social history research conducted by Holton in the late 1990s, the AGT had accommodated very few researchers from outside the family and the firm.⁸¹

Although it contains no records of the Street Depot, the AGT has long known about its existence, as seen in the captioning of one of the free produce photographs, displayed in the firm's Museum of Shoemaking (Figure 2.7). The AGT holds materials of great importance in researching the life of Eleanor Clark: unpublished textual materials such as printed papers, numerous private letters, diaries, journals and the family's account book. Also consulted are the accumulations of material culture such as cards, toys, embroideries, and small furniture as well as visual sources such as photographs, drawings, paintings and drawings. The AGT also houses a unique collection of poetry, essays and illustrations, created by the extended Clark family, for Street's literary groups or essay societies, one of which was founded by Eleanor Clark. Works are included in hand-written, scrap-book

⁷⁹ "Account Book of the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street," LSRF, MS Box 8:5.

⁸⁰ It should be noted that subsequent to this study, in August, 2012, the archive re-located to purpose-built premises, in The Grange, Street.

⁸¹ Sandra Holton, "John Bright, Radical Politics and the Ethos of Quakerism," *Albion* 34:4 (2002): 584-605; Holton, "Kinship and Friendship: Quaker Women's Networks and the Women's Movement," *Women's History Review* 3&4 (2005): 365-384 and Holton, *Quaker Women*.

style compilations, entitled the “Village Chronicle” and the “Village Album.” Eleanor Clark was an important contributor, and this is where her views on cotton, clothing, sewing and anti-slavery activity can be found. Importantly, the AGT also holds a large collection of Quaker textiles and dress, dating to the seventeenth century and including many ‘domestic’ items such as underclothes, children’s clothing and household linen, some of which survive with original notes and descriptions. All of these items have been examined; see Appendix 4 for a list of relevant clothing dating to the mid-nineteenth century. The AGT also manages the displays in the Museum of Shoemaking, and it supervises a large archive of company, design and advertising materials.⁸²

Materials in the AGT are organised into collections, according to who deposited them, or their place of origin. This means the homes of family members, such as ‘Overleigh,’ ‘Millbank,’ ‘One Ash’ and ‘White Nights’ appear, and certain female names, such as Helen Sophie Horn Clark or ‘HSHC,’ the wife of Roderic Clark frequently appear in the archive.⁸³ As Holton explains, women such as HSHC performed the role of “custodians of family memory” and were responsible for keeping together the family’s archives and material culture.⁸⁴ It is important to note that some clothing items survive with provenance, such as notes identifying the owner and maker of the garment. Some materials relate to Eleanor and James Clark and their twelve children, and of significance is the small collection of articles, dating to the 1850s, which belonged to Mary Clark Morland, and previously to her mother, Eleanor Clark.⁸⁵

The Chapters

The next chapter will present a detailed picture of social and commercial life of the Street Depot, primarily using the “Account Book” and other commercial records. It will examine the processes of funding, setting up, buying equipment and stock, generating publicity and day-to-day active trading for the first two years. This is within the overall the five-year period of the depot, from spring, 1853 until the summer of 1858. It will examine what was bought as stock, and what was sold as goods, and drawing on contemporary sewing guides and periodicals, such as The Workwoman’s Guide (1835), and The Englishwoman’s

⁸² Information provided by Tim Crumplin, Keeper of Collections, email (6 December, 2010); General information <<http://www.clarks.co.uk/careers/aboutushome/archive>> (accessed 6 December, 2010).

⁸³ These are kept together as collections, for example, Sarah Bancroft Clark Papers ‘SBC,’ Helen Sophie Horn Clark Papers ‘HSHC.’ Millfield [House] Papers ‘MIL’ and One Ash [House] Papers ‘ONE.’

⁸⁴ Holton, Quaker Women 3-5.

⁸⁵ AGT, Dress Collection, Box 1: 1-5.

Domestic Magazine. It will suggest what sewing projects might be facilitated through some of the sales.⁸⁶ Through comparison with two other free labour depots in Bath and London, the chapter will consider Street's position in the campaign against slave-grown cotton in the mid-1850s. It will discuss that whilst it was very small in scale, the Street Depot was efficient in providing a range of cheap, free labour cotton goods to Clark's customers in Street.

Chapter Three will discuss the British Free Produce Movement, focusing on the campaign against cotton, from the 1830s to the 1860s, establishing the part played by the Street Depot within the wider movement. It will chart the establishment of a complex, free cotton supply chain, as viewed through the key nineteenth century periodicals pertaining to free produce, anti-slavery and Quaker culture.⁸⁷ Using these sources, the chapter will estimate how much free cotton was imported from global sources, within a specified period (1849 – 1850). It will explain that in comparison to the imports of slave-grown cotton, this was a very small quantity, but it will show that it is higher than made in previous estimates. The chapter will address the multiple difficulties involved in the procurement of raw cotton and in its subsequent production into cloth and selling to customers. It will address the ideological setbacks following William Lloyd Garrison's attack on free produce and the backlash that followed. It will show how the Richardson family and The Slave were key voices of the movement, and its community. It will chart the importance of key American supporters, especially Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Highland Garnet. The latter's endorsement of free produce will be seen in the wider contexts of the promotion of cotton cultivation in colonies in Africa, as an alternative to slave-trading. This will touch upon wider issues concerning the relationship between free produce and empire, and the perceptions of a British 'civilising effect' in the cotton-growing colonies in West Africa during the 1850s and 1860s.

⁸⁶ "A Lady, The Workwoman's Guide containing instruction to the inexperienced in cutting out and completing those articles of wearing apparel etc. which are usually made at home; also explanations on upholstery, straw-plaiting, bonnet-making, knitting etc. "A method shortens labour" (London: Simpkins, Marshall, 1835); editions of The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine (examined, 1856-1858).

⁸⁷ Quaker press: The Friend (London, 1843-present day) had an evangelical bias; The British Friend (1843-1913) had a conservative bias; anti-slavery press: the Anti-Slavery Reporter. (founded 1825, ceased publication 1838, edited by Joseph Sturge 1839-1857, continues today) has/had a campaigning bias, which continues under Anti-Slavery International, see <<http://www.antislavery.org>> (accessed 1 May, 2012); free produce press: The Slave; His Wrongs and Their Remedy. (Newcastle: 1851-1855, London: 1855-1856).

Chapter Four will focus on the life and work of Eleanor Clark. It will discuss her middle-class Quaker upbringing amongst staunch abolitionists in Dorset, which led to the establishment of her philanthropic views. It will discuss her political, moral and evangelical beliefs and above all, it examines the establishment of a specific, Quaker, altruistic conscience. This led her to toil for the improvement of the lives of others; her ‘brothers’ and ‘sisters’ in slavery. It will consider her position as a key organiser of philanthropic activity, within a group of roughly twenty primarily Quaker women in the village. It will examine how the Street Depot fitted with Clark’s devotion to philanthropy, which was managed in conjunction with her heavy domestic responsibilities. Eleanor’s opinions will be ascertained through close examination of her writings, specifically her letters to family members, as well as the essays and poems she wrote for “Village Album.”

Chapter Five will examine clothing fashioned from free labour cotton cloth, as viewed through the free produce photographs (Figures 1 and 2.7 – 2.10). These will be compared to samples of cloth, sent to the Street Depot (Figures 2.4 – 2.6). The free produce photographs will give rare sightings of what free produce clothing actually looked like, and how it operated. This will lead to a discussion of what it felt like to wear free labour cotton, and how it was embedded into daily practice. The Clarks’ dress will be compared to extant examples held in the AGT, together with examples in the LRSF and the only known example of a surviving free labour cotton gown. It will also discuss the possibility of unrecognised examples of free labour cotton clothing and textiles, which may be held in these and other collections. Comparisons will be made with family photographs and photographic visiting cards used by Quakers. The chapter’s focus on clothes will explore the mechanism of anti-slavery activism; how the Clarks translated ‘thinking’ into ‘doing.’

Chapter Six will draw conclusions on the findings made by the thesis, which it will situate within wider contexts and legacies. Lastly, illustrations will appear together, at the end of each chapter, a bibliography of all texts consulted will follow, and appendices follow the chapters, giving a glossary of terms used in discussions of textiles and dress, plus various types of information, in the form of transcriptions, lists and tables.

Chapter Two: The ‘Free Labour Cotton Depot’ in Street,

1853 – 1858

Free Labour Cotton

Gladly do I look upon thee,
Woven cotton pure and white;
With a hopeful, joyous feeling,
For to me thou art revealing
Truths which glow in Freedom’s light.

Not in outward seeming only
Art thou spotless, white and fair,
Slavery’s touch hath never cursed thee,
Freedom in her arms hath nursed thee,
And bestowed a beauty rare.

Free men grow the snowy cotton,
Free men picked, and spun and wove;
Now let all who hate oppression,
And would slay a foul transgression
Of the Christian law of love, –

Let them buy the stainless fabric,
Guiltless of a brother’s woe;
Let them aid the blest endeavour,
And the monster overthrow.

That no slave can breathe in England,
Boasts the “Empress of the Sea,”
When her soil the bondsman touches,
Loosed from Slavery’s hateful clutches,
Lo! He stands erect and free.

Yet for England’s sons and daughters,
Slaves are toiling night and day;
Toiling, weeping, bleeding, dying –
Unto Him their blood is crying
Who hath said, “I will repay.”

Oh! let us renounce for ever,
All things cursed by Slavery’s touch,
Feeble though *each* effort be,
By the might of unity,
We should then accomplish much.

Let us seek to win the blessing,
Which the Saviour gave to me
Who the costly ointment poured,
Whilst the master she adored,
“What she *could*, that she hath done.”¹

Introduction

This stirring poem was published in the Quaker newspaper, British Friend (1849), which showed a keen interest in anti-slavery activity and the Free Produce Movement. The newspaper was read by many Quaker free produce supporters, including James Clark who had a long-standing correspondence with the periodical.² The poem was written by “E,” the pseudonym of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, the American Quaker poet and ardent anti-slavery campaigner, whose inspirational work on free produce continued to be published long after her death in 1836.³ It was a passionate ‘call to arms,’ to “all who hate oppression,” and it proposed a highly practical solution to the “monster,” slavery; to refuse slave-made products and only select ones made by free labour. It was specifically addressed to “England’s sons and daughters,” and especially its daughters, to connect the act of buying slave-grown cotton with the upholding of slavery, and to “renounce forever” all goods made by slaves.

Chandler’s poems help us to understand the passionate feelings, and the mood of activism, stirred by the consumption of free labour cotton. This she described in wholly positive terms, as “spotless” and un-touched by slavery’s curse. Pure, white, free cotton, grown by waged labour not only appeared beautiful, it was bestowed with inner and spiritual goodness. In the context of the evangelical movement, white cotton held special meaning, for as stated in the Bible, white clothing would bring the wearer closer to God.⁴ Chandler argued that through the “might of unity,” or massed consumer actions, slavery could indeed be defeated. Thus her poem was a direct appeal to women consumers to “buy the stainless fabric” and support the free labour cause. Presented as a Christian duty, the last

¹ “E,” “Free Labour Cotton,” British Friend (4th Mo, 31st, 1849), also published in shortened version in the Bristol Mercury (21 July, 1849).

² (4th mo, 31st, 1845) JC advertised for a housekeeper; (1st mo, 31st, 1846) he was listed as an agent; (1st mo, 1855) he defended the firm’s decision equip the British army in Crimea; (12th mo, 1st, 1879) he wrote of the plight of ex-slaves in Kansas.

³ Benjamin Lundy, The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. With a Memoir of her Life by Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia, Pa.: Lemuel, 1836) 7-34.

⁴ Beverly Gordon, Textiles, The Whole Story. Uses, Meanings and Significance (London: Thames and Hudson, 2011) 254.

two lines made it clear that free labour cotton had special appeal to devout and evangelical women, therefore it was ‘sacralised,’ and was compared to an act of Christian worship.

This chapter explores the Street Depot, which was opened by Eleanor Clark in May, 1853, and run by her, until the summer of 1858. This was a highly practical contribution to the anti-slavery cause, or a form of ‘doing what she could’ for the slave. The chapter examines the depot’s instigation, location, advertising, acquisition of stock, trading, what was sold and when, and the likely destinations of goods. It makes comparisons with two other depots of the same period; one in Bath and another in London. Thus via the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street, the chapter explores the active and practical ‘doing’ of free produce activity.

The Street Depot and the Village of Street

According to an advertising flyer, which was printed on 20th May, 1853, the ‘Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street’ was opened in the spring of 1853 (Figure 2.1).⁵ It was located within the cluster of newly built premises on the High Street, which were owned, used or financed by the Clark family, situated in the centre of the village.⁶ Although the word ‘depot’ suggests a warehouse or industrial building, in reality it was a small stall, set up on trestles, in the large temperance hall (Figures 2.2 and 2.3). In 1847 the hall had been financed by James Clark and his brother Cyrus (1801 – 1866), who were ardent supporters of teetotalism. They were eager to further the alcohol reform cause through a public building devoted to Christian and education, lectures and social activities. The building was close to the large, gabled villa, ‘Greenbank,’ the home from 1847, of Eleanor Clark’s sisters Eliza and Ann Stephens, and from 1866 until 1891, her son’s family. This was next door to ‘Netherleigh,’ the L-shaped, stone-faced villa built by James Clark in 1831, where Eleanor, James, and their twelve children lived. The next set of buildings comprised the shoemaking and sheepskin factory, which was owned and run by James and Cyrus Clark, and adjoining the factory on the other side, lived Cyrus and Sarah Clark and their five children.⁷

⁵ Street Depot advertising flyer, “Free Labour Cotton Depot,” (May, 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:4, 1 and receipt, William Welch to EC, (20 May, 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

⁶ Michael McGarvie, The Book of Street. A History from the Earliest Times to 1925 (Buckingham: Barracuda, 1987) 119-130.

⁷ Edward Milligan, Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1770 -1920 (York: Sessions, 2007) 105.

It is important to establish the location of the depot as within the philanthropic, commercial and public enterprise of the Clark family, for the family and the firm were driving forces in the village of Street. The sheepskin and tanning business was founded by Cyrus in 1825, and in 1828 he was joined by his younger brother James. In 1833 the brothers became partners, forming 'C. & J Clark' as a sheepskin and tanning company, and later a shoemaking enterprise, which rapidly prospered and expanded. It is from the same building that the firm of 'Clarks Shoes' conducts their business today.⁸

From the 1830s, C. & J. Clark and the Clark family brought about a sustained transformation of this hitherto small, rural village and they turned it into a thriving, well-appointed, small industrial town.⁹ New additions made by the Clarks were shops, houses, places of worship, public halls, spaces for recreation and an improved infrastructure, to meet the demands of the growing community.¹⁰ The changes can be paralleled with multiple industrial developments at the time, and especially the many 'model villages' that sprang up in single-industry locations, some of which were pioneered by Quakers.¹¹ Thus the Clark family and the firm became integral to the spiritual, commercial and social lives of the village and its inhabitants.¹²

From the 1830s to the 1850s, C. & J. Clark grew considerably, for in 1829 it employed ten men, and in 1852 it employed an estimated eight hundred workers.¹³ The population of the village grew proportionally, in dramatic increases when compared to neighbouring villages such as Compton Dundon or Somerton, whose populations remained static, or fell.¹⁴ The transformation was remarkable; from a rural village, which was a staging post on the London to Bristol coaching routes, to a bustling and relatively self-contained commercial

⁸ George Barry Sutton, *C. & J. Clark. A History of Shoemaking in Street* (York: Sessions, 1979) 2-4. James added sheepskin slippers or 'Brown Petersburgs' from off cuts from the rugs and shoemaking was begun at C. & J. Clark.

⁹ Bancroft Clark, "A Note by Bancroft Clark" Roger Clark, *Somerset Anthology. Twenty Four Pieces by Roger Clark of Street 1871 – 1961* (York: Sessions, 1975) x-xix, x.

¹⁰ McGarvie, 125-129.

¹¹ See: Gillian Darley, *Villages of Vision: A Study of Strange Utopias* (Nottingham: Fiveleaves, [1975] 2007); Barry Reay, *Rural England and the Labouring Classes in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

¹² Michael Havinden, *The Somerset Landscape* (London: Hodder, 1981); William Pursey, *Reminiscences of a Life in the Parish of Street, Somersetshire, from the Year 1844 by an old Inhabitant* (Bridgwater: John Whitby, 1977 [1909]); R. W. Dunning (ed), *A Victoria County History: A History of the County of Somerset Volume 9* (2006) 165-198, online version at <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=11784>> (accessed 1 September, 2011).

¹³ Sutton, 15-18.

¹⁴ Dunning, 168, quoting the 1851 *Census*. Street grew from 540 inhabitants in 1801 to 1,219 in 1841, to 2,514 in 1881, and 3,535 in 1891.

milieu. In 1830 a commentator described the village as “nothing worthy of notice,” but by 1860, it was renowned for its factory, large population and wide range of shops and services.¹⁵

By the mid-nineteenth century, C. & J. Clark became Britain’s foremost mechanised, factory-based shoemaking company. In 1851, they exhibited at the Great Exhibition in London, winning medals for shoes and sheepskins and sales and that year footwear sales were listed as £21,000.¹⁶ Whilst the firm experienced serious economic crises in 1841 and again in 1863, during the 1850s the company experienced expansion and stability, which gave the Clarks the continuing means to implement their Quaker vision for participation in philanthropy, and the reform of the village.¹⁷ Notably the family endorsed sobriety, education and Christian practice. They were deeply opposed to the pastimes of drinking, gambling and blood sports, and especially the notorious summer fairs or ‘Street Revels,’ which epitomised indulgence in these activities.¹⁸

Quakers were a small but highly influential proportion of village population. Local Quakers included members of the Clark, Clothier, Gregory, Gundry, Impey, Morland, Palmer, Stephens, Sturge and Thompson families. Despite a national decline in membership of the Religious Society of Friends, the Quaker population in Street grew during the nineteenth century, and attendance increased at Street Meeting, from fifty eight attendees in 1837, to sixty one in 1851, to sixty two in 1867, and sixty six in 1900, the majority of whom came from the extended Clark family.¹⁹ Many Quakers in Street were deeply interested in social reform movements, Christian missions and the anti-slavery cause. Charitable enterprise in the village was heavily supported by a nucleus of Quaker kin, who were related to the Clarks. In the words of Bancroft Clark, the grandson of Eleanor and James, this was a “fertile ground” for philanthropy, a place where “one cannot

¹⁵ McGarvie 114; Dunning, 179, refers to Robson’s Trade Directory: Somerset (London, 1839).

¹⁶ Sutton, 10-35 charts the rapid rise of the firm. Using the Economic History Society price converter, this converts to £1,790,000.00 using the ‘RPI’ and £2,410,000.00 using the ‘GDP deflator’ which takes account of deflation in currency. Source: <<http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/result.php#>> (accessed 4 April, 2012).

¹⁷ Michael Havinden, “The Model Village,” in G. Mingery (ed), The Rural Idyll (London: Routledge, 1989) 23-36.

¹⁸ McGarvie, 127-130.

¹⁹ For comparative attendances, see Edward Milligan, Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1775-1920 (York: Sessions, 2007) 574 “Census of Attendance at Meetings in 1851.” Street Meeting was small in comparison to Bristol (455 morning, 200 afternoon) but larger than local towns with larger populations than Street, such as Taunton (20, morning and 10, evening), Bridgwater (35, morning and 16 evening), Yeovil (8 morning only) and Bath (47 morning, and 21 evening).

separate Clarks from the Society of Friends, from C. & J. Clark.²⁰ Thus philanthropy flourished in the village of Street, with its particular religious, social and commercial milieu. It was dominated by a single industry, run by the Clark family and their kin, and this was the setting for the Street Depot.

Advertising and Opening the Depot

The Street Depot was set up in the temperance hall, on the High Street, in the centre of the village, close to the ‘Street Drapery Establishment,’ run by Quaker John Coole.²¹ Coole’s store should not be seen as direct competition, for the Street Depot was highly specialised, as it only sold cotton goods from dedicated free labour sources, making it a particular branch of the drapery trade. There were however a number of other outlets selling free labour cotton goods in the West Country area, and these were potential competitors to Clark’s enterprise (see Appendix 3 for a list of free produce retailers, identified in the study). For example, free labour cotton was sold at a number of shops in Bristol. These were run by James Bowden; a Mr. Gregory; Phoebe Gregory; King and Gurney; Withy and Little; and George Withy. In Tiverton, it was sold at a shop run by Thomas Patterson. In Exeter, it was sold at Messrs. Ross and in Bath, it was sold at the city’s Free Labour Depot, and at a shop run by Mrs. E. Sturge.²² Whilst these shops were clearly competitors in terms of the goods they sold, it should be pointed out that they were not very convenient for Street’s residents. Despite distances being relatively small, and Street’s good position on coaching routes, Somerset’s roads were notoriously poor, and toll prices high, hence shopping ‘in town’ involved much time, trouble and expense for rural residents.²³ Therefore the Street Depot was a convenient solution to the lack of local facilities, and it

²⁰ Bancroft Clark, xix.

²¹ Dunning, 179.

²² Information obtained from: The Ladies’ Free-Grown Cotton Movement (n.p., n.d., c. 1851); Josias Browne, To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Movement, (np., n.p., n.d. c.1853), To the Members of Anti-Slavery Societies and all Friends of the Slave, (n.p., n.p., n.d., c.1853), “English Assumption of the Products of Slave Labour,” London Morning Advertiser (22 Feb, 1853); Anna and Henry Richardson, There is Death in the Pot!, (London: Gilpin, 1848), The Beloved Crime or North and South at Issue, (Newcastle: n.p. n.d., c.1851), A Revolution of Spindles for the Overthrow of American Slavery, (Newcastle: n.p. n.d., c.1851), A Friendly Address to the Americans. Also Some Remarks on the Duty of Encouraging Free Labour Produce (Newcastle: n.p. n.d., c.1853), Who Are The Slave Holders? A Moral Drawn From Uncle Tom’s Cabin (Newcastle: n.p. n.d., c.1853) and Free Labour Cotton. It Can Be Had (Newcastle: n.p. 1862); the press: Bristol Mercury, Central Somerset Gazette, Wells Journal, Anti-Slavery Reporter, British Friend, The Friend, The Slave; His Wrongs, Their Remedy and The Times.

²³ Pursey, 10 and McGarvie, 117-120.

may have attracted shoppers from neighbouring villages, especially Glastonbury, whose Quaker community included Clark's kin in the Metford family.²⁴

Commercial enterprise came naturally to Eleanor Clark, for in addition to the highly successful shoemaking business run by her husband, she was born into a family of drapers, who ran a large drapery shop in Bridport, and her grandparents had run a successful wool drapery business in Glastonbury. It was essential for the Street Depot to attract shoppers to come and buy and publicity for the new depot took the form of a smart and distinctive advertising circular, one hundred copies of which were printed by William Welch of Glastonbury (Figure 2.1).²⁵ The large print run ensured that news of the depot reached local residents and perhaps workers at the factory. The local newspaper, The Wells Journal did not mention the depot, suggesting that it was either unaware of it, or chose not to report it.²⁶

Given the powerful kinship networks operating within the extended Clark family and the national Quaker community, it was likely that news of the depot was carried far and wide. It was customary for Friends to support each other's enterprises, and Quakers were a readymade purchasing public, who preferred to buy from kin, therefore it is likely that Friends were drawn to the depot.²⁷ News was also probably carried by the network of Olive Leaf Circles or Societies, the female fundraising sewing circles that raised funds for the League of Brotherhood, which attracted extensive Quaker support in Britain.²⁸ The League had been established in 1846, by Elihu Burritt, the Calvinist Connecticut-born peace activist. Burritt heartily endorsed the Free Produce Movement, and as a personal friend of both Joseph Sturge and James Clark, he was a frequent visitor to their homes. From 1846, James and Eleanor became involved with Burritt's work; in 1846, James

²⁴ Dunning, 169 writes that Street's shopping facilities far exceeded those of neighbouring villages and attracted day shoppers. Eleanor Clark's mother was Amy Metford, and Clark had numerous cousins and aunts in Glastonbury.

²⁵ Street Depot advertising flyer, "Free Labour Cotton Depot," (May, 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:4, 1 and receipt, William Welch to EC, (20 May, 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

²⁶ The Somerset Studies Library in Taunton is of the opinion that the Wells Journal considered Street rural and of no interest. Despite the fame and fortune of C. & J. Clark, its activities were very seldom reported in its pages.

²⁷ James Walvin, The Quakers, Money and Morals (London: John Murray, 1997) 47.

²⁸ Merle Curti, The learned Blacksmith (New York: Erikson, 1937); Peter Tolis, Elihu Burritt: Crusader for Brotherhood (Hamden, Ct.: Archon, 1968).

signed the ‘pledge’ to the League, and after personal invitation, in 1851 Eleanor Clark formed an Olive Leaf Society in Street.²⁹

The Street Depot’s advertising flyer yields information on practical details of the depot and what it sold. It announced:

A depôt is now opened at the Temperance Hall, Street, where an assortment will be kept of such Goods, consisting of Calicoes, Ginghams, Coloured Linings, Check Muslins, Stockings, Knitting and Sewing Cottons, &c. &c., also patterns of other Articles.”³⁰

The flyer advertised the modest range of cloth; just five basic types, sold by the yard, alongside ready-made stockings, knitting and sewing threads and the essential haberdashery which was required in the sewing of ordinary clothing and household textile items (see Appendix 1 for all textile definitions). These items would have been sewn by hand, since the depot pre-dated commercially-produced sewing machines, which only became available after 1858.³¹ The goods listed were ordinary and utilitarian, rather than fancy. They conformed to plain, or traditional Quaker tastes for serviceable, rather than luxurious, decorative cloth. The flyer added that additional goods could be ordered in, using the samples or “patterns of other articles” that would be carried. Not listed in the flyer, but present in the accounts were sales of tape, ‘barège dresses,’ which were fine, gauze gowns, and several varieties of printed, woven and patterned cloth, such as shirtings, calico, print, muslin and dimité. This indicates that the flyer listed only a selection of the wider range of goods actually stocked by the depot.

The advertising flyer also provides information on the social and political contexts to the Street Depot. Especially, it made it clear that the depot was part of anti-slavery activism, in the wave of support following the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel, Uncle Tom’s Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America (1852).³² The flyer states the connection:

²⁹ “Letters and Papers of Elihu Burritt,” LRSF, MS 8:5.

³⁰ “Free Labour Cotton Depot.”

³¹ Frank Godfrey, An International History of the Sewing Machine (London: Hale, 1982). In 1851 Isaac Merritt Singer patented the commercial sewing machine, which became available after 1856, but was prohibitively expensive until the ‘New Family Machine’ was sold in 1858. C. & J. Clark invested heavily in Singer machines, 1856-8.

³² Sarah Meer, Uncle Tom Mania. Slavery, Minstrelsy and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s (Athens, Ga.: U of Georgia P, 2005).

At the present time, when the subject of Slavery is exciting so much attention in the public mind, through the reading of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” it is thought very desirable that increased facilities should be offered for the sale of free labour cotton articles.”³³

Stowe’s novel was ground-breaking; a strikingly popular, deeply moving, empathic portrayal of the lives – and deaths of the enslaved on plantations in America. It was profoundly effective in galvanising anti-slavery activism, especially among women.³⁴ Readers identified with the misery of the enslaved characters, especially the terrible experiences of Tom, Cassy and Eliza, and empathy prompted readers to devise practical ways to alleviate the suffering of other slaves.³⁵ As will be later discussed, Clark was also powerfully affected by the novel. She became involved in collecting funds for Stowe, and under the pen name “Eva,” referring to a character in the novel, she wrote articles and poems for the “Village Album.” The wording of the Street Depot’s flyer and its reference to Uncle Tom’s Cabin closely resembled another pamphlet entitled, Twenty Reasons for Total Abstinence from Slave-Labour Produce (c.1853) and written by Elihu Burritt. Burritt explained that this was a time for abolitionists to seize the moment, “The present moment is a most suspicious juncture for organizing that deep, earnest, wide-spread sympathy which has been excited in behalf of the slave by the powerful delineations of his condition in “*Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.”³⁶

Stowe had commenced writing Uncle Tom’s Cabin in 1851, following the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law. This punitive act further aided the capture of fugitive slaves, and it criminalized those who assisted them, such as workers for the Underground Railroad.³⁷ Uncle Tom’s Cabin was first serialised in America, then published as a novel, in several editions, some of which were illustrated. The novel gained phenomenal success in Britain; in 1852, it sold one million copies, making it the most widely-read novel in Britain in the nineteenth century.³⁸

³³ “Free Labour Cotton Depot.”

³⁴ Clare Midgley, Women Against Slavery 145-9; Audrey Fisch, American Slaves in Victorian England. Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture (Cambridge: C U P, 2000) 5-15.

³⁵ For the types of empathy defined in human psychology, see Simon Baron-Cohen, Zero Degrees of Empathy (London: Penguin, 2012).

³⁶ Elihu Burritt, Twenty Reasons for Total Abstinence from Slave-Labour Produce (London: Unwin, n.d., c.1853) Point 20.

³⁷ Peter Ripley, The Black Abolitionist Papers Volume I. The British Isles 1830 – 1865 (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of NC P, 1985); Richard Blackett, Building a Antislavery Wall. Black Abolitionists and the Atlantic Movement 1830 – 1860 (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State U P, 1983).

³⁸ Keith Carabine, “Introduction,” Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom’s Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America (Ware: Wordsworth Classics, 1995 [1952]) v.

In 1853 – 1854 Stowe, her husband Calvin Stowe and her brother Thomas Beecher took a highly-publicised tour of Britain, where they were very warmly welcomed.³⁹ It was whilst staying at the home of Joseph and Hannah Sturge in Edgbaston, that the Stowe party were ‘converted’ to free produce. Subsequently Stowe and her husband became committed supporters.⁴⁰ Stowe was highly instrumental in galvanising the anti-slavery movement in Britain, and her support for free produce was significant. As Burritt explained, “Millions and millions throughout Christendom” were affected by Uncle Tom, and the growth in free produce support was directly linked to Stowe’s personal support.⁴¹

The advertising flyer made it clear that the Street Depot was of most concern to female shoppers. The flyer’s eye-catching layout and high quality paper were specifically crafted to appeal to women. As custodians of the domestic sphere, responsible for household management, women were the primary target for the Free Produce Movement. Therefore it was essential that Clark should engage her ‘target market’ of women shoppers, and to aim her message directly to them. This was a familiar tactic, for the publication of pamphlets and printed materials aimed specifically at women was a recognised strategy in the anti-slavery cause. For example, decorative pamphlets were seen during the slave-sugar boycott of 1791 – 1792.⁴² Some poems were also re-issued, in new, pretty and feminine formats. For example, William Cowper’s poem, “Pity the Poor Africans,” (1788) was re-printed in 1791, in a ‘tea-table’ edition, printed on high quality cream paper and tied with a ribbon bow.⁴³ Thomas Clarkson was impressed, for in his words the edition was issued on “finest hot-pressed paper, and folded it up in a small and neat form.”⁴⁴ Since women were the primary purchasers of goods, they were recognised as central to the market-based anti-slavery strategy. In addition, women were viewed as having a ‘naturally’ kind nature, which made them susceptible to appeals. As Elizabeth Heyrick wrote:

³⁹ Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands (London: Sampson Low, 1854). Stowe writes of the rapturous reception they received.

⁴⁰ Stowe, Sunny Memories 181-184.

⁴¹ Burritt, Twenty Reasons Point 20.

⁴² Clare Midgley, “Slave Sugar Boycotts, Female Activism and the Domestic Base of British Anti-Slavery Culture,” Slavery and Abolition 17:3 (1996): 137-162; Charlotte Sussman, Consuming Anxieties. Consumer Protest, Gender & British Slavery, 1713 – 1833 (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford U P, 200) 110-129.

⁴³ John Oldfield, Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery. The Mobilisation of public Opinion Against the Slave Trade 1787 – 1807 (Manchester: Manchester U P, 1997) 133. Oldfield discusses the “tea table edition,” a pretty version of the same poem, aimed at women.

⁴⁴ Thomas Clarkson, A History of The Rise, Progress and Accomplishments of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by British Parliament 3 volumes (London: Cass, 1968 [1808]) vol 2, 190.

The peculiar texture of mind, her strong feelings and quick sensibilities, especially qualify her, not only to sympathise with suffering, but also to plead for the oppressed, and there is no calculating the extent and importance of the moral reformation that might be effected through the combined exertion of her gentle influence and steady resolution.⁴⁵

The advertising flyer of the Street Depot resembles another flyer aimed at women. This was entitled, “The Ladies Free Grown Cotton Movement,” (c. 1848) and it was produced by the Manchester branch of an organisation called the ‘Ladies’ Free-Grown Cotton Committee,’ which had its headquarters in London.⁴⁶ This flyer is in the form of an attractive double page, printed in fancy lettering, on high quality cream paper and it was designed to conform to what were considered to be female tastes and concerns. The writer explained that the condition of slavery called out to the moral conscience of women and furthermore, women could make real and practical impacts on slavery. They explained, “In many cases where evil exists, it is “Man must work and woman must weep,” but in this instance woman is specially called into action... She must go forth and cleanse this guilty land.”⁴⁷ The same sentiments were reflected in the Street flyer, which encouraged women to shop at the depot in order to attack slavery.

The need for women’s practical actions through shopping for non-slave goods was discussed in the inaugural editorial of The Slave in January, 1851. The Richardsons wrote that whilst free produce was becoming popular among shoppers, unfortunately the production of goods was delayed and supply was inadequate. They wrote, “Our anti-slavery friends are repeatedly asking us why there are not more free goods in the marketplace?” Their solution was a simple one; to direct more money to the free produce outlets in order to commission and buy goods. As they explained, “What is wanted is a little more capital ... for the warehousemen are shackled.”⁴⁸ In September, 1853, an article entitled, “Free-Labour Difficulties and Their Remedy” begged readers to send money to the warehouse run by Josias Browne.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Elizabeth Heyrick, Appeal to the Hearts and Consciences of British Women (Leicester, 1828): 3.

⁴⁶ “The Ladies’ Free Grown Cotton Movement,” (n.p., n.d., ?1848)1-2. The John Rylands Library dates this as 1848 but the list of suppliers suggests a later date, possibly 1851. Unfortunately no additional information can be traced, except that it was based in London and could be contacted via the publication, Draper, which was based at Exeter Street. No information has been found on this publication.

⁴⁷ “Ladies’ Free Grown Cotton Movement,” 1.

⁴⁸ Anna and Henry Richardson, “Free Labour Warehouse,” The Slave: His Wrongs and Their Remedy (Newcastle: January, 1851): 3.

⁴⁹ The Slave (September, 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:4, 6.

Writers in the Free Produce Movement often struck a utilitarian tone, and at times they suggested that this was a necessary type of purchasing, rather than a luxurious one. This may have appealed especially to Friends, who had an uneasy relationship with ostentatious display and luxury. For example, free labour outlets were known as ‘depôts,’ rather than ‘shops.’ This word evoked a utilitarian environment such as a station or terminus, and it gave a sense of goods in transit. The distinctive, accented letter ‘ô’ also referenced the French word for a warehouse, and this suggested a cosmopolitan repository or emporium, piled high with goods for sale. The ‘Free Labour Cotton Dépôt’ in Street therefore perhaps suggested an emporium; a spacious place, where quantities of goods were offered, at low prices, as seen in the city of Bristol.⁵⁰ In reality, the Street Depot was very small indeed; a temporary arrangement comprising of a stand or shelf, and a table top, set up on trestles in the village temperance hall. The simple furniture is confirmed in a receipt from Clark’s supplier, Edwin Petvin in May, 1853. This listed, “Trestles & stand & shelf at Temperance Hall, 2 chairs,”⁵¹ This shows that despite its evocative title, the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street consisted of no more than a trestle table, where cloth was cut, a stand and a shelf and two chairs, probably to enable Clark and a customer to sit down.

The Street Depot’s location in the large, public space of the temperance hall was however a highly significant one.⁵² The communal space would have dominated the ambiance of the depot and would have influenced practical arrangements, for it was highly likely that the depot needed to be set up afresh at the beginning, and then packed away at the end of each day. As was the case with other temperance halls, Street’s hall had a busy schedule of public activities and the space was used by different groups. These included temperance teas, charity fairs, Sunday school classes, the Congregationalist Sunday evening service and public lectures.⁵³ The lectures were extremely popular and one entitled “Free Trade and the Influence of Commerce on Society” (1851), was noted by the local press as

⁵⁰ For example, ‘Victoria’s Emporium’ in Bristol. See Catalogue of Costume Collection, AGT.

⁵¹ Receipt, EP to EC (13 July, 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

⁵² Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England 1815 – 1872* (London: Faber, 1971) “Introduction.” The Street hall was large enough for gatherings of 150, possibly built to designs by Quaker architect, T. Francis Cotterell of Bath, who was later employed to design the Street Meeting House (1851) and ‘Elmhurst’ (1856), the home of Cyrus Clark.

⁵³ Dunning, 3.

“crowded to suffocation.” It also became animated when Cyrus Clark shouted out in support for Free Trade.⁵⁴

The hall was financed by Cyrus and James Clark, and it was built in 1847, at the height of the alcohol reform movement. The Clark brothers were zealous supporters of teetotalism, and they instigated first the Street Temperance Society in 1831, and then the Street Teetotal Society in 1835. The latter met in the kitchen of Eleanor and James Clark until the all was finished in 1847.⁵⁵ In the later 1850s the temperance movement waned. After the depot closed in 1858, the hall was rented to a Quaker grocer, Edwin Gregory (see figure 2.2 for Gregory’s advertising flyer). In 1910 the ground floor was occupied by clothing emporium called Dave and Coney, and rooms upstairs were let to visitors, as a ‘dry’ or temperance hotel.⁵⁶ Today, the hall is divided between shops, with flats and offices above, and the inscription, just visible on the front elevation, indicates the building’s original purpose (Figure 2.3).

It should be emphasised that rather than using the private buildings or commercial premises that were available to her, Eleanor Clark used the temperance hall.⁵⁷ This was a conscious choice, for the building was a landmark in Street; a large, morally righteous and very public venue. Shopping here would have transformed the self-serving experience of buying goods into an altruistic and moralistic one. It confirmed to shoppers that the depot was a charitable and philanthropic enterprise, and that it was an adjunct to the reform work instigated by the Clark family, and which was familiar to the community in Street.

The Street Depot was therefore underwritten by religious, social, cultural and economic factors which made it familiar to the local community and which virtually ensured its success. Importantly, it was run by the socially prominent and wealthy Eleanor Clark, who held an influential position in the village and whose family was ‘weighty’ in the national Quaker community. Although not funded by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the depot was recognised by the British Free Produce Association. In 1853, at the Fourth Annual Meeting, the Chairman, Joseph Sturge read out the Street flyer as a template of

⁵⁴ Wells and Somerset Journal (29 November, 1851).

⁵⁵ McGarvie, 129-130.

⁵⁶ Dunning 3; McGarvie Street in Old Picture Postcards (n.p., n.d., c.1980s).

⁵⁷ The Clarks had large homes and owned industrial and farm buildings, which would have been available to the depot.

good practice.⁵⁸ It should be emphasised that the Street Depot was not tied to an anti-slavery society or to the BFASS, giving it a degree of independence which fitted with the Clarks' entrepreneurial spirit.⁵⁹ Also it should be noted that the depot was not needed to make a profit, as a contribution to the family's finances.

Setting up and Stocking the Depot

The Street Depot required capital investment to buy equipment and stock. The accounts show that Eleanor Clark borrowed a total of £23 to start the depot. £10 was borrowed from C. & J. Clark, £12 from kin and £1 from an unknown source. In addition, Clark received a donation of 2s 6d from an unnamed person, in order to buy furniture.⁶⁰ Clark used the money to buy goods and furniture, for which she, rather than her husband, paid the bills, demonstrating that this was a personal project. No record has been found for payment of rent or wages, and it is assumed that Clark did not pay for use of the premises and did not pay staff.

Receipts from suppliers show that Clark purchased stock from at least two agents. These were Josias Browne, a cotton agent in Manchester, and John Wingrave, a cotton gingham handloom weaver in Carlisle. Others may have supplied her, as evidenced by an empty envelope addressed to J. Alexander of Limerick, marked "free labour cotton patterns," but it is not known whether she placed orders with him.⁶¹ Josias Browne's company, J. F. Browne & Co. traded from commercial offices in Brown Street in Manchester, and Browne was listed in the Manchester Trade Directory as a "Commission Merchant" who traded in cotton.⁶² Letters have survived showing that Browne and Clark wrote many times to each other. Browne also dispatched samples, pamphlets and goods to Street and he liaised with agents from C. & J. Clark, who visited on her behalf, whilst in Manchester on shoemaking business.⁶³ Browne was a prominent Friend, with good standing in the Quaker business network. Being a Quaker influenced his trade a great deal, for he stocked cloth

⁵⁸ Joseph Sturge, Report of the Fourth Annual Free Labour Association (5th Month 21st, 1853) LRSF MS Box 8:4 3, annotated in anonymous hand (? Eleanor Clark).

⁵⁹ Milligan, xi-xii, writes that Quaker networks were cemented by the practice of Friends lodging with each other whilst on visits to Quarterly Meeting, or to pursue commerce or ministry.

⁶⁰ Yearly Summaries, "The Account Book of the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street," LRSF, MS Box 8:5.

⁶¹ Envelope (empty), to JC, labelled, "1853 free labour patterns from Alexander of Limerick," LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

⁶² Manchester Trade Directory (1851), "Josias Browne, Commission Merchant, 33a Spring Gardens, Stanley Terrace, Cheetham."

⁶³ Receipt, D. Stoner to EC (27th January, 1854) LRSF, MS Box 8:3. This was for 19s, carriage of goods to Street.

made by Quaker manufacturers, and his goods were evidently tailored to Friends' requirements. Browne stocked cotton made by Quaker brothers Isaac and Wilson Crewdson, who were highly successful in spinning and weaving, later in the century forming the cotton manufacturing giant, 'Horrockses, Crewdson and Company.'⁶⁴ James Clark was a close friend of Wilson Crewdson, lodging and attending Meeting with him, whilst on business in Manchester.⁶⁵

In December, 1849, with support from the BFPA, and possibly personal funding from Joseph Sturge, Browne opened a free labour warehouse and showrooms at 7, Marsden Street in Manchester. This catered to retail and trade customers, in person or via mail order, and Browne conducted a thriving trade in shipping goods to America, notably to Philadelphia. Browne was recognised as the most important and trustworthy agent in the free cotton business and in 1861, he was described as being of "a high mercantile integrity."⁶⁶ It was accepted that Browne's textiles were made entirely by reputable firms, such as Crewdson's or Worthington's of Manchester, who were described as absolutely genuine suppliers and who "work up the free cotton without any spurious admixture."⁶⁷ Browne also wrote two pamphlets on free labour cotton, which he published in c.1853. These were sent to customers, including Eleanor Clark. One was entitled, To the Members of the Anti-Slavery Societies and All Friends of the Slave and another was entitled To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Movement. Both gave persuasive accounts of free produce and carried lists of stock.⁶⁸ As will be discussed in the next chapter, Browne provided an important link with George Washington Taylor, the manager at the Philadelphia Free Produce Association and proprietor of a free produce store in Philadelphia.⁶⁹

In early 1853, Eleanor Clark applied to Browne for information on free cotton goods and in reply, he sent her manufacturer's samples, of which three cards have survived, which are held in Clark's papers in LRSF (Figures 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6). The cards show samples of plain and patterned, printed and woven cloth of various types, colours, patterns and weights. A

⁶⁴ "The Dictionary of Quaker Biography," (typescript, n.d., LRSF); Milligan 123. Wilson Crewdson (1790-1871) and his elder brother Isaac (1780-1844) were devout evangelical Friends and successful manufacturers.

⁶⁵ James Edmund Clark, "Transcript of Account," (typescript, 1919). AGT HSHC2.

⁶⁶ Pamphlet, probably by A and H Richardson, Conscience Not Cotton (Newcastle: n.p., n.d. [c.1861]).

⁶⁷ Conscience Not Cotton.

⁶⁸ Josias Browne, To The Members of Anti-Slavery Societies and all Friends of the Slave (Manchester: n.p., n.d., c.1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:4; Josias Browne, To The Friends of the Anti-Slavery Movement (Manchester: n.p., n.d., c.1853) LRSF MS Box 8:4.

⁶⁹ Ruth Nuermberger, The Free Produce Movement. A Quaker Protest Against Slavery (New York: AMS, 1970 [Duke U P, 1942]) 83-99.

slip of paper pinned to one card, identifies cloth by “Crewdson.” It may be presumed that the samples are what Browne referred to, in a note he wrote to Clark as a postscript on a pamphlet. He explained, “We herewith send you [Eleanor Clark] patterns of our free labor goods, and will be happy to receive your orders for any you may want.”⁷⁰ As will be discussed, the cards provide important information on what free labour cotton looked like, and in the absence of many surviving free labour cotton garments, they assume great importance in our understanding of free labour cotton.

As the primary supporters of free produce goods, Quakers played an important role in determining the design of free produce cloth. As a Friend, Browne was well-positioned to understand his customers’ specific Quaker tastes, and to both commission and stock the ‘right’ textiles to suit their requirements. Above all, the Quaker Testimony of Plainness was fundamental in shaping Friends’ attitudes to lifestyle, clothing and visual culture.⁷¹ Quakers were notoriously discerning shoppers, who would readily reject designs, for example for textiles or furniture which they deemed unsuitable or inappropriate. The selection of cloth was of utmost importance, for Quaker dress was extremely simple, and this put greater emphasis on the cloth which they preferred to be of “the best sort, but plain.”⁷² Devoid of decoration or additions, such as embroidery or lace, and cut in simple silhouettes, plain Quaker garments put great emphasis upon the fabric they were cut from. Quakers preferred cloth to be of the highest quality, and very hard wearing, for they wished their clothes to last. Overall, dress was of enormous importance to Friends, for they employed visual presentation as an essential outward show of their religious beliefs and cultural values. Traditional, plain dress acted as a metaphorical barrier to society, a kind of ‘hedge’ or ‘enclosed garden,’ protecting Friends from contamination by ‘the world.’⁷³ As William Frost explains, dress also provided kinship and recognition, “Even on a street, a Friend should always be able to recognize a fellow Quaker.”⁷⁴ In addition, as members of wealthy, middle class society, Quakers such as the Clarks also used dress to communicate status and propriety.

⁷⁰ Browne, To the Friends with handwritten additions to EC.

⁷¹ William J. Frost, “From Plainness to Simplicity: Changing Quaker Ideals for Material Culture” in Emma Lapsansky and Anne Verplanck (eds), The Quaker Aesthetic: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design (Philadelphia, Pa.: U of Pennsylvania P, 2003)16-43.

⁷² Joan Kendall, “The Development of a Distinctive Form of Quaker Dress,” Costume 19 (1985): 58-74; Frederick Tolles, “Of the Best Sort, but Plain”: The Quaker Esthetic,” American Quarterly 11:4 (1959): 484-502.

⁷³ Frost, 25.

⁷⁴ Frost, 28.

The time of the Street Depot, 1853 – 1858 saw great changes in attitudes towards Quaker dress, and by 1860, it had undergone significant modification in terms of design and ethos. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the changes were due to a wider liberalisation of Quaker culture, such as the phasing out of certain traditional practises such as endogamy and plainness. Since Quakers comprised the core of free produce support, their liberalising attitudes had an important bearing on the design of free cotton cloth at the time of the Street Depot.

It is well-known that the British cotton industry was a fast-paced, aggressive, market-based and highly commercial environment, which readily adapted to technological and aesthetic changes.⁷⁵ Although on a far smaller scale, the free cotton industry was also responsive to customer demands, and Browne was eager to stock appropriate goods for his clientele. For example, he listed lining cotton in the colours of drab, slate and brown, which were known to be ‘Quaker colours.’ He reported that his cloth was of excellent quality, for example a fabric made from West Indian cotton “will equal the Sea Island of America, if not excel it.”⁷⁶ Rapid responses to customer demands were hampered by the fact that the production process was a protracted one, for as Browne explained, goods appearing in his lists would take at least a fortnight to be ready for sale. But within the limits of this small branch of the cotton industry, Browne tried to stock what his customers requested and to respond as quickly as possible.

Browne’s pamphlet, entitled To the Members (1853) listed the range of goods he held in stock, “Crewdson’s shirtings; Croydon’s; soft shirtings; grey calicoes; glazed linings; lustre; tape check muslins in five qualities; hair cord; dimity for ladies wear; six cord sewings; three fold knittings; printed lawns and linens; printed muslins; cotton tick and gingham in 36 and 40 inches.” For shoppers interested in fashion, he carried modish and specialised goods, such as “satan [sic] stripe de laines; barages and Hungarian fancies &c. &c.” (see Appendix, 1 for Glossary of Terms).⁷⁷ The use of ‘Hungarian fancies’ and ‘barages’ indicate that fashionable cloth was available in the free cotton industry. ‘Hungarian fancies’ were striped textiles, made from a mixture of cotton and silk or wool

⁷⁵ Timmins, “Technical Changes,” in Rose, 1996, 29-62; Douglas Farnie and Jeremy David (eds) The Fibre That Changed The World. The Cotton Industry in International Perspective 1600-1905 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004); Beverly Lemire, Cotton (Oxford: Berg, 2011).

⁷⁶ Browne, To The Friends 4; To The Members 2.

⁷⁷ Browne, To The Members 4.

and were a speciality of Norwich. ‘Barage’ or more commonly, ‘barège’ was a fine cotton gauze cloth, which was widely used for mourning, and was often sold made up as ready-made over-gowns, to be worn over another gown.⁷⁸ A total of three barège dresses were sold at the Street Depot.⁷⁹ Pale ‘barège dresses’ were also fashionable worn over printed gowns, to create a layered effect for spring wear, as recorded in The English Women’s Domestic Magazine.⁸⁰ Since the gowns were semi-transparent, they were interpreted as racy. A cartoon in Punch (1850) showed a young woman in a see-through dress, revealing the outline of her lower legs. The caption cautioned, “A friendly hint to young ladies who wear those delightful barège dresses. Always let the slip (or whatever the mysterious garment is called), be as long as the outer dress.”⁸¹

Anna and Henry Richardson worked closely with Browne, printing his views and publicising his goods in their newspaper. In February, 1852, The Slave published a detailed report on the Manchester warehouse.⁸² They wrote, “Despite the extreme scarcity of goods in the market,” they reported that Browne was “in good spirits and keeping up supply and was hoping to keep a mill working constantly, to supply his customers.” They wrote that in addition to the “shirtings, grey domestics, Hungarian and other fancy dresses” he would be soon able to offer an expanded range of textiles. These would include “checked and corded muslins, coloured jaconets for linings of double breadth, dimities for ladies’ wear, gingham, bed-tickings, stuff for trowsers, muslin for window-curtains and a pretty fabric for dresses made of silk and cotton.” They added that other fabrics were coming soon, such as “delaines, barèges, and furniture dimity.” They reported that he would soon stock “elegant new linen lawns from Belfast ... printed in fast colours and modern patterns,” and they were happy to recommend Browne’s stock to all readers.⁸³ Two months later, The Slave again published a list of stock at Browne’s warehouse together with his own comments that stock was selling fast, and was replenished immediately.⁸⁴ They reported that he was still waiting for knitting cottons, barèges and dimity for ladies’ wear, but by the

⁷⁸ Florence Montgomery, Textiles in America 1650 – 1870: A dictionary based on original documents, prints and paintings, commercial records, American merchants’ papers, shopkeepers’ advertisements and pattern books with original swatches of cloth (New York: Norton, 1984).

⁷⁹ “Account Book” of the Street Depot (20, 21 and 27 June, 1853).

⁸⁰ “MSR,” “What we Wear Now,” English Woman’s Domestic Magazine vol vii (1858-9) 103.

⁸¹ Punch or the London Charivari vol xix (June-December, 1850) 18.

⁸² “Free Labour Cotton,” The Slave (February, 1852): 54-56.

⁸³ “Free Labour Cotton,” 55.

⁸⁴ “Advertisement of Free Labour Goods,” The Slave (April, 1852): 64.

end of the month he expected to have printed muslins “of the *newest* patterns” (note their emphasis).⁸⁵

Enthusiastic reportage by The Slave and Browne’s own bulletins emphasised the brisk pace of manufacturing and drew attention to the great variety of choice. The reports dispelled rumours that the industry was having difficulty in meeting demand, and that choice was reduced. They suggested that choosing free cotton was an enjoyable activity, and that free produce shoppers took a keen interest in new varieties and seasonal types of cloth. The choice of words such as “elegant” “newest,” “modern” and “pretty” indicate that Browne’s customers in the free produce community were interested in design and style. It is clear that the community had much in common with the ordinary shoppers of the period and goods such as “muslin window curtains” and “fine gingham for gowns” corresponded to similar reports in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine, a popular woman’s periodical of the period.⁸⁶ Importantly, the readers of both The Slave and the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine shared particular views on goods, which pertained to the genteel, middle-class, feminine taste. As Linda Young explains, nineteenth century middle-class society was substantially reinforced by the careful choice of goods for the home. Referring to the work of social theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, Young writes, “The genteel habitus required the right environment in which to live, shaped by a battery of material goods ... [which] constructed the stages on, and the props with which, to conduct the genteel life.”⁸⁷ The readers of The Slave also employed an array of free labour goods, through which to construct their religious, social and political identities. In addition, they felt pleasure in shopping and they welcomed new and attractive goods.

In addition to buying goods from Browne, Eleanor Clark also bought directly from a specialist handloom weaving manufactory, run by John Wingrave, of 10, Bank Street in Irish Dam-Side, Stanwix, Carlisle in Cumberland.⁸⁸ Wingrave’s company, entitled the ‘Cumberland Co-Operative Free Labor Gingham Company,’ also known as the ‘Free Labor Gingham Company’ was of great interest to the free produce community, for The

⁸⁵ “Advertisement of Free Labour Goods,” 64.

⁸⁶ “MSR,” “What We Wear Now,” EWDM vol II (1858-1859) 28.

⁸⁷ Linda Young, Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century. America, Australia and Britain London: Macmillan, 2003) 153.

⁸⁸ Receipts, from JW to EC, LRSF, MS 8:3.

Slave carried several favourable reports on its activities.⁸⁹ The Richardsons reported on Wingrave's skill in weaving checked and striped gingham cloth of a very high quality, the dress gingham they described as "particularly pretty."⁹⁰ They reported that Wingrave's cloth was produced to customers' own designs, and it came in a variety of weights and widths, such as 36 and 40 inches. All was woven from "warranted free labour yarn," which was produced by "reliable Manchester spinners."⁹¹

Wingrave's business was a fascinating one, for he ran a weavers' co-operative, which offered work, food, accommodation and education to handloom weavers and their families in the city. Once prosperous, Carlisle's handloom cotton weavers were now facing destitution, in the wake of industrial transformations in the cotton industry. As with other traditional industries reliant on outworker or domestic systems of labour, hand weaving was being replaced by mechanised production by power looms in factories, which suited the growing demand for mass-produced cloth. In the 1830s and 1840s, mechanisation brought unemployment and extreme hardship for approximately five thousand weavers in Carlisle, who were not accommodated in the factory system.⁹² The Slave applauded Wingrave, in "rescuing the worthy men," and it suggested that the hardship they had felt disposed them to greater empathy with the enslaved.⁹³ It is reasonable to conclude that Clark would have been aware of the philanthropic conditions at the workshop, and this may have influenced her decision to purchase Wingrave's cloth for her depot, and to dress her family in Wingrave's free labour cotton cloth.

Goods Sold at the Street Depot

Information on the goods sold at the Street Depot can be found in the "Account Book" and in purchase receipts for buying stock. In addition, some swatches of cloth have survived, in the form of small manufacturer's samples, attached to cards which were sent to the depot

⁸⁹ "The Free Labour Movement," The Slave (May, 1853): 17, and "Carlisle Gingham Weavers Co-Operative Association," The Slave (January, 1854): 52.

⁹⁰ "The Free Labour Movement," 17.

⁹¹ "The Free Labour Movement," 17.

⁹² A key source on the cotton industry, clothing, technological change and impacts on labour is Mary Rose (ed) The Lancashire Cotton Industry. A History Since 1700 (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1996), see essays by: Sarah Levitt, "Clothing," 154-186; Chris Aspin, "Cotton's Legacy" 325-355; Geoffrey Timmins, "Technological Change," 29-62; Michael Winstanley, "Child Labour" 131-134. For handloom weaving, see Duncan Bythell, The Handloom Weavers. A Study in the English Cotton Industry During the Industrial Revolution (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1969) 61. For a reading of the collapse of the Carlisle handloom industry, see: E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London: Penguin, 1980 [1963]).

⁹³ "The Free Labour Movement," 17.

in 1853 (Figures 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6). The swatches are of unique importance, for to date, no other manufacturer's samples of free labour cotton have been found.

The first card (Figure 2.4) shows four small swatches of heavy, woven cotton twilled cloth, in muted tones of brown, cream and green with small, geometric patterns of zigzag, stripe or random speckle. To this card is pinned an original label, "40 in @8" meaning that some or all of the cloth was 40 inches wide, priced at 8d a yard. The weight and strength of the cloth suggests that it was suitable for winter wear, which as shown in correspondence between Browne and Taylor, was in great demand.⁹⁴

The second card (Figure 2.5) shows a total of ten swatches of lighter cottons and muslins, and four very small swatches of plain woven cloth. All of these are tiny pieces, measuring one to two centimetres. The swatches are arranged overlapping, making it probable that they were attached at a later date. Of the larger pieces, some are of fine, white muslin, patterned with a delicate printed design of leaves and berries, in soft colours of grey-mauve and brown. Some are of white muslin, printed with designs of buds and open sprays of flowers, in light grey. Some are very fine, plain white muslin, and some are checked, white muslin with a raised pattern, known as 'hair cord.' A label, written on a piece of cloth identifies some or all of the cloth as made by "Crewdson" and "Manch[ester]." Another paper label reads "36 @5" referring to cloth which was thirty six inches wide, priced at 5d a yard. These correspond with types listed by Browne in pamphlets, as "printed muslins in small neat patterns," which were made by Wilson Crewdson of Manchester.⁹⁵

The third card (Figure 2.6) shows one sample of striped twill and three samples of heavy weight, hand loomed, checked cloth, known as 'gingham.' Of these, two show a cloth with dark and medium brown stripes, bisected by cream stripes, suggesting that this is a piece of a large-checked, tartan-style cloth. Another shows a large, complex checked pattern, woven in shades of cream, brown and blue. Of the apparently striped samples, the third sample on the card shows a little more of the pattern, confirming that these are actually pieces of a checked pattern – not striped. The fourth sample on the card shows a cloth patterned in stripes in dark brown, divided with very fine brown and cream lines. The larger areas were patterned by a technique called 'warp-printing,' a technique that

⁹⁴ Nuernberger, 86-8 discusses the problem of shortage of heavy cotton. See letters, GWT to JB (14 December, 1852), (11 January, 1853) and (11 October, 1853) "Taylor Letterbooks" Volume 1, Spec. Coll., Haverford College Library, Pa.

⁹⁵ Browne, To the Members 2.

originated in South-east Asia and became very popular in Western textiles in the middle of the century.⁹⁶ Two labels are pinned to the card; “40 @7,” referring to cloth that was forty inches wide, priced at 7d a yard, and “34 in @ 6½,” referring to cloth that was thirty four inches wide, priced at 6½d a yard. The narrow width suggests that this was a label for hand loomed cloth.

Although it cannot be confirmed, it is highly likely that the heavy gingham samples were made by Wingrave, for a note from Browne mentioned the “patterns” he had sent, and receipts show that Clark bought Wingrave’s ginghams either from Browne, or directly from the manufacturer. In addition, George Washington Taylor’s descriptions of Wingrave’s cloth also match the samples sent to Clark. In 1853 Taylor wrote to Wingrave to complain that Wingrave’s gingham was not entirely suitable, being “a little on the heavy side.” He wrote that “if they had been finer, they would have sold better” and in future, he requested smaller checks, for “small plaids . . . suit Friends best.”⁹⁷

It is useful to compare the printed samples of cloth sent to Clark, with two pieces of printed free labour cotton calico, held in LRSF (Figure 2.11). Whilst showing very different patterns and cloth, they make an interesting comparison. The pieces of calico originated in the Quaker Gillett family of Newcastle, during the mid-1850s. They are pieces of the same cotton calico, which has been roller printed with a pattern of pine cones, or ‘botch’ designs, which was commonly known as ‘paisley’ in Britain. The motifs are printed in purple, red and white, on a vibrant violet background. The pieces of cloth come with the provenance that they were made from free labour cotton, for an accompanying letter, dating to 1927, was written by Mabel Warner, the daughter of Gertrude Gillett, whose prominent Quaker family used the cloth during the 1850s.⁹⁸ Warner recorded her mother’s childhood recollections of the cloth being bought in Newcastle in 1855, and as with all the family’s cotton goods, it was obtained from “a draper in the city who was persuaded to stock free cotton.” Her mother recalled that Joseph Sturge strongly encouraged Quaker families to request free labour cotton, and she believed that this would support escaped slaves in America. She explained that there was a connection between her family and the prominent Quaker abolitionist, Levi Coffin in Cincinnati, who was an agent in the Underground

⁹⁶ Montgomery, 236.

⁹⁷ Letters, GWT to JW (5th Mo, 9th, 1853), (9th Mo, 2nd, 1853) “Taylor Letterbooks” Volume 1, Spec. Coll., Haverford College Library, Pa.

⁹⁸ Letter, S. Mabel Warner, donated with fabric (October 17, 1927), LRSF, MS Box 5:17.

Railroad. Gillett recalled that buying the free cotton raised funds for Coffin's work, which was heavily supported by many other Quaker families, especially the Richardsons, who Gillett described as "the foremost workers in England."⁹⁹ The letter is extremely interesting, for it suggests that the free produce cloth directly supported anti-slavery work in America, via the Quaker networks in British commerce and philanthropy.

When compared to fashionable, printed cloth of the same period, the off cuts of free labour cotton cloth appear to be of a modish design (see Figures 2.12a and 2.12b for contemporary designs). However, the free labour examples are conspicuously poor in quality; the calico has a coarse texture and it is roughly printed, with a crude pattern, which is inaccurately registered, printed in colours that 'bleed' or merge together. As will be further discussed in Chapter Three, the examples illustrate that at times, it was difficult to obtain high quality and attractive printed free labour cotton cloth. The cloth makes a contrast with the printed lightweight samples sent to Clark, for these are high quality and carefully printed.

Muslin and Free Produce

It is significant that Clark stocked several types of cotton muslin at the Street Depot. Muslin held great importance in women's dress in the nineteenth century, and it needs special discussion in the context of Quakers and free labour cotton. Until the 1820s, plain, embroidered and printed cotton muslin cloth was generally imported from India, especially Bengal, sometimes already made up into garments. Muslin's high price meant that it was confined to wealthy and elite society, and it was highly sought after. From the 1820s, Europe acquired the technical capability for machine-spinning of very fine yarn, which enabled the mass-production of factory-made cotton muslin, which was manufactured in a great range of types and prices.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, there was unprecedented choice; expensive, imported Indian muslin or cheaper types made in Britain or France. As chronicled by Jane Austen, discerning attitudes to muslin developed, especially among the genteel middle classes, who used the various types of muslin to signify their fashionable and elite tastes.¹⁰¹ Muslin held its appeal throughout the century for infant and children's

⁹⁹Letter, S. Mabel Warner, 2.

¹⁰⁰Timmins, 45-50; Sarah Levitt, "Clothing" in Rose, 154-186; Riello & Parthasarathi The Spinning World. A Global History of Textiles 1200 – 1980 (Oxford: O U P, 2009) 415.

¹⁰¹Northanger Abbey (London: John Murray, 1816 [1798]). Beverly Lemire, Fashion's Favourite. The Cotton Trade and The Consumer in Britain 1660-1800 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991) 111-112, 172.

wear, accessories and summer dresses for women and girls. It was often embroidered with white-work designs, and it was also sold in pre-cut ‘lengths,’ ready for sewing into gowns.¹⁰² Especially fashionable were printed muslins, patterned with small designs, often of flower or botanical motifs, or geometric patterns which were printed onto plain, striped, checked or spotted backgrounds (Figure 2.13 for a flower-sprigged design).¹⁰³ There was a particular vogue for small, closely spaced floral prints, and this is also reflected in the samples of printed muslins sent to the Street Depot (Figure 2.5).

From the 1830s, cotton, and especially muslin attained a special status among Friends, virtually replacing linen as the cloth of choice for traditional Quaker accessories. These items of clothing were highly distinctive caps, aprons, flat shawl-like collars, triangular shawls worn crossed over the bodice, and rectangular stoles.¹⁰⁴ Cotton made an attractive alternative to linen, for it was widely available, and it came in a vast range of types and grades to suit different pockets. It was also practical and hygienic, for like linen, it was washable at high temperatures. When starched and ironed, it could be ‘got up’ into crisp shapes, for example for aprons, caps, cuffs and collars. These accessories conveyed fastidious attitudes to dress and especially among the middle classes.¹⁰⁵

As well as their habitual use in the domestic sphere, the modest, white accessories also held particular value to women who were engaged in public sphere activities. These items were prominent signs for propriety and they helped to dispel the moral criticisms of women who engaged in public culture.¹⁰⁶ As Carol Mattingly points out, Quaker dress played an important role in the lives of Angelina and Sarah Grimké, who were prominent anti-slavery activists in America. Despite the fact that the sisters were not Friends, they adopted Quaker garb when speaking in public. Thus they avoided criticism, through what Mattingly terms, a “nun-like appearance, and the protection this affords.”¹⁰⁷

Free labour cotton muslin fulfilled several functions in the free produce community. It was slave-free and it fulfilled middle-class and Quaker requirements and through its whiteness, which provided metaphorical evidence that it, and by extension, the wearer, was free from

¹⁰² Levitt, 160.

¹⁰³ Anne Buck, *Victorian Costume* (London: Bean, 1984 [1966]) 36; Levitt, 160.

¹⁰⁴ Joan Kendall, “The Development of a Distinctive Form of Quaker Dress,” *Costume* 19 (1985): 58-74.

¹⁰⁵ Levitt, 160.

¹⁰⁶ Carol Mattingly, “Friendly Dress: A Disciplined Use,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 29:2 (1999): 25-45, 34.

¹⁰⁷ Mattingly, 40.

the visible ‘taint’ of slavery. Quakerism and anti-slavery activism and the wearing of white clothing had been connected since the early eighteenth century, when the so-called ‘White Quakers,’ John Woolman, Ralph Sandiford and Benjamin Lay wore white. These activists became famous for their plain, homespun, woollen clothing which they wore in rejection of fashionable society and especially the use of slave-grown textiles and dyes.¹⁰⁸

Stocking the Street Depot

Several receipts for the purchase of stock have been found, and from these it is possible to build a picture of the goods Clark selected for sale at the Street Depot. The first receipt found, concerning an order with Josias Browne, dates to early May, 1853. This listed unspecified goods, plus twelve spools of cotton, to the value of £16 9s 3d, which included a discount, which Clark settled promptly.¹⁰⁹ In November, 1853, a receipt shows that she ordered again from Browne, for goods to the value of £4 8s, which was paid in cash. She bought sixty one and a half yards of Wilson Crewdson’s shirting at 5d a yard; the same length at 5³/₄d a yard; 6s worth of lining; and 9d worth of canvas.¹¹⁰ It is evident that by the autumn of 1853, Clark had bought in stocks for the busy winter period. This was the time when her customers needed more cloth and handicraft materials, in order to make goods in time for the charitable fairs which were usually staged at Christmas. As acknowledged by Browne, the pressure exerted by the “different Charitable Institutions” made a significant impact upon his trade.¹¹¹

At the end of January, 1854 Clark placed an order with John Wingrave, paying the bill of £6 11s 3d with cash and a postal order.¹¹² One month later, she placed an order with Browne for shirting cloth at various widths and prices, forty yards at 3³/₄d a yard; fifty six yards at 5³/₄d yard; sixty two yards at 6¹/₂d per yard; and fifty nine and a half yards at 7³/₄d. Clark also ordered twenty three yards of cambric at 9d a yard; 4s worth of tape check muslin; 11s worth of hair cord muslin; 18s worth of dimity; and 18s worth of Swiss cambric lawn. The bill came to £8 1s 11d, which she settled promptly. Browne wrote that he hoped that there would be further transactions, and apologised profusely for omitting to

¹⁰⁸ Geoffrey Plank, “The First Person in Antislavery Literature: John Woolman, His Clothes, His Journal,” *Slavery and Abolition* 30:1 (2009): 67-91.

¹⁰⁹ Receipt, JB to EC (5 May, 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

¹¹⁰ Receipt, JB to EC (19 November, 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

¹¹¹ Browne, *To the Friends*, 3.

¹¹² Bill of sale, JB to EC (21 February, 1854) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

discuss discounts on prices with Clark's agent, who was probably a salesman from C. & J. Clark, who had paid him a visit whilst in Manchester.¹¹³

Business appeared to be going well, for in May, 1854 Clark again placed an order with Browne. She bought sixty two yards printed muslin at 8½d a yard; twenty four and a half yards printed muslin at 9½d a yard; and unspecified quantities of hair cord muslin and canvas, to the value of £3 14s. Browne apologised for not including the pieces of cotton cambric as she had requested, for he had sold out long ago and was experiencing problems restocking.¹¹⁴ In July, she placed an order with Wingrave, for gingham to the value of £5 16s 11½d, including a discount, which she paid in two instalments.¹¹⁵ On the back of the receipt, Wingrave wrote at length on his concerns over carrying unsold stock, for which he was "painfully anxious for large orders." This indicates that Wingrave's business was small-scale, and that he suffered from problems with cash flow.¹¹⁶

There is evidence that Wingrave may have manufactured different types of cloth. In 1854, Taylor wrote to him, requesting heavy cotton 'grandrill' and 'cord,' but for reasons unknown, Taylor was unsuccessful in this request.¹¹⁷ Wingrave also supplied goods from other agents, for in 1854 he wrote to Clark, enclosing samples of muslins he had obtained from Josias Browne. He wrote that he would be glad to supply anything else in addition to his own "petticoats and prints ... [and would] ... charge them as low as possible." He also sent Clark a length of printed cotton, it is not known from which manufacturer, which he thought might sell well in Street, for specifically it would suit her Quaker clientele. He described as having "clear fast color," which made it in his opinion, "quite a favorite among the Friends here [in Carlisle], who wear it notwithstanding it being black" (note his emphases). This indicates that Wingrave was aware of the particular tastes of Quakers, who were not in the habit of buying black, but were willing to make an exception with this print, for it was of exceptionally high quality and was sufficiently colourfast to "be subjected to boiling."¹¹⁸ This tells us that Quakers would suspend judgments of taste if the cloth was of the highest specification, and which would withstand rigorous laundry

¹¹³ Receipt, JB to EC (7 March, 1854) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

¹¹⁴ Receipt, JB to EC (17th April, 1854) LRSF MS Box 8:3.

¹¹⁵ Receipt and letter, JW to EC (14th August, 1854) LRSF MS Box 8:3.

¹¹⁶ Receipt, JW to EC, with letter on back (5 August, 1854) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

¹¹⁷ Nuermberger, 88-89.

¹¹⁸ Receipt, JW to EC, with letter on back (5 August, 1854) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

routines.¹¹⁹ Wingrave's attention to how his cloth performed in the wash indicated that he understood the priorities of his specialist clientele, such as Clark and her customers in Street.

In August, 1854 Clark again placed an order with Browne, for goods totalling £ 8 13s 6d.¹²⁰ In December 1854, she again restocked from him, to the value of £ 3 19s 6d.¹²¹ Browne wrote that supply was now easing, and possibly in response to an enquiry, he informed Clark that he now had a good selection of black and white linings, for which he would be happy to receive orders.¹²² This is the last found receipt for the purchase of stock, although the "Account Book" listed two subsequent purchases; one in 1855 (unspecified month) for goods from Wingrave for £2 13s, and another in December, 1855, for goods from Browne, worth £10 17s. This indicates that in 1855, the depot was continuing to stock up, and that it was showing no signs of winding down for closure.

Trading at the Depot

The records in the "Account Book" provide insights into the business conducted by the Street Depot, such as the money incoming for sales and outgoing on buying stock (see Appendix 6). The yearly summaries are especially useful, for they give an overview to the incomings and outgoings. They give figures for two periods; the first is from 17th May, 1853 until 9th June 1854 (the first year), and the second is from 11th August, 1854, until an unspecified month in 1858 (the second to fifth years). It can be concluded that in the first year, Clark had outgoings of £46 2s 11½d, of which £45 0s 9d was spent on stock; £11 19s 8d paid to Wingrave and £33 1s 2d was paid to Browne. Income received for that year was £52 5s, of which £29 2s 4d was for sales of goods and the remaining £23 was in cash loans supplied by friends, leaving £1 not accounted for.¹²³

The second year showed similar fortunes; outgoings of £58 3s ¾d, of which £31 4s 9½d was for stock; £23 10s ¾d paid to Browne and £ 7 14s 6d to Wingrave. £23 was also spent re-paying the cash loans from the previous year. Income was not listed separately for the years in this period, but bulked together for 1854, 1855, 1856 and 1858. The total

¹¹⁹ Christina Walkley and Vanda Foster, Crinolines and Crimping Irons. Victorian Clothes, How they were Cleaned and Cared For (London: Peter Owen, 1978) 9-13.

¹²⁰ Receipt, JB to EC (Sept, 1854) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

¹²¹ Receipt, JB to EC (13 December, 1854) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

¹²² Receipt, JB to EC (Sept, 1854) LRSF, MS Box 8:3.

¹²³ 'Yearly Summaries,' "The Account Book," LRSF, MS Box 8:5.

income for the second to fifth years was £58 3s 3¼d. This matched (to the quarter penny) the outgoings for the second year. Of this, sales of goods brought in £27 0s 3d and the remainder comprised of payments from David Brooks, it is not known for what purposes.¹²⁴ From the summaries, the following conclusions can be drawn: the depot sold between £25 and £30 worth of goods per year; it traded actively *only* for the first two years; it did not make a profit; and in 1858-9, it assiduously balanced the books, finishing the business neatly with loans paid off and no debts outstanding.

Sales of Goods at the Street Depot

In the “Account Book” Eleanor Clark recorded in detail the goods she sold at the depot and the sums she received in payment. However, it should be noted that the accounts are highly idiosyncratic, and despite the book-keeping practice Clark may have learned from her husband and family, she did not keep the ledger very neatly. There were many revisions, pages crossed out, sales entered later and probably out of sequence. Also, the book was written without page numbers, and subsequently pages have become detached, thus sequencing the sales in chronological order has been a challenge.

In order to understand the “Account Book,” two documents have been created; the first is a transcription, written in the order the pages have been archived in LRSF, but not necessarily in chronological order (Appendix 7). The second is a sequenced version, with entries as far as possible, set in chronological order, using the amounts brought forward and when shown, dates to sequence them (Appendix 8). Bearing in mind that the record of sales may not be a complete one, from these two versions, a picture can be built of when the depot conducted its business, what it sold, and at what prices. This leads to a discussion of for what purposes the cloth might have been sold. As will be discussed later on, the Street Depot may be compared to a similar depot in Bath, which traded at the same time, and whose papers are archived together with the papers of the Street Depot, held in LRSF (see Figure 2.14 for advertising flyer).¹²⁵

The “Account Book” shows the Street Depot opened for an average of three times per month, throughout the year, it is not known for what hours. The advertising flyer for the Bath Depot showed that this establishment was “open from 12 till 4 o’clock,” and possibly

¹²⁴ ‘Yearly Summaries.’

¹²⁵ Folder, “Birmingham Negro’s Friend Society,” LRSF, MS 8:2, 2.

the Street Depot may have kept similar hours. The Street Depot recorded the most number of days of trading in June 1853, with sales listed on thirteen separate days. It recorded the fewest number of days trading in September 1853 and July 1854, listing sales only on two days for each of these months. It did not record any sales in the month of October 1854, and it may have been closed that month, or at least, Clark did not record sales. No trading was recorded in the accounts after 1854, although as will be discussed, the depot continued to buy stock through 1855.

The period of trading was therefore limited to the first two years, 1853 – 1854. The busiest months, recording the most sales, were June 1853 (thirty eight sales); April 1854 (twenty five sales); September 1854 (twenty one sales); and August 1854 (twenty sales). The cluster of sales would fit with the charitable sewing timetable, for most charity fairs were held in December, and six months was the time recommended by organisers to prepare goods ready for collection.¹²⁶ The drop in sales during July indicates that the depot may have closed for the summer holidays, and this fits with letters from Clark, written whilst on holiday with her mother, sisters and the children at Burnham-on-Sea.¹²⁷

The Street Depot relied upon the demand for cloth which was created by women's domestic and charitable sewing duties. In the nineteenth century, all females had heavy sewing commitments and whatever their status, all women and girls were trained to make and mend articles for necessity or pleasure, for themselves, their families and their households.¹²⁸ According to wealth, and with or without paid help, women and girls were directly responsible for the entire household's stitching tasks, and females produced and maintained the majority of textile items used in the home. In addition, many women, such as in Street, added the charitable sewing of garments or household items to their domestic workloads. As Rozsika Parker points out, until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, sewing by hand was the only means to manufacture sewn items. This work was so essential, it was known simply as 'women's work,' and the majority was performed by the occupants of the house, and at home.¹²⁹ A commercial sewing machine was patented by American pioneer, Isaac Singer in 1851, and in 1858 it was marketed as a luxury item in

¹²⁶ Julie Roy Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism. Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of N C P, 1998)108-26.

¹²⁷ Letters, EC to JC, (written in 6th, 7th, 8th Mo, 1830s and 1840s) AGT, MIL 47/04.

¹²⁸ Rozsika Parker, The Subversive Stitch. Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine (London: The Women's Press, 1984) 18-20.

¹²⁹ Parker, 21-27.

Britain, as the “New Family Sewing Machine.”¹³⁰ As befitted their wealth and social status, the Clark family paid for servants’ help in household sewing, and in 1861, they possessed a sewing machine, which was operated by Eleanor Clark.¹³¹

Home-sewing was deeply embedded in traditional Quaker culture, and both rich and poor Friends prided Quaker women’s traditional home-based skills and self-sufficiency in needle crafts and the manufacture of clothing.¹³² In line with increasing numbers of garments owned by the middle classes, during the middle of the century, Quaker wardrobes also became very large indeed. This is borne out by the quantities of extant items in Quaker collections, which hold especially large numbers of accessories, under garments, nightwear, baby and children’s wear (see Appendices 4 and 5). With the exception of specialist and tailored items such as cloaks, coats, bonnets and corsets, which were made by dressmakers, Quaker clothing was generally made at home, by the women and girls of the house.¹³³ It is unclear whether Quakers used paper patterns or templates, but it is probable that Quaker clothes were made to traditional designs, which were passed from mother to daughter. General sources of information for women on dressmaking were the published sewing guides, which were widely circulated in nineteenth century society.¹³⁴ One guide was commonly used, The Workwoman’s Guide, published from 1835, which offered comprehensive “instructions to the inexperienced in cutting out and completing those articles of wearing apparel etc. which are usually made at home.” Significantly, Chapter VI gave specific instructions to Members of the Religious Society of Friends.¹³⁵ Women’s periodicals also carried extensive information on making clothes, but it is unclear to what extent they were available to Friends. A possible choice could have

¹³⁰ Adrian Forty, Objects of Desire 1750-1980 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986) 94-99.

¹³¹ “Eva”, “The Sewing Machine,” “Village Album” (1861) AGT VA XV and letter, EC to JC, (10th mo, 1837) AGT HSHC 53.

¹³² Elizabeth O’Donnell, “Woman’s Rights and Woman’s Duties. Quaker Women in the Nineteenth Century with Special Reference to the Newcastle Monthly Meeting of Woman Friends,” (PhD University of Sunderland, 2000). Chapter 3 discusses sewing.

¹³³ Adverts for specialist makers, often women, appear in The Friend and the British Friend. For example, in 1846 Sarah Noakes advertised making cloaks (4th mo, 30th, 1846); Hannah Gummersall, corsets (4th mo, 30th, 1846); Lydia Smith, bonnets (1st mo, 30th, 1846).

¹³⁴ For example, Mrs. T. Whitely, A New Simple and Complete Method of Dressmaking, in all its Branches (Manchester: Latham and company, 1855).

¹³⁵ “A Lady,” The Workwoman’s Guide: containing instructions to the inexperienced in cutting out and completing those articles of wearing apparel etc. which are usually made at home; also explanations on upholstery, straw-plaiting, bonnet-making, knitting etc., “A Method Shortens Labour” (London, Simpkins, 1835).

been the English Woman's Domestic Magazine, which appealed to conservative, middle class women.¹³⁶

Sales at the Street Depot indicate that Clark's customers had varying requirements, for sales varied enormously in terms of size, type and value. The majority of sales were for cotton cloth, sold by the yard; total sales amounted to 1,200 yards of cloth. As would be expected, this was a much smaller volume than was sold at the Philadelphia Depot, which operated in a large city and had a much larger clientele. To compare the two depots, in early 1854, the proprietor, George Washington Taylor, requested 3,000 yards of cloth from John Wingrave, and thus a single order for the Philadelphia Depot was over double the entire volume of cloth sold during the period of trading at the Street Depot.¹³⁷

Larger sales of cloth, of over ten yards, were destined for big sewing projects, for example household furnishings, sets of garments and multiples of items. Examples of the latter were the "print and holland pinafores," which Roger Clark states were supplied by Quakers at the Street sewing circle, to boys and girls at the British School in Street.¹³⁸ Small yardages were destined for smaller scale projects, such as needle cases, baby's caps and handkerchiefs, all of which were necessities of daily life, and also very popular at fairs.¹³⁹ The largest sales in single transactions were for forty yards of calico (22 August, 1854); thirty eight yards of calico (16 August, 1854); twenty four yards calico (27 March, 1853); and twenty two yards of printed cotton (26 May, 1854). The smallest sales were for fractions of yards of calico, quarter of a yard (11 June, 1853); half a yard (28 July, 1853); and three quarters of a yard (11 June, 1853), with one customer paying just 1½ d for the quarter yard of calico.

Certain sales were repeated, such as twelve yards of calico; six yards of calico; and one yard of calico and muslin. As per a sewing guide, these were the yardages to make certain items, for example six yards, or a 'length' was the standard quantity to make a full-length, plain Quaker gown.¹⁴⁰ It should be pointed out that six yards was a shorter piece than the non-Quaker 'dress length' or 'full length,' which was a standard of eight yards. The extra

¹³⁶ The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine Containing Practical Information, Instruction and Amusement (published London, 1852-1879, volume VII, 1858-9 inspected), especially, "Economy of Dress," (Vol VII, 1858-9):92.

¹³⁷ Nuermberger, 88.

¹³⁸ Roger Clark, 5.

¹³⁹ Jeffrey, 106-26.

¹⁴⁰ The Workwoman's Guide Chapter VI.

two yards were needed to make the fashionable full and embellished skirts of the day, which were commonly shaped by the crinoline hoop skirt.¹⁴¹ According to another sewing guide (1855), a much more generous yardage was required to accommodate fashionable frills and trimmings, for it listed fourteen yards of silk to make a gown, the skirt alone required six yards of silk and six yards of lining.¹⁴² It should be pointed out that plain or traditional Quakers were generally less inclined to wear very full skirts, and that they preferred slim, plain skirts, worn without crinolines.¹⁴³ One yard of cloth was listed as sufficient for making a number of items including, twelve plain baby caps; a dress apron; a Quaker full kerchief or square shawl and four adult Quaker caps.¹⁴⁴ As will be discussed later on, these items were common in Quaker wardrobes, and as shown in advertisement flyers, they were also to be found for sale at charity fairs.¹⁴⁵

The most popular fabric at the Street Depot was ‘calico,’ selling a total of four hundred and eighty one yards. Calico was a broad descriptor for bleached or unbleached, plain or printed cotton cloth, in many weights, types and finishes. It ranged from the ubiquitous ‘long cloth’ and heavyweight ‘domestic’ cloth, to fine ‘shirting.’¹⁴⁶ It should be pointed out that the grade of cloth was measured by the ‘thread-count,’ which was a measurement, in hanks, of the quantity of yarn required to weave it. This was recorded as the approximate number of threads per inch. Thread count affected both the density and fineness of the finished cloth, and the higher the number, the better the quality and more costly the cloth.¹⁴⁷ For example, Wingrave supplied cloth to Clark in thread counts of 1,000 and 1,400, which indicated a closely woven cloth.¹⁴⁸ Browne listed several types of calico, such as Crewdson’s shirtings, soft shirtings and chambray in a choice of widths.¹⁴⁹ Often calico was printed, but this was listed by Clark as ‘print.’ Clark’s calico sold at 3d, 4d, 4½d, 5½d, 6d, 7d, 7½d, 8½d and 9d a yard, suggesting a wide spectrum of qualities and uses. The diversity of types of calico accounts for the large volume sold and the wide variation in price.

¹⁴¹ Illustrated London News (20 April, 1850). Mercers’ adverts, 8 yards of cloth, ‘full length’ to make gowns.: Levitt, in Rose (ed), 159-60.

¹⁴² Mrs. T. Whiteley, “materials required for making a dress,” A New, Simple and Complete Method of Dressmaking, in all its Branches (Manchester: Latham, 1855) (no page numbers).

¹⁴³ As will be discussed in Chapter Five, there were exceptions and more progressive Friends wore full skirts.

¹⁴⁴ The Workwoman’s Guide 76, 160 and 166.

¹⁴⁵ Advertising circular, “Ocean Penny Postage Bazaar” (April 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:5 15.

¹⁴⁶ Levitt, in Rose (ed), 155-60.

¹⁴⁷ See Timmins, 45-6 for a full description of thread count and the gauge of cotton cloth.

¹⁴⁸ Receipt, JW to EC (20, January, 1854) LRSF, MS Box 8:3 2.

¹⁴⁹ Browne, To the Friends and To The Members.

The most popular sales of calico were for twelve yards (thirteen times); one yard (eleven times); and six yards (ten times). This suggests that the primary destination was for large items. It should be noted that calico was also supplied as extra-wide sheeting cloth, in a range of qualities, at different prices.¹⁵⁰ Calico was usually bought by shopkeepers from the manufacturer by the ‘piece,’ meaning a roll of approximately forty yards of cloth. On occasion, a whole piece was bought by individual customers, as shown in an article in the English Woman’s Domestic Magazine which advised how to make a set of undergarments from two pieces of long cloth, priced at 5½ d per yard.¹⁵¹ This was sufficient for a modest set of six chemises, drawers, petticoats and nightdresses. The article also advised simple decorations, such as blue crocheted trim and ribbon ties at the neck of nightdresses. Similar advice was given by another sewing guide, aimed at makers of articles for the poor.¹⁵² It is not known whether Clark or her customers read these texts, but the advice they gave chimed with Quaker sensibilities, for nightdresses owned by the Clark family, archived in the AGT, correspond precisely to the descriptions given. A good example is a nightgown owned by Sarah Bancroft Clark, which is of a simple design, made from unbleached calico, with a distinctive, blue crocheted trim and ribbon tie at the neck.¹⁵³

At the Street Depot, ‘gingham’ followed in popularity, of which a total of three hundred and seventy one yards was sold. Although known today as a checked cloth, in the nineteenth century, gingham was a generic term for striped and checked cotton cloth, which was manufactured in a huge variety of designs and grades.¹⁵⁴ For example, The Workwoman’s Guide mentioned gingham priced at 2d a yard, making it suitable for economical curtains or articles for the poor.¹⁵⁵ Higher qualities and prices of gingham were also seen, for example, Wingrave’s hand loomed gingham was listed in receipts, in thread-counts of 1,000, 1,200 and 1,400, confirming that this was high quality cloth.¹⁵⁶ Different types of gingham were sold at the depot, for prices in the “Account Book” ranged from 3½d, to 8d a yard. The most popular sales of gingham were for six yards (recorded twelve

¹⁵⁰ “A Lady,” The Workwoman’s Guide 181.

¹⁵¹ EWDM “Economy of Dress,” (Vol VII, 1858-9):92.

¹⁵² “SW,” Directions for Cutting Out and Making Articles of Clothing With Practical Rules and Suggestions in Needlework Chiefly Applicable to Villages (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1854) 9-12 in Walkley and Foster, 160-1.

¹⁵³ Woman’s nightgown labelled “SB Clark” AGT, Costume Collection, Box 6.

¹⁵⁴ The types and origins of gingham will be further discussed in Chapter Five.

¹⁵⁵ Forty, 74. For gingham prices, see The Workwoman’s Guide 12-18.

¹⁵⁶ Receipt, JW to EC (20 January, 1854).

times); nine yards (six times); and three yards (five times). This suggests that gingham was used for large projects, such as gowns, household textiles, and multiples or sets of items.

The fabric known as 'lining' was the Street Depot's next best seller, for a total of one hundred and seventy eight yards was sold. This dense, smooth, plain cloth was sometimes glazed, selling in the depot at 4d, 4½ and 6d a yard. Lining was used wherever an extra layer was required, and it fulfilled many uses in creating opacity and reinforcing household items and clothing for men, women, babies and children.¹⁵⁷ Lining also provided a cheap base for needlework projects and was used for cushions, bags, pockets and embroidered pictures. The most popular sales were for six yards (recorded seven times); one yard (four times); and twelve; seven and a quarter; four; and four and a half yards (all recorded twice). This confirms that lining was used in different quantities, according to individual sewing projects.

The next popular fabric at the depot was 'muslin,' for a total of seventy nine yards was sold. This fine, gauzy cloth was chiefly used for accessories and it sold at between 9d and 12d a yard, making it costly compared to the other fabrics. Muslin was available in several types at the depot, such as checked; 'tape-check;' 'hair-cord;' printed and plain. The most popular sales were for one yard (recorded four times); two; three and twelve yards (all recorded twice); and for tiny sales of a quarter; three quarters; one and a quarter; one and a half; two and a half; four and three quarters; five; eight; and nine yards (all recorded once). This indicates that measurement was very precise for this costly fabric, and that different quantities were sold, for projects both large and small.

Next in popularity at the Street Depot was the fabric known as 'print,' of which fifty two yards was sold. Print was a generic term for printed cotton of many types, but especially cambric and calico, as was listed by Josias Browne.¹⁵⁸ Eleanor sold print sold at 7½d, 8½ and 9½d a yard, in single sales of twenty two; twelve; six and two yards; indicating that it was not especially popular at the depot, and that it was sold for larger projects. The least popular cloth sold at the depot was 'dimity,' which was a dense, usually white cloth, sometimes woven with raised spots, or printed with spots. It was described by Browne, as being "suitable for ladies dresses."¹⁵⁹ Dimity sold at the depot at 11d a yard, and was not

¹⁵⁷ Whiteley, "materials required for making a dress."

¹⁵⁸ Browne, To the Members, and To the Friends.

¹⁵⁹ Browne, To the Members.

very popular, for a total of ten yards was sold, in just three sales of one; two and three quarters; and six and a quarter yards. With the exception of the single length, which could have been used for a gown, it is likely that dimity was used for small items or accessories.¹⁶⁰

It is interesting that there are no records of the Street Depot buying or selling ‘fustian’ which was a popular cloth at the time, made from cotton, or cotton and linen mix.¹⁶¹

Fustian was a broad descriptor for dense, heavy, textured cloth, which was cheap and was used for working clothing and the dress of the poor. It also was produced in the free labour cotton industry, for Browne advertised types such as ‘corduroy’ which was much requested by Taylor, for winter wear in Philadelphia.¹⁶² The absence of heavy cloth sold at the Street Depot suggests that Clark’s clientele did not require heavy, working cloth.

Free Labour Cotton and Problems With Quality

At times, there were instances of poor quality free labour cotton cloth in the supply chain, and this adversely affected public perception of free cotton, especially in America. George Washington Taylor was especially critical of the quality of Browne’s printed calicoes, and several letters detailing his bitter complaints have survived.¹⁶³ In 1852 Taylor complained that one shipment from Browne contained, “not one dress pattern free from defect,” and he reported trouble in getting either sufficient quantities, or suitable patterns. Taylor was aggrieved that of what little had arrived, much was badly printed or had holes, and was therefore not suitable to put on sale at his store.¹⁶⁴ Poor quality shipments from Browne had a knock-on effect in the American free cotton trade, for Taylor supplied cloth to free produce store keepers across America. In 1857, he wrote to Richard Mann in Ohio:

I am sorry the new styles of prints do not please thee – ... I got up ... the prettiest styles I could – Well the general cry was, they are too light and not plain enough – Now I have aimed to have them dark & plain too, & yet they will not do – I believe I shall get the unbleached muslin & let every one print to her own taste.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Workwoman’s Guide 18 recommends 6 yards of dimity for a woman’s lying-in gown.

¹⁶¹ Lemire, Cotton (Oxford: Berg, 2011) 125-126.

¹⁶² Nuermberger, 58.

¹⁶³ Nuermberger, 86-8 discusses the complaints. Copies of the letters are archived, Letterbooks of George Washington Taylor Haverford College, Special Collection.

¹⁶⁴ Nuermberger, 86-8. Letter GWT to JB (8th Mo 10th 1852) Letter books.

¹⁶⁵ Letter GWT to Richard Mann (3rd Mo 18th, 1857) Letter books.

Taylor's ironic suggestion that shoppers might like to print their own designs shows his frustration with both his supplier in Britain, and his customers in Philadelphia. On the latter he ruefully commented, "My customers are exceedingly particular."¹⁶⁶

There is no evidence that Clark experienced similar problems when trading with Browne. It appears that attitudes were more accepting among the free produce community in Britain, or at least complaints were less common. Browne advised that customers should take a pragmatic approach, and they should compromise on their requirements. He explained, a "coarser dress honestly obtained, is better than a finer one wrung out of the blood and sinews of the Slave."¹⁶⁷ Whilst it is clear that the free cotton industry had trouble maintaining high standards, some problems stemmed from the fact that the core of free produce customers were discerning and exacting shoppers; middle-class Quakers who prided good quality cloth. This attitude to cloth was expressed by Amy Stephens, the mother of Eleanor Clark, who in 1845, wrote to her daughter.¹⁶⁸ Stephens referred to a nightgown she had made for her grand daughter. Evidently this was not made out of the best grade of calico, for Stephens wrote, "I hope that thou wilt not think Amy Jane's nightgown too coarse." Possibly she was ashamed of the cloth, exacerbated by the fact that she was a successful draper, for she was quick to disassociate herself, and she shifted the blame to Clark's sister, who she explained, had chosen the fabric.¹⁶⁹

The free cotton trade experienced particular problems with the manufacture of free labour cotton, which were ongoing throughout the period of the 1830s to the 1860s. The supply of raw free cotton was the chief problem, for shipments were limited, and raw cotton had to be sourced from different locations to make up quantities for spinning, which affected the quality of the finished cloth. For reasons that are unclear, printed free cotton cloth was especially problematic, and maintaining high quality appears to have been a problem. It should be pointed out that this was compounded by the fact that pattern in general presented problems for Quakers, for unless very discreet, patterns conflicted with traditional notions of Plainness. As seen in the letters exchanged between Taylor and Browne, the quality of free labour printing was a recurrent cause of friction. Taylor often

¹⁶⁶ Letter, GWT to JB (8th Mo 10th 1852) Letter books.

¹⁶⁷ Browne, To the Friends 3 and To the Members 3.

¹⁶⁸ Letter, Amy Stephens to EC, (12 September, 1845) in Morwenna Stephens, "A Short History of the Stephens Family," (Unpublished manuscript, n.d.,?1999) 116.

¹⁶⁹ Letter, AS to EC (12th, 9th mo, 1845), Morwenna Stephens, "The Stephens Family" (typescript manuscript, n.d., c. 1999) 116, LRSF.

requested good, indelible dyes, printed accurately on smooth-textured cloth, in small and discreet designs, and it is evident that at times, Browne's goods did not match his requirements.¹⁷⁰

When problems with obtaining raw cotton periodically halted manufacture, Browne's stocks ran low, and choice became limited. Customers needed be patient, as was advised by The Slave, in a long article entitled, "The Free Labour Movement" (July, 1853).¹⁷¹ The paper reported on the newly-opened free labour cotton depot in London, run by Elizabeth Inglis. It commented on Inglis' "nice taste," which enabled her to make the best of "what was available" of the limited choice on offer by manufacturers. On the acknowledged "lack of elegance" in prints, the paper encouraged shoppers to brush this aside, "let the part be forgotten, or if remembered, let it only be in contrast to what, we trust, will 'ere long, be a characteristic of free-labour prints and muslins."¹⁷² This shows the pragmatic approach of Richardsons, in advising readers to be patient, to put up with less than ideal designs and to make the most of what was on offer.

Problems with the weight or thickness of fabrics were more serious, for these were key factors which would determine the price and usage of cloth. The Richardsons tackled the problem, writing that fabrics were "occasionally a little too coarse or a little too fine and tender for ... purposes."¹⁷³ When too thick or "coarse," or too thin or "fine," the cloth might be unsuitable for purpose, for example there was a world of difference between the muslin used for straining cheese, and for making a woman's best cap. Browne was highly aware of shopper's sensitivities, but he became frustrated when they were put off by cloth which they perceived as "too good" for them, even if the price was right.¹⁷⁴ The criticism of cloth being "fine and tender" implied that it was flimsy and would not withstand wear. This was a poor choice, for it would need high maintenance such as starching, and it would quickly need to be replaced. Careful choice of muslin was especially important, for accessories were frequently washed, and the cloth came in a great range of textures,

¹⁷⁰ Nuermberger, 86-89.

¹⁷¹ "The Free Labour Movement," The Slave (July 1853): 25.

¹⁷² "The Free Labour Movement," 25.

¹⁷³ "The Free Labour Movement," 25.

¹⁷⁴ Browne, To the Friends 1.

weights and prices. The Richardsons' encouragement to compromise was re-iterated, "if occasionally the texture of free fabrics should not entirely come up to their wishes."¹⁷⁵

However it should be pointed out that even the poorest, coarsest cotton was of use to the free produce community, for it could be put to practical use in clothing the poor. In a letter to The Friend (1848), Anna Richardson reported on a large quantity of Indian raw free cotton, suited to "coarse and homely fabrics."¹⁷⁶ Richardson believed that this was very appropriate for the clothing societies, or charities, set up to clothe the poorest members of society.¹⁷⁷ Richardson argued, "Where is the Clothing Society that would not prefer coarse prints and bleached and unbleached calicoes woven from cotton raised by the free men, to those which the raw material has been watered by the blood and tears of the Slave?"¹⁷⁸ She explained that coarse, free cloth offered great potential, and it should be bought up and distributed. She estimated that if all "true-hearted women" requested it, this would make a "powerful stir" across the land.¹⁷⁹ Whilst Richardson's attitude demonstrates the movement's resourcefulness in using an otherwise unattractive type of cloth, it also indicates that a powerful hierarchy existed in the consumption of different types of textiles. Richardson evidences that double standards operated among middle-class benefactors; they deemed coarse cloth to be unsuitable for themselves, yet very suitable for the poor.

Closing the Street Depot

No sales were recorded after 1854 and in 1858 Eleanor Clark disposed of remaining stock at the depot. Stocks of gingham, lining and muslin, to the value of £1 10s 4½d, were sold to the draper John Coole, presumably for sale in his shop in the village.¹⁸⁰ The last recorded transaction of the Street depot, as recorded in the yearly summaries, was for 18s 10½ d worth of muslin, sold to Eleanor Clark on the 9th June, 1858 (Appendix 6). In 1859 the final "Statement of Accounts" was drawn up with David Brooks (Appendix 9). The

¹⁷⁵ "The Free Labour Movement," 25.

¹⁷⁶ Letter, Anna Richardson, The Friend (8th Mo, 1848).

¹⁷⁷ Frank Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) 244.

¹⁷⁸ Letter, AR, The Friend (8th Mo, 1848).

¹⁷⁹ Letter, AR, The Friend (8th Mo, 1848).

¹⁸⁰ Receipt, on John Coole's own paper, for goods he bought from the Olive Leaf Society, (undated) LRSF, MS Box 8:5 33.

statement showed that in 1859, the commercial value of the depot was nil, there was no remaining stock, and period of trading had generated no profits, and incurred no losses.¹⁸¹

The sudden demise of the Street Depot poses some questions. The most probable reason for closure was Clark's personal circumstances; she was ill from tuberculosis and she gave birth to her fourteenth child in 1857. After the birth, Clark was in a frail state, for as seen in a letter (March, 1857), she wrote that she was unable to walk, and was taken for outings in a chair.¹⁸² The short lifespan of the Street Depot also coincided with the heyday of the Free Produce Movement. Importantly, short periods of trading were also recorded for the majority of the American depots, and this was the case for two others in Britain; one in Bath, and the other in London.¹⁸³

The Free Labour Cotton Depots in Bath and London

At the same time as the Street Depot, another was opened some twenty miles away, in the city of Bath. Information on this enterprise is scarce, but an advertising flyer has survived which provides some information (Figure 2.14), which has been discussed by Louis Billington (1977).¹⁸⁴

The 'Free Labour Cotton Depot' in Bath traded from 14, Orange Grove, in the centre of the city, close to the Abbey. From the advertising flyer, it appears to have shared characteristics with the Street Depot, for appearance of the two flyers is almost identical. Notably, both referenced Uncle Tom's Cabin, and listed a very similar range of stock. The two depots may have been connected, as suggested by the fact that the flyers are archived together in the LRSF, in a folder with papers relating to the Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this highly important female anti-slavery society had a close connection with Eleanor Clark. The Anti-Slavery Reporter (July, 1853) wrote tentatively about the Bath Depot, "Their funds are small and no great variety of articles [is] to be obtained ... continued efforts will yet be necessary to bring it

¹⁸¹ "Statement of Accounts of the Street Free Labour Depot, drawn with David Brooks," LRSF, MS Box 8:5 29 & 31.

¹⁸² Letter, EC to Annie Clark (27 March, 1857) AGT, HSHC 53.

¹⁸³ "Chronological list of free produce stores," Nuernberger, 119.

¹⁸⁴ Louis Billington, "British Humanitarians and American Cotton, 1840 – 1860," Journal of American Studies 11:3 (1977): 313-334, 327.

more generally into public notice.”¹⁸⁵ This indicates that this was a small and little-known enterprise. Billington writes that the Bath Depot was run by the Bath Female Anti-Slavery Association and that it foundered due to lack of capital. He also argues that issues of taste played a part in its demise, for the depot’s goods were, in his opinion, “not suitable for this fashionable city.”¹⁸⁶ An alternative view is that although funding was probably an issue, the major problem stemmed not from the goods, but from the hostility towards the Free Produce Movement which existed in the West Country of England. All the indications suggest that Bath would have been a successful place for a free labour cotton depot, for a drapery shop run by Mrs E. Sturge sold free cotton in the city (see Appendix 3), there was an established Quaker community and a vigorous anti-slavery society and there was a sizeable middle-class population. However, as will be discussed in the next chapter, support for free produce was highly controversial, and certain male and female anti-slavery societies, notably in Bristol, were deeply hostile to free produce. Another reason for failure may have been financial pressures, for the Bath Depot was run by city’s anti-slavery association, which donated to the BFASS.¹⁸⁷ This placed the Street depot at a distinct advantage, for it was not obliged to make a profit to donate to the BFASS, and therefore it could keep prices low.

Also in 1853, another free labour cotton depot was set up, in London. This was founded by the British Free Produce Association, the enterprise having been first mooted by Joseph Sturge in 1850.¹⁸⁸ From the outset, its proprietor, Mrs Elizabeth Inglis was given good support, and advertisements were placed in the press. Press reports followed in the British Friend and The Slave, urging customers to shop at the new depot, and to “lose no time in creating demand.”¹⁸⁹ The London Depot also operated a postal service, which was heartily supported by The Slave.¹⁹⁰ As the Treasurer for the London Olive Leaf Circle, and organiser of its London bazaars, Inglis worked closely with Elihu Burritt. This placed her

¹⁸⁵ Printed advertising flyer, “Free Labour Cotton Depot [in Bath]” LRSF, MS Box 8:4, 2; “The Bath Female Anti-Slavery Association,” Anti-Slavery Reporter (July 1853): 165.

¹⁸⁶ Billington, 327.

¹⁸⁷ Midgley, Women Against Slavery, 206.

¹⁸⁸ “Free Labour Association,” ASR (1 November 1850): 175.

¹⁸⁹ Advertisement “Free Labour For Cotton Goods” British Friend (July 1853) unpaginated advertising supplement; “Free Labour Movement,” The Slave (July 1853): 25; “Free Labour Movement,” ASR (August, 1853): 177.

¹⁹⁰ “Free Labour Movement,” The Slave (July 1853): 25.

at the centre of a charitable fundraising network and it made her shop the first choice for Circles, who needed to buy free labour cotton to make goods for fairs.¹⁹¹

The London Depot traded until 1857, when it was briefly closed for refurbishment and was re-opened by Martha Bowden. Despite waning public interest in the Free Produce Movement, Bowden continued to keep a comprehensive stock of new items and to welcome shoppers to her premises.¹⁹² The London Depot probably closed in the summer of 1858, after which no mentions of it in the press have been found. Despite the heavy support it received, it appears that its lifespan was short, which indicates that there was a specific duration for the campaign against slave-grown cotton, and hence the depots that supplied it.

Value and Prices at the Street Depot

Measuring the commercial value of the Street Depot is problematic, for the usual measure of a shop's commercial basis, in terms of profit and loss, would underestimate both the ethos and mode of operation. In terms of providing a service, the Street Depot was highly valuable, for it supplied 1,200 yards of free cotton cloth, for sewing needs within the local community.

The facts are that it was set up on very little, there appear to have been no running costs, and it made neither a profit nor a loss. Since income from sales of goods precisely matched Clark's outlay on buying stock, this indicates that goods were sold at cost or wholesale prices, and without the usual commercial mark up, as applied by shops. Price was a thorny issue in the free cotton trade, for as Josias Browne explained, "The rule is, that Free Labour Goods cost more than Slave labour to get into the market." Thus, compared to mainstream types, he priced his cottons at "a half penny or a penny" more per yard.¹⁹³ Price inflation was a logical consequence, for the shortages of raw cotton compounded by the economies of small-scale production indicated that prices had to be higher.

However, an interesting finding of this thesis is that Clark's prices were lower than predicted. On examination of the "Account Book," it emerges that Clark was selling wares cheaper than either specialist free cotton drapers, or ordinary ones. For example, when

¹⁹¹ "Free Labour Movement," *The Slave* (July 1853): 25.

¹⁹² "Free Labour Depot," *The Friend* (Fifth Mo, 1857): 89.

¹⁹³ Browne, To *The Friends* 1-2.

compared to the drapers F.E. Wright of Kettering and Joseph Ramsdale of Bristol, who advertised free cotton to Quakers in an advertising supplement to British Friend in 1848; Clark's prices were the same or lower. Wright's calico was advertised at 3d and 3½d a yard, which was the same as Clark's.¹⁹⁴ Ramsdale's India long cloth sold at 4½d a yard, which was 1½d more than Clark's cheapest quality, and his most costly calico sold at 7d, which was more than Clark's most costly type.¹⁹⁵ Whilst it is not possible to precisely compare the merchants' goods and it must be remembered that Ramsdale and Wright operated from shops, with all the attendant overheads, it is evident that Clark was supplying free cotton cloth at lower prices than her competitors.

When compared to ordinary drapers, selling slave-grown cotton, Clark's prices were also surprisingly low. In 1850 the elite West End drapers, King & Co. of Regent Street, advertised cotton percales, barèges and muslins at over 1s a yard, making them more costly than Clark's finest muslin.¹⁹⁶ Compared to less elite mercers, Beech & Berrall and Rowland & Hooper of Edgware Road, who advertised organdie at between 5½d and 9d a yard, barège between 6¾d and 1s a yard and muslin between 4½d and 1s a yard, these prices made Clark's fabrics seem economical by comparison.¹⁹⁷ Of course, there was a world of difference between London drapers and the Street Depot, and thus it may be concluded that due to lack of overheads, shrewd buying practises and above all, the lack of a profit motive, Clark's cloth could be sold at lower prices.

Conclusions

Support for free produce increased in the early 1850s, it dwindled after 1855, and in 1858 Friends reported that free cotton was becoming increasingly difficult to find.¹⁹⁸ Although only trading actively for two years, the Street Depot spanned the lifespan of the heyday of the campaign against slave-grown cotton. For a commercial shop, two years of trading may be viewed as barely time to recoup start-up costs. However it must be remembered that the Street Depot was not a commercial shop, its costs were tiny, and that short lives were

¹⁹⁴ Advertisement, "Free Labour Cotton Calico," British Friend (7th Mo 1848) unpaginated advertising supplement.

¹⁹⁵ Advertisement, Mr. J. Ramsdale Bristol Mercury (4 July, 1857) unpaginated advertising supplement.

¹⁹⁶ Advertisement, King & Co, silk-mercers, 243 Regent-Street, Illustrated London News (20 April, 1850) unpaginated advertising supplement.

¹⁹⁷ Advertisement for Beech & Berrall, 63 & 64, Edgware-Road; Rowland & Hooper, 52, Oxford-Street Illustrated London News (20 April, 1850) unpaginated advertising supplement.

¹⁹⁸ The Friend (1st Mo 1858): 89.

commonplace in the case of free labour depots in both Britain and America.¹⁹⁹ The advertising flyer suggests that the Street Depot resembled a shop, for indeed it sold goods and it was set up in response to consumer demand, in this case stimulated by Uncle Tom's Cabin. But here the similarity ends, for it was in fact a stall, selling goods, as seen at bazaars or fairs. It is evident that Clark succeeded in a difficult and highly specialised branch of the drapery business, which as will be discussed in the next chapter, was fraught with both practical and ideological problems.

A key to understanding the Street Depot was its choice of venue. The temperance hall established it within the social domain, within a moral reform movement, and heavily supported by the Clark family. More than a shop, the Street Depot had both philosophical and political significances, and above all it made a pragmatic contribution to the anti-slavery movement, and it enabled shoppers to do likewise. This was an enterprise which allowed customers to construct a particular version of self, through the purchase of free labour cotton, which they took into their homes, sold at fairs and wore on their bodies. It is evident that the Street Depot was very small in scale, but small does not mean limited, for its rationales were radical and loaded with global political significance; dissent with slavery, and freedom to the enslaved. As the next chapter will explore, the depot also demonstrated a particular principle; that people could use the marketplace to participate in significant political change.

¹⁹⁹ Nuermberger, 119.

Free Labour Cotton Depot.

At the present time, when the subject of Slavery is exciting so much attention in the public mind, through the reading of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," it is thought very desirable that increased facilities should be afforded for the sale of FREE LABOUR COTTON ARTICLES.

For this purpose, a DEPÔT is now opened at

THE TEMPERANCE HALL, STREET,

where an assortment will be kept of such Goods, consisting of Calicoes, Ginghams, Coloured Linings, Check Muslins, Stockings, Knitting and Sewing Cottons, &c. &c., also patterns of other Articles.

Figure 2.1

Printed advertising circular for the 'Free Labour Cotton Depot' in the Temperance Hall, in Street, 1853.



Figure 2.2
 Printed circular to advertise Quaker grocer, Edwin Gregory's store, trading from the Street Temperance Hall, after 1863.



Figure 2.3
 The Street Temperance Hall today, occupied by estate agents, Cooper and Tanner and Paul Knight, 2010.



Figure 2.4

Card containing manufacturer's samples of heavy weight free labour cotton cloth in tone of brown and green. They were sent to the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street by Manchester cotton agent, Josias Browne, 1853.



Figure 2.5

Card containing manufacturer's samples of light weight free labour cotton, plain and printed cloth. They were sent to the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street, by Josias Browne, 1853.



Figure 2.6

Card containing manufacturer's samples of free labour cotton gingham cloth. They were sent to the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street, sent by Josias Browne, 1853.



James Clark and his family in 1858. The daughters are dressed in free-labour cotton. The Anti-Slavery Society was founded by Quakers. A depot was established in Street for the sale of articles made from cotton not grown by slave labour.

Figure 2.7

‘Free produce photograph’ of the Clark family in a line, taken by John Aubrey Clark Shown as it appears in the Museum of Shoemaking at C. & J. Clark in Street, 1858.



Figure 2.8

Black-and-white copy of previous photograph , in LRSF, deposited c. 1980s. L to R; Eleanor Clark (1812-1879), and baby Mabel (1857-1872), James Clark (1811-1906) and the children, Amy Jane (1837-1906), William (1839-1925), Frances (1840-1930), Mary (1842-1920), Ann (1844-1924), Eleanor (1846-1915), Florence (1847-1882), Sophia (1849-1933), James (1850-1944), Edith (1852-1943) and Francis (1853-1938).



Figure 2.8 (a)

Detail of previous photograph.

It shows the striped and checked clothing of Frances, Mary, Ann, Eleanor, Florence, Sophia, James and Edith.



Figure 2.9
'Free produce photograph' of the Clark family, in a group, taken by John Aubrey Clark.
This faded original held in the AGT, 1858.



Figure 2.10
Digitally enhanced version of the previous photograph (Figure 2.9).



Figure 2.11

Piece of free labour cotton calico.

It is printed in a bold design of pine cone or 'paisley' motifs, confirmed as dating to 1855.



Figure 2.12 (a)

Fashionable gown and jacket, made from cotton muslin, printed with striking pinecone design, in red, pink and dark purple 1854-1858.



Figure 2.12 (b)

Fashionable gown made from cotton muslin, printed with black and mauve checks, floral and pinecone design, 1850-1860.

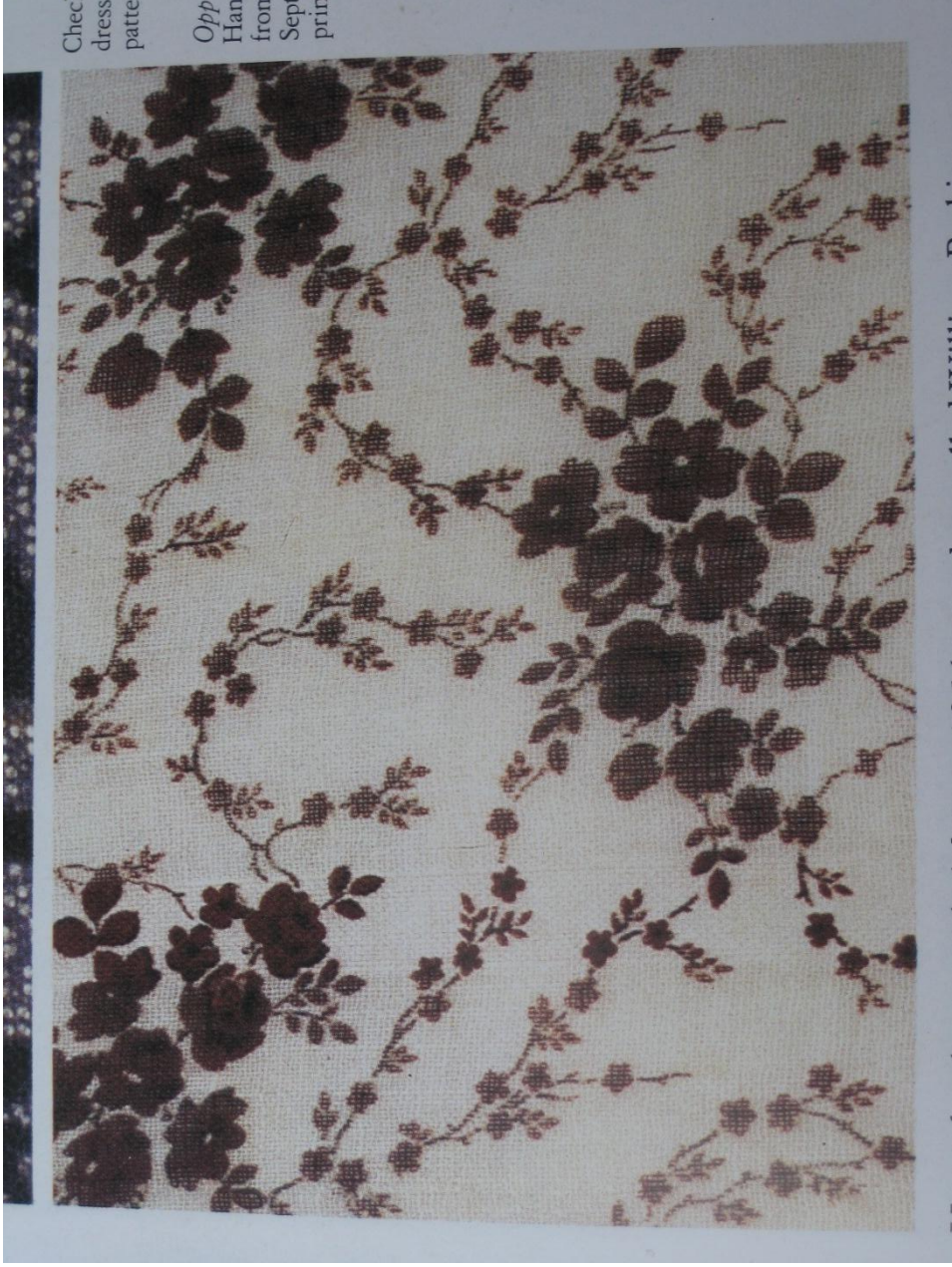


Figure 2.13

Detail of fashionable gown, made from cotton muslin, printed with small sprays of flowers, in brown, 1857.

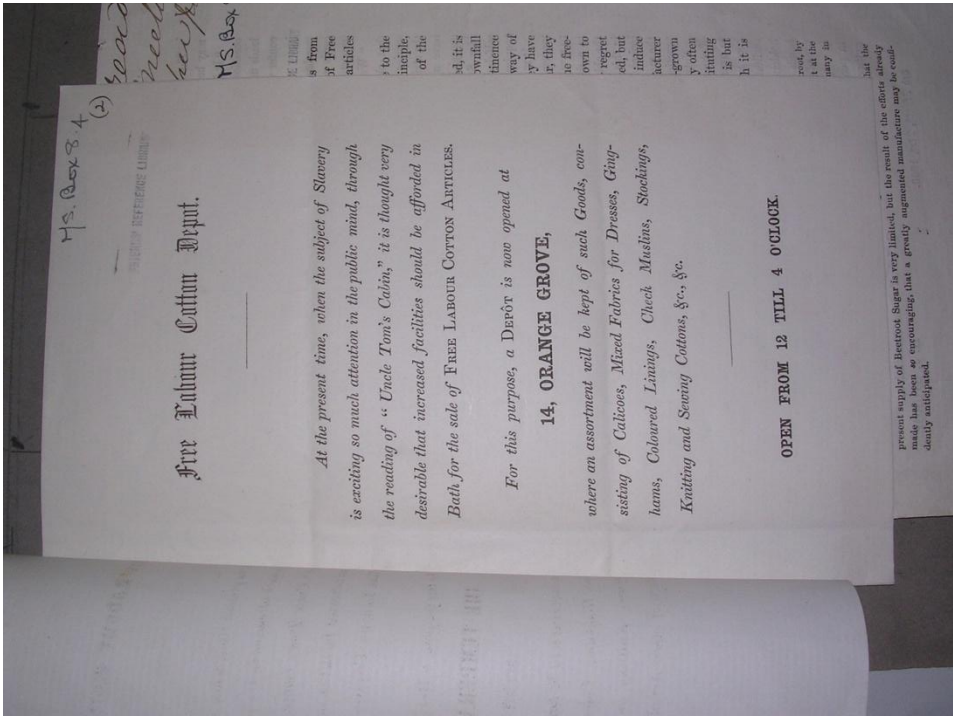


Figure 2.14
Printed flyer advertising a 'free labour cotton depot' in Orange Grove, in Bath c.1853.

Chapter Three: The Free Produce Movement in Britain,

1820s – 1860s

Slave Produce

Eat! They are cates for a lady's lip,¹
Rich as the sweets that the wild bees sip;
Mingled viands that nature hath pour'd,
From the plenteous stores of her flowing board,
Bearing no trace of man's cruelty – save
The red life-drops of his human slave.

List thee, lady! and turn aside,
With a loathing heart, from the feast of pride;
For, mix'd with the pleasant sweets it bears,
Is the hidden curse of scalding tears,
Wrung out from a woman's bloodshot eye,
By the depth of her deadly agony.

Look! they are robes from a foreign loom,
Delicate, light as the rose leaf's bloom;
Stainless and pure in their snowy tint,
As the drift unmarked by a footstep's print.
Surely such a garment should fitting be,
For a woman's softness and purity.

Yet fling them off from thy shrieking limb,
For sighs have render'd their brightness dim;
And many a mother's shriek and groan,
And many a daughter's burning moan,
And many a sob of wild despair,
From a woman's heart, is lingering there.²

Introduction

This poem by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler explores the anguished emotions stirred by the “hidden curse” of slavery, that lay beneath “pleasant sweets” and “delicate” robes envisaged in the poem. For Chandler, the seemingly innocent pleasures of sugar and cotton were indelibly associated with cruelty, for the “scalding tears” and the “burning moan” of

¹ Oxford English Dictionary at <<http://www.oed.com>> (accessed 17 March 2011). Cates (now obsolete), were victuals or provisions, bought and more delicate or dainty than those made at home.

² Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “Slave Produce,” (n.d.) Benjamin Lundy (ed), The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler With a Memoir of Her Life and Character (Philadelphia, Pa.: Lemuel Howell, 1836) 111.

the slave were retained within these goods.³ The presentation of slave-made commodities as ‘tainted’ or ‘polluted’ was vitally important to the Free Produce Movement, and as shown in Chandler’s work, goods ‘stained’ by contact with slavery were used as an enduring trope in the rhetoric of the movement. Persuading the public to abstain from slave-grown cotton was difficult, for American slave-labour plantations produced cheap and plentiful supplies of raw cotton, which fed the British cotton industry. Industrialisation meant that mass-produced, low priced and attractive cotton cloth had become deeply entrenched in British consumption.⁴ Such habits would be hard to break, in favour of the less abundant cloth, made from free-grown cotton. Since free produce support entailed shopping at specialised outlets, this offered reduced choice and at times, goods at higher prices. Thus free labour cotton had attained a reputation as a ‘difficult’ commodity, which made demands on its consumers, especially in America.⁵ Therefore the battle against slave-grown cotton required persuasive strategies that were resilient, practical and appealing.

This chapter discusses the British Free Produce Movement in Britain, from its roots in the eighteenth century, through to the abolition of American slavery in 1865. It focuses on the British campaign against slave-grown cotton, which took place from the 1830s to the 1860s and especially during the period 1852 – 1856. The chapter discusses the strategies and activities of the campaign against slave-grown cotton, and it examines the views of supporters in the free produce community, set within wider issues of the production and consumption of cotton in the mid-nineteenth century. This places the Street Depot within the history of the Free Produce Movement, and within the context of the anti-slavery movement.

The Roots of the Movement

The principle of avoiding certain targeted goods because of their undesirable political or cultural connections dates to the early eighteenth century. The part played by consumers in challenging or shaping the market coincided with an expanded marketplace, industrialised processes for producing goods, greater facilities for shopping and a growth in urban

³ Charlotte Sussman, Consuming Anxieties. Consumer Protest, Gender and British Slavery, 1713 – 1833 (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford U P, 2000) 16-17.

⁴ Sarah Levitt, “Clothing,” in Mary Rose (ed), The Lancashire Cotton Industry. A History Since 1700 (Lancashire County Books, 1996) 154-186, 161.

⁵ Ruth Nuermberger, The Free Produce Movement. A Quaker Protest Against Slavery (New York, AMS, 1970 [Duke U P, 1942]) 113-114.

living.⁶ This exposed society to a far larger ‘world of goods,’ and gave increased choice in what to buy, and how goods might be employed in the construction of individual and collective identities.

The first anti-slavery actions specifically targeting the products of slavery were taken in the early 1700s by the American Quakers, Benjamin Lay (b.1677), Ralph Sandiford (1693 – 1733) and John Woolman (1720 – 1772), who became known as the ‘white Quakers.’⁷ It is important to note that these early ‘abstainers’ expressed their anti-slavery support through their clothing, which was white; made without the use of slave-grown products, such as indigo dye. This established a particular anti-slavery framework in sartorial practice, and it showed that it was possible to dress as one believed. The use of clothing to express anti-slavery belief was revived in the 1780s, in the use of Josiah Wedgwood’s decorative ‘slave medallion’ (Figure 3.3). As Thomas Clarkson explained, the medallion was worn on the body as a reminder of the enslaved, and as Clarkson wrote, it enlisted fashion to the task of “promoting the cause of justice, humanity and freedom.”⁸

Abstention from undesirable products and the selective purchasing of others continued throughout the eighteenth century. A famous example was the American refusal of imported British goods, as an objection to British colonial control during the 1770s.⁹ From 1873, targeted consumer activity was given the enduring title of a ‘boycott,’ in reference to a historic incident in Irish labour history.¹⁰ Monroe Friedman defines the practice of boycotting as, “An attempt by one or more parties to achieve certain objectives by urging individual consumers to refrain from making selected purchases in the marketplace.”¹¹ Boycotting is now accepted as a powerful consumer action, still practised around the world today, and especially when the ‘boycotters’ are excluded from political power.¹² Whether

⁶ John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds) Consumption and the World of Goods (London: Routledge, 1993); Maxine Berg, Luxury in the Eighteenth Century. Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods (London; Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

⁷ Nuermberger, 4-6.

⁸ Thomas Clarkson, A History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishments of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament Volume II (London: Cass, 1968 [1808]) 192.

⁹ Tim Breen, The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence (Oxford: O U P, 2004).

¹⁰ Monroe Friedman, Consumer Boycotts. Effecting Change Through the Marketplace and Media (London: Routledge, 1994) 6. Lord Erne’s estate in Ireland was the scene of labour uprising by the tenant farmers, which the estate manager, George Cunningham Boycott, unsuccessfully attempted to suppress.

¹¹ Friedman, 5.

¹² Lawrence Glickman, Buying Power. A History of Consumer Action in America (Chicago, Ill.: U of Chicago P, 2009); Matthew Hilton, Consumerism in 20th Century Britain. The Search for a Historical Movement (Cambridge: C U P, 2003).

boycotts are effective is still debated, for success is difficult to measure and results may take time to become apparent or quantifiable. Friedman suggests that their effects are subtly accumulative, in creating a groundswell of opinion and in shifting arguments in a particular direction, rather than achieving simple changes. He concludes that the boycotts of the modern era have been extraordinarily powerful and quite simply, they are “the most effective techniques for the consumer movement to use.”¹³

The rapid and wide-reaching industrialising process in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the establishment of the middle classes in Britain, many of whom became deeply involved in humanitarian, social and political reform movements.¹⁴ It was primarily the middle classes who became involved in anti-slavery activity, and who enacted boycotts of slave-grown goods. As John Oldfield shows, during the Abolition period (1780s – 1807) British activists often hailed from backgrounds in trade and industry, nonconformist faiths, and were clustered in the West Midlands, North West, North East and the West of England.¹⁵ This description of the supporters of abolition also fits with the core of supporters of the Free Produce Movement, dubbed here the ‘free produce community.’ Importantly the commercial backgrounds of many members of the community meant that anti-slavery attention was naturally focused on the market and its goods. To the Quaker Clark, Richardson and Sturge families, and many of their kin, abstention, selective buying practises and the provision of morally acceptable alternatives were all natural expressions of anti-slavery support.

Anti-slavery consumer abstinence rose in Britain during 1791 – 1792, specifically targeting West Indian slave-plantation grown sugar.¹⁶ Action was significantly galvanised by William Fox’s pamphlet, An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Propriety of Abstaining From West Indian Sugar and Rum.¹⁷ Fox’s extraordinarily popular pamphlet shifted the focus from the trade in slaves, to the products of slavery, and thus it empowered

¹³ Friedman, 2, 12-19.

¹⁴ Industrialisation and its effects has generated a vast literature. For its effects on class and society see E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London: Penguin, 1989 [1963]). For Quakers and industry see James Walvin, The Quakers, Money and Morals (London: John Murray, 197). For growth of the middle classes, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850 (London: Routledge, 1992 [1987]) especially Part Two.

¹⁵ John Oldfield, Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery. The Mobilisation of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade 1787 – 1807 (Manchester: M U P, 1995)128-132.

¹⁶ See Clare Midgley, “Slave Sugar Boycotts, Female Activism and the Domestic Base of British Anti-Slavery,” Slavery and Abolition 17:3 (1996): 137-162.

¹⁷ William Fox, An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Propriety of Abstaining From West Indian Sugar and Rum, (London, 1791).

consumers to take action. It is now understood that activism against slave-grown sugar was highly significant in a number of ways. It established the marketplace as a political arena; it rooted radical behaviour among ordinary persons; and above all, it allowed women to express political views, in ways that were socially acceptable.¹⁸ The sugar boycotts also left behind many material traces, such as pamphlets, broadsheets and cartoons and they generated a range of domestic material culture, in the form of sugar bowls and table wares, for use in the home (see Figure 3.1).¹⁹ Thus it is clear that activism against slave-grown sugar became established in the visual and material domains, and in the everyday fabric and material culture of ordinary people's lives.²⁰

Importantly, the campaigns were of significance in mobilising women to use their consumer power, to participate in market-based, public-sphere activity which attacked slavery. This established women as active agents, and it challenged the binary gender divisions of political culture. The campaigns also established certain tactics which were especially used in the rhetoric of the movement which were employed to persuade women to reject slave-grown sugar. Memorably, Fox's pamphlet portrayed slave-grown sugar as toxic; corrupted by both metaphorical and actual poisons. Fox built on the enduring trope that slave-grown products were 'tainted' with the flesh and blood of the slave, which made a powerful deterrent to eating it. The campaign against slave-grown sugar was evidently effective, for according to Clarkson, at the time, some 300,000 Britons gave up using West Indian sugar.²¹

In 1824, Elizabeth Heyrick called to women to enact a second abstention campaign against slave-grown sugar and once again, slave-products were at the centre of abolitionist debate.²² It should be emphasised that the second campaign took place during a period of significant upheaval in the British anti-slavery movement. After Abolition, many Britons perceived their anti-slavery work to have been successfully completed, and consequently

¹⁸ Sussman; Midgley, "Slave Sugar Boycotts."

¹⁹ For the power of images in anti-slavery see: Oldfield; Marcus Wood, Blind Memory. Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780-1865 (Manchester: M U P, 2000). Table wares can be seen in the Wilberforce House Museum, Hull; Slavery Galleries, Maritime Museum, Liverpool and 'London and Sugar' Gallery, Docklands Museum, London.

²⁰ Lynne Walker and Vron Ware, "Political Pincushions: Decorating the Abolitionist Interior 1787-1865," Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd (eds), Domestic Space. Reading the Nineteenth Century Interior (Manchester: M U P, 1999) 58-73, 58.

²¹ Clarkson, The History of the Rise Volume II, 349-350.

²² Elizabeth Heyrick, Immediate Not Gradual Abolition. Or and Inquiry into the Shortest, Safest Means to End Slavery (London, 1824).

membership of the Anti-Slavery Society declined.²³ As Clare Midgley has shown, at the same time however, there was a significant rise in female participation in anti-slavery activity, and of the expanding network of regional anti-slavery societies, an increasing number were all-female, or female auxiliaries to male associations.²⁴ By the 1830s, women anti-slavery activists across Britain were carrying out significant and practical work within the regional all-female societies. This ‘army’ of workers continued to sustain a broad range of campaigns for global abolition, in hugely time-consuming work, across a wide spectrum of activities.²⁵

The most important female society was the ‘Ladies’ Society in Birmingham,’ founded by Lucy Townsend in 1825 and was later known as the ‘Ladies’ Negro’s Friend Society for Birmingham.’ This society was enormously influential in carrying out multiple campaigns, from the 1820s to the 1850s. Amongst their very diverse activities they promoted the cause directly to women, through the distribution of sewing bags (Figure 3.2), they drew up petitions, they publicised free produce and collected ‘pennies’ for Harriet Beecher Stowe.²⁶ As Midgley writes, ladies’ associations such as the Birmingham Society had a “highly significant impact on the course of the anti-slavery campaign as a whole.”²⁷

The Birmingham Society had a strongly evangelical outlook, which emphasised the Christian necessity of fighting slavery, and which promoted a heart-felt empathy with beleaguered ‘sisters in bonds.’²⁸ The biblical phrases, “Remember those in bonds as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity as being yourselves in the body” (Hebrews 13:3) and “Be not weary in well-doing” (II Thessalonians 3:13) became watchwords of their activities. Often anti-slavery activity was enacted alongside the work of missionary and Christian societies.²⁹ Many members of the Birmingham Society were also Quakers, and some were close kin and personal friends of the Clark family. Notably there was a

²³ Howard Temperley, *British Antislavery 1833 – 1860* (London: Longman, 1972)10-40. The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade (SEAST) disbanded in 1807, in 1823 it was re-established as the Anti-Slavery Society (ASS), in 1838 it disbanded and was reformed by Sturge in 1839, as the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS).

²⁴ Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery. The British Campaigns 1780 – 1870* (London: Routledge, 1992) 44-45.

²⁵ Midgley, *Women Against Slavery* 71.

²⁶ Midgley, *Women Against Slavery* 56-70, 147-149.

²⁷ Midgley, *Women Against Slavery* 44-45.

²⁸ Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects. Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830 – 1867* (London: Polity, 2002) 314, for evangelical views of the BLNFS.

²⁹ *The Twenty Eighth Report of the Ladies’ Negro’s Friend Society for Birmingham* (Birmingham: n.p., 1853): 1.

friendship between Eleanor Clark and Hannah Dickinson Sturge, the second wife of Joseph Sturge, and Sophia Sturge, his sister.³⁰ Thus strong bonds were formed between the Birmingham Ladies' Society, and the Clark family in Street.

From the 1820s, women strove to make free labour goods easier to obtain through the instigation of 'free produce societies,' which were retail outlets, run within the ladies' anti-slavery societies. Importantly, free cotton cloth was added to the list of free produce foods, for small quantities of free cotton cloth was arriving in Britain from Philadelphia, in response to growing British demand. There is evidence that the early attempts at a transatlantic free cotton supply chain were tentative and fraught with difficulties, for supplies were limited, and at times, consumers experienced poor quality and higher prices.³¹ The 'Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania' (1826), later known as the 'Philadelphia Free Produce Society' was responsible for shipping goods to Britain. Benjamin Lundy was prominent at the Society, and he reported on activities in his newspaper, the Genius of Universal Emancipation. In 1829, he wrote, "It is true, some inconveniences will at first be unavoidable," but he encouraged supporters appreciate their slave-free clothes, for "they will cling less heavily around your forms, for the sighs of the broken hearted will not linger among their folds."³² Thus alternatives to slave-grown cotton could now be incorporated into anti-slavery activism, and demand was set to increase. From this solid platform, attention switched from sugar and towards cotton, and this consolidated the importance of using clothing and textiles to mark anti-slavery belief.

The Campaign Against Slave-Grown Cotton

The campaign against slave-grown cotton took shape in the 1830s, gained momentum in the 1840s, reached a peak during the 1850s, and wound down in 1856 – 1858. From the 1840s the campaign was frequently reported in The Anti-Slavery Reporter, The Friend, the British Friend which were new, or re-vamped publications that catered to Quaker and anti-slavery readership.³³ As will be later discussed, the free produce community gained a newspaper in 1851, The Slave; His Wrongs And Their Remedy, published by the

³⁰ As will be discussed the friendship brokered Clark's contacts with an American anti-slavery society. The Clark's 10th child was named Sophia Sturge Clark, after James' cousin.

³¹ Nuermberger, 60-83; Temperley, 165-167; Billington, 314; Faulkner, 382-383.

³² Genius of Universal Emancipation (16 September, 1829) in Nuermberger 17.

³³ The Anti-Slavery Reporter, founded in 1825, not published 1837-1839, restarted by Joseph Sturge from 1840; The Friend a Quaker paper was first published in 1843, it took an evangelical approach; The British Friend a Quaker paper, was first published in 1843, it took a conservative approach.

Richardson family of Newcastle. As free labour goods became more widely available, papers published reports on the ‘free labour movement’ which was replacing ‘abstention’ or ‘refusal’ campaigns. In 1846, availability had definitely improved, as seen in an article in The Friend, stating that, “cotton goods manufactured wholly of free labour produce are now within the reach of the British public.”³⁴

In the 1840s, free produce came into direct conflict with the powerful ideology of Free Trade, which enshrined the principle of unfettered markets. This caused considerable controversy among the free produce community, many of whom were also strong supporters of Free Trade. In 1851, The Slave tackled the subject, writing, “An objection has been made to the Free Labour Movement ... on the ground of it conflicting with the principle of Free Trade.”³⁵ It argued that since free labour was genuinely ‘free,’ it conformed to Free Trade principles. It proposed that in order for all goods in the marketplace to be legitimate, and not made by ‘stolen’ labour, fiscal measures or tariffs should be imposed in order to penalise slave-made goods, which was a reversal of the Sugar Duties that favoured slave-grown sugar. The Slave suggested, “Withdraw all commercial support from the system and the slave-holder would soon throw away his whip and pay wages to his work-people like other men.” It believed that it was not until this end was accomplished, “will the principle of Free Trade be carried out to its legitimate extent.”³⁶

Cotton Cultivation and British Consumption of Cotton

The largest obstacle to the campaign against slave-grown cotton was the extent to which the British economy relied upon it. During the 1840s, Britain had become the largest global producer of cotton cloth. Cotton spinning, weaving, printing and finishing industries were clustered in Lancashire, and especially around Manchester, which was dubbed “Cottonopolis,” by The Times.³⁷ From the 1840s, Lancashire generated a colossal demand for raw cotton and America became its chief supplier, producing high quality raw cotton

³⁴ The Friend (4th month, 1846).

³⁵ “Free Trade and Free Labour,” The Slave (September 1851): 34.

³⁶ “Free Trade and Free Labour,” 34.

³⁷ A vast literature has been published on Britain’s relationship with cotton. For recent work see: Beverly Lemire, Fashion’s Favourite. The Cotton trade and the Consumer in Britain 1660 – 1800 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991); Mary Rose (ed) The Lancashire Cotton Industry. A History Since 1700 (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1996); Beverly Lemire, Cotton (Oxford: Berg, 2011).

on industrial-scale plantations in the South and South Eastern states, which used imported African slave-labour to raise the crops.³⁸

Out of the forty types of the cotton plant of the genus ‘Gossypium,’ two types were in common usage in the textile industry in the nineteenth century. These were ‘Gossypium Barbadense’ or ‘Sea Island cotton,’ which was a high value type with long fibres in its fluffy seed-heads and ‘Gossypium Hirsutum,’ or ‘Upland Cotton,’ a lower value variety with shorter fibres in its fluff. In the eighteenth century America planted Upland across the South, and Sea Island on the Eastern seaboard states. Cotton manufacture was established in the North, especially at Lowell in Massachusetts and at Wilmington in Delaware. Credited to Eli Whitney, the device known as the ‘cotton gin’ (1792) vastly speeded the mechanical cleaning of Upland fluff, rendering it a highly profitable crop.³⁹ As a result, large plantations were rapidly established, and the American enslaved population expanded from over half a million in 1790, to two million in 1830, rising to four million in 1860.⁴⁰

As the principal consumer of the global raw cotton crop, Britain was deeply intertwined with plantation economics, and slave-holding in America. From the 1780s, the Lancashire cotton industry embraced mechanisation, meaning that by the 1840s, it exerted a phenomenal ‘hunger’ for the raw cotton to supply its processes. The scale of the industry was staggering; by 1850, over one million Britons were involved in the clothing trade and half a million were employed in cotton production, in Lancashire.⁴¹ Cotton textiles became highly desirable in Europe, America and the colonies, and cotton was rapidly incorporated into homes and wardrobes.⁴² As Beverly Lemire has shown, in Britain cotton had a revolutionising effect on dress and household textiles, for as little as two or three pennies a yard, even the poorer members of society could afford clothing and home textiles. Hence

³⁸ For the history of cotton production, see: Edward Baines, History of Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain (London: Cass, 1966 [1835]); James Mann, The Cotton Trade of Great Britain. Its Rise, Progress and Extent (London: Cass, 1968 [1860]); Douglas Farnie, The English Cotton Industry and the World Market 1815 – 1896 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979); A. Howe, The Cotton Masters 1830 – 1860 (Oxford: O U P, 1984); David Jenkins (ed) The Cambridge History of Textiles (Cambridge: C U P, 2003); Douglas Farnie and Jeremy David (eds), The Fibre that Changed the World. The Cotton Industry in International Perspective 1600-1990s (Oxford: Pasold Research Fund and O U P, 2004).

³⁹ For the American cotton industry, see: David Jeremy, “Lancashire and the International Diffusion of Technology,” in Rose (ed); Lemire, Cotton 211-237, 227-229.

⁴⁰ Lemire, Cotton 84; Historical Statistics of the United States (1970) in Jean West, “King Cotton: The Fiber of Slavery” at <http://www.slaveryinamerica.org/history/hs_es_cotton> (accessed 12 September, 2009).

⁴¹ Rose, 14-17.

⁴² Levitt, 154-186, 155

more clothing was owned than ever before, and the concept of fashionable clothing penetrated virtually all strata of society in Britain.⁴³

Increased consumer demand and the high value of exported cotton cloth irrevocably changed British industry. As early as 1815 the cotton pioneer and philanthropist, Robert Owen recognised that cotton production entirely underpinned the economy. He warned, “Our existence as an independent power ... depends on the continuation of this trade because no other can be substituted in its place.”⁴⁴ This also spelled dependence on America, and for largely political reasons, rather than investing in India, Britain accepted America as the dominant source of raw cotton.⁴⁵ From 1815 until 1859, Britain drew an average of 77% of its total raw cotton imports from the Southern States of America, which amounted to between one and two million bales per annum, or up to 90% of the American crop.⁴⁶ During the 1840s and the 1850s there was a significant global shortage of raw cotton, reaching a crisis or ‘cotton famine’ during the Civil War (1861 – 1865), which resulted in unemployment and extreme hardship for many of Lancashire’s cotton workers.⁴⁷ The Southern, or ‘Slave States’ were secure in their supremacy and they grew defiant in the face of abolitionist pressure and the phrase “Cotton is King” was often repeated. Two years before the outbreak of war, Senator James Hammond of South Carolina predicted economic catastrophe if slavery were to be abolished. He stated, “England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilised world with her ... No! You dare not make war on Cotton.”⁴⁸

Britain’s dependency on slave-grown cotton created a powerful fuel for abolitionists. In 1852-3, Elihu Burritt explained that since British demand accounted for three quarters of the world’s slave population, this made global abolition a “British duty.”⁴⁹ As stated by the Birmingham Ladies’ Society, this required the translation of belief into practical actions. In 1853 the Society wrote, “England’s empathic duty in this question is to spare no effort to

⁴³ Lemire, *Fashion’s Favourite* 94-110.

⁴⁴ Robert Owen, *Observations on the Cotton Trade* (London: 1858 [1815]) quoted in Farnie, 5. Also see Baines, 13.

⁴⁵ Arthur Silver, *Manchester Men and Indian Cotton 1847 – 1872* (Manchester: Manchester U P, 1966).

⁴⁶ Farnie, 15; Mann Appendix “Destinations of Cotton.”

⁴⁷ Lemire, *Cotton* 89; Levitt, in Mary Rose, 154.

⁴⁸ Arthur Schlesinger, “Introduction” in Frederick Law Olmsted *The Cotton Kingdom. A Traveller’s Observation on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States 1853-61* (New York & London: De Capo, 1966 [1861]) xxxiv.

⁴⁹ Elihu Burritt, *Twenty Reasons for Total Abstinence from Slave-Labour Produce* (n.p.: n.d., [c.1852-3]): 1.

supply her manufactories with free cotton.”⁵⁰ The task however of supplying sufficient quantities of raw free cotton remained exceedingly difficult, for there was no alternative single source large enough to supply the free cotton trade, let alone to make an impact on the ordinary trade. To the Lancashire cotton industry, complete dependence on the products of the plantations rendered slavery an “unpleasant but necessary evil,” and without an alternative source, Britain would not, and could not give up American slave-grown cotton.⁵¹ This was a view that the Free Produce Movement completely refuted.

Making Free Cotton Cloth Available

The precise details of the cotton cloth sold at the early British free produce societies are not known, but some idea can be obtained through reference to reports of American goods. These can be seen in the “Minutes” of the Pennsylvania Free Produce Society, printed in Lundy’s newspaper.⁵² The “Minutes” of 1829, stated that more than 2,500 pounds of Upland cotton, obtained from the Southern states had been manufactured in America, into “ginghams, checks, bedtickings, stripes, knitting and sewing cotton, and cotton hose.”⁵³

By the 1840s, the network of free produce societies in Britain had expanded, and by November 1850, twenty six were listed.⁵⁴ The growing network exerted demand, and this necessitated increased production. This was carried out in America, and increasingly, in Britain. From the 1850s the picture of free produce cotton supply in Britain is better understood, for newspapers increasingly reported on free produce activities, and from 1851, detailed information appeared in The Slave. Several free produce societies appear to have been devoted to sourcing free labour cotton. The Walthamstow Free Produce Society, formed in 1851 appears to have been especially active. In 1852, the Anti-Slavery Reporter reported on the powerful views held of the Walthamstow Society. It reported the view that the free labour movement was both a moral and a religious one. The Walthamstow Society encouraged “a *personal disconnection*” with slavery, and argued for “the truths of the mercantile axiom, that ‘demand creates supply.’” Under the “deepest sense of reasonableness” it implored “all freedom-loving people” to refuse the products of

⁵⁰ Twenty-Eighth Report of the Ladies’ Negro’s Friend Society for Birmingham (Birmingham: n.p., 1853): 2.

⁵¹ Eric Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire: The Making of Modern English Society, Volume 2 1750 – to the Present Day (New York: Pantheon, 1968) 40. India was the obvious source, as the former primary cotton producer, but British investment was not forthcoming.

⁵² Nuermberger, 13-19.

⁵³ “Minutes of FPSP,” Genius of Universal Emancipation (30 October, 1829) Nuermberger, 13-19.

⁵⁴ Anti-Slavery Reporter (November 1850): 175.

slavery.⁵⁵ A specialised supply chain was set up to furnish the free produce societies. In 1838, the American Free Produce Association (FPA) was formed, which after 1848, was led by George Washington Taylor, who also ran the store in Philadelphia. The American FPA opened further free produce stores across America and it commissioned agents to source raw free cotton in the South.⁵⁶ The search for raw cotton dominated proceedings, and it looked to Britain for investment, in 1847 securing a donation of £500 from Joseph Sturge.⁵⁷

From the late 1840s, the supply chain became increasingly complex, as raw cotton and goods were shipped back and forth across the Atlantic. Raw free cotton was sent from Philadelphia to Liverpool, which was sent to Manchester for production, and the finished cloth was consumed in Britain, and shipped to America. This was precisely the same route used by slave-grown cotton and cloth, but in an infinitely smaller capacity and using different agents. Often however, the same factories were used, since the free cotton trade could not finance designated free cotton spinning and weaving mills. A notable spinner of free cotton was Thomas Clegg, and a notable weaver was Wilson Crewdson (see Appendix 3).

The growing availability of free cotton in Britain coincided with a vastly expanding marketplace for all textile goods, and a growing body of shoppers who ‘consumed,’ rather than simply ‘bought’ items.⁵⁸ The free cotton trade was largely run by Quakers, who sourced, shipped, received and processed the raw cotton and Friends were also the primary consumers of the finished products. In 1847, The Friend gave the Free Produce Movement the seal of approval, pronouncing it a “new Quaker testimony,” and “John Woolman’s testimony” which it believed was a “practical measure we can all adopt.”⁵⁹ To further reinforce the potential of free produce to bring down slavery, The Friend published the opinions of American slave-holder Isaac Morse, who stated that there was an easy way to defeat slavery, “TOUCH NOT, TASTE NOT, HANDLE NOT, one single product of slave

⁵⁵ “Walthamstow Free-Produce Association,” ASR (November, 1852): 172-3.

⁵⁶ Nuernberger, 24, 83-100.

⁵⁷ Nuernberger, 71.

⁵⁸ For useful summaries on the shift from buyer to consumer and the emergence of mass-consumption, see: Lawrence Glickman, ““Buy for the Sake of the Slave”: Abolitionism and the Origins of American Consumer Activism,” American Quarterly 56:4 (December, 2004): 899-912, 893; Peter Corrigan, The Sociology of Consumption (London: Sage, 2006 [1997]); Rosalind Williams, Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth Century France (Berkeley, Ca.: U of California P, 1982).

⁵⁹ “Disuse of Slave Products,” The Friend (10th Mo, 1847), first published in Taylor’s newspaper, the Non-Slaveholder (1846).

labour” (note the emphases).⁶⁰ Morse’s words became a catch-phrase of the Free Produce Movement and were often cited as the ‘proof’ that free produce could defeat slavery.⁶¹

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the British Free Produce Association

The “Minutes” of the BFASS show that one of its objectives was “To recommend the use of free-grown produce, in preference to slave-grown.” It added that it supported “the promotion of fiscal regulations in favour of the former,” making it clear that it situated free produce within broader debates on protectionism and Free Trade. However, the Society’s “Minutes” show that its primary concerns were to campaign for the end of the Sugar Duties, which it achieved in 1846, and to continue the investigation of instances of global slavery.⁶² National membership was of concern to the Society, for subscriptions were falling; from three hundred and one in 1840 to one hundred and sixty one in 1863.⁶³

In 1849 the British Free Produce Association was formed (BFPA), holding the first meeting at Grace-church Street Quaker Meeting House, and chaired by Joseph Sturge. It was formed of twenty two members, the majority of whom were Friends. It included prominent Friends Wilson Crewdson, Josiah and William Forster, John Morland and George Richardson.⁶⁴ Records of the Association have not survived, but some information can be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, which was edited by Sturge. In 1849, the paper published an article entitled, “Disuse of Slave Produce” reporting on the Association’s quest for supplies of raw free cotton in India, Africa, Australia and the West Indies.⁶⁵ In December, 1849, The Friend reported that the BFPA had opened a free labour warehouse in Manchester, run by Josias Browne, using money raised by the Association and including loans of £750 from private investors.⁶⁶ A further £1,000 was required to expand the

⁶⁰ “Disuse of Slave Produce.”

⁶¹ E. C. Wilkinson, “Touch Not, Taste Not, Handle Not”: The Abolitionist Debate over the Free Produce Movement,” Columbia Historical Review 2 (2002) online version at <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/history/pdfchr_vol.2pdf> (accessed 1 October, 2007).

⁶² “Minutes of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,” (27 February, 1839) Rhodes House MSS Brit Emp. E2/6.

⁶³ Frank Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) 231.

⁶⁴ “Free Produce Meeting” The Friend (6th Month 1849). The committee comprised: Joseph Sturge (chair); George William Alexander; Robert Alsop Jnr.; William Bennett; Samuel Bowly; John Candler; Thomas Chalk; Peter Clare; Wilson Crewdson; John Dymond; Joseph Eaton; Josiah Forster; William Forster; Samuel Fox; Burwood Godlee; Henry King; John Morland; Thomas Norton Jnr.; Jonathan Priestman; George Richardson; John Ross.

⁶⁵ “Disuse of Slave Produce,” ASR (June, 1849): 79.

⁶⁶ “Free Labour Warehouse,” The Friend (12th Mo, 1849): 231.

premises, and The Friend directed all enquiries to Anna and Henry Richardson at their home, 5 Summerhill Grove, in Newcastle.⁶⁷ This indicates the inter-connected nature of the Free Produce Movement, and its reliance upon a small core of Quaker agents and activists.

Although warmly supported by Friends, the BFPA was beset with problems, for it lacked funds and there were practical issues with the supply of raw free cotton. As will be further discussed later on, in the late 1830s free produce came under attack from leading American abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, and the British and American anti-slavery movements became deeply divided on the matter.⁶⁸ Since the 1820s, controversy had surrounded free produce. This stemmed from the support given by Elias Hicks of Philadelphia, who was a deeply controversial Friend and a vehement critic of evangelicalism. Controversy came to a head at the World's Convention on Slavery, held in London in 1840. Female delegates from Philadelphia were prevented by the British committee from giving their speeches, which were to have been on free produce.⁶⁹ The group included Lucretia Mott, Mary Grew, Sarah Pugh, Elizabeth Neall and Abby Kimber. Mott was especially targeted for criticism, for in the eyes of conservative Friends, she was discredited through her association with Hicks.⁷⁰

Thus American women anti-slavery activists, breakaway Quakerism and free produce activism were seen as interconnected. It is significant that the 1840 Convention refused to endorse a resolution on free produce and Sturge sought to appease individuals and to recommend the personal use of free produce goods, as was practised at his own home.

⁶⁷ "Free Labour Warehouse," 231.

⁶⁸ Temperley; David Brion Davis The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770 – 1823 (Ithaca, NY.: Cornell U P, 1975); Seymour Drescher Abolition. A History of Slavery and Antislavery (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2009).

⁶⁹ Margaret Hope Bacon, Valiant Friend. The Life of Lucretia Mott (Philadelphia, Pa.: Friends General Conference, 1999 [1980]) 97. The group comprised: Lucretia and James Mott, Mary Grew, Sarah Pugh, Elizabeth Neall and Abby Kimber.

⁷⁰ Elias Hicks caused a schism in the Philadelphia Meeting in 1827, through his refusal to accept evangelicalism, Bible-reading and Scriptures. He advocated the older, Quaker 'Quietist' practise of waiting for the 'Inward Light' meaning the presence of God. For the full impacts see Thomas Hamm, The Transformation of American Quakerism . Orthodox Friends 1800 – 1907 (Bloomington Ia.: Indiana U P, 1988).

Women and Free Produce Support

By the early 1850s roughly a quarter of ladies' anti-slavery associations also ran a free produce society.⁷¹ Buying free produce gave women increased agency in the anti-slavery movement, requiring them to be informed and abreast of political debates and to act as critical consumers. Thus free produce activism played a vital part in the formation of female political identity, and it provided a template for subsequent public-sphere activity such as the expression of social citizenship through consumer action.⁷²

Free produce activism was also deeply enmeshed with the evangelical movement, for many of its workers were evangelicals. Since the late eighteenth century, the evangelical movement had established a movement of 'serious Christianity' which created a profound religious revival and which transformed religious practice in Britain and America.⁷³ As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall explain, evangelicalism shaped the middle classes and it especially provided differential roles for men and women. Evangelical women writers such as Hannah More, Sarah Stickney Ellis, Harriet Beecher Stowe and her sister, Catherine Beecher advocated the separation of and male and female 'spheres' of influence. They emphasised strongly that woman's primary duties were in domestic and caring roles in the home.⁷⁴ The ideology of 'separate spheres' established a curious paradox, for although women's 'proper' milieu was seen as home, in reality, women were far from confined to it. Women's philanthropic work within charity and social reform was viewed as a legitimate extension of their home-based and caring roles, and moreover, evangelicalism encouraged women's crossing of the threshold from home, to help others.⁷⁵ Importantly, evangelicalism sanctioned home as a site for anti-slavery activism, for this is where charity began, and children were trained. Home was therefore a place where anti-slavery campaigns were encouraged, free produce was used and free cotton articles were manufactured for sale at fairs. Thus women's anti-slavery activity was embedded in the fabric of their homes, and into their daily lives and that of their families. Children's participation in the cause was also encouraged, for example sewing samplers and

⁷¹ Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*, 206-207.

⁷² Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The Consumers' White Label Campaigns of the National Consumers League 1898 – 1918," in Susan Strasser et al (eds) *Getting and Spending. European and American Consumer Society in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: C U P, 1998) 34.

⁷³ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780 – 1850* (London: Routledge, 1992 [1987]).

⁷⁴ Davidoff and Hall, 76-106.

⁷⁵ Davidoff and Hall, 88-90.

embroideries, often featuring the kneeling slave motif (Figure 3.4). Children also wrote for the anti-slavery cause, and they assisted their mothers in making goods for sale at fairs.⁷⁶ As Julie Roy Jeffrey explains, it was especially women's role in organising fairs and making goods for sale that "made elastic" the definition of their proper sphere.⁷⁷ Incorporating free cotton was a vital part of the politicising of home, for it gave the whole family a means to express allegiance to the cause, whilst offering a practical strategy with which to attack slavery. As voiced by the Birmingham Ladies' in 1853, free produce was a cause for celebration, "We rejoice with many of our friends in having been able to give a practical direction to sympathies."⁷⁸

The Garrisonian Attack on Free Produce

The rise in popularity of free produce in Britain after 1840 must be seen in relation to its demise in America. This was due, in part, to the attacks made by American abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, who in the late 1830s, turned from being a supporter of free produce to its chief detractor.⁷⁹ During the early 1830s, Garrison had been an ardent supporter of free produce and his positive views appeared in the newspaper, Liberator.⁸⁰ In 1831, Garrison stated that "ENTIRE ABSTINENCE from the products of slavery is the duty of every individual." In 1833, he encouraged free produce at the inauguration of the American Anti-Slavery Society.⁸¹ By 1840 however, Garrison had lost faith in free produce and he turned his attention to pushing for immediate emancipation and denouncing plans for the emigration of African-Americans to Africa.⁸² In 1836 Theodore Weld, a friend of Garrison, stated that free produce was "a collateral principle" which detracted substantially from "the main principle" of immediate manumission of the

⁷⁶ Walker and Ware, 58.

⁷⁷ Julie Roy Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism. Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of N C Press, 1998) 117. This is further explored in Roy Jeffrey's article, "Permeable Boundaries: Abolitionist Women and Separate Spheres," Journal of the Early Republic 21:1 (2001): 79-93.

⁷⁸ Twenty-eighth Annual Report 2.

⁷⁹ Nuermberger, 100-104.

⁸⁰ Julie Holcomb, "There is Death in the Pot!": Women, Consumption and the Free Produce Movement in the Transatlantic World 1791 – 1848," (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Baylor University, Texas, 2010) xvi.

⁸¹ Liberator (23 April 1831) and (31 July, 1831), Nuermberger, 21, 102.

⁸² Nuermberger, 102.

enslaved.⁸³ Arguments became bitter and personal, and an acrimonious exchange took place between Liberator and George Washington Taylor's paper The Non-Slaveholder.⁸⁴

The negative views of Garrison and his supporters made a powerful and sustained attack on free produce. In 1847 American abolitionist, Wendell Phillips claimed that he would be "happy to face the Great Judgment dressed in slave-cotton of South Carolina."⁸⁵ Two decades later, Garrison's son wrote of his refusal to give up slave-grown cotton for he believed that "abolitionists had the right above all others to wear the product of [slaves'] blood and travail."⁸⁶ Such pronouncements may be explained by the Garrisonian belief that free produce was a dangerous distraction from immediate manumission. However, this was paradoxical, since supporters believed free produce to be, in Heyrick's words, the "shortest means" to end slavery. Garrisonians also believed free produce to be completely impractical, for as Garrison was quoted as saying in 1847, slave-made products were "so mixed up with the commerce, manufactures and agricultures of the world ... that abstinence was preposterous and unjust."⁸⁷ These views may have contributed to the lukewarm support that was given by the BFASS. Whilst not specifically allied to Garrison, the Society wished to retain financial support from all of their contributing societies, and they were anxious not to alienate societies such as in Bristol, through strong support for free produce.⁸⁸

The male anti-slavery society in Bristol was a particular source of animosity towards free produce. It was led by the Unitarian, Dr. John Bishop Estlin (1786 – 1855) and from 1851, the Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Society was led by his daughter, Mary Anne Estlin (1820 – 1902). The Estlins were deeply loyal to Garrison and in 1851 – 1852, their respective societies made acrimonious splits with the BFASS, over ideological issues.⁸⁹ A letter from American abolitionist Samuel May to John Estlin demonstrated the depth of feeling stirred by free produce. May wrote, "As the principal weapon of offence it [free produce] would

⁸³ Letter, Theodore Weld to J.F. Robinson (1 May, 1836) in Nuernberger, 21.

⁸⁴ For example, see "Free Produce Question," Liberator (1 March 1850) and Non Slaveholder (editions, 1846 – 1850).

⁸⁵ Liberator (2 June 1847).

⁸⁶ Wendell Phillips Garrison, "Free Produce Among the Quakers" Atlantic Monthly 22 (1868) 485-494, 490.

⁸⁷ WLG, reported in Non-Slaveholder (5 March, 1847) quoted in Holcomb, xix.

⁸⁸ Temperley, 184-221.

⁸⁹ Midgley, Women Against Slavery 125-134.

be very like bailing out the Atlantic with a spoon.”⁹⁰ In 1858 the Garrisonian paper, Anti-Slavery Advocate voiced a similar opinion, that it was senseless toil, akin to “Keeping the tide out with a pitchfork.”⁹¹ Estlin gave a similar opinion, for in 1851, he wrote to Maria Weston Chapman, the organiser of the Boston Fair which supported Garrison. Estlin was aggrieved at rising support for free produce, which had been boosted by the visiting African-American abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet. Estlin disparaged Garnet for talking “Nonsense about freeing slaves by Quaker ladies giving up the use of dresses made with American cotton.”⁹² As relations improved with the BFASS, the Bristol and Clifton Ladies made a tentative step towards free produce, tabling a motion of support in 1853. The “Minutes” of its meeting record that this was rejected, “There being, however, so much difficulty and impracticability [sic] connected with the subject.”⁹³ Opinions on free produce continued to be divided among the anti-slavery societies.

The free produce community and especially the Richardson family became vital in carrying the movement, sustaining support, and rebuffing criticism (see Figure 5.21). Anna Atkins Richardson (1806 – 1892) especially rose to prominence. Richardson came from a family of anti-slavery supporters, and her mother Esther Atkins had been an abstainer during the first campaigns against slave-grown sugar.⁹⁴ In 1846 she founded the Newcastle Ladies’ Free Produce Association, and by 1853, she was recognised by the BFASS as an authority on free produce, as is evidenced in a free produce enquiry received by Louis Chamerovzow, which he directed to her, since the subject was “fully under her control.”⁹⁵

It appears that although during the 1850s the BFASS became more supportive of free produce, the controversy continued, with free produce continuing to divide anti-slavery support.⁹⁶ The ‘free produce question’ impacted upon British contributions to American anti-slavery fairs. It was of particular concern to Garrisonians that British donations might be diverted away from the Boston Fair, which funded Garrison, to its rival, the Rochester

⁹⁰ Letter, SM to JE (2 May 1848) in Richard Blackett, Building an Anti-Slavery Wall. Black Abolitionists and the Atlantic Movement (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State U P, 1983) 119-20.

⁹¹ Anti-Slavery Advocate (June, 1858) in Blackett, 122.

⁹² Letter, JE to SM (1 March, 1851) in Blackett, 122.

⁹³ Minutes of the Bristol and Clifton Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society (21 July 1853) in Louis Billington, “British Humanitarians and American Cotton 1840 – 1860,” Journal of American Studies 11:3 (1977): 313-334, 327.

⁹⁴ Midgley, Women Against Slavery 138; John William Steel, A Historical Sketch of the Society of Friends in Newcastle and Gateshead (1653 – 1898) (London; Headley Bros., 1899)189-198.

⁹⁵ Letter, Louis Chamerovzow to Miss Moore (13 January, 1853) in Midgley, Women Against Slavery 138.

⁹⁶ Temperley 246. Divisions were exacerbated by the Liberty Party (1840) which drew support from African-American abolitionists such as Garnet.

Fair, which funded Frederick Douglass.⁹⁷ The economic stakes were high, for between 1834 and 1865 the Boston Fair raised an estimated \$65,000, with up to half being raised by the sale of British goods.⁹⁸ Therefore John Estlin's attacks on free labour cotton, and the "Quaker ladies" he viewed as ridiculous, may have stemmed from fears that funding for the fair could be lost. Estlin was especially concerned that Anna Richardson and Henry Highland Garnet were becoming established as opponents of Garrison, and the idea that Quaker women might have a practical contribution to the anti-slavery movement enflamed him. In 1852 Estlin wrote to Chapman, again complaining about Richardson, "the Quakers were never more bitter against WLG [William Lloyd Garrison] than they are now ... Mrs R[ichardson] as far as we have the means of judging, always fanning the flames of opposition to him. ([Is this] Spite?)."⁹⁹ Richard Blackett argues that divisions in the anti-slavery movement concealed deep-seated insecurities, and especially white abolitionists' fear at a power shift towards African-American abolitionist leaders.¹⁰⁰

The extent of the hostilities also raises issues of abolitionists' attitudes to gender, including their resistance to women's anti-slavery activism in the public domain.¹⁰¹ Estlin evidently viewed it as "nonsense" to suppose that women's activism could be enacted through their "dresses," and this suggests hostility towards women, their clothing and their bodies. As Lynne Walker and Vron Ware explain, the female abolitionist's body was becoming contested territory, over which traditionalists could exert little control. They write "The decoration of the female body and home ... and the elision of the private and public spheres challenged binary divisions of space and culture."¹⁰² Thus the free labour cotton dresses worn by Quaker women were viewed by Estlin as highly political and potentially destabilising to the gender balance of power in anti-slavery leadership, which entirely favoured men.

⁹⁷ See Jeffrey, 96-113 for the exceedingly complex picture of support for fairs. Note that Mary Estlin was the key agent in shipping British goods to the Boston Fair.

⁹⁸ Debra Broekhoven, "'Better Than a Clay Club!': The Organisation of Antislavery Fairs 1835 – 1860," *Slavery and Abolition* 19:1 (1998) 24-45, 31.

⁹⁹ Letter, JE to MWC, (December, 1852) in Clare Taylor, 392.

¹⁰⁰ Blackett, 121-122.

¹⁰¹ Audrey Fisch, *American Slaves in Victorian England. Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2000) 1-2.

¹⁰² Walker and Ware, 58.

The Campaign Against Slave-Cotton in the 1850s

In the 1850s, the Free Produce Movement was in zenith and the campaign against cotton reached a peak of popularity in the years 1853 – 1856. In 1850 the movement gained significant publicity via a famous petition, or ‘Memorial’ to Queen Victoria, which requested her free produce support. This was organised by the Birmingham Ladies’ Society and was signed by nearly 60,000 British women.¹⁰³ Free labour cotton was also becoming known in wider society, for in 1851 free cotton cloth was displayed at the Great Exhibition in London. The Morning Chronicle reported that the samples from Richard Allen of Dublin were comparable to ordinary cloth from Manchester.¹⁰⁴ Increasingly, free produce societies took free cotton into the wider community, for example in 1852 the Worcester Ladies’ Free Produce Association staged an exhibition of free cotton textiles in the town’s guildhall. The local press reported, “A feeling of interest was excited on behalf of our suffering brethren still under the yoke of slavery.”¹⁰⁵ This demonstrates that the campaign against slave-grown cotton was capable of attracting wider attention, and that free cotton cloth could hold its own alongside slave-produced types.

A key tactic of the campaign in the 1850s was again to focus on the ‘taint’ of slavery, which they believed remained within slave-grown cotton cloth. The 1830s saw a shift in emphasis away from eating slave flesh, to wearing it, and the notion of hearing or feeling the presence of slaves added an extra dimension of horror. Elizabeth Margaret Chandler’s poem “Slave Produce” depicted slave-grown cotton as a truly terrifying material, tainted by the pain felt by the slave who had grown the cotton. Chandler argued that slave-grown cloth was not as pure as it first appeared, for it was corrupted by presences that were impossible to see.¹⁰⁶ Invisible pollutants and the suggestion of disembodied presences were deeply troubling, for the invisible was difficult to detect, and it existed all around, tormenting, wrapping and engulfing the wearer. As Frederick Douglass explained, the traces of the slave remained in the cloth, “The sighs and groans of the slave are lingering around the seams of our clothes and floating amid the folds of our garments ... the stain of blood and tears upon its warp and woof.”¹⁰⁷ As shown in Chandler’s essay “Consumers,”

¹⁰³ “Memorial to the Queen,” ASR (April 1850): 57. See Midgley, Women Against Slavery 137.

¹⁰⁴ “Cotton Manufactures Class XI” Morning Chronicle (13 October, 1851).

¹⁰⁵ Berrow’s Worcester Journal (19 Feb 1852).

¹⁰⁶ Chandler, “Slave Produce,” in Lundy, 111.

¹⁰⁷ The Slave (September, 1855): 35.

tainted cotton burdened the wearer with guilt, “Though the dark red stain may not be there visibly [it] lies with a fearful weight.”¹⁰⁸

The sense of weight was highly symbolic, for as Mary Douglas explains, the body provides a powerful sign for wider issues. As Douglas argues, “the powers and dangers credited to social structure [are] reproduced in small on the human body.”¹⁰⁹ Free produce activists envisioned a situation of constant danger from a corrupted world that threatened the body at all times.¹¹⁰ Slave-grown cotton was viewed as repulsive, for it was often described as physically ‘stained,’ through handling by the slave. ‘Dirty’ clothing breached nineteenth century genteel standards, and this acted as an additional deterrent to buying slave-grown cotton.¹¹¹

The abolitionist concern with the purity of goods also needs to be seen in the context of the development of racialist theories which were present in scientific and moral thought in the nineteenth century. Above all, ‘scientific racism’ presented deeply negative opinions of Africans, which emphasised their moral, physical and spiritual inferiority. Importantly, these concepts were concurrent with European imperial conquest in Africa and abolitionist plans for the emigration of ex-slaves to colonies in Africa.¹¹² With this in mind, historians Marcus Wood, Charlotte Sussman and Carol Faulkner have detected the presence of dominant discourses of race, within in the rhetoric of the Free Produce Movement. This, they argue, is especially apparent in the movement’s frequent calls for ‘pure,’ ‘untainted’ and ‘snowy’ goods.¹¹³ Wood explains that the desire for pure goods indicate that the notion of black inferiority was widely accepted across English culture, and this also influenced attitudes within the anti-slavery movement.¹¹⁴ Sussman argues that the rhetoric of tainting was more than a strategy employed in the anti-slavery movement. She states that it acted as

¹⁰⁸ Chandler, “Consumers,” Lundy, Essays, Philanthropic and Moral, by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler: principally Relating to the Abolition of Slavery in America (Philadelphia, Pa.: Lemuel Howell, 1836) 113-115.

¹⁰⁹ Mary Douglas Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (London: Routledge, 2002 [1966]) 115-121.

¹¹⁰ Sussman, 113.

¹¹¹ Douglas, 121.

¹¹² For the development of racial theory see Gustav Jahoda, Images of Savages. Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture (London: Routledge, 1999).

¹¹³ Marcus Wood, Blind Memory. Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780 -1865 (Manchester: M U P, 2000); Charlotte Sussman, Consuming Anxieties. Consumer Protest, Gender & British Slavery, 1713 – 1833 (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford U P, 2000) 116-118; Carol Faulkner, “The Root of the Evil. Free Produce and Radical Antislavery 1820 – 1860,” Journal of the Early Republic 23:3 (2007): 377-405.

¹¹⁴ Wood, 10.

a complex metaphor for wider fears of contamination, including racial mixing, within a society that was expanding into colonial arenas.¹¹⁵ Faulkner also states that pure cotton acted as a metaphor for racial purity, and without a doubt, the free produce rationale contained distinct “hints of racialism.”¹¹⁶ These troubling debates point to multiple interpretations of free produce support, and they indicate the complexity of discourses during the nineteenth century.

The 1850s saw signs of the easing of problems with the supply of raw free cotton. Greater diversity of sources was located, but as emphasised in the first edition of The Slave (January, 1851) maintaining a supply of finished cloth presented continuing difficulties.¹¹⁷ The Slave issued a rallying call to investors, to give financial support to the many stages of cotton’s journey and especially investment into finding new sources of raw cotton. The majority of raw free cotton still came from America, from small free farms in the South. In the 1850s, German settlers in New Braunfels in Texas started growing cotton, and their products entered the free cotton chain.¹¹⁸ The free produce community welcomed this development, and The Slave reported that the devoutly Christian German farmers had a “superior efficiency” in farming, producing better and more abundant crops than on the slave-plantations.¹¹⁹

Raw free American cotton was however insufficient to fulfil British demand, and an aggregate approach was needed to make up quantities for spinning. Upland cotton was geographically widespread, but Sea Island cotton grew only in a limited number of locations, and it was rarely available in large quantities. In the absence of trading records from the BFPA, it is difficult to ascertain with accuracy where supplies of raw free cotton came from, or how much was imported into Britain. Billington has estimated that quantities were miniscule, and he writes that at the height of the campaign in the early 1850s, Britain imported no more than “a few hundred bales” overall, a figure that has been

¹¹⁵ Sussman, 116-117.

¹¹⁶ Faulkner, 398.

¹¹⁷ “Free-Labour Warehouse,” The Slave (January, 1851): 3.

¹¹⁸ Terry Jordan, German Seed in Texas Soil. Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth Century Texas (Austin, Tx.: U of Texas P, 1966).

¹¹⁹ The Slave (April, 1854): 61 and (July, 1854): 72. The paper referred to Frederick Olmsted, The Cotton Kingdom. A Traveller’s Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States 1853 – 1861 (NY: Da Capo P, 1966 [1861]).

subsequently repeated.¹²⁰ In order to verify this figure, this study has examined reports in the Anti-Slavery Reporter detailing shipments to Britain, for the period from 1845 until 1865. The reports reveal that bales of raw free cotton were shipped from the South and Texas in America; India; Turkey; Egypt and Sudan as well as unspecified countries in West, South and Central Africa; the West Indies especially Barbados and Jamaica; Central America and Australia.¹²¹

These reports were then analysed for specific references to shipments, for a specific period, from January 1849 until January 1850.¹²² References have been found to a shipment for 53 bales, received from Tennessee (May 1849); two more shipments of unspecified amounts were “on their way” from New Orleans (May, 1849); another shipment was received for 400 bales from the Philadelphia FPA (January 1850); and another was for 871 bales, received from India (January 1850).¹²³ This makes a total of at least 1,324 bales (not including the unspecified amounts) from shipments in that year. It is not known whether there were further unreported shipments, and perhaps shipments from other countries. In relation to the overall figure of one million bales of American cotton imported into Britain that year, the quantity of free cotton was a fraction of a percentage.¹²⁴ However, the figure is larger than Billington’s estimate of “a few hundred bales” for the early 1850s.

Pressure increased to find different sources for raw free cotton, for as argued by the free produce community and especially Sturge, it was poor business practice to rely on America alone. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce (founded in 1820) emerged as a driving force in the search for new sources, with John Bright (1811 – 1889), a Quaker cotton spinner from Rochdale as its Parliamentary spokesperson.¹²⁵ The Chamber founded two investigative bodies, the Cotton Supply Association and the British Cotton Growing Association, both of whom were committed to securing alternative supplies, especially

¹²⁰ Billington, 316; Elizabeth O’Donnell, “There’s Death in The Pot!”: The British Free Produce Movement and the Religious Society of Friends, with Particular Reference to the North East of England,” Quaker Studies 13:2 (2009): 184-204, 184.

¹²¹ ASR (January 1850 – January 1865)

¹²² ASR (January, 1849 – January 1850).

¹²³ ASR (January, 1850): 13; (January, 1850): 16; (May 1849): 76.

¹²⁴ Historical Statistics of the United States .

¹²⁵ The Bright and Clark families were closely linked; Bright’s daughter Helen Priestman Bright married Eleanor and James Clark’s son William, in 1866.

from India. In 1850, Bright pressured for a Parliamentary Commission on Indian cotton growing, but British investment was not forthcoming.¹²⁶

Concerns over the future of cotton supply were voiced by Eleanor Clark, in an essay entitled “Cotton” (1861), written for Street’s “Village Album.”¹²⁷ Although Clark’s prominent critique was the institution of slavery, she also dreaded the impacts on British cotton manufacture, should war break out and American supply of slave-grown cotton would cease.¹²⁸ Concern was by no means confined to abolitionists, for in May, 1850 The Times published a hard-hitting article calling for investment in other sources. As it argued “Cotton is scarcely less indispensable to us than corn ... but cotton is not a global product and reliant on certain conditions ... No provision[s] [to find it] have been made whatsoever.”¹²⁹

Free Cotton, Empire and Africa

The search for raw free cotton focused on Africa, and especially to the West African coast. In Nigeria and Ghana cotton flourished, having been introduced by Dutch traders in the sixteenth century. Africa’s potential in supplying the free labour cotton industry was discussed and thus the views of the free produce community became increasingly enmeshed with wider plans for imperial investment in West Africa. Britain planned extensive commercial cotton-growing colonies, which could be staffed by both ‘native’ African workers and imported, African-American and West Indian ex-slaves. As Anne McClintock explains, cotton played a significant part in the British role in the ‘scramble for Africa,’ and it drove expeditions, for example to map the river Niger, and to establish trade routes.¹³⁰ Together with palm oil and soap, the trade in raw cotton figured large in the interests of European industrialists and investors, eager for both increased supply of raw products and new markets for goods.¹³¹ West Africa was identified as having great potential; cotton was cheap and plentiful, and an additional attraction was the labour

¹²⁶ “Bright’s Motion on Indian Cotton to the Commons” The Times (19 June, 1850); Temperley 95-6, 124-6, 166-8; Silver 5, 8-9, 19-24.

¹²⁷ Eleanor Clark, AKA “Eva”, “Cotton,” “Village Album” (1861) AGT VA 01. Note that the Village Album was the village essay society, that produced a handwritten volume of literature, poems and illustrations for family perusal.

¹²⁸ “Eva,” “Cotton” 3. This important essay will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹²⁹ “Problems with Cotton Supply,” The Times (23 May, 1850).

¹³⁰ Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest (London: Routledge, 1995). McClintock explores the connections between imperial development and commodity culture in West Africa.

¹³¹ McClintock, 208.

offered by emigration plans for African-Americans.¹³² The process of uncovering Africa's potential as a cotton producer can be read in the Anti-Slavery Reporter. In 1852, the paper brought exciting news of a location in West Africa, described as "near the colony of Sierra Leone and the Church Missionary station of Abeokuta," in Nigeria.¹³³ The paper reported that under the guidance of the Church Missionary Society, cotton was being cultivated by Africans and growers had already sent five bales of raw cotton to Britain, which awaited spinning by Thomas Clegg of Manchester.¹³⁴ The paper reported that Africans had a "natural gift" for trading, and if they could be "persuaded to turn away from trading in slaves," the presence of the Africa Squadron would no longer be required along the West African coast.¹³⁵ In 1857, after travelling to the region, David Livingstone reported that the cotton fields near Abeokuta were flourishing and could become a very competitive enterprise, due to the very low local rates of pay.¹³⁶ The trading arrangement between Nigeria and Manchester was successful, and Thomas Clegg emerged as the principal agent who traded with the missionary stations at Abeokuta and later Ibadan. Significantly, in 1859 the Quaker banker Edward Gurney gave £1,000 to the Church Missionary Society, to fund further development in Nigeria, and to encourage emigration to the region by African American ex-slaves.¹³⁷

The abolitionist opinion that Africa offered commercial potential was not a recent one. In the early 1800s Thomas Clarkson had recognised Africa's commercial prospects, and his 'Africa Chest,' a large wooden box containing samples of African manufactures, textiles and cotton was used to convince the Anti-Slavery Society of Africa's potential in producing goods. From the 1790s, British and American anti-slavery societies formed plans for the mass-emigration of ex-slaves from America and the West Indies, to the West African coast.¹³⁸ Emigration societies were formed on both sides of the Atlantic; the African Civilisation Society, founded by Thomas Fowell Buxton in 1839 in Britain, and the African Civilization Society, founded by Henry Highland Garnet in 1858 in America.

¹³² Michael Crowder, Colonial West Africa. Collected Essays (London: Cass, 1978) 8.

¹³³ ASR (November, 1852): 174. Note that the colony of Sierra Leone was founded on the west coast of Africa, in 1787, as a place for freed and ex slaves. It was a focus of attention for the African Institution (1807-1823).

¹³⁴ Toyin Falola and Ann Genova, A Historical Dictionary of Nigeria (London: Scarecrow Press, 2009) 345. This was established by Henry Townsend in 1846.

¹³⁵ ASR (November, 1852): 174.

¹³⁶ Morning Post (26 October, 1857).

¹³⁷ Jacob Oluwayo Adeuyan, The Journey of the First Black Bishop: Bishop Samuel Jayi Crowter 1806 – 1891 (London: Author House, 2011) 182-3.

¹³⁸ Midgley, Women Against Slavery 53-6.

Garnet was especially positive about commercial collaboration between Africa and England, in what he termed “Anglo-Saxon energy and African industry ... the white hand of England and the Black hand of Africa struck together as the sign of unconquerable determination, under God.”¹³⁹ In 1860, Martin Delany (1812 – 1885), an African-American abolitionist and supporter of emigration lectured in Manchester on “Africa and the African Race.” He explained that the cotton fields of Africa needed five million workers, or all of America’s ex-slaves, and they could supply Britain with one million bales of cotton per year. In his opinion, this strategy was enhanced by the fact that workers were either ‘native,’ or of African origin, and this made them especially suited to the job, for in his words, “no one could raise cotton like the black man.”¹⁴⁰

The emigration of African-Americans to Africa was a controversial and much debated matter. It was discussed by Harriet Beecher Stowe, in the chapter, “Concluding Remarks” in Uncle Tom’s Cabin. Stowe argued vehemently that it was better to settle ex-slaves in the Northern American states, rather than encouraging them to move to Africa. In her opinion, filling Liberia with what she called “an ignorant, inexperienced and half-barbarised race, just escaped from the chains of slavery” served no purpose, and would only “prolong the struggle.”¹⁴¹ However, among the free produce community, a view prevailed that Africa would not only supply Britain with raw free cotton, cotton growing would form a part of empire’s ‘civilising effect.’ This view was expressed by Elihu Burritt, in an article entitled “Civilisation and Cotton,” which was published in The Slave in 1855. Burritt wrote, “There is no production of the earth which so measures and represents the progress of civilisation as *cotton*.” He reasoned that cotton-growing also opened brought new markets, “Wherever there is a new colony planted on a distant continent or island, once sitting under the cold dark eclipse of paganism there arises a new market for cotton manufactures.” He connected the trade in cotton to the spread of Christianity, and to the establishment of Western values. He argued, “Just in proportion as the native tribes of distant lands become elevated by civilisation and Christianity, do they become consumers of cotton goods.” Hence Burritt saw a great future for British colonial development of Africa; cotton-growing would benefit the British cotton industry, and British-made cotton cloth would sell well in Africa. He compared this to the established colonial markets in

¹³⁹ HHG, reported in African Times (23 October, 1861) quoted in Ripley, 517.

¹⁴⁰ Martin Delany, lecture in Manchester “Africa and the African Race,” (1860) quoted in Ripley, 489.

¹⁴¹ Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom’s Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America (London: Wordsworth, 2002 [1852]) 412.

Australia, where British cotton was selling well, “Look at Australia! ... new markets are opening up yearly for this important article.”¹⁴² This shows that the free labour cotton, emigration strategies and the development of new markets for cotton goods were bound together, within a wider picture of British imperial development in Africa.

Burritt’s desire for imperial development resonated with other members of the free produce community. For example during the 1840s and the 1850s, both the Clarks and the Sturges made investments in new colonial products, colonies and markets. From the 1830s the Clarks invested in rubber cultivation in India, which they used in the manufacture of waterproof boots and shoes.¹⁴³ In the 1850s, they invested in selling shoes in the Australian market.¹⁴⁴ In the 1850s they invested in gutta-percha production in Malaysia, Borneo and Sumatra. Gutta-percha was an early plastic, obtained from Palaquium trees, which C. & J. Clark used to waterproof working men’s boots.¹⁴⁵ In 1857 Joseph Sturge bought an ex-slave sugar plantation on the island of Montserrat. Here he planted limes, to supply juice to the British temperance or soft drinks trade.¹⁴⁶

Manufacturing Free Labour Cotton in the 1850s

Problems with supplying free cotton cloth stemmed from global shortages of raw free cotton and the multiple problems inherent in the supply of cloth. Co-ordinating an international free cotton supply chain was difficult, especially as the quantities of raw cotton were very small. It was problematic that bales of free cotton were kept waiting in America, prior to shipping, whilst sufficient numbers were found to make up a load, and cotton began to decompose before it reached Britain. Once in Britain, bales from different sources needed to be mixed, in order to make up the quantity needed for economic operation of spinning machinery. This meant that different types of cotton were used together to make yarn, and it was difficult to make the correct adjustments to machines, to cater for differences in length, gauge and strength of fibres.¹⁴⁷ In addition, free and slave cotton needed to be kept separate at all times and this entailed the difficult practice of segregating cotton. The difficulty of clearing traces of slave-grown cotton from spinning

¹⁴² Burritt, “Cotton and Civilisation,” *The Slave* (April, 1855): 16.

¹⁴³ George Barry Sutton *C. & J. Clark 1833 – 1903. A History of Shoemaking in Street* (York: Sessions, 1979) 27.

¹⁴⁴ Sutton, 125.

¹⁴⁵ Sylvia Katz, *Early Plastics* (London: Shire, 1986) 14-15; Sutton, 23-4.

¹⁴⁶ Edward Milligan, *British Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1775 – 1920* (York: Sessions, 2007).

¹⁴⁷ Baines, 245-293.

machines led to suspicions that it was impossible to produce finished free cotton cloth which was free from contamination.¹⁴⁸

The free cotton industry lacked the capital to address these practical issues. Although various business schemes were mooted, it appears there was insufficient investment to put them into practice. As Josias Browne stated, “the greatest remedy for our difficulties is *money*.”¹⁴⁹ Grand plans included Sturge’s proposal for a free cotton business house in New Orleans, and Burritt’s vision of a global free produce association, which he believed would unite “all the abolitionists in Christendom.”¹⁵⁰ In 1848 a ‘Free Cotton Company’ was proposed, and it was suggested that a British spinning mill could be acquired, using funds raised through a sale of shares, as was achieved in America.¹⁵¹ There were substantial differences of opinion on the scale of investment needed to sustain free cotton supply. The Slave pressed for £1,000 to open another warehouse, but Sturge estimated that a proper infrastructure would require at least six mills, and a least £100,000 to set up.¹⁵² In the event, both sums were ambitious, and under-funding continued to hamper building an infrastructure to secure free cotton supply.

Questions of the provenance of free cotton also haunted the campaign, for as discussed, slavery’s ‘taint’ was of great concern to the free produce community, and there was no foolproof method of preventing mixing. Since slave and free cotton were visually identical, the whole operation relied on trust. In the 1840s suspicions were aroused, and The Friend reported worries over “impostor goods,” or what it called “paying falsehood on a bounty.”¹⁵³ In 1851 Browne reported that some merchants and shopkeepers were claiming that cloth was genuine, in order to charge a higher price, and they were displaying false goods “with unblushing effrontery.”¹⁵⁴ This is interesting, for it shows that free cotton was a commodity of sufficient commercial value to warrant forgery.

There were sufficient concerns for practical action to be taken, and around 1840, the American FPA printed a paper ticket, to be tied to rolls of free cloth certifying it as

¹⁴⁸ Nuermberger, 89-91.

¹⁴⁹ “Free Labour Difficulties and Their Remedy,” The Slave (September, 1853): 35-6.

¹⁵⁰ Billington, 319.

¹⁵¹ “To the Friends of the Slave,” The Friend (4th Mo 1848); Nuermberger, 89.

¹⁵² “Free labour Warehouse,” The Slave (January 1851): 3; The Friend (5th Mo, 1848).

¹⁵³ The Friend (6th month, 1846).

¹⁵⁴ “Free Labour Warehouse,” The Slave (January, 1851): 3.

'genuine free cotton.'¹⁵⁵ The ticket depicted the familiar motif of a chained slave, pleading for freedom (Figure 3.5).¹⁵⁶ In 1851 Browne stated that in order to avoid the "disgusting deceptions" suffered by his clientele, he had a stamp cut to "mark his cloth."¹⁵⁷ To date, no record has been found of the stamp, described by Browne as "a Negro with his fetters broken and thankfully holding them up to heaven," which suggested a similar design as the Philadelphia ticket.¹⁵⁸ Both The Slave and Browne advised customers to exercise "extreme caution," and to buy only from those "of unquestionable integrity, upon whose word we can rely."¹⁵⁹ Despite Browne's efforts to tighten controls, there was a general worry that more was needed to stimulate awareness of impostor goods which had entered the market.¹⁶⁰

In the 1850s free produce warehouses were opened in Dublin, Street, Bath and London and the network of free produce societies and outlets selling free labour cotton grew (see Appendix 3). In 1852, the Worcester FPA reported a mood of cautious optimism, "The prospect for an increased supply is quite cheering ... demand for these goods will alone increase supply."¹⁶¹ By 1856 however, demand had dropped but The Slave continued to give practical support, "We suggest that every anti-slavery needle, pin and pencil in the kingdom shall be set to work to donate to bazaars ... We have faith in the old motto, "where there is a will there is a way."¹⁶² In 1858 Mary Moorsom of the Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society, wrote to The Friend, to enquire where she might find free labour cotton calico. The paper's reply from Thomas Crewdson, regretted to inform her that he had ceased production of free cotton calico, for "the demand is so very small it is not at all worthwhile from a commercial point of view, to pursue this branch of the

¹⁵⁵ Deborah Rossi, "The Stuff of History: American Free Produce Association Label 1839-1847" Connecticut History 47 (2009): 252-255 quoted in Holcomb, 171-2.

¹⁵⁶ Browne, To the Members 3. Holcomb, 171-2 writes that the only extant example is held in the Cowley Middlesex County Historical Society, Middletown Ct., USA;

¹⁵⁷ "Free Labour Warehouse," The Slave (January, 1851): 3.

¹⁵⁸ "Free Labour Warehouse."

¹⁵⁹ The Slave (January, 1852): 52; Browne, To the Members 3.

¹⁶⁰ Temperley, 165.

¹⁶¹ "Report of the Worcester Ladies Anti-Slavery and Free Produce Association," Berrow's Worcester Journal (19 February, 1852).

¹⁶² The Slave (October, 1856): 87.

business.”¹⁶³ This confirms that by 1858 support for the campaign against slave-grown cotton had dwindled, and free labour cotton production at this manufacturer had ceased.¹⁶⁴

The Richardsons and Free Labour Cotton

The Richardson family were of vital importance in building and sustaining the campaign against slave-grown cotton. The family was involved in charity and reform work, as well as in commerce, which made them highly respected in the Quaker philanthropic and business networks.¹⁶⁵ They were especially renowned for anti-slavery activity and had an impressive history in raising funds to manumit and support slaves. For example Anna and Henry Richardson had spearheaded campaigns to manumit Frederick Douglass in 1846, and William Wells Brown in 1854 and they funded their subsequent tours of Britain. In 1851 they brought Henry Highland Garnet and his family to Britain, and freed his enslaved friend John Weims and several members of his family.¹⁶⁶ As will be discussed in Chapter Four, news of the ‘Weims campaign’ reached the Clark family, and in 1852 Eleanor and James became local collection agents.

The Richardsons were also prolific writers, and their output on free produce was vital to the Free Produce Movement. In 1844, they began publishing a peace periodical The Olive Leaf, which was aimed at families.¹⁶⁷ They also began a broadsheet, Monthly Illustrations of American Slavery, which was compiled of extracts from the American anti-slavery press, which they circulated to one hundred British newspapers.¹⁶⁸ In 1846 they commenced publishing the highly influential ‘Newcastle Tracts,’ or pamphlets on free produce, which were also printed in London. The first, by Anna, To the Friends of the Slave in Great Britain (1846) attracted the attention of the Birmingham Ladies’ Society, and extracts appeared in the British Friend. Anna wrote, “This [free produce] is a path

¹⁶³ Letter from Miss Moorsom and reply from Thomas Crewdson, The Friend (1st mo 1858).

¹⁶⁴ It is not fully understood why the demand for free labour cotton shrank so quickly. Possibly economic concern about the effects of war on American supply of raw cotton eclipsed humanitarian concern for buying free cotton goods.

¹⁶⁵ Milligan, 361.

¹⁶⁶ Ripley, 225.

¹⁶⁷ Sean Creighton, “Anna and Henry Richardson: Quaker Journalism in Support of Anti-Slavery, Free Produce and Peace” lecture, Quaker History Group, the Religious Society of Friends London (22 March, 2011). This was one year before Burritt began the League of Brotherhood and its female auxiliaries, Olive Leaf Societies.

¹⁶⁸ “Introduction,” The Slave (January, 1851): 1.

peculiarly appropriate for us the women of Great Britain who have the duty of furnishing of the wardrobes and the tables of our households.”¹⁶⁹

In 1848, they published There is Death in the Pot!, the title being a biblical reference to a stew poisoned by gourds (Kings 4:38-41).¹⁷⁰ To their evangelical readership, the metaphor of a meal that kills led readers to question the toxicity of slave-goods in their homes. The Richardsons exposed the double standards of female shoppers who were horrified by slavery, but still consumed slave-goods, possibly in ignorance of what they were buying. They scolded, “It may be that you do not know that it is slave-grown, but this is no excuse; you *ought* to know.”¹⁷¹ Following Garrison’s comments that slave-grown cotton was present in many goods, the Richardsons took on the role of clarifying precisely which goods were known to be slave-produced and which were ‘safe.’¹⁷² They were aware that cotton presented particular problems, writing, “The most serious difficulty we anticipate is in the article of cotton, so universal is its use, and so oppressive its culture.”¹⁷³

In 1848 they also published The Beloved Crime which emphasised the rationale of free labour goods, and gave practical advice on how to buy and use them. In 1851, came Conscience Versus Cotton, which gave tips to merchants, such as, “Leave handsome labels to be placed conspicuously in shops, in order to excite attention.”¹⁷⁴ In the same year, Henry wrote The Revolution of Spindles on the production of free labour cotton and his hopes for what he called a “revolution of attitudes” in the cotton industry.¹⁷⁵

In 1862, another important pamphlet appeared, written by an unknown author, possibly the Richardsons, entitled Free Labour Cotton: It Can Be Had.¹⁷⁶ It is useful to look at this tract detail, for it summarised the campaign against slave-grown cotton, and it showed that there was a flourish of support during the American Civil War. The pamphlet stated that raw free cotton was now available from India, Africa and Australia. Although it often varied in type, it was at least equal in quality, and even cheaper than slave-types from America.¹⁷⁷ It

¹⁶⁹ Anna Richardson, “To the Friend of the Slave in Great Britain,” (Newcastle, 1846) in British Friend (4th Mo, 1848): 103.

¹⁷⁰ Anna and Henry Richardson, There is Death in the Pot! (Newcastle: n.p., 1848).

¹⁷¹ Anna and Henry Richardson, There is Death in the Pot! 1.

¹⁷² Anna and Henry Richardson, There is Death in the Pot! 4.

¹⁷³ Anna and Henry Richardson, There is Death in the Pot! 3.

¹⁷⁴ Anna and Henry Richardson, Conscience Versus Cotton (Newcastle, 1851): 9.

¹⁷⁵ Henry Richardson, The Revolution of Spindles (Newcastle, 1851).

¹⁷⁶ Anon, Free Labour Cotton: It Can Be Had (London: Jarrold, 1862).

¹⁷⁷ Anon, Free Labour Cotton: It Can Be Had 1-4.

argued that a key problem was the customers' bias towards American cotton, which led to cotton cloth being sold as 'American,' regardless of its origin. The pamphlet included extracts from letters from manufacturers, for example, one wrote that the American shortages had not yet affected him, for his supply came from elsewhere. Another, new to free cotton production stated that despite his initial concerns, free Indian cotton proved to be highly successful, and once it was "put through the various processes ... with little arrangement and alteration in our machinery, we have no difficulty in making a first class article." Knowing that his product was not "stamped with the curse of slavery" gave him considerable pleasure. The pamphlet closed with a powerful statement from the Manchester Examiner and Times (29 November, 1862):

In the midst of our Pharasaical self-complacency, let us remember we have made the South what it is. If slavery is an evil, we have fostered it; if a crime, we are the perpetrators. Every factory we have built for the last twenty years has been a buttress and outwork of slavery. We have bought the produce of slaves, manufactured it in our mills, sold it in our shops, and worn it on our backs. We have grown rich by the toil of Slaves.¹⁷⁸

"The Slave" and the Free Produce Community

Anna and Henry Richardson also founded the only periodical of the British Free Produce Movement, a four-page, monthly newspaper, entitled The Slave; His Wrongs and Their Remedy. This was written by the Richardsons from 1851 and 1855, then by Burritt from 1855 until 1856. The Slave offers unique insights into the actions of the Free Produce Movement, the views of the community and the workings of the campaign against slave-grown cotton. It had two sections, the first entitled "The Wrongs" was based on Monthly Illustrations of Slavery and the second, "The Remedy" was devoted to free produce. The paper drew heavily on the work of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, and her essay "Consumers" provided much inspiration. Chandler wrote, "Henceforth the guilty responsibility of slave-holding rests with the consumers of slave produce ... if there were no consumers of slave produce, there would be no slaves."¹⁷⁹ With slight re-wording, this became the masthead of The Slave; "Slavery is Sustained by the Purchase of its Productions. If There Were No Consumers of Slave Produce, There Would be No Slaves." In the inaugural issue in January, 1851, the editors explained the newspaper's objectives. In response to awakened interest, they wished to extend the circulation of Monthly

¹⁷⁸ Manchester Examiner and Times (29 November, 1862).

¹⁷⁹ Chandler, "Consumers," Lundy, Essays 113.

Illustrations to individuals, and to supply readers with “information on the management of free-labour associations, the supply of free goods, in the market, the detection of impostures.”¹⁸⁰ The editorial tone was impassioned and not afraid of tackling controversy. This was seen in a series of articles, published in the first year, entitled “Objections to Free Produce” which discussed critiques of the Free Produce Movement.¹⁸¹ The Richardsons explained that the “tiny dimensions and low price” of one half penny were intended to make the paper accessible to all. They wished “to penetrate every nook and cranny of the land ... not only in the mansion of the wealthy but in the cottage of the peasant and the work-shop of the artisan.”¹⁸² The Slave began with a monthly print run of four thousand copies, and in 1852, the editors wanted to increase this to five thousand.¹⁸³ Each month, copies were sent to free produce associations, booksellers, families and individuals. It is also probable that one hundred copies were also sent to newspapers, as established by prior distribution of Monthly Illustrations.¹⁸⁴ This makes the number of recipients of The Slave comparable to the subscription list of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which in 1854, listed three thousand names.¹⁸⁵ The actual readership may have been far larger, since copies were shared, and whole families read them. In addition, the circulation to newspapers would suggest an even wider dissemination of information.

The Richardsons engaged directly with the free produce community, writing articles and news items, responding to enquiries, printing letters and providing steady support to readers. The content of the paper and its evangelical tone made it suited to family and Sunday reading, and it referenced their earlier periodical, The Olive Leaf.¹⁸⁶ Each month the Richardsons reiterated the rationale for using free produce, for example as seen in letter, published in May, 1852. The anonymous writer made the observation, “It is extraordinary how very few people have the slightest idea that each, individually can help to put down slavery ... but by merely refusing to buy the produce of iniquity.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁰ “Introduction,” The Slave (January, 1851): 1.

¹⁸¹ “Objections to Free Produce,” The Slave (May, June, July, 1851).

¹⁸² “Introduction,” The Slave (January, 1851): 1.

¹⁸³ The Slave (February, 1852): 56.

¹⁸⁴ “Introduction,” The Slave (January, 1851): 1.

¹⁸⁵ “Introduction,” 1; Frank Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980) 231.

¹⁸⁶ Advertisement for Olive Leaf in The Slave (March, 1851): 12.

¹⁸⁷ The Slave (May, 1852): 68.

The Richardsons' warm tone offered companionship, and urged readers to stay firm in the face of criticism. They wrote, "Let us not, however be discouraged" and they supported readers to "carry out with earnestness what they believe to be right."¹⁸⁸ It is clear that they were firm believers in the free produce rationale, and that they were convinced that it could indeed defeat slavery. As they stated, "It is almost needless to say that, if universally adopted it would be, in itself, a complete and final cure for slavery."¹⁸⁹ However, they were also cautious, and in 1851 they stated that as a single strategy, free produce was unlikely to end slavery, "*We do not believe* that the free-labour movement will, of itself, abolish slavery ... *we do believe*, however believe that the free-labour movement is an efficient auxiliary for the abolition of slavery."¹⁹⁰ To propose free produce as "an efficient auxiliary" demonstrates the Richardsons' pragmatic approach, and their belief that as a strategy, free produce was best used in conjunction with other tactics. The Richardsons, and by extension, the free produce community, felt that there was nothing to lose by using free labour goods. This fundamentally optimistic attitude is confirmed by an article in The British Friend, written by a "Newcastle Friend." The writer, possibly Henry Richardson, stated clearly, "The free-labour effort may be one of a thousand cords that may assist in pulling down the monster; Slavery." The writer explained:

But that cord is a strong one, and if it could be twisted into ropes of seven-fold strength and those ropes could be pulled by thousands or tens of thousands of energetic hands, who is to say that the hideous monster, which has stood unblushing for centuries, might not be dragged from his shameless position, and ... be consigned to speedy and entire destruction!¹⁹¹

This was a passionate endorsement of free produce, as the means to destroy the "hideous monster." It made it clear that if enacted by sufficient "energetic hands," the collective mass of consumer actions, when combined with other approaches, would without doubt, defeat slavery.

These beliefs chimed with Quaker conscience, and especially Friends' over-arching moral compulsion to make a conscientious objection, or 'witness,' against slavery. In addition, Friends wished to distance themselves from immorality, and they wished to adopt 'clean

¹⁸⁸ "To the Members of Free Labour Associations," The Slave (August, 1851): 31 and (January 1852): 52.

¹⁸⁹ "Objections to the Free-Labour Movement Considered," The Slave (May, 1851): 18; The Slave (January 1852): 52.

¹⁹⁰ "Objections to the Free-Labour Movement Considered," 18.

¹⁹¹ A Newcastle Friend, (? Henry Richardson), British Friend (4th Month, 1849): 75.

hands,' which were free from slavery. Quakers also wished to improve society and to mould it according to their moral principles. As they became increasingly involved in public culture, they sought ways to use their fortunes to evangelise the distinct set of values and beliefs that were embedded in their culture. Joseph Sturge was an important case in point; a very wealthy corn trader, who was uneasy with his accumulation of wealth and who became one of Britain's foremost abolitionists, endorsing free produce and acting as a missionary for the principle.

Public and Private Support for Free Cotton

Not all members of the free produce community wished for public visibility and many may have been content in the private and domestic roles of keeping their homes and families free from goods grown by slaves. Many used their wealth to sustain the Anti-Slavery Society and contributors included Eleanor and James Clark, who made donations to the Society, and collected donations from kin.¹⁹² It is evident that James Clark followed the work of the Society, for one month before his wife opened the Street Depot, he attended a BFASS meeting chaired by Joseph Sturge. He seconded Sturge's resolution for a new inquiry into buying free cotton and the possibility of setting up a network of shops to sell it.¹⁹³ At the Fourth Annual Meeting of the BFPA in 1853, Sturge cheered the newly opened Street Depot and he read out the depot's advertising flyer, as a model of good practice for others to follow.¹⁹⁴

Women of the free produce community also contributed to charitable causes by sewing articles made from free labour cotton, which were sold at fundraising fairs. Elihu Burritt's 'free labour bazaars,' held in London and Manchester were well-publicised event, and they were frequently reported in the British press.¹⁹⁵ For example, in the spring of 1855, Burritt staged a 'Grand Free Labour Bazaar' in the Manchester Corn Exchange, to raise funds for the League of Brotherhood. Many regional newspapers publicised the event, adding that local ladies' Olive Leaf Circles were donating free labour goods.¹⁹⁶ Thus through Burritt's

¹⁹² "The Household Accounts of Eleanor and James Clark," (10th mo 1835 – 12th mo 1838) AGT HSHC 52.

¹⁹³ ASR (March 1853): 67-8. Written in flyleaf, no date recorded.

¹⁹⁴ Joseph Sturge, Free Labour Association. Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Free Produce Association (21 May, 1853) LRSF, MS Box 8:4, 3. With handwritten additions stating that it was used as an example to others.

¹⁹⁵ Merle Curti, The Learned Blacksmith (NY: Erickson, 1937) 1-5.

¹⁹⁶ Notices appeared in the following regional papers: Lancaster Gazette (14 April, 1855); Nottinghamshire Guardian (12 April); Preston Guardian (14 April); The Derby Mercury (14 April); Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper (15 April); Dundee Courier (18 April); Liverpool Mercury (20 April) Daily News (27 April);

shrewd publicity in sending flyers to the regional press, his bazaar was given impressive national coverage. In turn, this brought free produce to public attention, across the country.

The connection between Burritt's Olive Leaf Circles and free labour cotton was crucial. Circles formed an extensive network across the country, and since they were encouraged to use free cotton, free produce practice became embedded among families across the country. The size of the network is indicated by an information pamphlet, entitled, An Olive Circle. What Is It? (1852), listing one hundred and ten circles in towns and villages from Cornwall to Scotland. The pamphlet gave two or three women's names as contacts for each, with Street's contacts listed as Eleanor Clark, her sister Ann Stephens, and Sarah Gillett.¹⁹⁷ Although the total number of women or 'League Sisters' is not known, given that the Street Circle contained approximately twenty women, it can be estimated that there could have been some 2,200 members in total. Not only were members committed to using free cotton, some were directly involved in making cloth available, as seen in the depots in Street and London.

Considerable public awareness of free cotton was also raised by Harriet Beecher Stowe, especially during her visit to Britain between 1852 and 1854. The powerful endorsements from the so-called, 'mother of Uncle Tom' recruited many women, who looked to Stowe for leadership in the anti-slavery movement.¹⁹⁸ As she explained in her journal Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands (1854), Stowe, her husband and brother were 'converted' to free produce, whilst staying with Hannah and Joseph Sturge, at 64, Wheeley's Road in Edgbaston.¹⁹⁹ Stowe wrote that Sturge raised the subject of free produce "with very great force," and she preferred the more gentle approach of Burritt, who was also staying with the family.²⁰⁰ Above all, Stowe was impressed by material evidence of the home, run without any products of slavery.²⁰¹ Stowe was astonished that "such luxury" could be achieved, in her words, "such an abundance and variety of all that is comfortable and

New Era (29 April); Morning Chronicle (30 April); Liverpool Mercury (1 May); Essex Standard (4 May); Hull Packet & East Riding Times (4 May); Huddersfield Chronicle (5 May) and Bury & Norwich Post (16 May).

¹⁹⁷ An Olive Leaf Circle. What Is It? (London, 1852) LRSF, MS 8:5 28.

¹⁹⁸ Joan Hedrick, Harriet Beecher Stowe – A Life (Oxford: O U P, 1994) 241.

¹⁹⁹ HBS letter to 'H,' in Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands (London: Sampson Low, 1854)141.

²⁰⁰ HBS, Sunny Memories 181.

²⁰¹ Catherine Beecher Stowe and Harriet Beecher Stowe, An American Woman's Home introduction by Joseph van Why, (Hartford, Ct.: Stowe Day Foundation, 1987 [1869]).

desirable in the various departments of household living.”²⁰² In a letter, she reinforced that her free produce convictions had been formed at the Sturge home. She wrote, “Our attention was turned towards ... encouraging as far as possible free labour produce ... We had not before attended to the subject but it struck us very favourably as suggesting an opening which might through Divine Providence, be improved to get wider results.”²⁰³ Whilst domestic commitment to free produce may have seemed unusual to Stowe, the practice was commonplace among the free produce community.²⁰⁴ This was the case in the Clark home, for in addition to cotton, the Clarks bought free labour foods. Evidence for this survives in receipts for purchases of 12 lb tapioca, bought from John Wingrave and two lumps of refined sugar and two 14 lb tins of golden syrup, bought from John Scoble, the Secretary at the BFASS.²⁰⁵

It is significant to point out that the American Free Produce Movement attracted had an African-American following, which gave authority and gravitas to the movement. As Richard Blackett writes, approximately one hundred African-American abolitionists visited Britain between the 1830s and the 1860s, and their virtually unanimous support for free produce was a powerful endorsement of the free produce cause.²⁰⁶ The most powerful of these advocates was the ex-slave and famous abolitionist speaker, Henry Highland Garnet. Garnet was convinced that free produce was a powerful economic weapon, in his words, “One of the most important instrumentalities for the overthrow of negro slavery.”²⁰⁷ At the invitation of the Richardsons, Garnet and his family came to Britain, to lecture on anti-slavery and free produce. He attracted large audiences which were drawn typically from poor and middle-class communities, especially in large cities and towns.²⁰⁸ As seen in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, Garnet’s lectures were dramatic occasions. He was responsible for galvanising support and stimulating practical responses, especially the commitment to buy free produce. In 1851, the Anti-Slavery Reporter praised his emotive rhetoric, “He did not speak figuratively when he said, that the cotton which we used ... [was] actually spread

²⁰² HBS, Sunny Memories 184-6; Charles Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe in Europe. The Journal of Charles Beecher (ed) Joseph Van Why and Charles French (Hartford, Ct.: Stowe Day Foundation, 1986).

²⁰³ Letter HBS to the Committee of the Ladies New Anti-Slavery Society of Glasgow in The Morning Post (28 December, 1853).

²⁰⁴ In “The Remedy” in most editions, there were reports on free labour foods and where to buy them.

²⁰⁵ Receipt, JW to EC (20 January, 1854) for 12 lb tapioca @ 6d a pound, LRSF, MS Box 8:3; Letter, JC to John Scoble, (1 June, 1848) for sugar and syrup purchases, Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford MSS Brit Emp 818 C1549.

²⁰⁶ Blackett, especially 3-15, 118-121.

²⁰⁷ Faulkner, 400.

²⁰⁸ Blackett, 18, 120-121.

with the sweat of slaves, sprinkled with their tears, and fanned by their sighs.”²⁰⁹ The paper especially approved of his ingenuity, in inviting the audience in Gateshead to come to the platform and handle pieces of free cotton cloth, which he had bought at local suppliers.²¹⁰ For some members of the audience, this was their first physical contact with free cotton, and it was made memorable by its introduction by an ex-slave.

Garnet’s bold appeals recalled the rhetoric of his famous speech, “Address to the Slaves of the United States,” spoken at the National Negro Convention in 1843.²¹¹ In the 1843 “Address,” he made a passionate and deeply radical ‘call to arms’ to the enslaved:

Brethren, arise, arise! ... Let every slave throughout the land do this and the days of slavery are numbered ... *Rather die freemen that live to be slaves.* ... Let your motto be RESISTANCE! *Resistance!* RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance.²¹²

In passionate addresses to British audiences, Garnet suggested that women should take up practical resistance to slavery:

Let the ladies take it into their hands. Let them reject all articles that were the produce of slave labour; let them keep on asking for free-labour goods, and they might depend on it the shop-keepers would supply them.²¹³

The impact of Garnet’s lectures was profound; in the first four weeks of his tour of Britain, it was reported that eight free produce associations were formed, and at a speech in Sunderland, one was formed on the spot.²¹⁴ By the end of 1850, twenty six associations had been established, many of which were in direct consequence of his lecture tour.²¹⁵

Conclusions

The Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street operated at the same time as the heyday of the Free Produce Movement in Britain, and specifically, its campaign against slave-grown cotton. The campaign was resilient and resourceful, surviving strong criticism and multiple practical problems with supply, demand, quality, and image of goods. The movement was

²⁰⁹ “The Free Labour Movement,” ASR (January 1851): 15.

²¹⁰ Gateshead Observer (2 September, 1850); “American Slavery,” ASR (October, 1850): 161.

²¹¹ Joel Schor, Henry Highland Garnet. A Voice of Black Radicalism in the Nineteenth Century (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood P, 1977).

²¹² HHG, “Address to the Slaves of the United States of America” (1843) online edition at <<http://www.pbs.org>> (accessed 14 January, 2009).

²¹³ “The Free Labour Movement,” ASR (January 1851): 15.

²¹⁴ ASR (November 1850): 175.

²¹⁵ ASR (November 1850): 175; “Introduction,” The Slave (January, 1851): 1.

exceedingly resilient, retaining a deeply committed community of supporters, during a period when the British Anti-slavery Society experienced shifts in opinion and falling membership. It is significant that following the criticisms made by William Lloyd Garrison in America, the movement found support in Britain, where it was especially consolidated by the visiting abolitionists, and the Richardson family.

The free produce community understood its role in the anti-slavery movement to be collaborative, and it saw no contradictions in working with other strategies such as petitioning. The community recognised the importance of creating a movement which could unite political, economic and moral arguments. Despite associations in America between political and religious radicals, in Britain, the movement appealed primarily to white, middle-class Quakers who advocated a market-based approach.²¹⁶ It is difficult to estimate the size of the community, but since they were members of diverse networks, this points to the movement being of a significant size. The loss of the papers relating to the British Free Produce Association may mean that the precise details of the committee may never be known, but circulation and readership of The Slave suggest a body of support that was comparable with that of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This was smaller than the American movement, which Ruth Nuermberger estimates as having as many as five or six thousand supporters.²¹⁷

The campaign against slave-grown cotton had a chequered history; from scarcity of raw material and finished cloth in the 1820s, to ideological problems in the 1830s, to the establishment and consolidation of the campaign in the 1840s and a blossoming in the 1850s. It was a more complex campaign than the previous ones against slave-grown sugar, yet it was successful over a long period, maintaining interest, stimulating demand, and stabilising supply. Propelled forward by the Richardsons, the campaign acknowledged its difficulties, and through The Slave, interested parties read both positive and negative opinions. This had implications for subsequent consumer-led campaigns which relied upon an educated and informed body of consumers, who connected products in the marketplace to the conditions of their production.

The campaign also saw free labour arguments become enmeshed with plans for African-American emigration to Africa. The cotton grown by ex-slaves in new African colonies

²¹⁶ Geoffrey Searle, Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 60-1.

²¹⁷ Nuermberger, 115.

was proposed by the free produce community as having great commercial potential. In addition, African cotton colonies would provide legitimate work for America's ex-slaves, as well as having a 'civilising' effect upon Africans and stimulating new markets for British cotton cloth.

The debate about whether the campaign against slave-grown cotton inflicted any significant damage to the slave-cotton industry has long been a distraction from its real historical importance. Howard Temperley writes that the Free Produce Movement was but a small strategy, in the "marginal" activities of the 1850s.²¹⁸ 'Marginal' may be defined as limited, minimal or negligible, but also as peripheral and difficult to measure. Thus 'marginal' does not necessarily mean ineffective, but simply that it existed in another space; that of female anti-slavery activism.

There are also inherent problems in calculating consumer impacts on markets, for how can it be debated what might have been? As Clare Midgley writes on the evaluation of women's role in activism against slave-sugar "abstention campaigners did not achieve direct success: at neither period did they succeed in destroying the market for slave grown sugar."²¹⁹ This did not mean that the sugar campaigns lacked significance, for as is widely known, they were highly successful in mobilising consumers. The same judgment should be applied to the campaign against slave-grown cotton.

As this chapter has shown, free-cotton amounted to a fractional proportion of the imports of slave-grown cotton into Britain, but nonetheless this fraction was not as tiny as previously estimated. The impacts of the campaign were far greater than a simple displacement of goods, and more important were the principles that it established, and especially concerning women's emergent political identities. The next chapter will explore how the anti-slavery actions of Eleanor Clark took her work beyond the sphere of home, and into the social and public spheres of politics and reform.

²¹⁸ Temperley, 246.

²¹⁹ Midgley, *Feminism and Empire* 63.



Figure 3.1

Ceramic sugar bowl advertising East Indian sugar, 'The produce of free labour.'
It was used during the anti-slavery activism against slave-grown sugar, 1791-1792.



Figure 3.2

Silk work bag showing the 'slave mother' design, containing anti-slavery tracts. Made and distributed by the Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society, 1820s.



Figure 3.3
Ceramic abolitionist medallion, featuring the 'kneeling slave,' by Josiah Wedgwood, 1787 – 1807.
It bears the motto: "AM I NOT A MAN AND ABROTHER."



Figure 3.4

Embroidered picture, by Esther Stewart .

It shows the popular anti-slavery 'kneeling slave' motif, 1836.

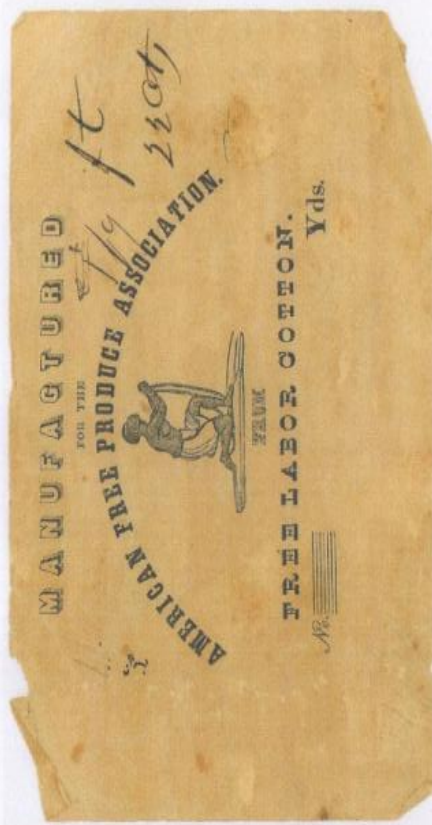


Figure 3.5

Paper ticket issued by the American Free Produce Association. This was tied to rolls of free produce cotton, warranting it as genuine, 1840s.

Chapter Four: Eleanor Clark and Anti-Slavery Activism,

1830s – 1870s

Come to the Fair

To the Fair! To the Fair!
Come and see what is there,
And buy for the sake of the Slave,

By the money thus given,
Their chains shall be riven
And Banners over them wave!¹

Introduction

This verse by Maria Weston Chapman called shoppers to come to the Boston Fair, and to “buy for the sake of the slave.” Organised by Weston and her sisters, the Boston Fair was the best-known of the many American anti-slavery bazaars, fairs and sales of goods which were held from the 1830s to the 1860s. The fairs took place primarily across New England, in small communities, towns and cities, with the most elaborate fairs held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Rochester and Utica.² Fairs were vital to the American anti-slavery movement, for they collected essential funds which sustained its work. They also provided publicity for the movement and engaged public support.³ As Julie Roy Jeffrey explains, it is important to recognise that fairs were run by women. Women were responsible for the instigation, organisation, staffing and stocking of the fairs, and working for them propelled women into the public sphere.⁴

British women were significant contributors to American fairs. Making and sending goods were potent acts; not only involving the practical provision of wares, but also fostering communication and sympathy between women, and establishing a ‘sisterhood’ across the Atlantic. It also encouraged women, and their goods, to cross from the domestic sphere,

¹ Maria Weston, “Come to the Fair,” (1839) *Liberator* (4 January, 1839) in Deborah van Broekhoven, ““Better Than a Clay Club”: The Organisation of Antislavery Fairs 1835 – 1860,” *Slavery and Abolition* 19:1 (1998): 24-45.

² Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism. Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC.: University of N C P, 1998) 96-133.

³ Howard Temperley, *British Antislavery 1833 – 1870* (London: Longman, 1972).

⁴ Jeffrey, 109.

into the blatantly commercial and public world of the fair.⁵ It is notable that in the 1840s Eleanor Stephens Clark (1812 – 1879) and a group of her kinswomen in Street sent parcels of goods to an American anti-slavery fair. This was run by Martha Ball at the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society (MFES) in Boston.

This chapter examines the anti-slavery work of Eleanor Clark. It takes a biographical approach to her upbringing, lived experience and commitment to the anti-slavery cause. It explores Clark's contributions to the anti-slavery movement which included involvement in a number of national and international campaigns, which connected her to many networks, activists and their campaigns. As Sandra Holton explains, networks were exceedingly important to the Quaker family. The Quaker family was frequently a 'networked' one, and especially through the practice of endogamy, connections were established between Quaker families in Britain and America.⁶ Holton writes that for Quaker women, the relationships of, "sister, aunt, niece and cousin figure as largely as those of mother, daughter and granddaughter."⁷ Women Friends were especially adept at maintaining friendships and kinship, especially through frequent correspondence, visits to each other, and joint participation in causes such as social reform and charity work.

It is evident that strong ties were forged within the extended Clark family. The very large extended family of Eleanor Clark included her parents and siblings in Bridport, and siblings in Street, Taunton, York and Bristol. The Clark family was also connected to the following: the Reynolds family in Bridport; the Sturges in Bristol and Birmingham; the Thompson family in Taunton; the Gillett family in Somerset and Oxford; the Impeys in Street and Birmingham; the Metfords and Morlands in Glastonbury; the Palmers in Reading; the Pease family in Somerset; the Clothiers in Street; the Thorps in York; the Bright family in Rochdale; the Priestmans in Durham, Newcastle and Bristol; the Bancrofts in Manchester; the Richardsons and Braggs in Newcastle, Sunderland and Cleveland. The Clark family also had close family ties to Friends in America such as the Bancrofts, Pooles, Lawtons and Mellors.⁸ Ties of friendship and kinship linked Clark to organisations and activists working for the anti-slavery cause. Importantly this included the

⁵ Jeffrey, 111. For the 'Atlantic sisterhood' see Jean Fagin Yellin and J.C. van Horne, The Abolitionist Sisterhood (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).

⁶ Sandra Holton, Quaker Women. Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends 1780 – 1830 (London: Routledge, 2007) 2.

⁷ Holton, 7.

⁸ Holton, 3 and Clark Family Tree, AGT, C & J Clark.

Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society (BLNFS), the MFES in Boston, and the Richardson family of Newcastle.

The chapter draws upon archival materials, primarily from the LRSF and the AGT. These include Clark's own writings; letters to family and under her pseudonym "Eva," poems and essays for the local essay society, the "Village Album" (see Appendix 12 for a list of her contributions). Her interests spanned many subjects and notably her essay "Cotton" (1861) discussed slave labour on cotton plantations. In addition, the family's "Household Accounts" for the years 1836 – 1838 provide information on the Clarks' philanthropic expenditure on charitable causes for the first years of their marriage. This chapter provides context to Clark's anti-slavery activism, and discusses how her practical contributions were expressed, in addition to her work for the Street Depot.

Anti-Slavery Context to Eleanor Clark's Activism

Before Clark's activities can be explored, it is useful to briefly discuss the wider context of women's anti-slavery activity from the 1830s to the 1870s. As Clare Midgley and Julie Roy Jeffrey have established, whilst women were excluded from formal positions of power in the national anti-slavery societies in Britain and America, in the 1820s an important network of female societies was formed and women's agency in the movement grew considerably.⁹ Female societies were foundational in permitting women to fulfil pivotal work in the movement, and by the 1830s they assumed had myriad roles. These included, informing the public of the iniquities of slavery; canvassing households to enlist support; organising and running anti-slavery and free produce societies; arranging public lectures and meetings; writing, circulating and presenting petitions; raising funds through subscription campaigns; making, shipping and selling goods to fairs; and carrying out all the organisational and correspondence tasks to support all of the above. In addition, women were responsible for abstaining from slave-grown goods, and in their place, selecting free labour alternatives.

⁹ For women in the British movement, see Clare Midgley, Women Against Slavery. The British Campaigns 1780 – 1870 (London: Routledge, 1992) for American women, see Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism.

It has been established that patterns of anti-slavery activity were learned at home, and were passed down from mothers to daughters.¹⁰ This was the case for free produce activism, for the campaigns against slave-grown sugar in the 1790s and 1820s inspired the campaign against slave-grown cotton in the following years. Through home-based activism, women metaphorically ‘wove’ anti-slavery beliefs into the fabric of their families’ lives; through the foods they ate, the textiles they used and the clothes they wore.¹¹ It is not surprising that women conducted their activities from home, for this is where women’s primary responsibilities were situated. As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall explain, women of the middle classes in the nineteenth century had heavy domestic and caring responsibilities, for households were extremely large, and with children born closely-spaced.¹² This was the case for Clark, who between 1836 and 1857 produced fourteen children, eleven of whom survived into adulthood (see Figure 2.8 for children’s dates).¹³ The domestic nature of women’s lives made it expedient that charity work was tailored, as far as possible, to fit with the irregular hours and multiple demands in superintending the home. The evangelical movement especially encouraged women to extend their role as nurturers to the wider community. As Eileen Yeo explains, work with the poor and needy was a form of “social motherhood,” which applied to both married and single women of all ages.¹⁴ This was the case of Clark, who fulfilled a ‘motherly’ role in the village. Her obituary in the local press, printed after her death in March, 1879 stated, “Although the delicate state of Mrs. Clark’s health for many years prevented her from taking part in any active duties yet her motherly interests in the concerns and welfare of the village was well known and appreciated.”¹⁵

Quaker Upbringing and Establishment of Conscience

Eleanor Clark was born into a large, middle-class Quaker family in Bridport in Dorset. Her parents, Amy Metford of Glastonbury (1773 – 1847) and William Stephens of Falmouth (1756 – 1837) ran a prosperous drapery shop in the town’s Market Square. Amy was the

¹⁰ Jeffrey, *Abolitionists Remember. Antislavery Autobiographies and the Unfinished Work of Emancipation* (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of NC P, 2008).

¹¹ Midgley, *Women Against Slavery* 72-92.

¹² Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780 – 1850* (London: Routledge, 1992 [1987]) 31.

¹³ Not shown in the free produce photographs are Amy Jane (died newborn, 1836) and Thomas Bryant (1843-1852).

¹⁴ Eileen Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science. Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Oram Press, 1996)122.

¹⁵ “Funeral of Mrs. Clark,” *Central Somerset Gazette* (23 March, 1879).

daughter of Friends from Glastonbury, who had prospered in the woollen drapery trade, and had specialised in worsted stockings.¹⁶ The family, with its seventeen children, from her father's two marriages, lived in accommodation above the shop, in 1823 moving to a house in West Street.¹⁷ Clark's parents were devout and 'weighty' or influential Friends, serving as Elders and Overseers in Bridport's Quaker meeting. The town had a small Quaker community; in the religious census of 1851, ten worshippers were recorded at meeting in the morning, and nine in the afternoon.¹⁸ It should be noted that nationally members of the Religious Society of Friends were a small minority Christian group during the mid-nineteenth century. In 1851 just over 14,000 Friends were recorded meeting for worship in Britain, as compared to 2.3 million attendees at Church of England services and over a million each of Methodists and Congregationalists.¹⁹

The Stephens household was very busy, for in addition to the large number of children, the family was exceedingly hospitable. Friends' hospitality in accommodating Quakers whilst on business or ministry proved useful in maintaining the networks that underpinned many of their business and social ventures.²⁰ It was frequently in the informal environment of home, that religious and world affairs were discussed, friendships were consolidated, business was conducted and alliances were forged.²¹ The diary kept by William Stephens, from 1788 until 1836 indicates that the Stephens household was especially busy. He listed one hundred and fifty visitors to Bridport Meeting, approximately one hundred of whom were accommodated in the Stephens' home.²² Significantly, visitors included philanthropists from Britain and America, including a party of fourteen abolitionists from Philadelphia, who visited in 1790; Hannah Barnard of New York; Stephen Grellet from France; William and Anna Forster, who visited in 1816; George Richardson of Newcastle;

¹⁶ Morwenna Stephens, "The Stephens Family" (unpublished typescript, n.d. c.1992) LRSF; Severne Mackenna, "William Stephens, China Painter," *Apollo* (August and September, 1953):34-36 and 69-85; James Edmund Clark, "From an Old Quaker Diary. William Stephens 1788-1836," *The Friend* (30 October, 1931): 991-3.

¹⁷ "William Stephens," *Dictionary of Quaker Biography* (u.p., n.d. typescript manuscript in LRSF). Children from William Stephens' marriage to Ann Dawe (d.1794) were: Sarah (b.1789); William (b.1792); Joseph (b.1793); Benoni (b.1794). From his marriage to Amy Stephens were: John Pike (b.1797); Silvanus (b.1798); Mary (b.1801); Elizabeth (b.1801); Samuel (b.1803); Ann (b.1804); Isaac (b.1806); Walter (b.?1806); Jane (1809); Eleanor (1810-1811); Eleanor (1812-1879); and Rebecca (b.1814).

¹⁸ "Census of Attendance at Meetings," (1851), Edward Milligan, *British Quakers in Commerce and Industry* (York: Sessions, 2007) 574.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979) xix gives figures for Census Sunday in 1851, 2.3m C of E, 694,000 Methodists, 515,000 Congregationalists and 353,000 Baptists.

²⁰ Holton, *Quaker Women*, 1-8.

²¹ Milligan x.

²² W. Stephens, "Diary," (1788-1836) in J. E. Clark, 992. NB dates of visitors incomplete.

Priscilla Gurney; William Allen, who visited in 1831; Ann Tuke; Margaret Bragg; Hannah Barnard and Elizabeth Fry who stayed with the family in 1833.²³ Some Friends came to minister at Bridport Meeting, and others as part of the reform and anti-slavery movements, which the Stephens' heartily supported. William wrote that the anti-slavery lectures of "Our zealous and worthy Friend Wm. Forster" were attracting large audiences in local towns and villages.²⁴

The diary and journal kept by Rebecca Stephens Thompson (Clark's younger sister) confirms that her parents were heavily involved in philanthropy and Christian missions. For example, William collected clothing for the poor and ran the local British and Foreign Bible Society, and Amy visited schools for the poor and donated to a missionary society.²⁵ Thompson wrote that her parents' anti-slavery work brought "many celebrated men" to the home and significantly, this included Thomas Clarkson. Thompson recalled that Clarkson stayed with the family prior to the Emancipation Act, and she remembered him "talking warmly" to the children, that slavery would "very soon be abolished."²⁶ The abolitionists Amelia and John Opie were family friends, and whilst staying with the family, Amelia wrote anti-slavery poetry.²⁷ Thompson recalled being read Opie's new poem about an African slave boy, "I expressed a wish that it could be printed for the use of other children and at my mother's suggestion the authoress published it as a child's book."²⁸ The poem, entitled "The Negro Boy's Tale" (1824) became a celebrated work, which played a part in instilling anti-slavery sentiment among children.²⁹ In 1827, the family met Joseph Clark of Street, who lodged with them whilst he visited Bridport Meeting.³⁰ A friendship was forged, and the marriage was arranged between Eleanor and James. This was due to have taken place in 1831, but due to Eleanor's ill health from tuberculosis, it was postponed until 1835.

Eleanor Clark was moulded by the beliefs held by her parents, and especially the spiritual and moral values of the Quaker faith. These were a set of principles, or 'Testimonies,'

²³ W. Stephens, "Diary," J. E. Clark, 992-3. Unfortunately dates were not always recorded.

²⁴ W. Stephens, "Diary," in M. Stephens, 119.

²⁵ Rebecca Stephens Thompson, "Journal," and "Diary," in M. Stephens, 114.

²⁶ Thompson, "Journal," in M. Stephens, 113-114.

²⁷ Thompson, "Journal," 114; Mackenna, 34.

²⁸ Thompson, "Journal," 114.

²⁹ Amelia Opie, "The Negro Boy's Tale: A Poem Addressed to Children," (London: Harvey and Darton, 1824). John Oldfield, "Anti-Slavery Sentiment in Children's Literature, 1750-1850" Slavery and Abolition 10:1 (1989): 44-59, 58.

³⁰ W. Stephens, "Diary," in M. Stephens, 119.

which had their origins in the teachings of George Fox, who in 1654, founded the Religious Society of Friends.³¹ The Testimonies guided subsequent generations of Friends to live with the principles of ‘Truth,’ ‘Equality,’ ‘Peace’ and ‘Plainness.’ These provided frameworks for all aspects of Quaker life, across the domestic and public spheres.³² The principles of Truth and Equality spurred Friends to act according to conscience, to bear ‘witness,’ or to challenge injustice and to ‘speak truth to power.’³³ As a people who persecuted for their faith in the seventeenth century, Friends continued to have particular conscience towards the oppressed, the poor and the enslaved.³⁴ Peace meant that Friends rejected conflict and refused to bear arms, and plainness, as expressed through speech, dress and lifestyle, embodied a critique with the luxuries of ‘the world.’ Plain dress especially marked traditional Quaker culture, embodying their desire for simple principles. As Thomas Clarkson wrote, Quakers were a “peculiar people,” who were connected to the world, but strove to disassociate themselves from moral corruption.³⁵

Quakerism continued to evolve, reiterating the original Testimonies, but adaptive to changing attitudes within the Society. In the 1980s, Susan Scott Stokes Openshaw, a great grand daughter of Eleanor Clark wrote a memoir about her life and her family:

We are a sort of sect which has no defined Creed – indeed we have as many beliefs as we have members ... We also have peculiar customs to which we are attached ... In the eighteenth century Quakers were driven into a quiet state and lived enclosed lives. In the nineteenth century they adopted careers in business, with considerable success ... This was the time when the Frys, Cadburys, Rowntrees, Reckitts, Gurneys and Barclays, Sturges, Clarks and Morlands all set up in successful business, helped by scrupulous honesty and a care for the welfare and education of the workers and their families.³⁶

Advices and Queries were printed regularly by the Society, acting as broad guidelines but which were open to individual interpretation. This was seen in the case of Elizabeth Gurney Fry, who after a liberal, also known as a ‘wet’ or ‘gay’ Quaker upbringing, in 1798

³¹ Note that members of the Society were called ‘Quakers’ in scorn.

³² For useful overviews of testimonies see: John Punshon, Portrait in Grey. A Short History of the Quakers (London: Quaker Books, 2006 [1984]); Geoffrey Durham (ed.), The Spirit of the Quakers (New Haven & London: Yale U P, 2009); Emma Lapsansky, “Preface,” in Emma Lapsansky and Anne Verplanck, Quaker Aesthetics. Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design (Philadelphia, Pa.: U of Pennsylvania P, 2003).

³³ ‘Speaking truth to power’ was added as a new principle in the 1950s.

³⁴ James Walvin, Quakers. Money and Morals (London: John Murray, 1997) 123.

³⁵ Thomas Clarkson, A Portraiture of Quakerism as Taken From a View of the Moral Education, Religious Principles, Political and Civil Economy and Character of the Society of Friends 3 volumes (London: Longman, 1806). Especially see, vol I 266-7

³⁶ Susan Scott Stokes Openshaw, “Prelude” (typescript u.p., n.d. [1980s]) 4.

‘turned plain.’ She subsequently became a ‘strict Friend,’ who dedicated her life to charity and especially the reform of practices in women’s prisons. Accordingly, she adopted exceedingly plain dress, which signalled a shift towards spiritual austerity, and away from the luxurious lifestyle of her family (see Figures 5.12 and 5.13).³⁷

It should be stressed that Quaker faith, culture and practice underwent significant changes during the period of Eleanor’s upbringing during the 1820s and 1830s. This was largely due to the evangelical movement, which made deep and lasting impacts on Quakerism.³⁸ Evangelicalism had begun in the mid-eighteenth century as a devoutly Christian movement which criticised luxury and vice, and promoted a strict lifestyle. It stressed close adherence to the Gospels of Christ and through the books of the New Testament, evangelicals constructed and informed their spiritual and social lives. This was a serious form of Christianity, which committed adherents to the quest for personal salvation, and gave them a powerful sense of duty to others, to alleviate suffering, and to convert them to Christianity.³⁹ As evangelical writer Hannah More explained, Christianity was “the principle of all human actions, the great animating spirit of human conduct.”⁴⁰

The evangelical Quaker Joseph John Gurney (1788 – 1847) also led Friends towards greater engagement with the world, humanitarian and public sphere activity.⁴¹ The shift from traditional introspection meant that some habitual and charismatic characteristics of the faith were eroded. For example the doctrine of ‘Inward Light’ or individual experience of God was questioned, and later abandoned in 1860. In addition, ‘Quietism,’ or silent worship was suspended in some meetings, in favour of prayers, hymns and sermons given by priests.⁴² These were fundamental changes, which provoked substantial crises in Britain and America during the 1820s and 1830s. The most profound objections in America came from Elias Hicks of Philadelphia, who preached against the city’s evangelicals and

³⁷ Joan Kendall, “The Development of a Distinctive Form of Quaker Dress” *Costume* 19 (1985): 58-74. Fry’s influence and dress will be discussed in the next chapter.

³⁸ Isichei, 3-15.

³⁹ Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness. The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (London: Cape, 1976) 14-21; Simon Morgan, *A Victorian Woman’s Place. Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (London: IB Tauris, 2007) Chapter One; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class* (London: Routledge, 1992 [1987]) especially Part One, 71-149.

⁴⁰ Hannah More, *An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World* (London, 1809) in Bradley, 19.

⁴¹ Isichei, 3.

⁴² John Punshon, *A Portrait in Grey. A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Books, 2006 [1984]) 147-150. This was controversial since it contravened the notion that God was to be found in everyone, not just priests.

precipitated a bitter and lasting schism.⁴³ Britain witnessed comparable scenes, when Isaac Crewdson of Manchester published his treatise, A Beacon to the Society of Friends (1835) which repudiated Inward Light.⁴⁴ James Clark was in Manchester at the time, and his letter to Eleanor described the “terrible distress” that he saw at meeting.⁴⁵ It is significant that James supported both Crewdson and Gurney, and this established Clark and his family as evangelicals, and part of what the Society termed the ‘progressive’ or ‘moderate’ strand of Quakerism. The period 1858 – 1860 was thus a crucial juncture, for ideological separations resulted in traditionalists being superseded by progressives. This brought lasting changes and the new, evangelical Quakerism became outward-looking, socially active and engaged with reform movements such as anti-slavery, Christian missions, parliamentary reform and temperance.⁴⁶

Eleanor Clark continued to practise the religious, social and public sphere commitments, as established in her evangelical upbringing. These commitments were shared by her progressive kin, in the Sturge, Fry, Cadbury, Richardson and Rowntree families, all of whom became essential workers in Victorian philanthropy.⁴⁷ It should be emphasised that from the eighteenth century, many Quakers were extremely successful in a multitude of commercial, manufacturing and market-based enterprises. These became integral to the British economy and this enabled Quakers to make significant contributions to charities.⁴⁸ Importantly, Quakers felt morally compelled to do so, for wealth had presented them with a paradox. Given their historic identification with the poor and compounded by biblical advice, Quakers felt morally conflicted over their prosperity.⁴⁹ A solution was found in charitable giving, and in 1768 the Society enshrined charity as part of Quaker practice. The Society advised, “Let us impress it especially upon Friends in affluent circumstances to submit to a *becoming frugality* in their manner of living, in order to relieve the wants of the needy of all denominations with a *liberal* hand.”⁵⁰ This was especially the case among evangelicals, for as leading evangelical William Wilberforce wrote, “Charity is the

⁴³ Thomas Hamm, The Transformation of American Quakerism. Orthodox Friends 1800 – 1907 (Bloomington, Ia.: Indiana U P, 1988).

⁴⁴ Isaac Crewdson, A Beacon to the Society of Friends, (Manchester: 1835).

⁴⁵ Letter, JC to EC (15 February, 1835) in Isichei, 5-6.

⁴⁶ For overviews of the Quaker role, see Isichei, 3-15, 212-215 and 235-248.

⁴⁷ David Owen English Philanthropy 1660 – 1960 (Cambridge Ma.: Harvard U P, 1965) 90-6, 124-129; James Walvin, Quakers. Money and Morals (London: John Murray, 1997) 147.

⁴⁸ Walvin, 33-36.

⁴⁹ Walvin, 147-149;

⁵⁰ Epistle (1768) quoted in Walvin, The Quakers. Money and Morals 57.

indispensable and indeed characteristic duty of Christians.”⁵¹ Advice came from the Bible, for as stated, “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God” (Matthew 19:24). St. Paul’s Epistle to the Corinthians reinforced extolled the virtues of charity:

Charity suffereth long, *and* is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, it is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth.⁵²

St. Paul’s words were translated by evangelical Quakers into practical acts, and philanthropy became commonplace among evangelical Quaker families. Many, such as the Cadburys, Allens, Frys and Rowntrees became heavily involved in setting up charitable institutions and through their considerable fortunes they were able to sustain them.⁵³ For example, in 1857 Joseph Sturge wrote that he felt “strong pangs of conscience” and he felt compelled to direct his fortune to charity and anti-slavery work.⁵⁴ In the opinion of Quaker banker Samuel Gurney, charity had value to both recipient and benefactor; in this life and the next. In his words charity offered a “supernatural insurance,” to ensure “a good market above.”⁵⁵

It was especially important that Quaker women participated in the same philanthropic milieu as their male kin.⁵⁶ Quaker women’s practical participation in the abolition movement was noted by Thomas Clarkson, who in 1806 wrote of their laudable “public character.” In Clarkson’s opinion this was noteworthy, and it created “a new era in female history.”⁵⁷ Whilst appearing new to Clarkson, public sphere female activity was actually enshrined in traditional Quaker practice. The faith was co-founded by Margaret Fell (1614 – 1702) and from the beginning, the Testimony of Equality ensured that Quaker women

⁵¹ William Wilberforce, A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country Contrasted with Real Christianity (London, 1797) 50 in Frank Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy in Victorian England (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) 9.

⁵² I Corinthians 13:2-13. St. Paul devotes two chapters to the virtues of charity.

⁵³ John Punshon, Portrait in Grey. A Short History of the Quakers (London: Quaker Books, 2006) 189-194.

⁵⁴ Joseph Sturge (c.1857), quoted in Stephen Hobhouse, Joseph Sturge. His Life and Work (London: Dent, 1919) 16.

⁵⁵ Samuel Gurney, (1867) quoted in Isichei, 214.

⁵⁶ Davidoff and Hall, 107-149; Elizabeth Clapp and Roy Jeffrey (eds), Women, Dissent and Anti-Slavery in Britain and America 1790 – 1865 (Oxford: O U P, 2011) “Introduction.”

⁵⁷ Clarkson, A Portraiture of Quakerism vol 3 289-95.

were regarded as spiritual equals. Consequently, women were encouraged to pursue education, public culture, travel and spiritual development through ministry.⁵⁸

Whilst evangelicalism encouraged the definition and separation, of spheres of activity deemed suitable for men and women, in the case of charity work, such separations were difficult to maintain.⁵⁹ As Clare Midgley explains, evangelicalism bolstered women's activities in the social and public sphere and charity work was especially effective in breaching domestic confinement. The large extent of women's participation in charity work demonstrated women's ingenuity in "finding practical ways of working around" the restrictions of the spheres.⁶⁰ Elizabeth Chandler, the evangelical Quaker poet and promoter of free produce explained what this meant for women. Chandler wrote, "It is on all sides acknowledged, that the domestic circle is the proper sphere of woman," but she added "We do not say that her talents and influence should be confined within these boundaries." Chandler reinforced that it was an essential duty to apply her practical usefulness to the relief of suffering of others. She explained, "If homebred usefulness forms no part of her character ... she fails one half of her perfection."⁶¹ Chandler's beliefs had a biblical basis, for as stated in Proverbs, "She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea she reacheth forth her hands to the needy." (Proverbs 31:20). Thus woman's actions in 'reaching forth' were validated, and moreover, were sacralised as part of Christian devotion and duty.⁶² The charitable work of evangelical Quaker women was therefore a demonstration of feminine personality and Christian duty.⁶³ Evangelicalism reinforced that it was very acceptable for Quaker women to enact charity work across the domestic, social and public spheres and this was the case for Eleanor Clark.⁶⁴ It was evident that Clark was extremely devout, for

⁵⁸ Isichei, 107-112.

⁵⁹ For discussions of separate spheres see: Davidoff and Hall especially 149-183, 416-450; Catherine Hall, White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992); Amanda Vickery, "Historiographical Review. Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A review of categories and chronology of English women's history," Historical Journal 36 (1993) 383-414; Eileen Yeo, Radical Femininity. Women's Self-Representation in the Public Sphere (Manchester: Manchester U P, 1998) and Morgan, A Victorian Woman's Place.

⁶⁰ Clare Midgley, Feminism and Empire. Women Activists in Imperial Britain 1790 – 1865 (London: Routledge, 2007) 43.

⁶¹ Chandler, "Influence of Slavery on the Female Character," in Lundy, Essays 117. This echoes Elizabeth Heyrick, An Appeal to the Hearts and Consciences of British Women (London: n.p., 1828).

⁶² Holton, Quaker Women 1-8, 116.

⁶³ Carol Lasser, "Immediatism, Dissent and Gender: Women and the Sentimentalization of Transatlantic Anti-Slavery Appeals," in Clapp and Jeffrey, 111-131.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth O'Donnell, "'Woman's Rights and Woman's Duties': Quaker Women in the Nineteenth Century with Special Reference to the Newcastle Monthly Meeting of Woman Friends," (unpublished PhD thesis, U of Sunderland, 2000)143.

example as seen in her poem, “Alleluia! Alleluia! Jesus Died for Thee and Me,” written in 1862. The poem showed that after the death of her beloved cousin, Clark felt comforted by “Christ’s love.”⁶⁵ As Clark was dying, she wrote that she was happy to be “in a loving father’s hands” and that she believed, “he will do all things well.”⁶⁶

Quaker mothers such as Amy Metford Stephens, the mother of Eleanor Clark, were vital in shaping children’s attitudes and values. Thompson recalled that their mother was a strong role model, who ran the nursery with wisdom, some of which she obtained from a Quaker book of advice on childrearing, written by Mrs Gurney Hoare.⁶⁷ Hoare was a liberal educator, who encouraged parents’ to respect and encourage their children.⁶⁸ She stressed that kindness and generosity should be established, and that keeping busy was fundamental to moral well-being. As Hoare explained “Idleness is the inlet to most evils, so it is by industry that the powers of the mind are turned to good account.”⁶⁹ Other Quaker advice literature concurred with Hoare. For example, James Mott’s book on the education of children advised the “habits of industry” to be learned at home.⁷⁰ Advice was put into practice, as Amy Stephens sang to her children:

The truest enjoyment consists in employment
In having something to do,
I pity the child who is forced to run wild,
Without any object in view.⁷¹

Commitment to hard work, or the so-called ‘Protestant work ethic,’ together with commitment to public culture was much in evidence in the Stephens family.⁷² The family worked long hours at the drapery store and they were deeply committed to serving the local and Quaker communities.⁷³ They were also active in political life; in the general election of 1835, the family campaigned for John Romilly, the Whig candidate for Bridport. Eleanor Clark wrote a poetical address, “To the Electors of Bridport:”

⁶⁵ EC, “Alleluia! Alleluia! Jesus Died for Thee and Me” (1862) AGT, HSHC 55.

⁶⁶ Letter, EC to her sister Rebecca Thompson (16 March, 1879) AGT, HSHC 55.

⁶⁷ Thompson, “Journal,” in M. Stephens, 114. Thompson describes the discipline and routines she instilled.

⁶⁸ Mrs. Hoare, Hints For the Improvement of Early Education and Nursery Discipline (London: Hatchard, 1819).

⁶⁹ Hoare, 98.

⁷⁰ James Mott, Observations on the Education of Children: and Hints to Young People on the Duties of Civil Life (York: 1819) 26-7.

⁷¹ Thompson, “Journal,” in M. Stephens, 114.

⁷² The Protestant work ethic has generated a vast literature and strong debate. See Colin Campbell, The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism (London: Alcuin Academics, 2005 [1987]), 1-15, 99-138.

⁷³ M. Stephens, 114-116.

Who would Tory banners wave?
Who would fetter Negro slaves? Who would be a turn-coat knave?
Vote for Tories and slavery!
Who for Freeman's rights and laws,
Firmly stood – no longer pause!
And us, in our glorious cause
Vote again for Romilly!

By oppression's heavy chains
By the blood on Erin's plains
[illegible] Their proffered pains
And elect our Romilly!
We have doomed the Tories' fate
Brother! 'Tis for you we call!
Be our watch word, one and all,
Church reform and Romilly!⁷⁴

This political poem makes it clear that Clark was brought up to express strong opinions, and to engage with the public arena of politics and reform.

Clark's Domestic, Social and Public Roles

In 1835, Eleanor Clark was married to James Clark of Street, and she set up home in 'Netherleigh,' the villa built by her husband in the centre of the village. This established her in married, domestic life and brought her into the social and public lives of the village and its wide spectrum of activities.⁷⁵ According to the "Household Accounts of James and Eleanor Clark," kept by the couple from 1835 until 1838, their outgoings included a number of regular subscriptions to a wide range of philanthropic causes.⁷⁶ These were listed as, "The Clothing Meeting;" "The Penny Clothing Society;" "The Infant Penny Clothing;" "The Bible Society;" "The Missionary Society;" "The British and Foreign School;" "The Irish Evangelical Society;" and "The Anti-Slavery Society."⁷⁷ In addition, the Clarks sold proverbs, books and prints, which raised money for charitable causes. For example, in October 1838, they collected seven shillings for anti-slavery, seven shillings for the village school and nine shillings for the sale of books, for an unknown cause.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ ES, "Letter to the Electors of Bridport," (January 1835) AGT, MIL 47/04

⁷⁵ Michael McGarvie, The Book of Street. A History From Earliest Times until 1925 (Buckingham: Barracuda, 1975) 129.

⁷⁶ "Account Book of Eleanor and James Clark," (11th mo, 1835 – 12th mo, 1838) AGT HSHC 52. This contains 60 double pages of daily expenditure, and lists of expenses and incomes.

⁷⁷ "Account Book," Records of donations appear across the period 11th mo, 1835 – 12th mo, 1838.

⁷⁸ "Account Book," (23rd, 10th mo, 1838).

Their home became a hub for charitable and social sphere activity. For example, in the kitchen, James and Cyrus Clark formed the Street Teetotal Society in January, 1835. Here it continued to meet until the temperance hall was completed in 1847. The kitchen, rather than the drawing room was customary for meetings, for as Edward Milligan points out, this is where Quaker business was often conducted.⁷⁹ This makes a contrast with non-Quaker culture, which tended to make greater separation between private and public spaces in the home, and specifically used the dining room, parlour or drawing room for visitors or groups.⁸⁰ The use of the kitchen was also significant, for this was woman's terrain, and it was symbolic of woman's domestic authority in the household. The importance of the Quaker woman's kitchen was emphasised in Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852) by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Stowe portrayed the kitchen of Quaker Rachel Halliday as a paragon of domestic order, superintended by the females of the household. It was also a social space where visitors were welcomed, anti-slavery activity was organised, and sanctuary was given to fugitive slaves.⁸¹

Clark wrote about aspects of her life in many letters written to her husband and children, in her "Memoranda," a private journal she kept between 1837 and 1838, and in her contributions to "Village Album."⁸² It is evident that she was absorbed in establishing and running the home and caring for her children. She was an affectionate mother, who enjoyed the company of babies and children, and who took the responsibilities of parenting very seriously indeed.⁸³ Clark was anxious when the children became ill, and she wrote poignantly about the grief she felt at the death of two of her children; her son Thomas Bryant in 1852, and her daughter Mabel Bryant in 1872.⁸⁴ Clark died from tuberculosis in 1879, and all the family gathered for the funeral, except one daughter, Florence Clark

⁷⁹ Milligan, x.

⁸⁰ Lynne Walker and Vron Ware, "Political Pincushions; Decorating the Abolitionist Interior 1787-1865," in Inga Bryden & Janet Floyd (eds) Domestic Space. Reading the Nineteenth Century Interior (Manchester: M U P, 1999) 58-84, 66.

⁸¹ Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America (London: Wordsworth Classics, 1995) [London, 1852] Chapter xiii "The Quaker Settlement" 124-129.

⁸² "Memoranda of Eleanor Clark," (23rd, 3rd Mo, 1837 – unknown date, 1838). This records EC's hobbies and interests - flora, fauna, the natural world, gardens, ferns, grapevines, pets and fishing.

⁸³ Letters, EC to JC, (31st 7th mo, 1846) wrote of the "considerable responsibility" she felt in parenting 7 children. (19th, 9th Mo, 1839) wrote of pleasure at seeing baby Amy Jane paddle in the sea for the first time. (8th, 2nd Mo, 1841) she wondered if she idolised the children too much and writes of her joy at baby Fanny.

⁸⁴ In 1846 there was a crisis when William fell and cut through his lip. The letters EC wrote to JC, (6th, 9th, 14th, 6th Mo, 1844) show her horror, difficulties in nursing him and fears that he would not recover. "Account of the death of Thomas Bryant," (n.d., ?1872) and letters, EC to Florence Clark Impey, (11th, 7th Mo, 1872) and to JC, (25th, 5th Mo, 1873) AGT HSHC 55 tell of her devastation at the deaths.

Impey who was too ill from tuberculosis, to travel from a clinic in Switzerland.⁸⁵ James wrote to console her, emphasising Eleanor's maternal devotion, "She was in constant communion with her children and did all she could to contribute to their happiness and welfare."⁸⁶

Clark shared interests and hobbies with her husband and her letters to him suggest that the marriage was harmonious and mutually affectionate.⁸⁷ Friction however occurred when James was away from home on business trips to clients, which he was obliged to perform until two salesmen for the firm were appointed in 1847.⁸⁸ Clark's letters to her absent husband provide much information, and it is clear that she found periods of sole responsibility for the family both isolating and emotionally draining.⁸⁹ She often expressed her disaffection, for example in 1843 she wrote, "I do feel lonely week after week to spend the evenings alone."⁹⁰ It should also be pointed out that Eleanor's health fluctuated, and she had long periods of illness, especially after the birth of the children. Towards the end of her life she was an invalid, confined to her room and nursed by her daughters Sophia and Ann.⁹¹ More cheerful letters were written from holidays with the children and her mother and sisters, at Burnham-on-Sea, where she practised sea-bathing to improve her strength.⁹²

Although the Clarks employed a number of residential and daily staff in the general household, nursery, kitchen and garden, Clark's letters suggest that home was busy and crowded with children and that her domestic duties were relentlessly demanding.⁹³ It appears that at times the challenges of home caused considerable frustration, for example in 1843, she complained that she was too busy to write properly, "I am sometimes almost ready to wish that the penny post had not been invented – it does not seem so very often

⁸⁵ Family member and chest physician, Professor Peter Openshaw informs me that TB was a tabooed illness in the nineteenth century. It was not recorded as a cause of death and was so terrifying that it was quite impossible to discuss. Euphemisms such as 'delicacy' or 'weakness' were preferred (telephone conversations, March, 2012).

⁸⁶ Obituary for Eleanor Clark, Central Somerset Gazette (23 March, 1879); Letter, JC to Florence Impey in Davos (3rd Mo, 23rd, 1879) AGT, HSHC 55.

⁸⁷ "Memoranda of Eleanor Clark." EC signed letters "Thy ever loving wife," and JC reciprocated by addressing his to, "My dearest love."

⁸⁸ Museum of Shoemaking, C. & J. Clark, Street.

⁸⁹ Letter, EC to JC, (31st, 7th mo, 1846).

⁹⁰ Letter, EC to JC, (1843) AGT HSHC 53.

⁹¹ Holton, Quaker Women 154

⁹² Letters, EC to JC, from Burnham-on-Sea, (6th, 7th and 8th Mo, 1839), (19th 9th Mo, 1839) AGT MIL 47/04.

⁹³ In the Census (1850), three residential servants were listed, and letters and photographs refer to nannies, housemaids, nursery maids and gardeners. See letters, EC to JC, (9th, 6th mo, 1844) AGT, MIL 47/04.

[possible] to write when there are many things to do.”⁹⁴ Clark greatly enjoyed sewing, and in addition to making articles for the family and home, she undertook recreational embroidery projects. The “Account Book” shows that she frequently bought cloth and over the two year period it listed seventy four occasions on which she purchased diverse items for sewing.⁹⁵ One entry was for “muslin for curtains” (1836), costing thirteen shillings and another was for “print” (1837), costing eighteen shillings, which were considerable outlays for the home.⁹⁶

Clark was kept extremely busy with the ordinary sewing and upkeep of the family’s clothing. In one letter written in 1837, she wrote, “Thou must excuse this [letter] being shorter, for I have not yet mended all thy shirts.”⁹⁷ In the same letter she wrote that she had temporarily engaged a servant called Mary to tackle the family’s sewing. As she explained, “I happened to have a good deal of needlework on hand and I have forthwith engaged her to stay a while as it is much cheaper than putting out.”⁹⁸ In another, written in 1843, she wrote that she was too tired to carry out her needlework. She wrote with great feeling:

As to my needlework, it comes to nothing, when if one thing or another is done there seems no time for settlement and really by the evening I am too tired to sew unless I had someone to sit down with ... oh I do wish thee [sic] journeys had an end but no sooner are you home for us than another turns up – it is indeed very trying.⁹⁹

Clark’s complaint was serious, for needlework was important to her feminine identity and not being able to sew was not only personally frustrating, it represented a dent to her womanly character. The importance of handicrafts in Clark’s life can be seen in a studio portrait photograph of her, showing her engaged in winding wool, or knitting (Figure 4.1). This interesting photograph communicated to the world how she wished to be seen; feminine and busy with handicrafts.

Clare Rose explains that in the nineteenth century all essential and recreational needle and hand-crafts such as sewing, embroidery, knitting, lace-making and crochet were so

⁹⁴ Letter, EC to JC, (n.d., 1843) AGT, HSHC 53.

⁹⁵ “Account Book,” lists multiple items, for example, “diverse haberdashery” 8s 9½d (1st, 4th mo, 1836); “Cloth for a cape” 8s 8d (14th, 4th mo, 1836); “Two yards silk” 4s 8d (27th 11th mo, 1837); “flannel” 13s 6d (27th, 11th mo, 1837); “6 yards long cloth” 5s (20th, 12th mo, 1837); “calico and cotton” 4s 3½d (? 8th mo, 1838) and “prints, linings and cheesecloth” 5s (9th, 11th mo, 1838).

⁹⁶ “Account Book,” “muslins for curtains” 13s (16th, 5th mo, 1836) and “print,” 18s (2nd, 10th mo, 1837).

⁹⁷ Letter, EC to JC, (10th mo, 31st, 1837) AGT, HSHC 53.

⁹⁸ Letter, EC to JC, (10th Mo, 1837) AGT, HSHC 53.

⁹⁹ Letter, EC to JC, (1843) AGT, HSHC 53.

unequivocally feminine, that they were known simply as ‘woman’s work.’¹⁰⁰ Women’s sewing loads were exceedingly heavy, for until the last quarter of the century, the vast majority of all textile items were made at home, crafted by women, either by hand or less frequently, by sewing machine. All domestic textile items such as curtains, bedding and cloths had to be made and maintained, as did all the clothing worn by the household, which usually included large numbers of children. In the prosperous middle classes there was great pride in well-maintained clothing and consequently there was much sewing to be done for the occupants of these large households.¹⁰¹ Thus ‘women’s work’ was essential, and it played a significant part in the construction of feminine identity.¹⁰² So important was the association of sewing with the feminine that it became a ‘prop,’ used in the imaging of women abolitionists. This was shown in the photographic visiting card of Sojourner Truth, the renowned American anti-slavery and feminist campaigner (Figure 4.2). This card showed her posed with knitting in hand, and asserting a public femininity precisely through handicrafts, which defined women as useful and productive.¹⁰³

The weight of Clark’s domestic commitments also interfered with her ability to devote herself to Quaker worship. In 1841, she wrote to her husband that she found herself “too busy to attend meeting,” and she asked him “what dost thou think of this?”¹⁰⁴ Since non-attendance at meeting was considered a breach of Quaker duty, the conflict Eleanor felt may have been considerable. This fits with the findings of Davidoff and Hall, who explain that women’s religious activity was frequently curtailed, for “[the] Maelstrom of family life ... could hardly have been conducive to a quietly contemplative religious experience.”¹⁰⁵ Religious frustration may have boosted Clark’s commitment to serve God in ways that she could, for example through her charitable work. This practical approach was shared by her kinswomen Anna Maria Priestman, who in 1848, wrote that she felt

¹⁰⁰ Clare Rose (ed), Clothing, Society and Culture in the Nineteenth Century 3 Vols (London: Chatto, 2011) Vol 3 xiv.

¹⁰¹ For the burden of women’s housework and sewing in the 19th century see Ruth Schwartz Cowan, More Work for Mother. The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open hearth to the Microwave (New York: Basic Books, 1983) chapter 3.

¹⁰² Rozsika Parker, The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine (London: Women’s Press, 1984) 173.

¹⁰³ Beverly Gordon, Textiles: The Whole Story. Uses meanings, Significance (London: Thames and Hudson, 2011) 188. For a discussion of Truth’s public femininity see Heather Prishtash, Inez Schaechterle and Sue Carter, “The Needle and the Pen: Intentionality, Needlework and the Production of Alternate Discourses of Power,” in Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin (eds), Women and the Material Culture of Needlework and Textiles 1750 – 1950 (London: Ashgate, 2009) 13-31, 18.

¹⁰⁴ Letter, EC to JC, (31st, 1st mo, 1841) AGT MIL 47/04.

¹⁰⁵ Davidoff and Hall, 90; Durham, 19-41.

guided, “To try to do *good* to others ... shall please our Father in Heaven.”¹⁰⁶ The principle of ‘doing good’ to please God, was also applied to using free labour cotton. As Chandler explained in her poem, “Free Labour Cotton,” this was likened to the actions of a biblical woman, who anointed of the head of a leper with precious oils. Chandler wrote,

Let us seek to win the blessing,
Which the Saviour gave to one,
Who the costly ointment poured,
Whilst the Master she adored – “What she *could*, that she hath done.”¹⁰⁷

Eleanor Clark became part of a close-knit working group of roughly twenty kinswomen, who were involved in a spectrum of public sphere activities in the village. The majority were Friends from her extended family, and fifteen of the women attended the local Quaker Women’s Monthly Meeting. Women’s names recorded in the Meeting’s “Minute Book” were, Keturah, Julia, Catherine and Sarah Clothier; Sarah Gundry; Ann Stephens; Eliza and Martha Palmer; Martha Gillett; Eleanor, Sarah and Martha Clark; Christina Motley; Elizabeth Gregory; and Mary Anna Impey.¹⁰⁸ Some of the group also participated in other activities, notably the Street Sewing Circle; the Street Olive Leaf Society; and the Penny Offering (see Appendices 2 & 10 for names). Women in the group had close and affectionate friendships, for example Clark’s grief was intense as she mourned the death of her cousin, Julia Clothier.¹⁰⁹

Clark and her women friends were also interested in politics, and later in the century, some women from these families would become famous in national campaigns for women’s health, education and suffrage and in founding the Liberal Party. Especially notable was Helen Priestman Bright Clark, the daughter of John Bright M.P, who married Clark’s son William in 1866.¹¹⁰ Helen acknowledged Clark’s interest in politics, when she wrote to her, hoping to gain her support for the inclusion of women’s voting rights in the forthcoming Parliamentary Reform Bill. This was tabled by her father, and supported by

¹⁰⁶ Letter, Anna Maria Priestman to Jane Pease (17 October, 1848) AGT MIL 22/01 in Holton Quaker Women 116. Anna Maria Priestman, (1828-1914) was the aunt and governess of Helen Priestman Bright who married William Stephens Clark in 1866.

¹⁰⁷ “E,” (Chandler) “Free Labour Cotton,” The British Friend (4th Mo 1849); Mark 14:1-8 describes the actions of the woman, who anointed the head of Simon of Bethany.

¹⁰⁸ “Minute Book. Women’s Monthly Meeting Book, Middle Division, Somerset 1845 – 1874,” Somerset Records office, Taunton DD/SFR.m26.

¹⁰⁹ Letter, EC to JC, (7th mo, 28th, 1837) AGT HSHC 53 which records the carriage trip taken by Eleanor and the children to see “Aunt Keturah” at Overleigh; EC, “Alleluia! Alleluia! Jesus Died for Thee and Me.”

¹¹⁰ Holton, Quaker Women 131-147, 163-222.

John Stuart Mill. Clark supplied the petition with eighteen or nineteen signatures from her group of “independent lady friends.”¹¹¹

The Anti-Slavery Activism of Eleanor and James Clark

Anti-slavery activism thrived in the village, and Clark was able to express her commitment through many campaigns, either in joint participation with her husband, or with other campaigners. An early record of their joint participation is in the couple’s accounts which recorded a collection on unspecified dates for the Anti-Slavery Society, to which James was listed as a subscriber. The couple also collected money from kin, for the accounts record that one pound was collected from J. Gillett and J. Motley, and ten shillings from John Clothier and Joseph, James, Cyrus and Fanny Clark.¹¹²

The Clarks were also linked to anti-slavery activity in America. This is evidenced by a letter, written from Eleanor to James in 1843, whilst he was on a business trip, informing him that “a distinguished American visitor” had arrived to stay at the house.¹¹³ The visitor was the Quaker abolitionist, James Canning Fuller (d.1857), from New York State who had arrived to stay with the Clarks whilst he held anti-slavery meetings in the area. Lydia and James Fuller were Quakers from Bristol, who in 1833 emigrated to Skaneateles, near Syracuse in New York State. Here they continued to work for the cause, working closely with John Greenleaf Whittier, Lucretia Mott and Gerritt Smith. From 1841, their home became a ‘station’ on the Underground Railroad. After Fuller’s death, Frederick Douglass made a generous tribute to him in his paper North Star.¹¹⁴ Eleanor Clark was aware that her husband would be disappointed not to see him, for she wrote, “I do so very much regret thy missing him ... He is just the same as ever flush-faced often ... I always did like him in spite of his manner and I like him still.”¹¹⁵

The Clarks also wrote articles on anti-slavery activism for the “Village Album,” for example, James’ essay, “Sojourner Truth” and Eleanor’s essay, “Lines Written on the

¹¹¹ Letter, HPB to William Clark, (17 May, 1866) AGT, MIL 10/05 in Holton, Quaker Women 144.

¹¹² “Accounts” on the flyleaf, a total of £4 10s was recorded.

¹¹³ Letter, EC to JC, (28th 7th mo, 1843) AGT, HSHC 53.

¹¹⁴ Anonymous article, “The Freedom Trail” online at <http://www.pacny.net/freedom_trail/fuller.html> (accessed 14 June, 2011). It references Frederick Douglass, North Star (13 April, 1857).

¹¹⁵ Letter, EC to JC, (28th 7th mo, 1843) page 2.

Death of John Brown.”¹¹⁶ In 1861 Eleanor wrote a long essay entitled “Cotton,” under the pen name “Eva,” which was a reference to Uncle Tom’s Cabin. This essay is an important and revealing piece and it merits close examination. Unusually, it was not transcribed by the Album’s editor, John Aubrey Clark, and hence Clark’s own emphases and revisions may be seen.¹¹⁷ The essay was written on the eve of the American Civil War and she addressed her readers, “Thinking it might be interesting at this time I will try to give a sketch of cotton history and the state of things in America.” She questioned, “What would be the consequences if war was to break out between North and South?” She reasoned that war would halt cotton production for, “Fighting and cotton growing should not get on together [for] the South would have to fight with one hand and keep down the black population with the other.” She wrote that America was on the verge of disaster, “The horrors of the Judean history would be again brought before us and there would be an end of cotton from that part of the world for some time.”¹¹⁸

Clark explained that the crisis also offered an opportunity to find new sources for raw cotton, and especially, “a chance ... [to] get cotton from Western Africa.” Clark wrote that cotton was grown near the missionary station at Abeokuta. In her opinion, this was “unpleasantly near the King of Dahomey’s dominions, a camp where atrocities are too well known.” She wrote that increasing quantities of West African cotton were now being shipped from Lagos, which were of “slightly inferior qualities” and required “mixing with other sorts.” Clark discussed the matter of free or waged labour, and she was anxious about conditions in “the north east of Australia,” for here cotton was grown by Chinese coolies, which she believed was “a polite meaning of Slavery.” Clark wrote with interest that there were efforts to establish the emigration of ex-slaves to the island of Haiti. Steps were being taken, “to get the blacks from America, giving them a free passage (I think) and grants of land on the Island to establish cotton-growing on former sugar plantations.”¹¹⁹ This refers to plans for the establishment of cotton-growing colonies in the West Indies and West Africa, and emigration of ex-slaves from America to join the labour forces in these

¹¹⁶ James Clark, “Sojourner Truth,” “Village Album” Vol XXX AGT, VA1. Unfortunately this volume is missing from the archive, and has not been consulted; Eleanor Clark, “Lines Written on the Death of John Brown,” Village Album” Vol X AGT VA1.

¹¹⁷ “Eva,” (EC) “Cotton,” “Village Album” Vol XIV (1861) AGT, VA1.

¹¹⁸ “Eva,” “Cotton.”

¹¹⁹ “Eva,” “Cotton.” (1861).

locations.¹²⁰ As mentioned, in the 1850s and 1860s emigration and colonisation plans were heavily promoted by Robert Campbell, Henry Highland Garnet and Robert Delany, who envisaged an expansion of settlements in Nigeria and Liberia.¹²¹ Garnet's arguments became widely reported in the anti-slavery and free produce press, and were popular among the free produce community. In 1861 he described cotton-growing as an especially productive collaboration between Britain and Africa, "Anglo-Saxon energy and African industry ... the white hand of England and the black hand of Africa stuck together as a sign of unconquerable determination."¹²² As seen in Clark's essay, the opinions of leading African-American abolitionists guided the free produce community towards positive views on emigration, cotton colonies in Africa and the establishment of new trading partnerships

Clark was also aware that at the time of writing in 1861, cotton was becoming scarce. She feared that complete cessation of the American supply would be deeply felt in the British cotton industry. Clark's prediction that "[It] would put half the spinners out of employ" proved to be a realistic one. Clark felt a sense of hopelessness and impending doom, in her words, "makes us turn away and hope that some means will occur to save us from such a calamity."¹²³ On the conditions endured by slaves on plantations, Clark's emotions were evident, for the passage was written hastily, with little punctuation and several revisions. Clark explained that the price of raw cotton in Britain had a direct effect on the slave's work, "When the price rises but half a farthing in the English market the poor slave feels the effects in harder driving and severe punishment if his or her work falls short." She gave details of the gruelling calendar of "the terrible work" in farming a thirty or forty acre field. Slaves were forced to toil, "without straightening themselves for a minute to say nothing of the burning sun [~~crossed out and re-written~~] in their back and heads." Clark explained that during harvest, they were under particular duress, "urged till they are ready to drop [~~illegible~~] weary and exhausted by hunger the heat and the cruel driving." Clark made an emotional statement, "if those [~~illegible~~, possibly 'black'] plantations could speak what tales of cruelty we should hear but which will be heard in the Day of awful

¹²⁰ See Peter Ripley, The Black Abolitionist Papers Volume I, The British Isles 1830 – 1865 (Chapel Hill, NC: U of N C P, 1985) 5-17, 28-30, 589-527.

¹²¹ Ripley, 447, 489; Howard Bell, "Search for a Place: Black Separationism and Africa" in Robert Haynes (ed) Blacks in White America Before 1865. Issues and Interpretations (NY: Mackay and Company, 1972) 428-444.

¹²² Henry Highland Garnet, The African Times (23 October, 1861) in Ripley, 517

¹²³ "Eva," "Cotton."

account.”¹²⁴ Clark’s view that slavery was a sin was shared by many abolitionists and sinfulness was frequently cited as a primary anti-slavery argument.¹²⁵

Clark’s essay evidences that she was deeply committed to the avoidance of American slave-grown cotton and to the procurement of free labour alternatives. In 1861, her fears for the British cotton industry were considerable, and she understood that a direct consequence of war in America was that American cotton production would cease. This demonstrates the conflicts she felt; as an opponent of slavery, whilst mindful that severing connections with America would devastate the British cotton industry.

Eleanor Clark and American Anti-Slavery Fairs

From the 1840s, Quakers became increasingly approving of commercial fairs for fundraising and charitable purposes, and they became enthusiastic contributors. The change in attitude may be read in the Quaker press. For example in 1845, The Friend objected strongly to a ‘Free Trade Bazaar’ which it described as “disreputable” and “stamped of the world.”¹²⁶ In 1855 however, it encouraged visitors to Yearly Meeting to pay a visit to ‘The Grand Free Labour Bazaar’ staged by Elihu Burritt in at the London Free Labour Depot.¹²⁷

During the 1840s, Eleanor Clark was involved with an anti-slavery fair run by the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society in Boston (MFES). Her activity is evidenced by surviving letters from Martha Ball, the fairs’ organiser to Clark, written on the back of pamphlets, dating to 1842 and 1843.¹²⁸ The MFES part of the thriving milieu of female anti-slavery societies in New England during the 1830s and 1840s, many of whom staged annual fairs to raise funds for the national or local anti-slavery societies. As Debra Gold Hansen explains, the city of Boston had several male and female anti-slavery societies,

¹²⁴ “Eva,” “Cotton.”

¹²⁵ For example, Elizabeth Heyrick, Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition: an Enquiry into the Shortest, Safest and Most Effectual Means of Getting Rid of West Indian Slavery (London, 1824); Chandler, “Obedience,” in Lundy, Essays 82-4.

¹²⁶ “Free-Trade Bazaar,” The Friend (6th Mo, 1845).

¹²⁷ “League of Brotherhood,” The Friend (6th Mo, 1851) and “Free Labour Bazaar,” (4th Mo, 1855).

¹²⁸ Martha Ball, Appeal of the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society (Boston: May, 1842) with additional letter, MB to EC, (8th Mo, 16th, 1842), LRSF, MS 8:4; Martha Ball, Address of the Committee of the Fair in Aid of the Massachusetts Abolition Society (Boston: August, 1843) with additional letter from MB to EC, (9th Mo, 15th 1843) LRSF, 8:4 8.

who were committed to different abolitionists and who competed for support.¹²⁹ The Boston Fair raised funds for the Boston Anti-Slavery Society (BASS) and William Lloyd Garrison, and the MFES supported the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society (MASS), which raised funds for Louis Tappan. The MFES was a small society, founded in 1839 by evangelical Baptist sisters, Lucy and Martha Ball, and Lucy and Mary Parker, who had split from the larger, Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society in the city. The MFES objected to the fancy, high-profile Boston Fair, run by Maria Chapman and her sisters. The two societies were quite different in nature; the MFES was small and modest, formed of evangelical women from the middle and lower classes, and the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society was large and ambitious, formed of women from higher income groups. Accordingly, their respective fairs reflected differing approaches to making and selling goods and raising funds for anti-slavery.¹³⁰

As their name suggests, the MFES campaigned for votes for women, which it reasoned would bring a decisive end to slavery. Pitched at women, they used emotive rhetoric, for example, in 1843, Mary Parker urged women to free their “whipped and manacled” sisters.¹³¹ The MFES drew support from devout, evangelical women, and in Britain endorsement came from the Birmingham Ladies’ Negro’s Friend Society. They shared certain biblical mottoes, such as, “Remember those in bonds as bound with them” (Hebrews 13:3) and “Be not weary in well doing” (II Thessalonians 3:13). The connection with Birmingham provided the connection with Eleanor Clark, via her friendship with Hannah and Sophia Sturge.¹³² The two surviving letters (1842 and 1843) show that Sophia Sturge had recommended that Ball should contact Clark, in order to solicit donations to the forthcoming fair. The connection appears to have been fruitful, for Ball’s letters were appreciative of Clark’s donations. They also showed that the women agreed on several matters. These included temperance, the usefulness of women’s sewing and the importance of children’s participation in anti-slavery activity.

In 1842, Ball sent Clark a pamphlet entitled, Appeal of the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society, with a long letter written on the back. Written by Ball and her

¹²⁹ Debra Gold Hansen, Strained Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society (Amherst Ma.: U of Massachusetts P, 1993) 64-66.

¹³⁰ Hansen, 64-66.

¹³¹ Mary Parker, “Appeal,” Liberty Standard (18 January, 1843).

¹³² LRSF MS Box 8:4. For information on the Female Society for Birmingham, see Midgley, Women Against Slavery especially 45-47, 51-56.

committee, the pamphlet called for contributions to their forthcoming fair. The authors made an emotional appeal, to help the enslaved, “thousands of innocents, who as in the days of Herod are sacrificed on the altar of Slavery.” They wrote that towards the end of that year, there would be a sale of goods, which they hoped, would “double the previous year’s efforts” and they added that this was the best method of raising funds, “*As far as our experience teaches we know of no way more feasible.*” They hoped that sewing circles would hasten to work, to “devise liberal things for the Slave.” They did not need to specify what to make, for, “It is now so well understood that articles of *every description* are suitable for a Fair, that it is unnecessary to particularize.”¹³³

Ball’s letter to Clark thanked her profusely for the parcel that had already arrived.¹³⁴ Ball appreciated the “beautiful things so kindly forwarded by yourself and your friends.” She drew attention to a “Gypsy Lamp,” which she had previously discussed in a letter to Sophia Sturge, and for which she hoped to receive “something handsome” on a stall at the fair. Ball wrote that she hoped that the same post would bring Clark a copy of “a little gift book.” This was The Star of Emancipation, written and printed by the MFES, which was distributed in Britain by Sophia Sturge.¹³⁵ Anti-slavery gift books were popular volumes of poems and writings, sold at the annual fairs. The modest album of the MFES ran to a single edition, in contrast with Chapman’s Liberty Bell, which was published each year by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and was sold at the Boston Fair.¹³⁶ Julie Roy Jeffrey explains that gift books provided a vital forum for both established and new writers; many women, children and ex-slave writers would otherwise have been unpublished.¹³⁷ Interestingly, Clark had sent a parcel of writings to be included, but as Ball explained, these had not been printed, for they had arrived too late, having been impounded by the Post Office where they were either sold, or lost. Ball had however, planned further editions, for she encouraged Clark, her sister Ann, and their “young Friends” to send further examples of their work.¹³⁸

In 1843, Ball sent another pamphlet, Address of the Committee of the Fair, with a letter to Clark written on the back. The pamphlet was written by the Committee for the Fair,

¹³³ Ball, Appeal 2.

¹³⁴ Letter, MB to EC (8th mo, 16th, 1842).

¹³⁵ Letter, MB to EC (8th mo, 16th, 1842).

¹³⁶ The Rochester Fair also produced a giftbook, entitled Antislavery Autograph.

¹³⁷ Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army 125-132.

¹³⁸ Letter, MB to EC (8th mo, 16th, 1842).

appealing for donations to the forthcoming fair, which was fundraising for the MAS. The committee hoped that the event would raise \$430, to cover some of the debts which the Society had incurred. Ball's long letter to Clark was appreciative of the "truly valuable donations" she had already sent, and she was delighted with the "rarity and beauty" of the goods.¹³⁹ She wrote that, "The combination of color in sewing of the bags we consider beautiful in the extreme," these may have been ladies' reticules or work bags. Ball praised an "exquisite lamp stand" which she felt "will be highly ornamental to our tables." She predicted that the small items, such as embroidered cases for needles, pins, thimbles and boxes of sealing-wafers would also sell well, for in her experience, "trifles" sold well, as presents for children.¹⁴⁰ Ball also praised Clark's sewn "caps, dresses etc. [which] shall find value to us also." Above all, she was particularly pleased with the shoes, which she wrote were "the most beautiful and valuable things from your Country." It is probable that these came from C. & J. Clark, which were not yet marketed in America, and were therefore valued for their rarity.¹⁴¹

The letters from Ball are illuminating, for they identified what Clark chose to send, and what reactions the goods received. It is significant that Ball was delighted with all of the goods, for she was aware that stalls needed a variety of wares, to suit different pockets and tastes. Organisers were required to have shrewd knowledge of the market, and they needed a good knowledge of what would sell. In Ball's letter dating to 1843, she wrote that she would put everything out for sale, for "indeed nothing ever comes out of place at a Fair" and "the more variety the better."¹⁴² Importantly she added that she would "take pleasure in showing them with the labels attached" (her emphasis).¹⁴³ The use of labels suggests several interpretations, the first being that these specified that the goods were British, in contrast to American ones. Examples of British specialities popular in America were Irish linen, lace from Honiton, cutlery from Sheffield and Scottish items such as sketches of scenery or tartan goods.¹⁴⁴ British goods were attractive for a number of reasons, not least

¹³⁹ Letter, MB to EC, (9th Mo, 15th, 1843).

¹⁴⁰ Letter, MB to EC (9th Mo, 15th, 1843).

¹⁴¹ Letter, MB to EC (9th Mo, 15th, 1843).

¹⁴² Letter, MB to EC (9th Mo, 15th, 1843).

¹⁴³ Letter, MB to EC (9th Mo, 15th, 1843).

¹⁴⁴ "Request for goods" The British Friend (5th mo, 1846); Broekhoven, 26.

because they were symbolic of successful anti-slavery agitation, which had achieved the Abolition and Emancipation Acts.¹⁴⁵

Another interpretation is that labels may have carried abolitionist slogans, which captured the sentiments of the movement and were highly popular at fairs.¹⁴⁶ For example, Liberator (1837) reported that a Ladies' Fair in Philadelphia sold bundles of quill pens with the label, "Twenty-five Weapons for Abolitionists." Pen-wipers were sold with the label, "Blot out Slavery," needle-books with the phrase "May the use of our needles prick the conscience of the Slave-holder" and sealing-wax boxes with the caption, "The doom of Slavery is sealed."¹⁴⁷ Abolitionist slogans such as these enhanced goods in a number of ways. They made them visually appealing; they provided a conversation point; they were educational; they cemented shared beliefs; and under the guise of humour, they reinforced potent messages. The highly political views that they carried became acceptable, precisely because they were attached to ordinary domestic items.¹⁴⁸ Items with slogans sold well to women and girls, thus their messages were insinuated into the home where they provided an omnipresent propaganda.¹⁴⁹ Jeffrey explains the importance of abolitionist objects with slogans:

As one fair circular suggested, such items were "useful in a double capacity." Whilst the sale of these goods brought in money, their creation and use hammered in the basic antislavery message. As women made the articles, they continually recalled the purpose of their work. Those who bought them were reminded in the course of simple, daily tasks – wiping one's pen, writing letters – of the necessity of emancipation.¹⁵⁰

Whilst slogans may have been too overt for some female groups, given Clark's outspoken political views as seen in her poem, "To the Electors of Bridport," it is likely that she would have been happy to incorporate them into her work. Her poetical phrases, "Who

¹⁴⁵ Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army 125.

¹⁴⁶ Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army 116-7.

¹⁴⁷ Liberator (2 January, 1837).

¹⁴⁸ Broekhoven, 27-29, explains that some goods sold at American fairs were overtly political, such as work bags (1836) stamped with "Little Med," a slave girl brought to Boston by her Louisiana owner, with the caption "Slavery was abolished in Massachusetts, by adoption of the Bill of Rights as part of the Constitution, A.D. 1780."

¹⁴⁹ Andrea Atkin, "'When Pincushions are Periodicals': Women's Work, Race and Material objects in Female Abolitionism," ATQ 11:2 (June, 1997): 93-113.

¹⁵⁰ Jeffrey The Great Silent Army 117.

would fetter Negro slaves?” and “Brother” ‘Tis for you we call!” suggested similar rallying sentiments to those seen in the slogans.¹⁵¹

Another reason for labels was the classification of goods as ‘free labour,’ for as discussed, the provenance of free cotton had to be stated, and labels assumed great importance in the free cotton trade. One label, stating “free labour cotton” has survived, attached to a baby’s cotton muslin gown. It dates to the mid-nineteenth century and it is believed to have been sold at a New England fair (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4). The free labour gown will be discussed in the next chapter.

It is important to see Clark’s contributions to the MFES in the context of British women’s practical contributions overall to American anti-slavery fairs. From the 1840s American anti-slavery societies became increasingly reliant on the income from the fairs. For example, in 1847 the Boston Fair raised \$3,854, which was over half of the operating budget of the MASS, the principal auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.¹⁵² Fairs relied heavily on contributions from British women, for as Debra van Broekhoven has found, British women supplied half the goods at the Boston Fair.¹⁵³

Working for fairs took women into controversial territories; fairs were unashamedly commercial domains, and were places where goods deemed political, were put on sale. Jeffrey concludes that fairs were deeply radical, for they relied completely on female agency; they propelled women into the commercial arena; they transcended class and racial divides; and they gave political meaning to women’s work.¹⁵⁴ One woman wrote to Maria Weston Chapman, explaining that working for the Boston Fair had a transforming effect on her female friends, in her words, they felt “*abolitionised*” by the experience. Another wrote that the fair had “woken a dormant zeal, slumbering in the hearts” of her community.¹⁵⁵ The flagrant commercialism and luxurious goods seen at the Boston Fair were heavily criticised by plain societies. Chapman cleverly countered these criticisms in Liberty Bell (1839), pointing out that they struck at the “virtuous women” who made the goods, for as

¹⁵¹ ES, “Letter to the Electors of Bridport,” (January 1835) AGT, MIL 47/04.

¹⁵² Broekhoven, 31.

¹⁵³ Broekhoven, 31.

¹⁵⁴ Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army 109-124.

¹⁵⁵ Letter, Deborah Palmer to Maria Weston Chapman (1 December, 1839) in Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army 111.

she explained, “Who cast contempt on sewing-circles, /Those spheres appropriate of woman.”¹⁵⁶

The women’s sewing circles who made goods for fairs frequently queried what to make. For example in 1839, a contributor wrote to Chapman, stating that she and her sisters were more than willing to work, but were “totally ignorant of the manner of cutting and making the *right sort* of garments.”¹⁵⁷ Another contributor, Catherine Paton of Scotland was anxious whether she had sent suitable items. She wondered whether the “black satin aprons, also the check ones and the embroidered Baby cloaks” were of a “suitable type and quality,” for her sewing circle had not known precisely what to send.¹⁵⁸

Some charity fairs however were exceedingly prescriptive on the type of goods they desired. This is seen in the advertising flyer for a ‘Grand Fancy Bazaar for Ocean Penny Postage’ organised by Elihu Burritt in Manchester (1853). This was held to raise funds for his campaign to reduce transatlantic postal rates.¹⁵⁹ The flyer is archived with Clark’s papers in LRSF, relating to the Olive Leaf Circle. It informed readers what goods would be welcomed at the fair:

Children’s dresses, especially such as are modern and tasteful in pattern, articles of Clothing for the Poor, articles in Berlin Work, Babies’ Hoods, Caps, Mantles, Baby Linen, Dressed Dolls Chair Covers, Invalid Blankets, Ornamental Aprons, D’Oyleys, Knitted Shawls, Netted Shawls, and Kerchiefs, Hosiery, Shoes, Gloves, Slippers, Straw Goods, Articles for the Workbox, Desk, Dressing Case and Toilette Table.¹⁶⁰

Burritt’s list conjures specific ideas of what was considered useful, desirable and tasteful in a particular milieu. This was a charitable fair, held in a large city, attended by philanthropic and primarily middle-class women, including Quakers. Notably, Burritt requested a variety of articles that would be suitable for charitable purposes or furnishing the middle-class home. Goods that were “modern and tasteful” and “Plain and Fancy Needlework,” were found “very saleable” on previous occasions.¹⁶¹ Burritt had a clear idea of what would sell at his fairs, which indicates a strongly market-led approach. This concurs with Jeffrey, who

¹⁵⁶ Maria Weston Chapman, “Lines” *Liberty Bell* (1839) in Broekhoven, 29.

¹⁵⁷ Letter, Elisabeth Nile to MWC (28 August, 1839) in Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army* 110.

¹⁵⁸ Letter, Catherine Paton to MWC (15 July, 1847) in Clare Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists. An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U P, 1974) 317.

¹⁵⁹ Advertising flyer, “Ocean Penny Postage Bazaar to be Held at the Exchange, Manchester on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, April 26th, 27th and 28th, 1853” (n.p., 1853.) LRSF, MS Box 8:5 15.

¹⁶⁰ “Ocean Penny Postage Bazaar,” page 1.

¹⁶¹ “Ocean Penny Postage Bazaar,” page 1.

finds that goods at American fairs were always tailored to suit their markets; from “Parisian necklaces for the promenade or drawing room” at the Boston Fair to “clothing suitable for Irish workers” at the Concord Fair, New Hampshire. Similarly the bread, pickles and cheese that sold well in rural Pennsylvania would have been seen as quite out of place in the city of Philadelphia.¹⁶² This suggests that the goods sent by Clark would have been carefully chosen, to fit with the plain values of the MFES.

Setting the correct price for goods at fairs also provoked considerable discussion. Jeffrey writes of the problems with gauging value, and some organisers were conflicted about setting a reasonable price. This has significance in understanding how Clark priced goods for sale at the Street Depot. Perhaps Clark subscribed to the pragmatic strategy shown by an organiser of an anti-slavery fair in Nantucket. In 1837 she wrote that was fearful that goods would not sell if they were too costly for customers, hence she priced goods, “for what they *would* fetch,” rather than what she thought they should fetch.¹⁶³

Choosing which anti-slavery fair to support was problematic, for as discussed, Britain was influenced by controversies within the American anti-slavery movement, especially concerning rivalry between William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass. Anxiety was felt by a contributor, a Miss Dawson in Devon, who in 1852, wrote to Mary Estlin, who organised shipments to the Boston Fair.¹⁶⁴ Dawson worried whether to support the fairs in Boston or Rochester, for she found fault with both of the abolitionists they supported. She especially disliked Douglass’s English, female companion, “If *you* know *Julia Griffiths* I have to say – *I do too*” and she resented being told what to send to the Rochester Bazaar. She also found fault with Garrison, “I did not like Garrison’s speeches in England – his words; & his collected works strike me as very scanty of facts or suggestions to deeds.” She was critical of Chapman and what she called, the “Women’s Rights Women companions-in-arms” who supported Garrison. Dawson she felt unable to continue to contribute, her principle criticism being “what becomes of the money got at the sale? ... Can you answer that?”¹⁶⁵ A practical solution was to donate to the lesser-known anti-

¹⁶² Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army 119-122.

¹⁶³ Letter, Hannah Somerthing [?] to Maria Chapman (17 October, 1839) in Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army 119.

¹⁶⁴ Letter, Miss S. Dawson to Mary Estlin (6 October, 1852) in C. Taylor, 389.

¹⁶⁵ Letter, SD to ME in Taylor, British and American Abolitionists 389.

slavery fairs, which were attracted less publicity, and this makes Clark's decision to support the MFES, a careful choice.

Eleanor Clark and the Street Sewing Circle

Clark was a member of the Street sewing circle; a group of approximately fifteen to twenty women, who met to sew for a range of charitable and community causes.¹⁶⁶ At the time, women's charitable sewing circles were extremely popular, and many were set up as adjuncts to churches and chapels, primarily to provide clothing for the poor of the parish.¹⁶⁷ Sewing circles also proliferated in the anti-slavery cause, and especially in the 1840s and 1850s, they were responsible for substantial contributions to American anti-slavery fairs. They were also revived after 1865, when quantities clothing and textiles were requested by organisations such as the Freedmen's Aid Society, who sent parcels of aid to emancipated slaves in America.¹⁶⁸ They played a crucial part in women's practical work for the cause. Importantly, they existed across social classes; they provided a venue for work; they offered fellowship and companionship; they linked women to the 'transatlantic sisterhood' of women anti-slavery activists and taught women the market value of their labour.¹⁶⁹ Sewing circles were highly regarded in Quaker culture, and many were attached to Quaker women's meetings. Some were set up specifically for the anti-slavery cause, for example in Newcastle, Norwich, Birmingham, Bath, Bangor and Bristol.¹⁷⁰

It is not known when the sewing circle in Street was founded, but Roger Clark, Eleanor's grandson recalled that by 1856, it was established.¹⁷¹ In 1851 it may have amalgamated with the Olive Leaf Society, founded by Eleanor, for there was a considerable overlap of names. The sewing circle was evidently a highly organised group, which met once a month, all year round and was led by Clark's aunt, Keturah Tuttiett Clothier (1788 – 1868).¹⁷² The group met at the women's homes, notably, 'Netherleigh,' Clark's home;

¹⁶⁶ Roger Clark, "The Centenary of Village Album 1857 – 1957," Roger Clark Somerset Anthology. Twenty Four Pieces by Roger Clark of Street 1871 – 1961 (York: Sessions, 1975) 1-8, 7.

¹⁶⁷ Parker, 162-4.

¹⁶⁸ Midgley, Women Against Slavery 187-190.

¹⁶⁹ Alice Taylor, "Fashion has Extended Her Influence to the Cause of Humanity: The Transatlantic Female Economy of the Boston Antislavery Bazaar," in Beverly Lemire, The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society (London: Ashgate, 2010) 115 – 142, 117.

¹⁷⁰ O'Donnell, "Woman's Rights," 256-7; Jeffrey, The Great Silent Army 108-110; Midgley, Women Against Slavery 188-190.

¹⁷¹ Roger Clark, 1-7.

¹⁷² McGarvie 24, 118 explains the pivotal role of Keturah Clothier in the life of the village; Openshaw, "Prelude," 7.

‘Greenbank,’ the home of her sisters; ‘Overleigh,’ also known as ‘Summerleigh,’ the home of Keturah Clothier; ‘Elmhurst,’ the new home of Sarah Clark, and ‘Sharpham Park,’ the home of Christina Motley.¹⁷³

Eleanor Clark expressed a strong preference for sewing by hand, for this allowed time for sociable talking, and also for creative activities, such as composing poems. In her poem, “The Sewing Machine” (1863), Clark explained her practice of keeping a piece of paper beside her as she sewed, to note down ideas as they occurred. The sewing machine however, put a stop to this, for although it enabled ten times the amount of work to be achieved in the same time, it was too noisy to permit conversation, and it needed her full attention to operate, and hence in her words, “adieu to idle dreaming.”¹⁷⁴

The Street circle had a heavy workload, which according to Roger Clark included sewing pinafores for children at the British and Foreign School in the village.¹⁷⁵ In addition, it is probable that the circle supported various charitable clothing societies which manufactured items for the poor, such as essential clothing, and linens for new mothers. These were generally made up economically, from cloth bought in bulk, and using particular patterns or guidelines, often issued by published sewing guides.¹⁷⁶ Many clothing societies were linked to sewing circles, for example the biblical-sounding ‘Dorcas Societies’ which were run by Baptists, both manufactured and distributed clothing to the poor.¹⁷⁷ The Clarks’ account book lists subscriptions to several clothing charities, and it is possible that some entries for the Clarks’ household purchases of cloth may have been for use in the sewing circle, in order to supply clothing societies.

Sewing circles had a strong relationship with literature, for it was common practice to take turns to read aloud and to discuss works, whilst sewing. This practice was popular, for as discussed, sewing circles were sociable, as well as productive occasions. The phenomenon of reading and talking whilst sewing was well-known in anti-slavery culture, for example William Lloyd Garrison dubbed sewing circles, “reading, or conversation parties” which he believed were “occasions of festivity” and which provided a means of “social

¹⁷³ Roger Clark, 4-7.

¹⁷⁴ “Eva,”(EC) “The Sewing Machine,” “Village Album” Vol XV AGT, VA1.

¹⁷⁵ R. Clark, 5.

¹⁷⁶ Rose, vol 3, 211-112.

¹⁷⁷ Rose, vol 3, 211 writes that Dorcas Societies were named after a New Testament character who made clothes for the widows of Joppa and their families (Acts 9:46 – 42).

improvement.”¹⁷⁸ The Street circle evidently enjoyed literature, for the essay society joined the seamstresses after tea, and literary pieces were read aloud and discussed in the group. Roger Clark recalled the initial opposition by the circle’s leader, “Keturah said that they hardly got through their work now, and how would it be if the young men came so early?”¹⁷⁹ The Clarks however, swayed opinion, for the Village Album was allowed to join the sewing meetings.

It is also probable that the sewing circle read anti-slavery literature. In 1859, on behalf of the Olive Leaf Society, Clark wrote to Louis Chamerovzow, at the BFASS. She wrote enclosing money to purchase copies of a selection of anti-slavery tracts, and she requested “as many as possible ... for gratuitous distribution to others.”¹⁸⁰ It was highly probable that Uncle Tom’s Cabin was read at sewing meetings, for it is known that this novel was read widely among groups, especially of women, and this contributed to its rapid dissemination across society.¹⁸¹ Douglas Lorimer writes that group-reading fostered powerful empathy with the characters, allowing readers to “enter the world of the plantation,” and to feel the pain of the enslaved.¹⁸² As discussed, Clark was deeply affected by Uncle Tom’s Cabin, writing under the pen name “Eva,” in reference to the novel’s character ‘Little Eva’ or Evangeline. This was an extraordinarily popular novel, arguably the most influential written in the nineteenth century, and one that made enormous impacts on the anti-slavery movement.¹⁸³ As Marcus Wood argues, it provides us with an essential cultural index of how England and America chose to remember slavery and the enslaved.¹⁸⁴ It was pronounced by The Times as the “book of the day” and the paper estimated that at least half a million women had read it, and subsequently signed a petition to the Queen, known as the Stafford House Address.¹⁸⁵ Within a year, the novel had sold one million copies in

¹⁷⁸ William Lloyd Garrison, Liberator (4 December, 1842) in A. Taylor, 120.

¹⁷⁹ Keturah Clothier, quoted in Roger Clark, 5.

¹⁸⁰ Letter, EC to Louis Chamerovzow, Secretary of the BFASS (4 December, 1859) Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford MSS Brit Emp 818 29/06.

¹⁸¹ Sarah Meer, Uncle Tom Mania. Slavery, Minstrelsy and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s (Athens, Ga.: U of Georgia P, 2005) 1.

¹⁸² Douglas Lorimer, Colour, Class and the Victorians (Leicester: Leicester U P, 1978), 84.

¹⁸³ Audrey Fisch American Slaves in Victorian England. Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture (Cambridge: C U P, 2000); Ware, Beyond the Pale 54-6; Keith Caradine, “Introduction,” Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom’s Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America (London: Wordsworth, 2002 [1852]) v. UTC was reprinted many times, and appeared in many versions, with slight rewording of the title and many editions with illustrations, see Bibliography.

¹⁸⁴ Marcus Wood, Blind Memory. Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780 – 1865 (Manchester: M U P, 2000) 143.

¹⁸⁵ “Uncle Tom Slavery Movement,” The Times (21 March, 1853).

Britain, surpassing sales of any other nineteenth century publication, with the exception of the Bible.¹⁸⁶

The widespread visualisation and depiction of the novel's enslaved characters was significant, for the images stimulated empathy with the enslaved, and 'brought home' the world of the American slave plantation.¹⁸⁷ Whilst the images suggested the characters they portrayed, they also presented highly standardised and stereotyped views of African-Americans. Many were based on earlier print culture, notably illustrated advertisements for runaway slaves.¹⁸⁸ Certain visualisations, either from illustrated versions of the novel or the plethora of 'Tom themed' wares such as china figurines, became standard likenesses for the characters and this established them as visual tropes of slavery in popular memory. For example, the scene of Eliza's escape across the ice often showed her wearing a striped gown, and Aunt Chloe was often pictured wearing a checked head wrap (both characters and their clothes are seen Figure 4.5). The novel also appeared in illustrated editions, and often these were in the form of highly detailed engravings. It was the small details that helped to build a picture of the characters and to express the terrible sorrows that they experienced (Figure 4.6).

Uncle Tom's Cabin was highly popular with an evangelical readership, for example the newspaper, the Christian Observer approved the themes of Christian love, religious conversion and missionary work running through the novel.¹⁸⁹ Its favour with the Quaker community was entirely without precedent, for until this point traditional Friends had viewed novels as disreputable, since they contravened the Testimony of Truth. No work of fiction had hitherto been given such approval, and for some strict Friends this was the first novel they had been permitted to read.¹⁹⁰ The Friend found itself in the unfamiliar position of recommending a work of fiction:

This work – a romance, call it what you will is written in such an earnest spirit, with such intense love of justice and truth, with an object and an aim so unquestionably good, pure and philanthropic that we unhesitatingly burst our self-imposed fetters as regarding noticing works of fiction.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Lorimer, 82-3.

¹⁸⁷ Lorimer, 73-76.

¹⁸⁸ Wood, 93-4.

¹⁸⁹ The Christian Observer (October, 1852) 708-11.

¹⁹⁰ Robert Spence Watson, in O'Donnell, "Woman's Rights," 168 n.141.

¹⁹¹ "Uncle Tom's Cabin," The Friend (September, 1852) 174.

As with Clark, her kinswoman, Anna Maria Priestman was deeply moved. Writing in 1852, she wondered if the passionate feelings aroused by the novel could be wrong, “so long as there is a chance of our being able to help.”¹⁹² Thus the engagement of Clark and her kin with the novel was entirely in keeping with the wave of anti-slavery feeling that swept Britain following its publication.

Uncle Tom and the ‘Penny Offering’

Feelings ran high among British readers when it became known that Harriet Beecher Stowe was not paid royalties for the novel. In late 1852, the Birmingham Ladies’ Society organised a national collection, of one penny from each reader, to be presented to Stowe, to spend as she saw fit. The “Tribute to Mrs Stowe from the Readers of ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin,’” or ‘penny offering,’ raised the impressive sum of £1,800, which exceeded the annual income of the BFASS. This was presented to her during her visit to Britain, in 1853.¹⁹³ Eleanor Clark became the agent in Street for the collection. As evidenced by a surviving subscription card, she was successful in collecting pennies, or greater sums, from seventy male and female contributors, raising a total of 18 s 1d (Appendix 2). Although not all names were written in full, it may be ascertained that there was a considerable overlap with other charitable and public culture activities in the village. Women who contributed to this and other causes were, Eleanor’s daughters, Frances, Mary and Ann Clark; her sister-in-law Sarah Clark; her sisters Ann, Rebecca and Eliza Stephens; Catherine and Ellen Impey; Mary Reynolds; Catherine, Priscilla, Julia and Keturah Clothier.¹⁹⁴ This confirms the inter-connected nature of Clark’s family, women’s networks, and the philanthropic involvement of a core of women activists, in the Clark circle.

Eleanor Clark and the Olive Leaf Circle

In the 1840s the Eleanor and James Clark became closely connected with Elihu Burritt, the Calvinist New England peace reformer, anti-slavery supporter and enthusiastic promoter of free produce.¹⁹⁵ Joseph Sturge and James Clark had worked with Burritt at the Quaker-run

¹⁹² Letter, Anna Maria Priestman to Jane Pease (10 September, 1852) AGT MIL 22/01 in Holton, Quaker Women 116.

¹⁹³ Midgley, Women Against Slavery 126-7.

¹⁹⁴ Card, “Birmingham Ladies Negro’s Friend Society Tribute to Mrs. Stowe,” LRSF, MS Box 8:4, 14.

¹⁹⁵ Merle Curti, The Learned Blacksmith (NY: Erikson, 1937); Peter Tolis Elihu Burritt: Crusader for Brotherhood (Hampden, Ct.: Archon, 1968) and Wendy Chmielewski, “Women’s Work Against War in 1846: The Transatlantic Peace Movement in Exeter and Philadelphia” (Unpublished paper, British & International Studies Association Conference December, 2008).

Peace Society and attended Peace Congresses in Brussels in 1846 and Frankfurt in 1850.¹⁹⁶ In 1846, Burritt founded the ‘League of Brotherhood,’ an umbrella organisation to promote world peace, and he especially looked to Britain for funding, specifically among the Quaker community. James Clark and Joseph Sturge were early signatories of ‘the pledge’ to the League, and Clark introduced Burritt to West Country Quaker industrialists and businessmen.¹⁹⁷ Firm friendships were forged between Burritt, James and Eleanor Clark and their extended families, notably with Eleanor’s sisters and her mother.¹⁹⁸ Burritt made several trips to Street, and as recalled by the Clarks’ son, James Edmund Clark, it was whilst staying as a guest of the family in 1846, that he conceived his campaign for an Atlantic postal rate of one penny.¹⁹⁹

Burritt needed considerable funds to maintain the League’s campaigns, and in order to publish pamphlets and to sustain a number of periodicals.²⁰⁰ His solution was to create an extensive network of fundraising auxiliaries, or ‘Olive Leaf Circles,’ which were set up and run by women. The operation was co-ordinated by Circle Secretary Caroline Fry, the wife of Edmund Fry, the Secretary to the League. By 1852 there were one hundred and fifty British Olive Leaf Societies or Circles, comprising over two thousand ‘League Sisters.’²⁰¹ These women raised money through the subscription of one shilling a month, and also through making and selling goods at bazaars which were Burritt’s primary source of income. All costs of the production of goods, such as cloth and sewing materials were to be met by League Sisters, and all profits from their sale were donated to the League.²⁰² Sisters were especially encouraged to use free cotton, which was sold at stalls at ‘free labour bazaars,’ which ran throughout the year and were both hosted and stocked by Elizabeth Inglis at the Free Labour Depot in Broad Street in London.²⁰³ Burritt exerted

¹⁹⁶ “Dictionary of Quaker Biography,” (typescript, n.p., n.d.) LRSF.

¹⁹⁷ Letter, Joseph Sturge to JC (18th, 8th mo, 1846) enclosing letter from Elihu Burritt (14, August, 1846) LRSF MS Box 8:5; Letter, EB to JC (February 6, 1847) LRSF, MS Box 8:5 7.

¹⁹⁸ Eleanor’s mother Amy Stephens became a friend and active in the peace movement. The British Friend (11th mo, 20th, 1847) recorded that she ordered 50 copies of A Memoir to Elihu Burritt by Mary Howitt and C. & J. Clark ordered 100 copies.

¹⁹⁹ Handwritten note, by James Edmund Clark, written in the flyleaf of Elihu Burritt, A Walk From London to John O’Groats With Notes on the Way (London: Sampson Low and Company, 1864 [1846]) LRSF 079.105 Bur 2. JE Clark wrote that Burritt it was whilst staying with the family that “an Ocean Penny Post first suggested itself to him ... it took entire possession of his mind ... it was even difficult to get him to join the family at meals.”

²⁰⁰ For example, The Shilling Magazine; The Olive Leaf or Peace Magazine for the Young; Christian Citizen; The Bond of Universal Brotherhood and The Slave .

²⁰¹ Tolis, 167-169.

²⁰² Flyer, “Olive Leaf Society Ipswich Branch,” (n.p., n.d. ?1851) 2 LRSF, MS Box 8:5 23.

²⁰³ “Ocean Penny Postage Bazaar,” (26 January, 1853) LRSF MS Box 8:5 14.

considerable pressure upon Sisters, urging them to be “as productive as possible.”²⁰⁴ In turn, this exerted a demand for free cotton, thus there was a pressing need for new outlets to meet the needs of Sisters and their busy timetable of fundraising fairs.

Burritt was aware of the need to make appeals directly to women and families. It is notable that the notepaper and envelopes he used were printed with intriguing illustrations, such as detailed pictures of ships on the ocean and foreign lands, which would have been of interest to children.²⁰⁵ In the 1850s, he printed a series of pamphlets entitled Sister Voices, written on domestic subjects, such as childrearing and sewing, and written under the pen names “Aimée” or “Juliana.”²⁰⁶ Designed for reading by mothers and children, the pamphlets share certain characteristics with The Olive Leaf or Peace Magazine for the Young, a periodical written by Anna and Henry Richardson, from 1844 until 1856.²⁰⁷ This periodical was probably a source of inspiration to Burritt, not only in name, but in its moral messages and anti-slavery rhetoric. Through harrowing stories, for example of children on plantations, the Richardsons delivered the free produce message. They wrote, “Shall we not try, dear children, to avoid using slave-labour produce, when it is connected with such terrible sufferings as these? ... Let us think whether we cannot contrive to have our soft calicoes and other fabrics made of cotton that is *not* raised by those afflicted coloured children.”²⁰⁸

In January 1851, both Burritt and Caroline Fry wrote to Clark, coaxing her to open an Olive Leaf Circle in Street.²⁰⁹ Burritt wrote fondly of his sojourns with the Clark family, and he emphasised that Street had more than enough ladies to attend a circle. He suggested that “Eleanor might be at the centre ... [of] the little communities for the Mission of the Dove.”²¹⁰ The effort at recruiting her was successful, for in August 1851 Fry issued a warm welcome to the Street Circle, she sent Clark collection cards and she appreciated in advance, the contributions that Clark would be sending to the next bazaar.²¹¹ It is important to point out that the Street Olive Leaf Circle was deeply entwined with the Street Depot;

²⁰⁴ “Ocean Penny Postage Bazaar.”

²⁰⁵ Envelopes and headed notepaper in LRSF, MS Box 8:5 and AGT, NO. One. 36 13.

²⁰⁶ Sister Voices (n.d., n.p.) LRSF, MS Box 8:5, 9.

²⁰⁷ The Olive Leaf or Peace Magazine for the Young (14 volumes, 1844 – 1856) (Newcastle: n.p.).

²⁰⁸ The Olive Leaf (vol 7, 1850): 2, (vol 10, 1853): 2.

²⁰⁹ Letter, EB to EC (27 January, 1851) AGT, No. ONE 36/13; Letter, Caroline Fry to EC (27 January, 1851) LSRF, MS Box 8:5 19.

²¹⁰ Letter, EB to EC (27 January, 1851).

²¹¹ Letter, CF to EC (26 August, 1851) LRSF, MS Box 8:5 20.

the connection is shown in the statement of the Street Depot's final accounts, listing the account holder as "the Olive Leaf Circle," rather than the Free Labour Cotton Depot.²¹²

Two subscription cards for the Street Olive leaf Circle have survived (see Appendix 10). The first listed eighteen names, with each person paying a subscription of one shilling a month, with the exception of "A Friend" who paid two shillings. This made a total of twenty shillings, received by First Secretary, Eleanor Clark.²¹³ The second listed twenty four names and a fee varying from two pennies to one shilling, raising a total of seventeen shillings and nine pence, received by Second Secretary, Catherine Clothier. Some names on the cards are fully identifiable, some are illegible, some are listed by initials or aliases and some appear more than once. Notwithstanding these confusions, most names are familiar and were connected to other activities in Street. These included, S[arah], F[anny] and E[leanor] Clark; A[nn] Stephens; K[eturah] and Catherine Clothier; Elizabeth Palmer; H[annah] Impey; and E[liza] Palmer. In addition, Rose Luggling, a housemaid at the Clark home and the wife of John Coole, the draper in Street were also listed (Appendix 10).²¹⁴

Elihu Burritt made a strong impact on Eleanor Clark, as indicated by his signed photograph, which is archived with her papers in LRSF.²¹⁵ Burritt was very popular indeed among the League Sisters, as shown by their refurbishment of his offices in 1851, as a birthday surprise and notably, Clark sent money to purchase a writing table.²¹⁶ League Sisters also wrote him a poem, which they framed to hang in the office, reminding him of the importance of home:

And as, despite of all that's said
Of woman's rank and right,
We feel our happiest work is found
Within the dear home-circle bound,
Where glows the hearth fire's light.²¹⁷

It should be pointed out that whilst the all-female Circles raised money for the League, all decisions on how to spend it were taken by the all-male committee. This pattern was repeated many times in nineteenth century philanthropy and activism, reinforcing that

²¹² "Accounts in a/c with David Brooks" LRSF, Box 8:5, 31.

²¹³ Subscription cards, "Olive Leaf Subscribers," MS 8:5 26 & 27. Morgan, 78-9 writes that the card subscription system was common in 19th century women's charity fundraising groups.

²¹⁴ "Olive Leaf Subscribers," MS 8:5 26 & 27.

²¹⁵ Signed photograph of EB, LRSF, MS Box 8:5, 10.

²¹⁶ Letter, Ellen Colgate to EC (1 November, 1851) AGT, HSHC 55 and letter, EB to League Sisters (31 December, 1851) LRSF, Box 8:5 34.

²¹⁷ "E. B. P.," "The Sisters' Offering," (8 December, 1851) LRSF, MS Box 8:5 34.

women were considered to be highly useful in raising funds, but not in directing how they should be spent.²¹⁸

The Clarks and The Weims Campaign

The Clark family built considerable links with American abolitionism, and in the 1850s they became linked to the African-American abolitionist, Henry Highland Garnet, through his campaign to free the Weims family.²¹⁹ In 1850 the Richardsons brought Garnet, his wife Julia Ward Williams Garnet (1811 – 1870) and their adopted daughter, Stella Weims, to Britain. Garnet's extensive lecture tour was primarily to promote free produce and there is some evidence that Julia Garnet provided the main impetus on this matter, having run a free produce store in Philadelphia.²²⁰ As discussed, press reports showed that the Garnets made a highly successful tour of the North East, where Garnet took the platform alongside other leading abolitionists. Importantly, Garnet's work was closely tied to women's work, for his speeches targeted female consumers, and indeed his tour was organised using the networks of female anti-slavery and free produce societies.²²¹

It was specifically to women that Garnet pitched the campaign to free his enslaved friend, John Weims, together with his wife and their five sons and daughters. The 'Weims campaign' was taken up by the Richardsons, and between September and December 1852 they raised three hundred pounds, largely through the Quaker network.²²² News of the manumission campaign reached the Clarks, and in November 1852, James Clark placed notices in the local and Quaker press, directing contributions to be sent to 'Netherleigh.' Ten letters have survived from correspondents who sent donations and messages of goodwill.²²³ The letters evidence the formidable efficiency of the Quaker network, and they show its reach beyond Quaker culture, and into mainstream society. The letters display the deep feelings stirred by the campaign, especially at the plight of the enslaved daughters who were seen as especially vulnerable. One correspondent wrote cautiously,

²¹⁸ Morgan, 118-124, 121.

²¹⁹ Richard Blackett, Building an Antislavery Wall. Black Abolitionists and the Atlantic Movement 1830 – 1860 (Baton Rouge, La.: U of Louisiana P, 1983); Joel Schor, Henry Highland Garnet: a Voice of Black Radicalism in the Nineteenth Century (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood, 1977); Alan Rice, Radical Narrators of the Black Atlantic (London: Continuum, 2003).

²²⁰ Julia Garnet ran free produce stalls at her husband's lectures and ran a store in NYC at 174, W 30th Street, which was probably the free produce store, listed as run by Ezra Towne in Nuermberger, 119. Due to the loss of Garnet's papers in a fire, there is very little information on Mrs. Garnet and her activities.

²²¹ Schor, 120-122.

²²² Letter, London Daily News (6 December, 1852).

²²³ 10 letters to EC and JC from correspondents (1852-3) LRSF, MS Box 8:1.

and not being a Quaker, she needed “a few particulars” before she could commit to sending money to James Clark. Evidently reassurance from Eleanor Clark was sufficient, as four days later, she sent two pounds.²²⁴ Another writer had seen James Clark’s letter in the Bristol Mercury, and on behalf of his fellow workman, he sent some stamps to aid the cause.²²⁵ One correspondent had seen Clark’s letter in the Christian Times, and having been deeply affected by Uncle Tom’s Cabin, she was strongly motivated to send money to manumission campaigns. However, she was cautious, and was anxious to ascertain whether the cause was genuine. As she explained, in view of the current bogus campaigns enacted by certain rogues, “these are times for acting cautiously.”²²⁶

After the abolition of American slavery in 1865, the James and Eleanor Clark supported the ‘The Freedmen’s Aid Society,’ which sent aid to Northern states where ex-slaves congregated, to escape persecution and violence during the aftermath of the Civil War.²²⁷ The Clark family sent aid to the ‘Negro Exodus’ of 1879 – 1880, which saw six thousand African-Americans fleeing to Kansas.²²⁸ James, Eleanor, their daughter Sophia Sturge Clark and the Clarks’ niece, Catherine Impey (1847 – 1923) collected parcels of clothing and textiles, which were shipped by Friends in Bristol, to Kansas.²²⁹ Catherine Impey rose to prominence at this time, becoming a national figure in the campaign for equality for African-Americans, and she was especially involved in raising British awareness of segregation and lynching. In 1888, Impey founded Britain’s first anti-racist periodical Anti-Caste which she wrote from her home in Street.²³⁰ Impey became a close friend of Frederick Douglass, who visited her in Street, staying at ‘Millfield,’ the new home of Helen and William Clark.²³¹ Impey’s work demonstrates that campaigns for anti-slavery and later, the campaign for the rights of African-Americans were continued through the extended Clark family. These campaigns were enacted by successive generations of women activists who built upon the foundations established by their aunts, mothers and

²²⁴ Letters, Mrs Warren to JC (8 and 12 November, 1852) LRSF, MS Box 8:1.

²²⁵ Letter, J. Challicom to JC (9 November, 1852) LRSF, MS Box 8:1.

²²⁶ Letter, Elizabeth Champion to JC (19 November, 1852) LRSF, MS Box 8:1; See ASR (1851-4) for a number of reports on the bogus manumission campaigns and lecturers, especially those of Rueben Nixon.

²²⁷ Carol Faulkner, Women’s Radical Reconstruction. The Freedmen’s Aid Movement. (Philadelphia Pa.: U of Philadelphia P, 2004).

²²⁸ Letter, JC to The British Friend (12th mo, 1st, 1879): 304.

²²⁹ Folder, “Kansas Freedmen’s Relief Association,” LRSF, MS Box 8:1, items 1-19 and MS 8:2, news cuttings and letters from Topeka to JC, appealing for funds and thanking him for donations.

²³⁰ For Impey’s life and work see Vron Ware, Beyond the Pale. White Women, Racism and History (London: Verso, 1992) 170-4; Caroline Bressey, “Catherine Impey and the Anti-Caste Movement,” Black and Asian Studies Association Newsletter 52 (2008): 12-15.

²³¹ Holton, Quaker Women 190-191.

grandmothers. It is evident that the Clark family held high standing in the transatlantic anti-slavery community. This was shown when James and his son James Edmund Clark made a visit to America in 1879. The trip was made shortly after the death of Eleanor, as a distraction from overwhelming grief and to continue plans for the marriage between J. E. Clark and his Bostonian Quaker fiancée, Lucretia Hasseltine Kendall.²³² In his memoirs of the trip, J. E. Clark wrote that the family was warmly received wherever they went, notably by James Whittier, Levi Coffin and Frank Garrison, the son of William Lloyd Garrison, all of whom held James Clark's cousin, Joseph Sturge in the highest esteem.²³³

Conclusions

This chapter has examined the life of Eleanor Clark, specifically how her evangelical, Quaker upbringing established conscience, and shaped her lifelong commitment to charitable activities and the anti-slavery cause. Clark was deeply enmeshed in various networks, drawn between Quaker families, and especially between women. As shown, in Street there was a cohort of roughly twenty kinswomen, chiefly from Clark's extended family who participated in an inter-connected range of social and public sphere activities, including the Village Album, Quaker Women's Monthly Meeting, the Street sewing and Olive Circles, the "Tribute to Mrs. Stowe" and the Freedmen's Aid Society. It is probable that the same cohort shared Clark's free produce commitments and also shopped at the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street.

Whilst Clark's activism was home-based, she successfully crossed the domestic threshold and was strongly and visibly committed to activities beyond home. Clark's identity as a domestic woman, deeply interested in sewing underwrote many of her public culture activities, and this was a highly socially appropriate medium through which to express anti-slavery commitment. As Clark's writings make clear, she derived much pleasure from sewing, which contributed to her female identity. Sewing also fulfilled a strong political remit, for it was through cloth and stitches that Clark made direct, practical contributions to the anti-slavery movement. This culminated in wearing clothes made from free labour cotton, bought at the Street Depot. These made Clark and her family the embodiments of anti-slavery belief, and this will be examined in the next chapter.

²³² The trip was recorded by J E Clark, and this has been subsequently typed. (typescript of manuscript, n.d., c.1879) AGT, HSHC 2.

²³³ J E Clark, "Whittier," page 2.



Figure 4.1 Photographic portrait of Eleanor Clark.
It shows Clark posed with handicrafts, c.1850s.



Figure 4.2
Photographic carte de visite of American abolitionist Sojourner Truth .
Its shows Truth engaged in knitting, 1863.



Figure 4.3

Baby's gown, made from checked cotton muslin.

It is verified by its original labels, as made from free labour cotton. 1840s-1850s.

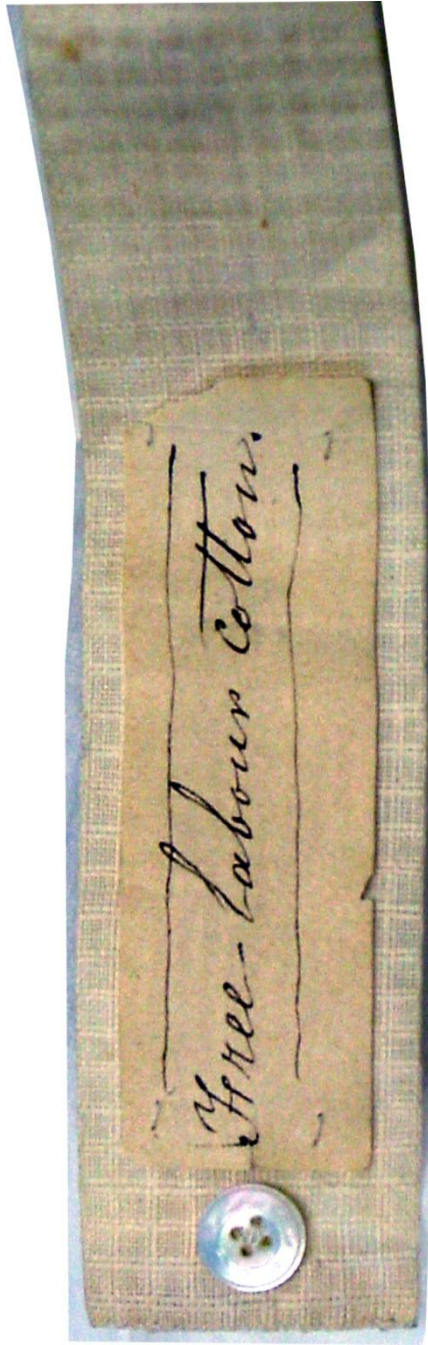


Figure 4.4
Handwritten paper label, verifying the gonn (Figure 4.3) as made from free labour cotton.



Figure 4.5
Glass lantern slides showing scenes from Uncle Tom's Cabin by Harriet Beecher Stowe.
Left: "Eliza's Escape Across the Ice" and right: "An Evening in Uncle Tom's Cabin" c.1853.

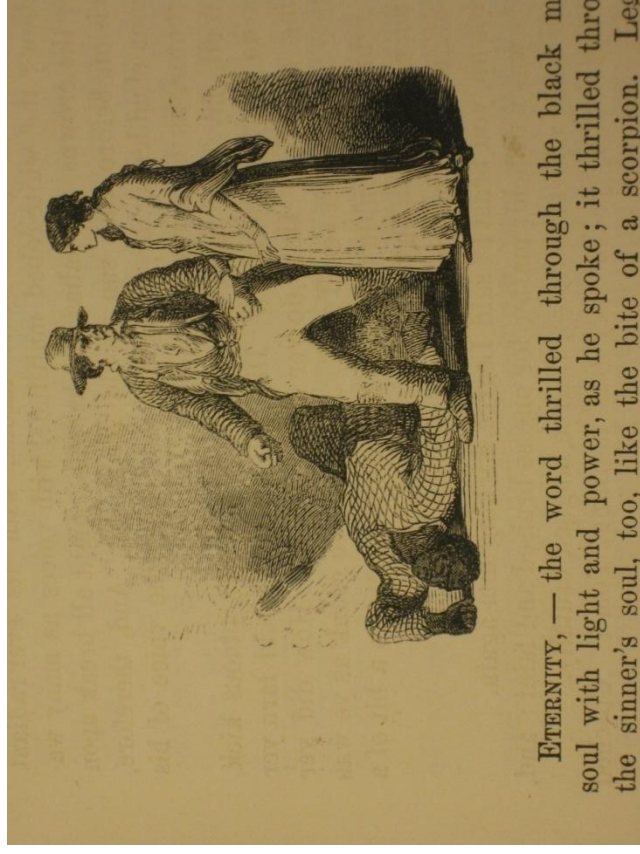
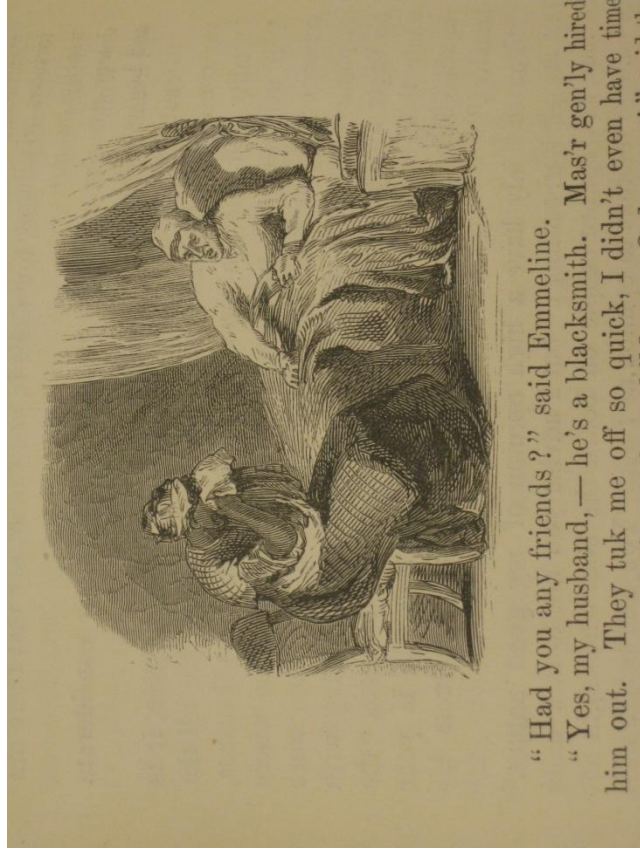


Figure 4.6
Scenes from an illustrated edition of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Left: Cassy tells her story to Emmeline. Right: Tom, is beaten by his master Simon Legree, 1853

Chapter Five: The Clark Family and Free Cotton Dress,

In The Late 1850s

Oh Press Me Not to Taste Again

Oh press me not to taste again
Of those luxurious banquet sweets!
Or hide from view the dark red stain,
That still my shuddering vision meets.

Away! 'tis loathsome! Bear me hence!
I cannot feed on human sighs,
Or feast on sweets my palate's sense,
While blood is 'neath the fair disguise.

No, never let me taste again
Of aught but the coarsest fare,
Far rather than my conscience stain,
With the polluted luxuries there.¹

Introduction

This powerful, emotional and hymn-like poem was written by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. It conjured the “polluted luxuries” of slave-grown sugar and a “shuddering vision” of “loathsome” fare, pricking the abolitionist conscience and prompting empathy with the enslaved. The poem also promoted the over-arching free produce rationale, that “Slavery is sustained by the purchase of its productions. If there were no consumers of slave produce, there would be no slaves.”² Thus Chandler’s poems and essays, chiefly written on the subjects of slavery and free produce were at the heart of the Free Produce Movement, and were deeply expressive of both its sentiments and its rationale.

This chapter explores how the free produce rationale was applied to the wearing of free labour cotton cloth, through the free labour clothes worn by the family of Eleanor and James Clark of Street during the 1850s. It contends that wearing of free labour cotton clothes constituted a visible, political act which challenged the normality of cotton grown by slaves, and struck at the “root of the evil;” attacking slavery via the products it made.

¹ Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “Oh Press Me Not to Taste Again,” (c.1836) Benjamin Lundy, The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. With a memoir of Her Life by Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia, Pa.: Howell, 1836) 109.

² Masthead of The Slave: His Wrongs and Their Remedy (Newcastle and London: 1851-1856).

Enacted by the free produce community and primarily Quakers, abstinence and selective buying harked back to early Quakerism. Especially these consumer practices recalled the work of eighteenth century Philadelphian Quaker writer, John Woolman. As discussed, Woolman had taught his peers and subsequent generations of Friends how to incorporate anti-slavery values into dress, and he encouraged them to dress as they believed. Within the context of liberalising Quaker culture in the late 1850s, free produce clothing demonstrated that it was possible to incorporate political values into dress, and to make a public statement of wearing one's anti-slavery belief.

The Clarks' clothes are viewed through a pair of photographs, dating to 1858, dubbed here the 'free produce photographs.' To date, these are the only photographs of this type, that is, depicting people known to be wearing free cotton clothing. The first photograph shows Eleanor and James and their twelve children, arranged in a line against a garden wall (Figures 1.1, 2.7 and 2.8), the second was taken on another occasion, as indicated by the different clothing, and it also shows the family, out of doors and arranged in a group (Figures 2.9 and 2.10). The first photograph, of the family in a line, is currently displayed in C. & J. Clark's Museum of Shoemaking, in Street, with a caption which clearly explains the family's anti-slavery activism (Figure 2.7). A black-and-white copy of the image has been deposited in the Library of the Religious Society of Friends in London (LRSF), a detail of which is also included in the thesis (see Figure 2.8). The second photograph, of the family in a group, is in very poor condition, and is held in the Alfred Gillett Trust (AGT) (Figure 2.9), of which, an enhanced copy is shown (Figure 2.10).

The historical context of these photographs is very important, for they were taken at a crucial juncture in British Quaker culture, when numbers were declining. In 1859 the Religious Society of Friends launched an essay competition to explore reasons for its declining membership.³ John Stephens Rowntree's winning entry pinpointed problems with public perception with the faith's outmoded traditions such as endogamy, and especially Quakers' use of traditional, or plain dress.⁴ Rowntree's progressive views were shared by James Clark, John Bright, Fielden Thorp and Joseph Sturge, who were known as

³ Elizabeth Isichei, Victorian Quakers (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1970) xix. Numbers fell from 19,000 in 1800 to 14,000 in 1860.

⁴ John Stephens Rowntree, Quakerism. Past and Present. Being an Inquiry into the Causes of Its Decline in Great Britain and Ireland (London: Smith Elder, 1859).

‘The Moderates’ at London Yearly Meeting.⁵ Moderates such as the Sturges and the Clarks led the Society away from traditional Quaker practice, and under their guidance Quaker dress embraced change; accepting some fashionable features and moving closer to ordinary, non-Quaker styles. In 1860, the Fourth Query on Plainness was reworded, abandoning the term altogether, in favour of the more moderate principle, ‘Simplicity.’⁶ Consequently, the free produce photographs depicted a leading Moderate family, at a time of profound change, as they strove to be more engaged with the world and its social, reform and political movements. This was reflected in the clothes they wore, which embraced some modern and fashionable features, for example fancy sleeves, lace collars and boldly patterned cotton cloth.

This chapter also gives historical context through discussion of Quaker dress and their attitudes to cotton textiles and gingham cloth. It makes comparisons to extant clothing worn by Clarks held in the Costume Collection at the AGT and by other Friends, held in the Costume Collection at the LRSF. It compares the free produce photographs to other images of Friends, especially visiting cards or ‘cartes de visite,’ dating to the late 1850s. It examines meanings behind the clothes, references to the anti-slavery movement, and above all, the wearers’ own responses to the practice of wearing anti-slavery belief and the rationale of the Free Produce Movement.

The Cotton Cloth in the Photographs

It is important to establish some facts about the cotton cloth shown in the free produce photographs. In the nineteenth century checked and striped woven cloth was classified under the generic term ‘gingham,’ derived from the Malay word ‘ging-gang,’ meaning a fabric woven in checks or stripes, but more commonly checks. In the 1850s cotton gingham was generally factory-made in Lancashire, woven on power looms but small quantities were still woven by hand, using handlooms.⁷

Through examination of the free produce photographs, it emerges that the gingham cloth worn by the Clarks’ daughters Frances, Ann and Eleanor can be linked directly to the

⁵ Edwin Bronner, “Moderates in London Yearly Meeting 1857 – 1873: Precursors of Quaker Liberals,” *Church History* 59 (1990): 356-371. Clark was an active Moderate between 1857 and 1873.

⁶ Society of Friends, *Advices & Queries* (1860); Bronner, 361.

⁷ Giorgio Riello and Prasanna Parthasarathi, *The Spinning World. A Global History of Textiles 1200 – 1850* (Oxford: O U P, 2009) 413.

Street Depot. Specifically the cloth can be matched to the manufacturers' samples of free cotton cloth that the Street received in 1853. The swatches of heavyweight gingham checks and stripes (Figure 2.6) either match, or closely correspond to, fabrics shown in both photographs. As discussed, these samples were sent to Clark, by Josias Browne, who was an agent in the free cotton business from his warehouse Manchester. He referred to the samples, the "patterns," in a note to Clark, written on the back of a printed pamphlet.⁸ It is reasonable to suppose that the swatches were made by John Wingrave, a handloom cotton weaver in Carlisle. Browne carried Wingrave's cloth, as listed in his pamphlets, in widths of forty inches and twenty eight inches and in three weights or qualities, the narrow width indicating that it was cloth made on a handloom.⁹ The gingham in the photographs and in the samples also matches George Washington Taylor's own descriptions of Wingrave's cloth, which he received at his free produce store in Philadelphia in 1853. The designs and weights were not entirely satisfactory, for a letter Taylor wrote to Wingrave provides the evidence that he found the cloth "a little on the heavy side" and he believed that it would have sold better if "not so stiff." The letter shows that Taylor liked the "good, bold patterns" although evidently his clients did not, for he made a request, "[to] avoid colours" and "make plaids smaller."¹⁰ Importantly, Taylor's descriptions precisely match the fabric seen in the free produce photographs and in the samples of cloth; stiff, heavy cloth, patterned with distinctive, large, strong checks.

Albeit that the free produce photographs are monotone, it is possible to make visual matches between the cloth shown in the photographs and the samples of cloth. Through examination of the photograph of the family in a line, good visual matches can be made between the cloth worn by Ann and sample number 2 (in Figure 2.6) and the cloth worn by daughters Eleanor and Frances and samples 1 and 3 (in Figure 2.6). Through examination of the photograph of the Clarks in a group, good visual matches can also be made between some of the children and the same samples shown in Figure 2.6.

It must be emphasised that for several reasons, Eleanor Clark's choice to dress her family in cloth made by John Wingrave was an absolutely extraordinary one. This needs to be set

⁸ Josias Browne, To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Movement (n.p., n.d., ?1853) with letter, JB to EC, (n.d., ?1853) written on back.

⁹ Browne, To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Movement.

¹⁰ Letters, GWT to John Wingrave (5th Mo 9th, 1853), and GWT to Josias Browne (8th Mo 23rd, 1853), Taylor Letterbooks 2 vols, vol I 1852-1854, Special Collection, Haverford College, Philadelphia.

in the context of Quaker taste in design, and the manufacture of cotton textiles at the time. It is known that well-to-do Quakers in the nineteenth century were accustomed to selecting high quality cloth, in Quaker terms, of “the best sort, but plain.”¹¹ Their aesthetic tastes tended towards plain, un-patterned or discreetly patterned cloth, for the Testimony of Plainness discouraged fancy, luxurious or embellished styles. Quakers did not usually wear large-patterned textiles, and the mainstream fashion in the 1850s, for large-checked silk, as worn by Queen Victoria (see Figure 5.1), does not appear to have been a popular choice with Friends. From the eighteenth century, wealthy Quakers had become accustomed to using plain or very discreetly patterned silk or high quality woollen cloth for their formal gowns, and many examples of this type have survived in collections.¹² Plain silks and wools were used for gowns, shawls and cloaks and linen was used for accessories, and it was accepted that these textiles expressed wealth and quality, without ostentation. Since they were not produced using the labour of slaves, silk, wool and linen textiles were also appreciated by those who supported the anti-slavery cause.¹³

Fine quality, plain silk or woollen gowns were also seen in photographs of Friends, for it was a convention of the day for photographs to record sitters formally posed, in their best clothes, especially when in the photographer’s studio. The Clarks were accustomed to dressing according to social custom, and to reflect their social standing, and they were adept at showing their wealth through dress and this is borne out in several photographs of the family, held in the archives of C. & J. Clark. Family members were photographed at home or in studios in fine silk gowns, for example Eleanor (Figure 5.2); her daughter Amy Jane (Figure 5.3); Clark’s sister in law, Anne Pike (Figure 5.4) and Clark’s sisters (Figure 5.5).¹⁴ Formal silk clothing can also be seen in a group photograph of the family, taken in the garden at ‘Netherleigh’ in 1871, and in the studio portraits of Sophie and Edith Clark

¹¹ Frederick Tolles, “‘Of the Best Sort But Plain’: The Quaker Esthetic,” *American Quarterly* 11:4 (1959): 484-502. This principle has been significantly developed by J. William Frost, “From Plainness to Simplicity: Changing Quaker Ideals for Material Culture,” in Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne Verplanck (eds) *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections of a Quaker Ethic in American Design* (Philadelphia Pa.: U of Pennsylvania P, 2003) 16-43.

¹² Mary Anne Caton, “The Aesthetics of Absence: Quaker Dress in the Delaware Valley 1790 – 1900,” in Lapsansky and Verplanck, 246-272.

¹³ Many Quakers followed Woolman, and dressed in wool.

¹⁴ The photographs are archived across the AGT, especially HSHC 55.

taken in the 1870s, and in the joint portrait of Amy Jane Clark Thorp and her husband, Fielden Thorp in 1860.¹⁵

There was a huge array of silk and woollen cloth available to the wealthy middle classes and from the 1830s cotton entered the repertoire, becoming extremely fashionable, for summer and informal wear in the 1850s. Patterns were popular and closely printed, high quality designs were especially desirable. Patterns and prints proliferated and especially fashionable were oriental-style paisley, boteh or pinecone designs, which originated in India (Figures 2.12 (a) and 2.12 (b)). Also fashionable were floral motifs, often as small, delicate sprays of flowers, buds and foliage as seen in a mainstream (non-Quaker) printed muslin, dating to 1857 (Figure 2.13).

From the 1840s, Friends also incorporated cotton into their traditional dress styles, and by the 1850s, it has substantially replaced linen as the choice for accessories. Cotton was also used for whole gowns, and these tended to be made from plain or discreetly patterned cloth, the most popular designs being small, or simple checks. As shown in Friends' visiting cards dating to the 1850s, cotton clothing entered the repertoire of middle class Quaker dress, and it was deemed sufficiently formal to be recorded by the camera, for women's cartes de visite. Small checked cotton gingham was a popular choice for the younger generation of Friends, whilst their mothers retained traditional plain dress, as seen in the mother and daughter card of the Webb family of Bristol (Figure 5.6). Some Quaker items of small-checked gingham clothing have survived, for example a brown, checked cotton gown held in America (Figure 5.7) and a hand sewn, child's pinafore, held in LRSF (Figure 5.8). Both match nineteenth century descriptions of children's clothes worn in Quaker schools in both Britain and America.¹⁶

It is important to point out that in the 1850s, small checked gingham was available as a very cheap, factory-made cloth, and it was frequently seen in the dress of the working classes.¹⁷ The lowly status of this type of cloth was confirmed in reports from clothing

¹⁵ Also in AGT, HSHC 55.

¹⁶ Joan Kendall, "The Development of a Distinctive Form of Quaker Dress," *Costume* 19 (1985): 58-74,70. Kendall describes pinafores worn at Lisburn School; Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend. The Life of Lucretia Mott* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Friends' General Conference, 1990 [1980]) 25. Bacon describes brown gingham gowns worn at Nine Partners School in New York State.

¹⁷ Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite. The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain 1660 – 1800* (Oxford: O U P, 1991); Beverly Lemire, *Cotton* (Oxford: Berg, 2011); Sarah Levitt, "Clothing" in Mary Rose (ed), *The Lancashire Cotton Industry. A History Since 1700* (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1996) 154-186.

societies, whose accounts list “check” as suitable for the very lowest members of society.¹⁸ It is reasonable to conclude that gingham cloth was also available in different types, weights and prices. As shown in the photograph of the Webb women, it was possible for a well-to-do family to dress in both high quality silks and small-check cotton gingham at the same time (Figure 5.6). This brings us to the free produce photographs, where a very specific type of gingham was worn by the Clark family; distinctive, heavy weight, hand loomed cloth, woven in bold patterns. It must be emphasised that this type of cloth was not typical of either Quaker or non-Quaker wealthy, middle-class dress, and this makes the Clarks’ clothing very special indeed.

Wingrave’s firm, the ‘Cumberland Free Gingham Company’ was a highly unusual enterprise. Its cloth was woven by hand, using handlooms, from warranted free labour yarn, and it was often bespoke, or made to clients’ specifications. In May 1853, The Slave brought Wingrave’s work to the attention of the free produce community.¹⁹ Anna and Henry Richardson explained the plight of Carlisle’s handloom cotton weavers, who were substantially unemployed as the cotton industry was becoming mechanised, and demand for factory-made goods was growing. They heartily recommended Wingrave’s philanthropy in rescuing the weavers, and they explained that the free labour cause had struck a chord with “these poor men,” to whom “the crushing hand of poverty” had instilled a special sympathy with the slave. They applauded Wingrave’s “benevolent provisions” of a library and a reading room and they were impressed by the company shop, which sold free labour foods. They explained that Wingrave’s cloth was highly exclusive, stating, “He is not likely to supply *shops* with these fabrics.” The Richardsons instructed customers to contact Wingrave directly, as he would “very gladly take orders on commission, or in any other manner that may be found most convenient.”²⁰

As Geoffrey Timmins explains, bespoke and handloom manufacture were highly unusual modes of cotton production during the late 1850s. The vast majority of cotton cloth was now woven by mechanised power looms in factories, and very little indeed was made to commission.²¹ Small pockets of handloom production survived, either performed in weavers’ homes or in small workshops. These generally catered to a specialised and elite

¹⁸ “Report of the Newark Clothing Society” (1851) in C. Rose, vol 3, 186.

¹⁹ “Free Labour Movement,” The Slave (May, 1853): 17.

²⁰ “Free Labour Movement,” 17.

²¹ Geoffrey Timmins, “Technological Change,” M. Rose, 29-62, 57-62.

trade and the cloth was bought by discerning customers, who prized hand made, or craft articles.²² It follows that made to order, hand loomed cloth would have held special cachet in the free produce trade, for it was closely supervised by individuals and thus it could be verified as genuine. This establishes the important credentials of the free labour cloth in the free produce photographs, and their capability of carrying potent messages about the wearers' views.

The Expressive Medium of Dress

As is now well-established, dress is a powerful and expressive medium in the communication of complex packages of individual, cultural, social and political information.²³ This is true across societies, where dress and adornment has long been recognised as playing vital roles in the establishment of individual and social identities.²⁴ Meanings held in clothes may be easy, or difficult, to understand and using methodologies drawn from material culture approaches, deductions can be made and narratives drawn from the clothing.²⁵ As Grant McCracken has shown, dress is emphatically a “cultural production,” reflecting and stabilising certain societal values and communicating information about the people who made the clothes, and those who wear them.²⁶ Because of its status as both private, and public, and its situation as an outer layer, in contact with the body and seen by others, clothing can act as a conduit to channel ideas and emotions from the self to the wider world. As defined by John Harvey, abstract and invisible thoughts are made concrete by clothes, in his words clothing “makes values visible.”²⁷

²² Timmins, 62.

²³ Elizabeth Wilson, Adorned in Dreams. Fashion and Modernity (London: Tauris, 2005 [1984]); Fred Davis, Fashion, Culture and Identity (Chicago, Ill.: U of Chicago P, 1992); Christopher Breward, The Culture of Fashion. A New History of Fashionable Dress (Manchester: M U P, 1995); Lou Taylor, The Study of Dress History (Manchester: M U P, 2002); Lou Taylor, Establishing Dress History (Manchester: M U P 2004).

²⁴ Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, “The Language of Personal Adornment” in Justine Cordwell and Ronald Schwarz, The Fabrics of Culture. The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment (Paris: Mouton, 1979) 7-21.

²⁵ There is an extensive body of work on the social life of objects, see Jules Prown, “Mind in Matter. An Introduction to the Material Culture of Everyday Life,” Winterthur Portfolio 17:1 (1982): 1-17; Steven Lubar and David Kingery, (eds) History From Things: Essays on Material Culture (London: Smithsonian Institute, 1983); Arjun Appadurai, The Social life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective (Cambridge: C U P, 2006 [1986]); Leora Auslander, “Beyond Words,” American Historical Review 110:4 (2005): 1015-45; Judy Attfield, Wild Things. The Material Culture of Everyday Life (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

²⁶ Grant McCracken, Culture and Consumption. New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities (Bloomington, Ia.: Indiana U P, 1990) xi-xv; Linda Young, Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century. America, Australia and Britain (London: Palgrave, 2003). Young uses Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste (London: Routledge, 1984 [1979]).

²⁷ John Harvey, Men in Black. (London: Reaktion 1995)17.

Dress therefore permits the transmission of religious, social, moral and political values and allows them to be recorded, seen and felt.

It is now recognised that clothes have played an important role in expressing and shaping political views. As Beverly Lemire explains in her recent volume on the connections between fashion and politics, “Fashion is a multi-faceted phenomenon ... a catalyst of material change.”²⁸ Clothes are exceedingly active; they perform, emote and display, therefore they operate not only as the products of history, but also as active agents in determining its formation.²⁹ In addition, dress is an important medium through which to understand history. As Anne Buck has shown, dress can be used as an interpretative tool, specifically when seen “in action” within literary works of the period.³⁰ Buck explains that when viewed ‘at work,’ for example in the novels of Elizabeth Gaskell, dress sheds light on the historical situation and social milieu in which the novels operated. To apply Buck’s ideas to a visual, rather than literary source, the free produce photographs show dress in action, and at work in articulating the anti-slavery values of the wearers, within the cultural, religious and historical milieu of the period. This brings us to the evolution of the special forms of Quaker clothing, from the 1650s to the 1850s.

Traditionalism in Quaker Women’s Dress

In 1654, George Fox, the founder of the Quaker faith preached that “ye fashions of the world” were a distraction from Godliness and he advised strongly against “costly apparel,” embellished with gold, silver and lace.³¹ Fox’s biblical dislike of patterned cloth was also foundational to early Friends, and it helped to form their attitudes.³² By the end of the seventeenth century, Fox’s ideas on dress became enshrined as the ‘Testimony of Plainness,’ this was extended to lifestyle, deportment and language and thus was rooted in both private and public culture. In 1691, London Yearly Meeting issued an “Epistle” on the importance of retaining Quaker culture through Plainness, it stated, “Friends [should] take care to keep in plainness, in language, habit, deportment and behaviour, that the simplicity and truth in these things.” It advised, “To avoid pride and immodesty in apparel, and

²⁸ Beverly Lemire, (ed) The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society. Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times (London: Ashgate, 2010).

²⁹ Taylor, The Study of Dress History1.

³⁰ Anne Buck, “Clothes in Fact and Fiction 1825 – 1850,” Costume (1983): 89-104.

³¹ George Fox, Journal (1654) in Kendall, 58.

³² Beverly Gordon, Textiles. The Whole Story: Uses, Meanings, Significance London: Thames and Hudson, 2011) 181.

extravagant wigs, and all other vain and superfluous fashions of the world.³³ This set early Quakers apart, both ideologically and visually, from their peers in fashionable society.

Plainness was reflective of Christian ideology, the cultural and religious identity of Friends and their pragmatic approach to daily life. Specifically, “costly apparell” contravened the biblical teachings on humility, and on a practical level, extravagant clothing was not available to the rural poor, who were the early followers of Fox. Hence extravagance was seen inappropriate to the first and subsequent generations of Friends. It must be emphasised that the Society did not decree that Plainness should be observed, but a combination of advisory “Epistles,” Quaker desire for traditional values, and peer pressure helped Friends to maintain plainness into the mid-nineteenth century. Plain dress was understood by both Quaker and non-Quaker society to act as a metaphorical ‘hedge,’ separating Friends from ‘the world,’ and hence emphasising Quaker ‘peculiarity.’ The maintenance of separation however became increasingly complicated as Friends participated in commerce and industry. Accordingly, the Society advised that dress should continue to reflect Quaker difference, but opinions differed considerably on what Quakers should, or should not wear, especially when fulfilling public roles.³⁴

Plain Quaker women’s dress stemmed from the commonplace clothing of the rural poor, worn during the mid-seventeenth century. This consisted of simple gowns and shawls, worn with coifs, collars and aprons.³⁵ These forms of dress were established as ‘traditional,’ for they recalled the humble roots of the faith, and were worn by plain Friends into the nineteenth century, as can be seen in the photograph of Mary Messer (Figure 5.9). Traditional, plain Quaker women’s gowns in the nineteenth century were typically cut with a high neck, a long, moderately full skirt and with fitted, full-length sleeves, made from heavy quality silk or wool. This was often dull-textured, plain or discreetly patterned and colours were typically ‘quiet’ shades of brown, grey, green and ‘drab,’ a mixture of all three.³⁶ A good example of a gown of this type is seen in the LRSF, sewn from dull, grey/blue/brown silk, with long sleeves and a distinctive, ‘apron’ bodice,

³³ “Epistle,” London Yearly Meeting (1691) first page. Transcript in LRSF, “Catalogue of Costume.”

³⁴ Deborah Kraak, “Variations on ‘Plainness’: Quaker Dress in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia” *Costume* 34 (2000): 51-63, 51.

³⁵ Suzanne Keen, “Quaker Dress, Sexuality and the Domestication of Reform in the Victorian Novel” *Victorian Literature and Culture* (2002): 211-236.

³⁶ Nancie Allen, “Ellis Quaker Collection in Wygston House Museum, Leicester,” *Costume* 11 (1977): 118-122, 118.

which opened at the front (Figure 5.10). This gown is plain, but rich, and is comparable to several silk gowns in Quaker collections.³⁷

Quaker women wore distinctive outer garments; full-length, tailored, woollen cloaks, lined with silk and heavy rectangular or square shawls, often of cream or fawn wool, trimmed with silk. In its chapter on making Quaker dress, The Workwoman's Guide, a popular nineteenth century sewing guide, included guidance on shawls.³⁸ It advised suitable colours as limited to “fine white, or very pale drab, grey or other quiet coloured cloth.”³⁹ Quaker women wore poke-bonnets, often of black, grey, fawn or blue, silk, of which Eleanor Clark possessed a very fine example (Figure 5.11). Accessories were exceedingly important and were highly distinctive; collars, cuffs, caps, aprons, rectangular stoles and triangular neckerchiefs or ‘handkerchiefs,’ worn crossed over the bodice.⁴⁰ They were fashioned from plain white linen, and later, plain, or discreetly patterned white cotton, usually muslin, cambric or dimity.⁴¹ The combination of dark clothing with white accessories presented a neat and proper image to the world, which recalled old-fashioned Puritan style and embodied genteel propriety.⁴² The limited choice of colours for all dress items confirms that plain Quaker women were able to distinguish their wardrobes, but this was done within restricted and subtle nuances of colour.

The exceedingly plain attire of Elizabeth Fry (1780 – 1845) was a powerful influence on traditional Friends. In her Memoirs, Fry explained, “I used to think and do now, how little dress matters.” She also realised that plain dress was a metaphor for Quaker values, and therefore was of great importance, “I find it almost impossible to keep to the principles of Friends without altering my dress and speech ... They appear to me a sort of protector to the state of Christianity in the present state of the world.”⁴³ The static nature of Fry's dress

³⁷ Caton, 250-266 discusses the large number of Quaker silk gowns of this type, held in collections in Pennsylvania; the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Westtown Friends School and Winterthur Museum

³⁸“A Lady,” The Workwoman's Guide Containing Instructions to the Inexperienced in Cutting Out and Completing Those Articles of Wearing Apparel etc. Which are Usually Made at Home; Also Explanations on Upholstery, Straw-Plaiting, Bonnet Making, Knitting etc “A Method Shortens Labour” (London: simpkins, 1835) Chapter VI.

³⁹The Workwoman's Guide 166.

⁴⁰ Kendal, 1 58-74; Kraak, 51-63.

⁴¹ Nancie Allen, “Ellis Quaker Collection in Wygston's House Museum of Costume, Leicester, (Leicestershire Museums,” Costume 11 (1977): 118-122, 118.

⁴² Keen, 215.

⁴³ Elizabeth Fry, Memoirs of the Life of Elizabeth Fry 2 volumes (London: Gilpin, 1847) volume 2, 53 in Caton, 255.

can be seen in a painting, from 1823 (Figure 5.12) and in her photographic visiting card, dating to the 1840s (Figure 5.13). Despite an interval of twenty years, the same clothing was shown in both portraits, indicating that Fry employed dress as a stable metaphor for her values, and that she saw no reason to update her public style.⁴⁴

Changes in Quaker Style During the 1850s

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Friends became increasingly integrated with mainstream society, for many had prospered in commercial enterprises and now participated in public culture activities.⁴⁵ Friends' public life was increasingly incompatible with cultural isolation, and at the instigation of the Moderates, there was a relaxation of the very practises in dress that had made Quakers peculiar.⁴⁶ As recalled by one Friend, dress and speech were immediately affected, but some traditions, such as wearing the Quaker bonnet persisted for longer.⁴⁷ The relaxation of attitudes to lifestyle and dress was especially felt among the wealthy middle classes. These were depicted by the Quaker artist, J. J. Wilson, whose drawings showed Friends gathering in London for Yearly Meeting in 1860 (Figure 5.14).⁴⁸ Wilson's work showed that whilst some female Friends still wore traditional items, others wore 'modern' styles, such as the full skirts and crinolines, as seen in mainstream, Victorian fashion. The crossover with non-Quaker dress is confirmed by a visiting card belonging to Quaker Anne Pike (1865), who is shown in a fashionable silken gown with a tiered skirt and a crinoline, worn to extend the fullness of the skirt (Figure 5.4).⁴⁹

As the Quakers became increasingly engaged with social and political reform movements, such as teetotalism, temperance and the fight against slavery, so clothing reflected the politicisation of its wearers. Quaker activists' dress became, what McCracken terms, the "cultural ballast," that made concrete the opinions and sentiments of the wearers. Dress

⁴⁴ Keen, 219-220. Fry's dress became a metaphor for Quaker womanhood and was seen as traditional Quaker attire.

⁴⁵ James Walvin, *The Quakers, Money and Morals* (London: John Murray, 1997).

⁴⁶ John Punshon, *A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Books, 2006 [1984]) 148-9.

⁴⁷ Anne Ogden Boyce, *Records of a Quaker Family. The Richardsons of Cleveland* (London: Samuel Horns & Co., 1899) 232.

⁴⁸ J. J. Wilson, *Original Pen and Ink Sketches by J. J. Wilson* (London: Headley Bros, 1860).

⁴⁹ For clothing and fashionable dress in the Victorian period, see: Anne Buck, *Victorian Costume and Costume Accessories* (London: Jenkins, 1961); Jane Tozer and Sarah Levitt, *Fabrics of Society. A Century of People in Their Clothes* (Cambridge: Laura Ashley, 1973); Christina Walkley and Vanda Foster, *Crinolines and Crimping Irons. Victorian Clothes: How They Were Cleaned and Cared For* (London: Peter Owen, 1978); Levitt, "Clothing," in M. Rose (ed), 154-176.

also fortified activists in the social aspects of their work; cementing shared values and acting as what McCracken calls, the “weapons in the armoury of resistance and protest.”⁵⁰ John Woolman remained a foundational influence on Friends, in the practice of the wearing of moral and anti-slavery beliefs, for Woolman had demonstrated that it was possible to put theory into practice, through dressing entirely without recourse to slave-labour.⁵¹ His moralistic approach provided a beacon for subsequent generations of Friends, informing their activities, and teaching them how to enact their sentiments and to follow their consciences, in practical ways. After his death, Woolman continued to receive accolade. For example, Chandler’s essay, published in 1836, recommended readers turn to his Journal, for inspiration, “pure simplicity ... when your heart turns sick with the long details of human crime and misery.”⁵² This indicated that nineteenth century Quakers were nostalgic for ‘simple’ times and old-fashioned values. This brings us to the enactment of anti-slavery principles through dress, but firstly, the survival of free labour cotton needs discussion.

The Survival of Free Labour Cotton

Academics working in the field confirm that locating extant examples of free cotton textiles and dress is a challenging and frustrating task.⁵³ The small number of examples that have survived with the necessary provenance to verify them as such may have hindered discussions of free cotton, and to date no wide-ranging discussion of free labour cotton textiles and clothing has appeared in print.⁵⁴ As discussed, the Free Produce Movement experienced considerable problems in persuading shoppers that free cotton was genuine, and hence a free produce ticket was introduced in America and possibly in Britain

⁵⁰ McCracken, 61.

⁵¹ Geoffrey Plank, “The First Person in Antislavery Literature: John Woolman, his Clothes and his Journal,” Slavery and Abolition 30:1 (2009): 67-90.

⁵² Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “John Woolman,” Benjamin Lundy, Essays, Philanthropic and Moral by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler Principally Relating to the Abolition of Slavery in America (Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836) 25-6.

⁵³ Email and in-person conversations on surviving free labour cotton have been conducted with the following (2008-2011), Elizabeth O’Donnell (U of Northumbria); Sean Creighton (North East Slavery and Social Action Group); Ben Dandelion (Woodbrooke Quaker Studies Centre, University of Birmingham); Edward Milligan (ex-Archivist, LRSF); Alan Rice, (U of Central Lancashire); Carol Faulkner (Syracuse U, N Y); Pat O’Donnell (FHL, Swarthmore College, Pa.) and Emma Poulter (Manchester Museums).

⁵⁴ Key texts discussing free produce are: Ruth Ketring Nuermberger, The Free Produce Movement A Quaker Protest Against Slavery (New York: AMS, 1970 [Duke U P, 1942]); Louis Billington, “British Humanitarians and American Cotton 1840 – 1860,” Journal of American Studies 11:3 (1977): 313-334; Carol Faulkner, “‘The Root of the Evil.’ Free Produce and Radical Antislavery 1820 – 1860,” Journal of the Early Republic 23:3 (2007):377-405.

(Figure 3.5). As far as is known, no stamp or mark was actually applied to the cloth, therefore lengths cut from a roll and made into clothing carried no identifying marks. The problems with verifying free cotton still persist, and it is not possible to distinguish by visual methods alone, what is free, or slave-grown. Therefore historians rely on the provenance of accompanying notes or letters, for example, Browne's note to Clark, in order to identify the samples sent to the Street depot as genuine free labour cotton.⁵⁵

The very small number of extant, proven examples suggests that little free labour cotton has survived. This however, may not be the full picture, for it is possible that much has survived, but that it awaits recognition. The approach of uncovering hidden histories and linking certain objects in museum collections to the Atlantic slave trade was successfully performed by the 'Revealing Histories' project in Manchester (2006 – 2007). This has re-categorised some items according to their connections to slavery, and it has unearthed many stories about objects in the collections.⁵⁶ Similarly further items of free cotton might be uncovered, through identifying their connections to free cotton campaigners. In addition there are a number of problems in researching free labour Quaker cotton dress in the nineteenth century. Few articles of dress carry provenance; cotton Quaker accessories are plentiful but large items are hard to find; and museums have historically shown a bias towards collecting elite, silken fashions of the wealthy, rather than ordinary and cotton items.⁵⁷

To investigate the possibility of finding surviving examples of free labour cotton clothes, two British collections of Quaker dress were examined, with particular reference to cotton items that date to the 1850s; these are the costume collections in the AGT and the LRSF. The LRSF holds many small items and a number of fine silk gowns and cloaks (see Appendix 5 for inspected, relevant items, especially 409 Box C, 426 Box E/1, 427 Box E/1, 446 Box E1, 496 Box J, 606 Box O, 486 Box H, 485 Box H, 491 Box H and 486 Box H). The Keeper of Collections, Joanna Clark estimates that although extensive and covering a broad spectrum of Quaker dress in the nineteenth century, the Library's collection holds but a small proportion of the total quantity of extant Quaker dress. This is believed to be still held in private family archives, such as the Gurney collection in

⁵⁵ Note, JB to EC, on pamphlet, "To the Friends."

⁵⁶ <<http://www.revealinghistories.org>> (accessed 4 February, 2012).

⁵⁷ Barbara Burman, "Working-Class Dress," in Valerie Steele (ed) *The Berg Companion to Fashion* (Oxford: Berg, 2010) 734-737, 735; L. Taylor, *The Study of Dress History* 3-23.

Norwich, and the Sturge collection in Birmingham.⁵⁸ Access to Quaker family archives remains difficult, for historically, they have been closely guarded, and some remain closed to non-family members. It should be noted that the Clark collection only widened access to the public in 2010.⁵⁹

The AGT has many items dating to the nineteenth century. This includes a number of silk items and many examples of cotton clothing and domestic textiles, some of which had belonged to James and Eleanor Clark (Appendix 4, Box 1). A sizeable proportion of the collection consists of small items, such as accessories, underwear and infant and baby clothing (see Appendix 4, especially boxes 6, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27, 29, 30, 32 and 33). Given the family's commitment to the Free Produce Movement, it follows, although it is not possible to confirm, that some of the cotton items dating to the period may have been made from free labour cotton. Moreover, some items dating to the mid-1850s may have been made from cloth bought at the Street Depot.⁶⁰

Enquiries were also made to Quaker schools, museums and collections in England and Wales, especially in the West Country, to ascertain if any examples of Quaker clothing or free cotton have survived in their archives. As shown in Appendix 11, there were few reports of items of Quaker textiles or dress and even fewer reports of connections to, or any knowledge of, free labour cotton. However, Both the Mount Quaker Girl's School and Ackworth School stated that the schools were highly active in the anti-slavery cause and pupils were taught to sew samplers using the 'kneeling slave' motif (see Figure 3.4, for a similar example). The Mount School also suggested that in line with American Quaker schools, it was highly probable that the school had used free cotton for sheets and clothes, and it was probable that parents were encouraged to support free labour cotton.⁶¹ To widen the search for extant examples, contact was established with archivists and curators in textiles, dress, local history and industrial heritage in Britain and America (Appendix 11).

⁵⁸ Thanks to Joanna Clark, Keeper of Picture and Dress Collections, LRSF (conversations 2008-2010).

⁵⁹ Thanks to Sylvia Stephens, researcher at LRSF and to Joanna Clark for information on collecting practice and use of family archives among Friends.

⁶⁰ "Statement of Accounts of the Street Free Labour Cotton Depot with David Brooks," (1858) LRSF MS Box 8:5, 29. This lists purchases made by Clark.

⁶¹ Nuernberger, 38 reports that four American boarding schools used free labour cotton; Moses Brown (Rhode Island), Nine Partners (New York), Haverford and Westtown (Pennsylvania).

An advertisement was also placed in The Friend (March, 2009), requesting contact from anyone who might have family connections to free labour cotton.⁶²

These requests for information yielded many helpful replies and much discussion on the anonymity and apparent non-survival of free labour cotton.⁶³ Importantly, the Friends Historical Library in Philadelphia (FHL) directed me to what they consider to be the only example of a free labour cotton article of clothing, which survives with provenance. This is a baby's gown, made from cream cotton muslin, once held in FHL, and now held in the Philadelphia History Museum in the city (See Figure 4.3 for the gown and Figure 4.4 for the original label).⁶⁴ The museum believes that the gown may have been an 'apron' or pinafore, which dates to between the 1840s and the 1860s, and it was collected during the 1940s, from an unrecorded donor in the geographical area of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia.⁶⁵ In 1987 together with two thousand items of Quaker dress, it was transferred to the Atwater Kent Museum, now called the Philadelphia History Museum, where it is currently in storage, awaiting refurbishment and new displays, scheduled for 2012 or 2013. The museum believes that the gown was sold at a free cotton fair in Philadelphia, to raise funds for the anti-slavery cause. However, as with much of the Quaker collection, it arrived with scanty documentation and both maker and owner are unknown.⁶⁶

After viewing the gown in 2010, I confirm that this is an intriguing item and it is of enormous significance, as the only extant item of clothing known to be made from free labour cotton. It is hand sewn, from cream-on-cream heavy, checked, cotton muslin with a high waist, round neckline and short, upstanding frilled sleeves. It is open at the back, fastening with a belt, which is buttoned with a single mother-of-pearl button, suggesting that it may have been worn over a frock. Its identity as made from free labour cotton is verified by the original labels. These are written in ink on small scraps of paper, tacked to

⁶² Anna Vaughan Kett, "Request for Information on Free Labour Movement," The Friend (March, 2009).

⁶³ Helpful responses came from: Philip Sykas (Manchester Metropolitan University); Adam Daber (Manchester Museum of Science and Industry); Lynda Wix (Norwich Textile Study Centre); Emma Poulter; Tom Robson (Cumbria Museums Service); Rob Lewis (Manchester Archives); Lesley Miller (V&A); Miles Lambert (Gallery of Costume, Manchester); Pat O'Donnell (FHL, Swarthmore College, Pa).

⁶⁴ Many thanks to Pat O'Donnell for directing me to this gown, and for putting me in touch with Jeffrey Ray and Susan Drinan at the Philadelphia History Museum.

⁶⁵ Museum notes: "hand-sewn cotton muslin baby gown, catalogue no. 87.35.368."

⁶⁶ Email, Susan Drinan (20 May, 2009).

the gown, reading, “Free Labour Cotton” and “12.” The first label confirms that the gown is made of free cotton, but the meaning of the second label is less certain.

Close observation reveals certain aspects of the design and construction of the gown, suggesting how, and why, it may have been made. The gown appears to have been unworn, for it is free from stains, and the cloth retains the stiffness of new cloth and the labels, attached by tacking stitches, all of which suggests that the gown was kept in the condition it was bought. Whilst it is not possible to know why it was not worn, it should be pointed out that the sleeve openings are very small for practical use. In terms of its manufacture, it is evident that the stitching is not consistent, and it appears to have been performed by at least two individuals. An experienced hand appears to have sewn the long seams, and a less accomplished one appears to have sewn the armholes and sleeve frills. The frills have especially large stitches, and have been attached inside-out and will not lie flat. Possibly the frock was used to train a young seamstress, which fits with the evangelical belief that ‘doing what they could’ for the slave also served educational and moral agendas.⁶⁷

Although impossible to connect to any known individuals, the gown may be fitted with the educational, evangelical and anti-slavery beliefs of philanthropists such as Martha Ball of the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society in Boston, and Eleanor Clark of Street in Somerset.

Also transferred at the same time were additional Quaker, and possibly free labour cotton, items which originated in the local area and date to the period 1830 – 1860. These are described by the museum as, a woman’s apron, trimmed with rosettes at the shoulder; two pairs of under-sleeves; a large piece of fabric; and a boy’s skeleton suit of a fitted jacket and cropped trousers. Importantly, the piece of cloth arrived with a handwritten note, dating to 1860, stating, “Uncle only used free cotton,” which the museum accepts as confirmation that this is a piece of free labour cotton.⁶⁸ There is a connection between the suit, apron and under-sleeves, for all are constructed from the same distinctive, unbleached, cream-on-cream, checked cotton muslin. This was noted by the museum as the “same plaid

⁶⁷ See C. Rose (ed), vol 1 xiii for explanations of the training of poor girls to sew.

⁶⁸ P H Museum notes; “Fragment of fabric, large piece of plain woven stained off-white cotton. Brown line running on selvedge edge c.1860. Comes with note in file,” (87.35.527).

as free cotton.”⁶⁹ The garments also match the cloth used to make the baby’s gown, suggesting that all the items may have been made from the same cloth.

The Contexts to Free Produce Photographs

The scarcity of extant examples of free labour cotton cloth makes the free produce photographs even more significant, for they tell us what free cotton clothes looked like and how they operated. They are part of the collection of photographs once owned by James and Eleanor Clark, which include professional portraits of the family and amateur photographs at home and on outings.⁷⁰ The free produce photographs have been confirmed by the AGT as the work of John Aubrey Clark (1826 – 1890), the nephew of Eleanor and James Clark.

It is tempting to read the photographs as an accurate record of a moment in time, ‘witnessed’ by J. A. Clark, and recorded by the ‘independent’ and objective ‘eye’ of the camera. Photographs however, should not be accepted uncritically, for it is possible that images and their creators can re-arrange the truth, “if not exactly lie.”⁷¹ Lou Taylor cautions us that when scrutinising photographs for information on dress, that it is crucial to be mindful of social and historical contexts, and especially to understand what has been “percolated through the lens” of the photographer, according to his, or her vision.⁷² Therefore it is important to unearth the intent of the photographer, in order to ascertain whether the photographs he took can be seen as ‘authentic’ images of Clarks’ clothes. Hence it is important to know something of the social context of the images and the photographer who created them.⁷³

⁶⁹ P H Museum notes; “Apron without ties, cream on cream cotton plaid, trimmed with bright blue silk, a rosette at each shoulder c. 1858,” (87.35.324); “Under sleeve, wide sleeve with 4 ½ inch deep eyelet trim, cream on cream cotton plaid, c.1850,” (87.35.522A); “Under sleeve, ditto above c.1850,” (87.35.522B); “skeleton suit, young boy’s one-piece cream silk/cotton suit. Plaid of cream on cream. 1/ 16 inch cream tape stitched as decoration. 35 mother of pearl buttons. Pants to ankles, short gathered sleeves and collar. Drop seat with gathered ruffle in back and small hole for urinating in front. Same plaid as free cotton c. 1830,” (87.35.905).

⁷⁰ They are distributed throughout the collection, notably in AGT, HSHC 55.

⁷¹ Claudia Brush Kidwell and Nancy Rexford, “Foreword,” in Joan Severa, Dressed for the Photographer. Ordinary Americans and Fashion 1840 – 1860 (Kent Oh.: Kent State U P, 1995) xi.

⁷² Taylor, The Study of Dress History 160-163. Taylor refers to S. Braden, Committing Photography (London: Pluto Press, 1983) 1.

⁷³ For how to read, understand and set photographs into context, see: Liz Wells (ed) Photography. A Critical Introduction (London: Routledge, 1996) and The Photography Reader (London: Routledge, 2003); Mary Warner Marion, Photography: A Cultural History (London: Laurence King, 2002); Steve Edwards, Photography: A Very Short History (Oxford: O U P, 2005) and The Making of English Photography. Allegories (Philadelphia, Pa.: Pennsylvania State U P, 2006).

John Aubrey Clark was the eldest son of Cyrus and Sarah Clark. He trained as a draughtsman, and he worked as a surveyor, and later Clerk, to Street Urban District Council. In his leisure time he made many pen and ink drawings, for the hand written, illustrated albums of the Street essay societies, known as the “Village Chronicle,” and from 1857, the “Village Album.” These albums contained contributions from the extended family, written under certain pen names. For example, J. A. Clark was known as “Adam the Gardener,” and his aunt Eleanor Clark was known as “Eva.”⁷⁴ A panel of family members, headed by Eleanor Clark selected works from the submissions made by the extended family, and J. A. Clark was responsible for transcribing and illustrating them for the albums.⁷⁵ J. A. Clark’s illustrations show a preference for fantastical and picturesque subjects such as the legends of Avalon and scenes from Shakespeare, as seen in a drawing of a theme from The Tempest (Figure 5.15).⁷⁶ His graphic, lettering style reflected the taste for intricate and foliage-entwined designs, which was also seen in the popular press of the era.⁷⁷ Clark was also remembered by the family for his incisive wit, as seen in his cartoons of village life, and in the humorous names he gave his relatives.⁷⁸

At the time of the free produce photographs taken in 1858, the Clarks’ shoemaking firm had become very successful, generating wealth for both families and providing them with the means to pursue leisure activities and hobbies.⁷⁹ J. A. Clark’s hobby was photography, and from the late 1850s, he was a prolific amateur, who experimented with creative compositions and portraiture of his family, using ‘paper negatives’ as pioneered by Henry Fox Talbot.⁸⁰ By the late 1850s, photography had become exceedingly popular, and photographic images were widely circulated, especially in the form of pocket-sized visiting cards which featured carefully staged studio portraits of sitters.⁸¹ Some cards depicted very well-known figures, such as Queen Victoria (Figure 5.1) and some were sold to raise

⁷⁴ “Noms de Plume,” “Village Album” Vol I (1857) AGT VA 01.

⁷⁵ Roger Clark, “Centenary of the Village Album,” Somerset Anthology. Twenty One Pieces by Roger Clark of Street 1871-1961 (York: Sessions, 1971) 1-7, 7 n.5.

⁷⁶ This verse from The Tempest by W. Shakespeare (c.1610) was also known as “Ariel’s Song” and was popular following its setting to music, by Thomas Arne in the eighteenth century.

⁷⁷ Frontispieces, English Woman’s Domestic Magazine Vol VII (1858-9) and frontispieces of Illustrated London News (1850-55).

⁷⁸ See J.A. Clark cartoon, “Street, Centre of Attractions,” for “Village Chronicle” (1845) AGT, No. ONE 15/16; Roger Clark, “Miss Mainsail,” (1939) Somerset Anthology 84-89, 84, he writes of J. A. Clark’s names for the family.

⁷⁹ George Barry Sutton, C. & J. Clark. A History of Shoemaking in Street (York: Sessions, 1979) 16-18.

⁸⁰ For useful summaries of the technical history of photography, see: Edwards Photography and The Making of English Photography.

⁸¹ Edwards, The Making of English Photography 68-116.

funds, for example the carte of Sojourner Truth (Figure 4.2). In the 1850s photography was the subject of intense debate, and its dual position as both an art form and a scientific tool meant that it simulated debate across disciplines and fulfilled many functions in the Victorian world.⁸²

As Benjamin Beck has found, Quakers thoroughly embraced the medium of photography which they placed within the realm of scientific enquiry, for which they held deep respect.⁸³ Quakers became enthusiastic practitioners and the subject was taught to boys in at Bootham School in York.⁸⁴ Quaker periodicals reflected Friends' growing interest, and they began reviewing exhibitions and journals which they placed in sections on science.⁸⁵ Many Friends possessed photographic cartes, and the LRSF holds a large collection of Friends' cartes which date to the mid-nineteenth century. These were once held by the 'Friends' Institute,' a Quaker social club and library in London, whose collection forms the basis of the LRSF.⁸⁶ The Friends' Institute Collection provides a wealth of information on the visual presentation of Friends and their changing styles during the nineteenth century. Significantly, the collection includes a carte belonging to Eleanor Clark (Figure 5.2). This shows her in an artistic oval vignette, dressed in smart and progressive style, in a pale possibly spotted silk gown, a shawl, collar and a distinctive frilled cap.

Eleanor and James Clark were evidently interested in photography, for they commissioned many images of the family and the examples in "Village Album" demonstrate the family's preferences for photographs of people, interiors and landscapes.⁸⁷ The Clarks' interest in visual culture gives a clear indication that they were progressive Friends, for traditional Friends remained opposed to portrait 'likenesses,' which they believed transgressed the Testimony of Truth.⁸⁸ Historically, exceptions had been made for certain pictures, for example in the anti-slavery cause. Notably the print of "Brooks Slave Ship" (1788) was a popular picture in the homes of Quaker abolitionists, and Josiah Wedgwood's 'slave

⁸² D. Price, "Surveys and Social Facts," in Wells, 77-82; Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* 68

⁸³ Benjamin Beck, "'A Witness Lasting, Faithful, True': the Impact of Photography on Quaker Attitudes to Portraiture," (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of the Arts, London, 2000) online unpaginated version accessed at <<http://www.benjaminbeck.co.uk>> (20 June, 2011).

⁸⁴ Beck, Chapter 5.

⁸⁵ Beck, Chapter 7. Chapter 3 quotes from "Scientific Notes," *The Friend* (Jan-September, 1861).

⁸⁶ Friends' Institute opened in 1852, in White Hall Court in Gracechurch Street, with a large library, reading room and facilities for visitors who were in town, attending London Yearly Meeting. The collections are now held in LRSF.

⁸⁷ "Village Album," (1861)VA XIV. This has many photographs.

⁸⁸ Marcia Pointon, "Quakerism and Visual Culture 1650 – 1800," *Art History* 20:3 (1997): 397-431.

medallion' was both worn and displayed by Quaker sympathisers (Figure 3.3).⁸⁹ In addition, during the nineteenth century many Quakers commissioned black paper silhouette portrait pictures, which depicted family members in stylish settings.⁹⁰ The Clark family had several pictures of this type, made by their kinsman and well-known silhouette artist Joseph Metford of Glastonbury, who trained under Auguste Edouard in Boston. One large, ornate portrait by Metford was made in 1855, depicting James, Eleanor Clark and their eleven children in the drawing room at their home, 'Netherleigh' (Figure 5.16).

J. A. Clark also experimented with photography as a creative medium to express his artistic visions, often in 'picturesque' compositions of figures in landscapes.⁹¹ One example of this type was "The Stile by the Wood" taken in 1863, which shows a young woman pausing at a stile, on the edge of woodland (Figure 5.17).⁹² It should be pointed out that rural landscapes were popular subjects among amateur photographers. This was discussed in Photographic News in 1860, which instructed readers how to work out of doors with "genuine rural inhabitants" and using suitable props, such as stiles.⁹³ Thus the work of J. A. Clark can be seen as part of current trends in photography, and in particular the practice of working out of doors and creating scenes that appeared 'natural' and uncontrived.

Interpreting the Free Produce Photographs

J. A. Clark took many portraits of his extended family, especially in their gardens, and these provide an extraordinary window through which to view the Clark family at home. Examples are the photographs of his aunts Ann and Eliza Stephens in the garden of their home 'Greenbank' (Figure 5.5); his grandfather and brother in the garden of 'Hindhayes' (1876); his own family in the garden of 'Elmhurst' (c.1856-8); and his cousins in the garden of 'Netherleigh' (1889).⁹⁴ These images bear witness to Clark's frequent opportunities to record the family, and they show that he had access to their private and

⁸⁹ John Oldfield, Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery. The Mobilisation of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade (Manchester: M U P, 1995); Marcus Wood, Blind Memory. Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780 – 1865 (Manchester: M U P, 2000).

⁹⁰ Kevin McSwiggan, Silhouettes (Princes Risborough, Bucks: Shire, 1997).

⁹¹ For landscape and figure in Victorian photography, see John Hannary, The Masters of Victorian Photography (Newton Abbott; David Charles, 1974) 45 and Elizabeth Heyert, The Glass House Years. Victorian Portrait Photography 1839-1870 (London: Prior, 1979) 141.

⁹² The woman resembles Clark's cousin Amy Jane, and the landscape resembles the locale. Also see "Walnut Gathering," "Village Album," (1861) AGT VA XIV.

⁹³ "Drawing of a Background," The Photographic News (20 January, 1860): 235 in Edwards, The Making of English Photography 255.

⁹⁴ Photographs, "Hindhayes," "Elmhurst," and "Netherleigh," in Roger Clark, ii, xvi and xvii.

domestic lives. Moreover, his status as insider of the group was demonstrated by the fact that he included himself in some compositions.⁹⁵ As a result, Clark's work appears relatively informal and relaxed, and not bound to the conventions of the photographer's studio.⁹⁶ Spontaneity and naturalness also characterised the free produce photographs, for notwithstanding that both images show the family carefully arranged, the continued conversations and movements, as seen in the blurred faces, suggest a view of the family in a comparatively uncontrived setting and with the sitters arranged informally, and behaving naturally.

Family photographs can be interpreted in many ways, and can provide a wealth of information about identity, relationships and attitudes.⁹⁷ Marianne Hirsch stresses the importance of their narrative content and their interdependence between the verbal and the visual. To borrow a phrase from W. T. Mitchell, photographic "imagetexts" operate as a fusion of the two, and they weave together a highly complex version of image and text.⁹⁸ The free produce photographs are indeed powerful imagetexts, operating across time and space, recording a historical moment and communicating a story about the family and its anti-slavery beliefs. As Hirsch explains, family photographs can represent deeply private worlds, overlaid with familial meaning and where a "familial gaze" is often in operation.⁹⁹ As recorded in the exchanged looks and close physical contact of the younger children, the Clark family members were strongly linked to one another. This gives the viewer the sense that they are peering into their world, and this makes the free produce photographs potent social documents through which to explore the dress of the sitters.

Anti-Slavery References in the Photographs

According to L. H. Barber, the archivist at C. & J. Clark during the 1950s, the photograph of the Clark family in a line unequivocally shows the family's anti-slavery activism. Barber found the photograph in the company's archives and included it, with a caption in

⁹⁵ "Elmhurst," in Roger Clark, xvi.

⁹⁶ See Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* 68-116 for stilted effects of the studio portrait.

⁹⁷ Jo Spence and Patricia Holland, *Family Snaps. The Meaning of Domestic Photography* (London: Virago, 1980) 18.

⁹⁸ Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames. Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Harvard UP, 2002 [1997]) 271 n1, n2. Hirsch refers to the foundational work by Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida. Reflections on Photography* (London: Cape, 1982), Victor Burgin, (ed) *Thinking Photography* (London: Macmillan, 1982) and W.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Visual and Verbal Interpretation* (Chicago, Ill.: U of Chicago P, 1994).

⁹⁹ Hirsch, 11.

the firm's museum, where it is still displayed in the section "Friendly and Other Concerns" (Figure 2.7). Some time later, black-and-white copies were made, one of which was deposited at LRSF.¹⁰⁰ Barber's caption reads as follows:

James Clark and his family in 1858. The daughters are dressed in free labour cotton. The Anti-Slavery Society was founded by Quakers. A depot was established in Street for the sale of articles made from cotton not grown by slave labour.¹⁰¹

To the statement "the daughters are dressed in free labour cotton," I add that it is extremely likely that all family members are wearing free cotton, for free produce commitment was deeply embedded among the Clarks and would have been extended to all family members. This included the men, which it should be noted, will not be discussed here. Whilst researching in the archives at C. & J. Clark, I located a second free produce photograph which shows the family on a different occasion, arranged sitting and standing in a group, out of doors, with a background of trees (see Figure 2.9 and digital enhancement, Figure 2.10).

As shown in the free produce photograph of the Clark family standing in a line, the clothing is shown clearly (refer to Figures 2.7, 2.8 and 2.8 a). Working from left to right, the family is dressed as follows: Eleanor Clark is dressed in a cotton gown made from pale cloth, with a faint check. It is full length, moderately full-skirted and loose fitting, the bodice having long sleeves and a short peplum. She wears a frilled cap, and a kerchief, worn in the traditional style, crossed over the breast. In her arms she holds Mabel, who was born in 1857, who is dressed in a short cotton frock, with a high waist and short sleeves. Amy Jane is also shown dressed in a pale cotton gown, with a faint check pattern, possibly of the same fabric as worn by her mother, and Mary and Edith, her sisters. Her gown is full-length, moderately full-skirted, with a distinctive 'V' shaped bodice with dropped bishop sleeves, with fullness at the elbow, a straight waistline and a belt. She wears a small collar and just visible, a brooch. Frances is dressed in distinctive, heavy weight, large-patterned, cotton cloth, with prominent horizontal stripes in the checked pattern. Her gown is full-length and moderately fitted, the bodice having a peplum and it is worn with a white

¹⁰⁰ Edward Milligan, *Biographical Dictionary of British Quakers in Commerce and Industry* (York: Sessions, 2007) 135.

¹⁰¹ "Friendly and Other Concerns," Museum of C. & J. Clark, Street. It has not been possible to ascertain what sources Barber used. Email conversations with Tim Crumplin, Keeper of Collections at the AGT (June-July, 2011), and verbal conversations with Edward Milligan (May-November 2010) confirm that both the LRSF and the AGT believe the photograph to be correctly captioned, and probably written with reference to materials on the Street Depot, held in LRSF.

collar. Mary is shown in pale checked cotton, her gown is loose fitting, just off full-length, the bodice having long, full sleeves a short peplum, worn with a collar. Ann is dressed in very bold, heavy weight, large-patterned checked gingham. Her gown is just off full-length, moderately full-skirted, the distinctive 'V' shaped bodice having large, open sleeves, a peplum and worn with a collar. The daughter Eleanor is dressed in a cotton gown with prominent horizontal stripes, of the same cloth as that of her sister, Frances. Her gown is calf-length, semi-fitted, with a dropped waist and short, frilled sleeves, worn with long drawers, or pantaloons. Florence is dressed in a simple gingham check frock, of a similar style to Eleanor's, and also worn with pantaloons. Sophia wears the same cloth and style of garments as Florence, as does Edith, except hers is made in pale, faintly checked cotton. The small boys, James Edmund and Francis are dressed in matching tunics and trousers made from similar cloth to that worn by their young sisters. Similar clothes are shown in the photograph of the family arranged seated and standing in a group (Figures 2.9 and 2.10). In addition, Amy Jane has added a short cape to her outfit and large patterned gingham cloth is worn by all the children except Frances, Francis, Mabel and Mary.

It is conspicuous that in both photographs, members of the group are dressed in clothing made from boldly patterned cloth. Given Quakers' historical preference for subdued styles, the choice of cloth is striking, and despite the fact that these were progressive and changing times, the textiles appear to be especially emphatic.¹⁰² The cloth worn by the Clarks may be compared that of a gown worn by progressive Quaker, Margaret Bright of Rochdale, as seen in her visiting card (Figure 5.18). The gown worn by Bright bears a strong resemblance to that of the Clark women and girls, for it is simply styled, and fashioned from strikingly heavyweight cotton, with broad bold stripes.

The Clark children are also dressed in markedly similar clothing. This may stem from the fact that cloth was often bought in bulk, by the 'piece,' which was sufficient to make sets of garments for the family. This may explain why families often appeared like-dressed and in similar, or identical clothing.¹⁰³ Whilst the similarities between the clothes may have had purely practical reasons, through repetition, attention was drawn to the cloth itself.

¹⁰² Thank you to Joanna Clark, Keeper of Pictures at LRSF for her interesting observations (2010) that they look "stripy" and not "Quakerly"

¹⁰³ Anna Kirk, "Mirror Images of Double Dressing: Like Dressing and the Dress of the Doppelgänger in British Art, Photography and Society 1857 – 1877," (lecture given at University of Brighton, 20 November, 2009).

This is important, for as will be discussed later on, the cloth itself was the carrier of messages about the anti-slavery cause. Repetition both reinforced these messages and presented to the world, a united group dressed in similar clothing.

Comparing the Photographs to Extant Textiles and Dress

In order to ascertain how typical were the clothes worn in the free produce photographs, comparisons have been made with extant items of dress owned by the Clark family and held in the AGT. Although no clothing in the archive matches the bold striped and checked cotton garb in the photographs, some items merit closer attention. Particularly interesting is a collection of clothing dating to the mid nineteenth century, having belonged to Mary Morland Clark (1842 – 1926) and before that, her mother, Eleanor Clark (Appendix 4, Box 1, items 1 – 5). These are a poke bonnet of blue-grey corded silk (Figure 5.11); a cotton muslin cap with a scalloped, frilled brim dating to the mid 1850s (Figure 5.19); a plain muslin cap; a collar with ties and buttons dating to the 1840s to 1850s; and a long, striped cotton infant gown with crocheted trim and inserts.¹⁰⁴

The frilled cap was a distinctive and personal item, and was seen on several occasions in photographs of Eleanor Clark. It is seen in the free produce photographs, Clark's portrait with knitting (Figure 4.1) and her visiting card (Figure 5.2). Thus it may be concluded that it was a habitual part of Clark's public and private attire, and possibly her favourite, or best cap. It should be noted that across Quaker and non-Quaker genteel society, the cotton cap was an essential item in women's domestic dress during the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵ Styles evolved enormously, from ultra simple 'pinched' coif, made from a simple rectangle folded in half, to a multitude of fancy styles that suited different tastes, pockets and requirements.¹⁰⁶ Women's advice literature was generally proscriptive, for example, one stipulated that caps should be "neat but not dressy," and another that they should be "very fresh, elegant and choice, or they are positively disfiguring."¹⁰⁷ It may be concluded that

¹⁰⁴ Dress Collection AGT Box 1: items 1-5 and letter of provenance by Richard Clark (27 May, 2009) "The bonnet, caps and infant gown was deposited by Don and Jane Wride in 2009. The bonnet was owned by Mary Clark Morland, and may have belonged to her mother Eleanor Clark, ditto the caps, collar and infant gown."

¹⁰⁵ Buck, Victorian Costume 126.

¹⁰⁶ Kendall, 69-71.

¹⁰⁷ Elegant Art for Ladies (1856) and The Ladies' Treasury (1877) quoted in Foster and Walkley, 70-71.

the lady's cap was ubiquitous, and one that operated as a sign to indicate the wearer's femininity, taste and propriety.¹⁰⁸

For all of the same reasons, the cap was extremely important to genteel women Friends, with the additional emphasis that it was a constituent of traditional seventeenth century attire. Plain, old-fashioned styles of caps carried cachet as especially 'Quakerly,' and pinched coifs were seen on plain Friends until the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹ There were two basic types of Quaker cap in usage in 1850s, the 'under-cap' or 'bonnet-cap,' which was usually a fine net worn to confine the hair under the poke-bonnet, and the 'upper-cap' or 'indoor cap' which was worn uncovered.¹¹⁰ Large numbers of both types have survived, and are the most numerous items in the costume collections in the AGT and the LRSF.¹¹¹ There are several reasons for the large number of surviving caps. Quaker women possessed many caps; they were robust enough to withstand keeping; and most importantly, that they were considered worth keeping. Caps were often cherished as keepsakes of deceased loved ones and were seen as intimate items, reminders of the wearer, and even a symbol for her. Two caps held in the LRSF reinforce the notion of sentimental attachment, for they were deposited with a letter dated 1908, stating that they once belonged to a relative of the owner, "beloved Aunt Capper" (Figure 5.20).¹¹²

The Quaker upper cap also evolved into a distinctive, tall-crowned 'straight' style which was worn by Elizabeth Fry from the 1820s to the 1840s. This was retained by strict Friends in Britain and America until the 1890s.¹¹³ This is the type of cap described by Stowe in Uncle Tom's Cabin, as a signifier for the Quaker culture of Rachel Halliday. Stowe writes "The snowy lisse crape cap, made after the strait Quaker pattern ... showed at once the community to which she belonged."¹¹⁴ In Britain in the late 1850s, caps became optional among progressive Quakers; as seen in the free produce photographs, only Eleanor wears one, and as seen in her photographic card, Margaret Bright chose not to wear one (see Figure 5.18).

¹⁰⁸ Young, 105.

¹⁰⁹ Kendall, 69.

¹¹⁰ Kendall, 68 for the extensive range of styles.

¹¹¹ Thanks to Joanna Clark, Keeper of Pictures and Dress at LRSF, for this information.

¹¹² Letter, Lucy and Mary Mounsey (1908) reads "...my beloved aunt, Mary Capper's under and upper cap, who died at her lodging in Bull Street, Birmingham ... She completed her 90th year and died in 1845," LRSF, Dress Collection, 426 E/1.

¹¹³ Kendall, 68-69.

¹¹⁴ Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin 125.

It is important to stress the significance of the Quaker cap, and its role in establishing personality and constructing the individual identity of the wearer. More than any other article of Quaker dress, the cap was permitted to express taste, and since they were bespoke, they ‘spoke’ of the owner’s preferences. They were invariably hand sewn, and usually by the wearer, thus they were highly personal and imbued with her handiwork. Caps were also surprisingly individual in design, for small distinctions such as pleats, stitching or discreet decorations made each one unique. Framing the face, they also drew attention to a woman’s features, and since it is primarily through the face that we recognise each other and understand each other’s emotions, caps were indicative of the importance of women’s individual identity in Quaker dress.

Clark’s cap communicated a great deal about the wearer. It was not a traditionally plain item for it was embellished by a double row of scalloped frills and a large bow at the chin. When ‘got up’ using starch and small irons, as seen in the photographs, it created a striking and flower petal-like frame to the face.¹¹⁵ With its low crown, worn back from the face and exposing the hair, Clark’s cap was decidedly modish and modern. Clark’s love of decorated caps emerged when she was a child, for in her article “On Pride in Dress,” (1861) she recalled the punishment she received for wearing a lace “bobbinet border” trim to her cap, which was considered excessive in the 1820s.¹¹⁶ In the late 1850s, Clark was at liberty to express her views, and thus in line with her strong opinion on anti-slavery, it follows that her cap may have been made from free labour cotton. To fashion Clark’s cap from free labour cotton cloth would support this thesis’ theory that free produce goods were normalised in habitual daily life within the free produce community.

Whilst the photographs bear witness to Quakers wearing of free labour cotton clothes, finding extant examples with which to compare them has proved to be a difficult search. With the exception of the free labour cotton baby gown in Philadelphia, no other known example of a free labour cotton garment has been found. As mentioned, nineteenth century cotton clothing of most types is comparatively rare in museums. In British Quaker collections, cotton adult gowns dating to the 1850s do not seem to have survived, although some, dating to the 1840s are held in Philadelphia and others are held in a collection in

¹¹⁵ For routines in laundry and ironing, see Walkley and Foster.

¹¹⁶ “Eva,” “On Pride in Dress,” (1861) “Village Album,” AGT VA XIV.

Chester County, in Pennsylvania.¹¹⁷ Examples of young children's clothes of the right period are more numerous, and many are held in the AGT. For example the dress worn by Mabel Clark in the free produce photographs may be compared to a short cotton frock worn by the Clark family (Figure 5.21). This is a well preserved example of a mid-nineteenth century infant gown which was hand sewn from white cotton lawn, with a triangular lace insert at the breast.¹¹⁸

As discussed, some photographs also show Quakers dressed in cotton gowns, and with free produce in mind, significant examples are of Anna and Ellen Richardson (Figure 5.22). Both women are shown wearing small-checked cotton gingham gowns, with the sleeves of Anna's gown just visible underneath her mantle. Given the anti-slavery commitment of the Richardsons and their role in leading the Free Produce Movement, it is logical that these women would dress as they believed, in clothing made from free labour cotton.

Gingham and Sympathy With the Slave

Checked gingham cloth came in a variety of types, and in its cheaper forms, cotton gingham was widely seen among the working classes in towns and rural areas within Quaker and non-Quaker culture. Importantly, checked cloth was also worn by field slaves in America, working on the plantations of the South. Extensive work has been carried out by anthropologist Helen Bradley Foster, to bring to light the textiles and dress used by the enslaved population during the nineteenth century.¹¹⁹ Foster's information is drawn from the Slave Narratives, which are oral histories, collected from two thousand American ex-slaves, by the Federal Writers' Project during the 1930s.¹²⁰ Foster has analysed the Slave Narratives for personal accounts of slave dress, and especially the role it played in constructing identity on the plantations. Foster finds that 'homespun' or home-made cloth which was patterned, striped and checked was frequently mentioned and discussed with affection in the Slave Narratives. Importantly, she concludes that checked and striped gingham cloth attained a particular cultural significance among the enslaved; it was a

¹¹⁷ The FHL collection in the Philadelphia History Museum has 20 cotton gowns 1840s-early 1850s, in plain, flower and spot prints.

¹¹⁸ It is marked, "ELC" which has not been traced in the family tree, and may refer to the collection owned by James Edmund and Lucretia Clark.

¹¹⁹ Helen Bradley Foster, "New Raiments of Self": African American Clothing in the Antebellum South (Oxford: Berg, 1997).

¹²⁰ The Slave Narratives have been collated into volumes by George P. Rawick, The American Slave: A Composite Biography, 19 volumes (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood, 1972).

source of cultural pride, a statement of individuality and to some extent, a symbol of resistance to oppression.¹²¹ The slaves' use of homespun gingham should be taken into consideration as a factor which may have influenced the choice of checked cloth, worn by British anti-slavery activists such as the Clarks. The slave's use of gingham may have resonated with them, and thus it may have helped to create empathy with the enslaved; a practical means to enter their world, and to understand their misery.

It is important to establish that two types of cotton cloth were used the dress of field slaves on plantations; cheap, factory-made cloth supplied by slave owners, and hand-made cloth, made by slaves. The former was dubbed 'Nigger' or 'Negro' cloth and was deeply unpopular, being of the coarsest type, manufactured in Lowell in Massachusetts or Carlisle and Manchester in England.¹²² In contrast, homespun was made entirely in slave homes and was highly respected, for it was of a higher quality and was made to slaves' own tastes. Typically homespun was made using the plantation's cotton crop, which was spun and dyed in the thread, using dyes from wild and cultivated plants, especially indigo. Dyed thread was woven on hand looms, set up in outbuildings and slave homes, and was made up into clothes. Checked and striped designs were the patterns most frequently recalled in the Narratives. For example, Della Mun Bibles (b. c. 1856) called to mind, "The homespun cloth was, some of it, checked, and some striped." Mandy Jones (aged 80) recollected that they had "a good loom, made close, [for] checks an' stripes." Morris Sheppard (b.1852) recalled that his mother was skilled at making fancy, "stripedy," cloth, dyed with copperas, walnut and wild indigo. Others described their clothes as, "one hundred shades," "all colours of the rainbow" and woven in patterns which were "beautiful" "fancy" and "pretty."¹²³ The Slave Narratives demonstrate that homespun, checked and striped cloth was significant in the formation of African-American identity. For example, checked cloth was used for women's head-wrap, which marked their individuality and subsequently the head wrap became an enduring symbol of twentieth century black identity.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Foster, 110-115.

¹²² Foster, 75-133.

¹²³ Ex slaves Della Mun Bibles, Many Shepherd, Morris Sheppard, Victoria Taylor Thompson, Sally Dixon and Hagar Lewis recorded in the Slave Narratives, quoted in Foster, 111-114.

¹²⁴ Helen Bradley Foster, "African-American Dress," in Steele, (ed) Berg Companion to Fashion (Oxford: Berg, 2011) 9-11. She notes that the head-wrap was not 'standard issue' on plantations, but was devised by slaves, to express their culture. It was revived during Black Power politics in 1960s and 1970s America.

It can be contended that the extraordinary textiles seen in the free produce photographs had equally extraordinary meanings to narrate; most powerfully, their resistance to the slave cotton industry. In addition, the cloth may have referenced a potential connection between the abolitionist and the enslaved, through the shared use of hand loomed cotton gingham. For this to have been possible, it is important to establish whether a connection might have been possible, and crucially, whether English Quaker abolitionists such as the Clarks could have been aware of the appearance of slave dress.

This thesis finds that this was the case; for slaves wearing checked cloth featured frequently in both the literary and visual forms of the period, and therefore abolitionist society had ample access to descriptions of slave dress. As argued by John Oldfield, Marcus Wood and Jane Webster, from the 1780s there was an abundance of visualisations of slaves and slavery, and this was especially so during the 1850s and 1860s.¹²⁵ Slaves appeared in a variety of illustrations, such as woodcuts in printed newspapers and pamphlets. In addition they were also depicted in paintings, and from the 1850s, in photographs and they also featured in commemorative and abolitionist material culture, such as ceramics. This range of visual forms allowed the public to access to the world of the plantation, and to see what slaves looked like. As Wood explains, visualisations, especially in print culture, were exceptionally important in building stereotypical images of slavery. They were based to some extent on standardised forms, which had appeared since the eighteenth century in Britain and America. In Britain, the most common type seen was the freed, unshackled slave, and in America, images of slaves were often seen in posters, calling for the capture of runaways. Both countries relied upon recognisable and ‘stock’ images to deliver their messages.¹²⁶

The publication of Uncle Tom’s Cabin in 1852 substantially provided the British public with detailed information on life on the plantation, and this included descriptions and visualisations of slave dress. As the most significant source available on slave life, Stowe’s descriptions of plantation culture made a deep impact on British abolitionists. Interestingly, Stowe also used dress to build character, for example her wholesome descriptions of the clothing worn by Tom’s wife, Aunt Chloe, reinforced values she shared with genteel readers. Stowe wrote “[Aunt Chloe] beams with satisfaction and contentment, from under

¹²⁵ Oldfield; Wood; and Jane Webster, “Remembering Slave Trade Abolitions: Reflections on 2007 in International Perspective,” Slavery and Abolition 30:2 (2009): 161-167.

¹²⁶ Wood, 87-9.

her well-starched checked turban.”¹²⁷ The avalanche of images that followed the publication of Uncle Tom’s Cabin was vital in providing the British public with visualisations of slavery, for illustrations appeared in many editions, and the novel spawned a plethora of mass-produced memorabilia.¹²⁸ Figures 4.5 and 4.6 show examples of the engravings by Billings, in an edition of the novel, published by Sampson, Low and Company in 1853. They show Cassy dressed typically in a checked gown and apron, and Tom in a checked shirt, which were items of clothing which often featured in the dress of slaves. As shown in the lantern slides (see Figure 4.5), pictures of Uncle Tom were disseminated to the British public through illustrated public lectures, and these too reinforced notions of slave dress. Abolitionist pamphlets and broadsides increasingly included illustrations in the form of woodcut images, which became much repeated tropes in print culture.¹²⁹ These were referenced in the Quaker press, as shown in an advertisement in the British Friend (September, 1853) for “Half a million anti-slavery tracts” illustrated with “stereotype woodcuts.”¹³⁰ It may be concluded that English, Quaker, anti-slavery sympathisers such as the Clark family had ample access to visualisations of slaves and their clothing. The stereotypical view of slave dress as being checked and striped meant that these forms became signifiers for slave identity, and also metonymical, standing in for the identity of the slave.

Identification with the slave was deeply encouraged in the Free Produce Movement. Elizabeth Chandler wrote in her essay “Mental Metempsychosis,” that in order to understand the pain of the slave, one had to feel it, through entering his or her world. This was an extreme process, for ‘metempsychosis’ meant the passage of one’s soul into another, for example, upon death.¹³¹ Chandler explained:

Could we but persuade those with who we plead, in behalf of the slave, to imagine for themselves for a few moments in his very circumstances, to enter his feelings, comprehend

¹²⁷ Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom’s Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America (London: Wordsworth, 1995 [1852]) 20, 52. See bibliography for illustrated versions.

¹²⁸ Sarah Meer, Uncle Tom Mania. Slavery, Minstrelsy and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s (Athens, Ga.: U of Georgia P, 2005); Audrey Fisch, American Slaves in Victorian England. Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture (Cambridge: C U P, 2000).

¹²⁹ Wood, 87.

¹³⁰ “Half a Million Anti-Slavery Tracts,” the British Friend advertising supplement, (September, 1853).

¹³¹ “Metempsychosis,” Oxford English Dictionary, (Oxford: Oxford U P) online edition at <<http://oed.com>> (accessed, 30 November, 2011).

all his wretchedness, transform themselves mentally into his very self, they would not surely withhold their compassion.¹³²

Tools or prompts might assist the sympathiser to feel pain, and to “comprehend his wretchedness.” Clothing was an obvious means to do this, for it has a powerful effect upon the wearer and it is an important tool through which to shape identity. The power of dress in the free produce cause was clearly explained by Elihu Burritt. In 1855 he wrote an article in The Slave, where he set out the role of free labour cotton.¹³³ His article, entitled “The Uniform of Freedom” had a military theme, recommending that the ‘free produce army’ should wear a ‘free produce uniform.’ He stated:

Every man, woman and child in their ranks should wear a *uniform*, not distinguished by cut or colour, but by one fundamental quality – by being free from the stain of slavery ... Such a uniform would present a determination of purpose, a depth of conviction, a force of moral will,¹³⁴ which would make them as “terrible as an army with banners” to the friends of the slave.¹³⁴

The ‘uniform’ was of course, a metaphorical one, for clothing was not actually issued to the ‘army’ of free produce supporters. However, Burritt recommended that it should be chosen by them, to protect, unify and make them as “terrible as an army with banners,” a phrase which referenced the biblical vision of the “good soldiers of Jesus Christ” (II Timothy 2:3). This view was shared by the Richardsons, who wrote that free produce supporters were “Marching under the banner of God.”¹³⁵

In March, 1851, Anna and Henry Richardson published “The Remedy,” where they reported Burritt’s views on the importance of home, children and clothing in the Free Produce Movement.¹³⁶ They discussed the domestic world of home, “when the curtains are drawn,” as a dramatic arena for anti-slavery activity, involving the whole family. They wrote:

Think of the sweet little cherubs cruising round the table, watching with keen-eyed vigilance, lest any product of the blood-stained system should evade their righteous blockade; or standing sentry over the wardrobe and challenging every article of clothing that seeks admission to the shelves! Establish such a blockade as this in Europe, and the

¹³² Chandler, “Mental Metempsychosis” in Lundy, Essays 117-118.

¹³³ Elihu Burritt, “The Uniform of Freedom” The Slave (June, 1855): 23-4.

¹³⁴ Elihu Burritt, “The Uniform of Freedom” The Slave (June, 1855): 23-4.

¹³⁵ “The Free Labour Movement,” The Slave (August, 1851): 30.

¹³⁶ “The Remedy,” The Slave (March, 1851): 10.

Africa Squadron would be dismantled; for the moral influence of such a warfare would be far more potent than that of the shot and cutlass.¹³⁷

They also explained that free produce activity had an important effect upon individuals, “an influence on ourselves.” They explained that rather than erasing the horrors of slavery, free produce goods actually heightened awareness of slavery, and connected the user to “those in bonds, as bond with them.” Just as evangelicals believed that the fight against sin was all-consuming, so the free produce community felt it their duty to recall the cruelties experienced by their ‘brothers and sisters in bonds.’ The wearing of free labour cotton was therefore a paradoxical experience; whilst reassuring the wearer, it also acted as a daily prompt, to recall the misery of the slave’s torment. The Richardsons explained exactly how free produce affected the user:

Surely nothing is more likely to furnish us with a perpetual remembrancer [sic] of the slave, than the principle that refuses to participate in the blood-stained produce of his toil. Those who have adopted this principle [of free produce] have the wrongs of their sable brethren brought vividly before them from day to day.¹³⁸

As Chandler had suggested, the free produce community felt a powerful empathy with the slave, and free produce was a powerful “remembrancer.” The Richardsons applied this principle to dress, they wrote:

In drawing on a stocking, or adjusting a frock they [abolitionists] are minded to seek their own comforts without destroying the happiness of others; they are silently but impressively exhorted to “remember them that are in bonds.”¹³⁹

The Richardsons were aware of the dialogue between the wearer’s conscience, and what they called “torn and bleeding humanity.”¹⁴⁰ In their opinion, this was especially apparent when dressing, when the ‘silent and impressive’ discourse took place. This moral aspect to choosing clothes rendered the act of dressing into a redemptive, political and performative act, whilst rooted in everyday experience.

Discomfort was part of the free produce experience, and it was actively stirred by the Richardsons. In every edition of The Slave, harrowing reports from America were included, describing the habitual degradation, and murder of slaves. The Richardsons were aware that the reports had strong effects, but they cautioned readers against “a morbid state

¹³⁷ “The Remedy,” 10.

¹³⁸ “The Remedy,” 10.

¹³⁹ “The Remedy,” 10.

¹⁴⁰ “The Remedy,” 10.

of mind” fomented by “scenes of horror ... which harrow up the soul,” which in their opinion, “does more harm than good.”¹⁴¹ It is evident that their journalism was calibrated to galvanise empathic action, rather than to precipitate depressive inactivity. They understood that free produce activism made heavy emotional demands, “it does involve some sacrifice of thought, some consideration for the rights of others, and a little trouble not to tread upon their happiness.”¹⁴² The rewards however were exceedingly high, for they believed that free produce served God, and would be recognised through eternal salvation, “We shall be well repaid [by God] with the peaceful satisfaction of having done what we could.”¹⁴³ Thus for the free produce community the wearing of free cotton was seen as a path to salvation.

Identity and Wearing Anti-Slavery Belief

The Clarks were at liberty to wear their anti-slavery beliefs, for they were part of the Moderate group, who were progressive modernizers, who were keen to engage with the world and its reform movements. Whilst they embraced liberalisation, and wished to convey their moral beliefs through dress, they were also wary of rapid change, and were mindful of the important part played by tradition. In 1856, James Clark made a speech to London Yearly Meeting, in which he emphasised the importance of “peculiar dress” in the “commercial room.” Clark stated that in his opinion, traditional dress continued to provide a useful “hedge” and a “safeguard” to the business community.¹⁴⁴ Clark also added that there should also be a degree of personal judgment when choosing clothing. He stated that “liberality of feeling” was to be encouraged, meaning that individuals should make their own decisions over what to wear.

Although this may appear a tentative approach to modernisation of clothing, its relative radicalism within Quaker culture should not be underestimated, for a backlash followed in the years following liberalisation. This can be seen in the British Friend, which in 1865 published the views of a conservative male Friend from Philadelphia.¹⁴⁵ The anonymous Friend preached forcefully against the adoption of new styles in Quaker dress, “From the first Quaker down to this day, Friends have had a testimony against the changeable

¹⁴¹ “The Remedy,” 10.

¹⁴² “The Remedy,” 10.

¹⁴³ “The Remedy,” 10.

¹⁴⁴ “The Yearly Meeting, 1856” The Friend (June, 1856): 97.

¹⁴⁵ Philadelphia Friend, “The Corrupting Fashions of the World” The British Friend (July, 1856): 187.

fashions, founded upon Scripture ground.” He believed that changes were morally wrong, “almost entirely to gratify the lust of the flesh, of the eye and the pride of fallen man.” He viewed these as “corrupt and debasing pleasures,” which would bring Quakers into contact with disreputable aspects of the world, in his words, “mingling with a class of people who would lead them into debauchery.” He sounded a grim warning to Friends who might be tempted to try new fashions, “He that breaketh the hedge, a serpent shall bite him.”¹⁴⁶ This indicates that concerns over traditional dress continued to excite debate among the Quaker community.

As the free produce photographs show, “liberality of feeling” was applied to clothing that embodied anti-slavery sentiment. Through their dress, the Clark family defined their considerable feeling for the anti-slavery cause, and they expressed their empathy with the enslaved. Their clothing also defined their public position as humanitarians, for as Helen Bradley Foster explains, “The clothing one puts on one’s corporeal self helps to mark one’s place in humanity.”¹⁴⁷ Participation in social and public culture was a deeply significant aspect of the Clark family’s identity. They were accustomed to holding visible positions in religious, commercial, philanthropic and local communities. Free produce dress enabled the family to take a public stand against slavery, and to demonstrate that they lived as they believed; with conscience and moral integrity. Since the textiles seen in the free produce photographs was made by John Wingrave, and probably to Eleanor Clark’s own specifications, there could be no question that this was genuine free labour cotton. Indeed, the emphatic designs made powerful signs for anti-slavery sentiment, and few members of the family, or the local community could have been in doubt that the family was dressed in ‘special’ clothes. Although we cannot tell how many free labour cotton items the family owned, it is clear that the children possessed different outfits, as worn on the two occasions of the photographs. It is significant that they were dressed in these clothes for the photographs, and this points to a desire to memorialise their anti-slavery actions, and in the style of John Woolman, to ‘go public’ in wearing anti-slavery belief.

Eleanor Clark, Dress and Anti-Consumerism

Eleanor Clark appears to have extended “liberality of feeling” to expressing her views on humility in dress. In her essay, “On Pride in Dress” (1861), she wrote a polemic against

¹⁴⁶ “The Corrupting Fashions of the World,” 187.

¹⁴⁷ Foster, 69.

pride, and her solution to vanity was a curious one; to use recycled woollen ‘shoddy cloth,’ instead of new textiles for clothing.¹⁴⁸ Whilst her essay related to the wearing of wool rather than cotton, it is useful to examine, because it demonstrates Clark’s depth of feeling about clothing. Shoddy cloth was a very cheap grade of cloth, made from shredded second-hand woollen clothing, rags and scraps. It was developed by Benjamin Law of Batley, in West Yorkshire in 1813, who used rags bought from city rag-pickers, which were sent to shredding mills, to spin into ‘new’ yarn. This was woven into the cheapest grades of woollen cloth, destined for military uniforms and the dress of the poor.¹⁴⁹ Shoddy had a very poor reputation, hence the word’s association with any poor-quality, manufactured item. It was linked to dirt and disease, and was emphatically not a respectable textile. Clark however, appeared to delight in its manufacture, in her words, from the “meanest beggars in the street ... no cast offs of any description are too mean or dirty or ragged to be brought up in Yorkshire.”¹⁵⁰ She added that it was destined to worn by ‘us,’ “dear readers by you and me in our cloaks and coats which we are innocently imagining only the sheep wore long ago.” Clark mused, “Now then, let us be as proud of our clothes as we can!”¹⁵¹

Despite the family’s considerable accumulation of wealth, it is evident that Clark lived as she believed, for at the time of her death in 1879, she possessed very little clothing. The small number of items posed problems for her eight daughters, as each wished to have a keepsake of their mother. As Ann wrote to her sister Florence, it was difficult to share the clothes, since “there is not much to divide.”¹⁵² It should be pointed out that in 1879 the firm of C. & J. Clark had entered a period of sustained growth, which resulted in rising fortunes for the family. Thus Clark’s few possessions stemmed from her moral values, rather than any attempts to fit with constrained finances.

Conclusions

This chapter has discussed how the free produce photographs demonstrated the campaign against slave-grown cotton, seen through clothing in the free produce photographs. Taken in 1858, by amateur photographer and family member, John Aubrey Clark, the

¹⁴⁸ “Eva,” “On Pride in Dress,” (1861) “Village Album” AGT, VA XIV fourth page.

¹⁴⁹ Maggie Blanck, <<http://www.maggi Blanck.com>> (accessed 5 April, 2012). Blanck quotes Samuel Jubb, The History of the Rise of the Shoddy Trade. Its Progress and Present Position (London: Wright, 1860).

¹⁵⁰ “Eva,” “On Pride in Dress,” fourth page.

¹⁵¹ “Eva,” “On Pride in Dress,” fourth page.

¹⁵² Letter, Ann Clark to Florence Impey (28 March, 1879) AGT HSHC 55.

photographs were products of a specific religious, social, historical and cultural milieu. This saw dress become a central issue in Quaker debates on liberalisation. The photographs charted the tensions between traditional and progressive attitudes, and they emphasised that dress was highly symbolic of changing Quaker culture. They also reflected what James Clark termed “liberality of feeling,” which in this context, meant anti-slavery belief.

It may be concluded that the Clarks, and especially Eleanor, followed their own agendas in dress, which embraced a selective participation in fashion and above all, her personal engagement with wider issues, such as anti-slavery, the Free Produce Movement and its campaign against slave-grown cotton. Wearing free labour cotton was not comfortable, for avoidance of slave-made goods did not mean freedom from remembrance of the enslaved. Indeed, it specifically reminded the wearer of ‘those in bonds.’ However, free produce practice promised rich spiritual rewards, for it was a Christian attack on slavery.

It is clear that the free produce cotton clothes in the photographs operated in subtle ways within the mid-nineteenth century, genteel, Quaker habitus. Wearing them gave the Clarks the reassurance that their clothing did not use slave labour. Moreover the gingham supplied by John Wingrave positively helped his workforce. The notion that dress and adornment could ‘do good’ in the anti-slavery movement had been discussed by Thomas Clarkson, who believed that Wedgwood’s slave medallion was an important tool for abolitionists.¹⁵³ Clarkson stated that the slave medallion campaigned for the causes of “justice, humanity and freedom.” These causes were reiterated in the free produce photographs, where clothing once again promoted the anti-slavery cause and marked the Clarks’ position in humanity.¹⁵⁴

The campaign against slave-grown cotton was a complex and seemingly impossible task, but for Eleanor Clark and her family, this was a moral matter which could not be ignored. Clark was compelled to follow her moral, Christian, Quaker conscience; to do good, serve God and to find personal salvation. As witnessed by the photographs, her family’s clothes were an effective means of embedding radical and far-reaching anti-slavery actions into the

¹⁵³ Mary Guyatt, “The Wedgwood Slave Medallion: Values in Eighteenth Century Design,” *Journal of Design History* 13:2 (2000): 93- 105; Wood; Anna Vaughan Kett, “When Fashion Promoted Humanity: Messages and Meanings in the Wedgwood Slave Medallion 1787 – 1807,” (unpublished MA thesis, U of Brighton, 2007).

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishments of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade* (London: Cass, 1968 [1808]) Vol 2 192.

everyday life of the family. Whilst Quaker tradition was still evident in the clothes, more dominant was the Clarks' desire to express anti-slavery views. The shared use of checked and striped gingham provided a link between abolitionists and the enslaved, and this may have influenced the Clarks' choice of fabric, as a point of empathic connection with the people they campaigned to set free.



Figure 5.1

Photographic carte de visite of Queen Victoria, by Southwell Brothers of London. It shows the fashion for large checked silk gown, worn over a crinoline, 1850s.



Figure 5.2
Photographic carte de visite of Eleanor Clark, c.1850s.



Figure 5.3

Photograph of Amy Jane Clark and her youngest sister Mabel Bryant Clark.

It shows Amy in progressive dress, c.1861



Figure 5.4
Photographic carte de visite of Quaker Anne Pike, sister-in-law of Eleanor Clark.
It shows progressive dress 1865.



Figure 5.5
Photograph of Ann and Eliza Stephens, sisters of Eleanor Clark.
By unknown photographer, possibly J. A. Clark c.1840s-1850s.



Figure 5.6

Photograph carte of Quaker Elizabeth Webb of Bristol and her daughter.

It shows both traditional and progressive dress. 1850s.



Figure 5.7

Checked cotton gingham Quaker young woman's gown, in brown and white check, 1850s.



Figure 5.8

Cotton gingham Quaker child's pinafore , in blue and white check, c.1850 – 1900.



Figure 5.9
Photographic portrait carte de visite of Quaker Mary Messer, mid-1850s.



Figure 5.10
Silk Quaker gown of traditional design, in brown-grey heavy silk, c.1800-1850.



Figure 5.11
Grey-blue silk traditional Quaker poke bonnet.
It was owned by Eleanor Clark, 1830s – 1850s.



Figure 5.12
Painted portrait of Elizabeth Fry, after C. R. Leslie, 1823.



Figure 5.13
Photographic carte de visite of Elizabeth Fry, after a painted portrait, 1840s.



Figure 5.14
J. J. Wilson, pen and ink sketch, “Quakers gathering for Yearly Meeting, in the Yard at Devonshire House”
This shows Quaker traditional and progressive dress, 1860.



Figure 5.15

Pen and ink drawing “Where the Bee Sucks, There Lark I” by John Aubrey Clark, for “Village Album,” 1858. This verse from The Tempest by W. Shakespeare was also known as “Ariel’s Song” and was popular following its setting to music, by Thomas Arne in the eighteenth century.



Figure 5.16

Black and white silhouette portrait of the family of James and Eleanor Clark, by Joseph Metford of Glastonbury, c. 1853-5.



Figure 5.17

Photograph, "By the Stile in a Wood," by unknown photographer, probably John Aubrey Clark, for "Village Album." c.1863.



Figure 5.18
Photographic carte de visite of Quaker Margaret Bright, sister of John Bright of Rochdale.
It shows progressive style of dress, 1850s – 1860s.



Figure 5.19

White cotton muslin Quaker cap of a distinctive frilled design.

It was owned by Mary Clark Morland and before that, her mother, Eleanor Clark, c 1850s.



Figure 5.20
Muslin Quaker caps, of traditional design, once belonged to Mary Capper, 1840s.



Figure 5.21
Short infant gown, in white cotton with lace insert, owned by the Clark family, c.1850s.

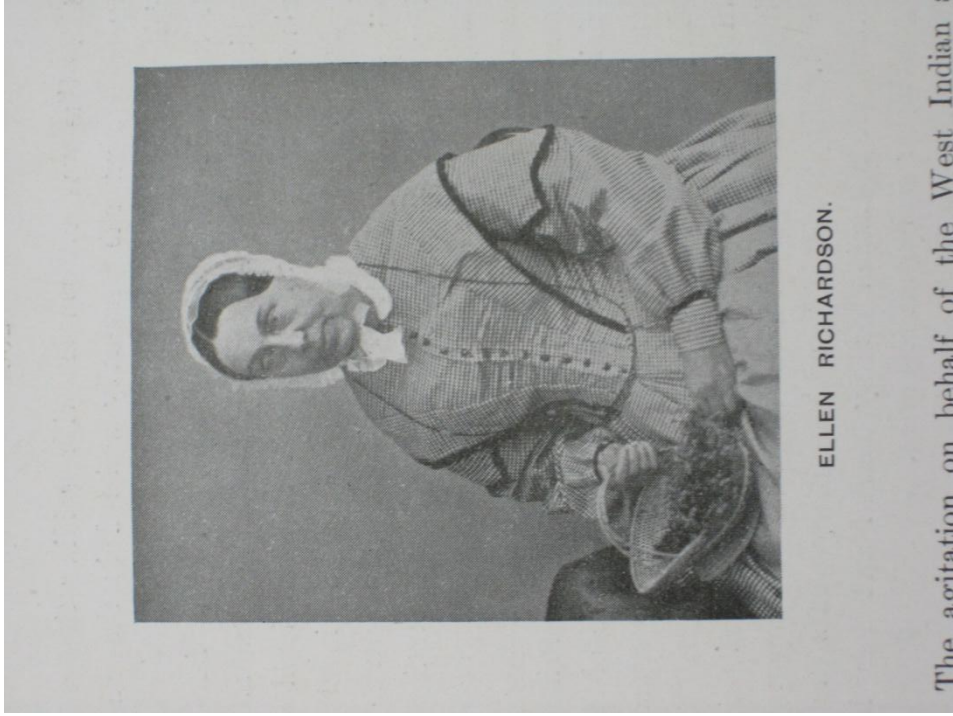


Figure 5.22

Photographs of Ellen and Anna Richardson of Newcastle, showing both women in progressive gingham dress, c.1850s.

Chapter Six:

Conclusions

To the Ladies' Free Produce Society

Your gathering day! And I am not
As erst amid you set;
But even from this distant spot,
My thoughts are with you yet,
As freshly as in hours forgot,
When I was with you met.

His blessing on your high career!
Go, press unwearied on,
From month to month, from year to year,
Till when your task is done,
The franchised negro's grateful tear
Proclaims your victory won.

Oh faint you not, ye gathered band!
Although your way be long,
And they who ranged against you stand,
Are numberless and strong;
While you but bear a feeble hand,
Unused to cope with wrong.

And never your high task forgot,
Till they are chainless – free!
Alas! That ye should be so met,
And I not with you be;
Yet sometimes when you thus are set,
One heart may turn to me.¹

This poem by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, to the Philadelphia Free Produce Society, confirmed her deep commitment and emotional attachment to the Free Produce Movement, and it demonstrates the important role it fulfilled in her life.² As with many of Chandler's

¹ Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, "To the Ladies Free Produce Society," (c.1830) Benjamin Lundy, The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. With a Memoir of Her Life by Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia, Pa.: Howell, 1836) 175-6. Shortened version, comprising verses 1, 2, 3 and 6 (verses 4 and 5 omitted).

² Lundy, "Memoir," in Poetical Works 27. In 1830, following the death of both parents, Chandler and her brother went to live on their aunt's farm in Michigan.

works, as seen in this thesis, the poem offers insights into the sentiments felt by members of the free produce community; their sense of shared objectives, sympathy with the slave, horror at slavery and overarching desire to bring freedom to the enslaved. Chandler appreciated her community, “ye gathered band;” she took pride in a moral and Christian crusade, “His blessing on your high career!;” she felt keen empathy with the enslaved and toiled for their emancipation, “And never your high task forgot, Till they are chainless – free!;” she held a righteous conviction that her work would be appreciated, by the “franchised negro’s grateful tear” and she felt satisfaction in applying her “feeble hand” to charitable duty.

These powerful sentiments were translated into practical expressions of free produce activism that were integrated into the lives of ordinary women and their families; activism that was brought home and experienced through the foods they ate and clothing they wore. As Chandler explained, free labour cotton was “stainless” and “guiltless” not “cursed by slavery’s touch.”³ Women were encouraged to buy it and they believed that in removing demand for slave-made goods, they would influence the market and bring a rapid conclusion to slavery. This rationale was expressed by Eleanor Clark of Street, in her work for the Free Produce Movement at her free labour cotton shop.

Findings in the Thesis

This thesis has found that the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street was a deeply practical expression of anti-slavery sentiment, as articulated by its proprietor Eleanor Clark. As shown, the depot was a small, rudimentary stall, selling goods that were made by free, rather than slave labour. For the period of 1853 – 1858 and primarily during the first two years, it was successful in supplying a very modest range of cotton cloth, haberdashery and readymade goods to shoppers in the village of Street. Above all, it provided a means for anti-slavery sentiment to be enacted, in wholly practical terms, by supporters of the cause, who were primarily Clark’s kinswomen and members of her extended Quaker family. This situates the depot as a very small-scale project, which was undoubtedly marginal to the cotton industry, but nevertheless, one that was a highly important to its customers. The depot was carefully situated to appeal to a ‘target market’ of consumers; philanthropic, respectable women, who engaged in charitable sewing. Its situation in the village

³ “E” (Chandler) “Free Labour Cotton” British Friend (4th Mo, 1849), also published in shortened version in the Bristol Mercury (21 July, 1849).

temperance hall, built by Clark's husband and physically close to the homes of members of the Clark family ensured that it was at the heart of the tightly-woven Quaker community. Customers would have been in no doubt that the depot was part of Quaker philanthropy, led by the Clarks and their kin, and they would have found the location of the depot on the High Street, in the heart of the village convenient for their needs.

The thesis offers specific insights into the shoppers at the Street depot. It is highly probable that a group of roughly twenty Quaker kinswomen, many of whom heralded from Clark's extended, middle-class family shopped here, and records show that Clark did likewise. The same group also participated in a range of charitable and public culture activities; sewing and donating contributions to an American anti-slavery fair, raising funds for Harriet Beecher Stowe and the Weims manumission campaign, and performing charitable sewing at the village sewing and Olive Leaf Circles. The Street Depot therefore played an important part in these women's lives, for it provided them with the practical means to use free produce cotton, and thus it enabled them to enact anti-slavery activism within their domestic, social and public lives.

The thesis also offers insights into a particular generation of Quaker women; the women of Eleanor Clark's age group, who were active during the middle years of the nineteenth century. Whilst women of this age were relatively constrained by societal attitudes their daughters would have greater freedom later take up careers in the visible and public spheres. Indeed Clark's daughter Ann Clark became a medical practitioner, her niece Catherine Impey became a famous campaigner for African-American rights, and her daughter-in-law Helen Priestman Bright Clark became a campaigner for women's rights. Thus Clark's generation can be seen as a 'bridge' between private and public lives, and her work in free produce can be viewed as a vital stepping stone, for the next generation of women political campaigners.

The thesis has presented an example of hitherto unexplored area; the trading operation of a British free labour cotton depot. Using trading records, it has shown that the Street Depot bought stock on a regular basis from Manchester cotton merchant, Josias Browne, and the Carlisle handloom cotton weaver, John Wingrave. It has shown that it traded for a total of five years, the first two being the period of active selling, followed by a period of re-stocking, two years of no trading and formal closure in 1858. It has calculated that

approximate annual sales ranged from twenty five to fifty pounds per annum, which amounted to an approximate total of one thousand and two hundred yards of cloth. It has also identified that it sold quantities of ready-made dresses, stockings and haberdashery. It concludes that no profit was recorded throughout the entire period, nor were any losses. When compared to both mainstream and free produce drapers, it is clear that Clark's prices were conspicuously low, indicating that she was selling at cost-price, meaning with no additional mark-up for commercial profit. From this, it may be concluded that the depot was run to provide a service to the free cotton buying community, rather than to generate an income for Clark.

The study has identified a number of outlets selling free cotton as listed in Appendix 3. Some were situated in the locale, indicating that Clark had competitors in the region, yet she remained in business, albeit for a relatively short period. Her success may have been due to her low prices, but more probable was the comparatively self-contained nature of the village of Street, and the fact that her clientele consisted of her own cohort of kinswomen and friends, who were like Clark, actively engaged in philanthropic sewing. This thesis concludes that the depot clearly operated on Clark's own terms and it was constructed to satisfy her particular aspirations. These were to make free cotton available to her group, to live a morally responsible life, in accordance with her Quaker upbringing and principles and to help others who were enslaved on the cotton plantations of America. The Street depot was an independent, entrepreneurial enterprise, situated within the Clark family's commitment to philanthropy, and it was dovetailed to suit Clark's own domestic obligations and other charitable activities in which she participated.

The thesis has found that the Street depot offered a small range of cloth, which was evidently of high quality, the samples by John Wingrave and printed muslins being of an especially high standard. Goods were chosen from the range available to the free produce community in the 1850s, and were chosen to suit both plain, Quaker tastes and more progressive and even fashionable ones. For goods offered included standard drapers' textiles such as gingham, lining, calico and muslin as well as barège, Hungarian fancies and the elite hand loomed cloth made by Wingrave. In the absence of any evidence of dissatisfaction, it may be concluded that cloth supplied to the depot met the standards set by Clark and her customers, and this contrasts dramatically with unfavourable reports from George Washington Taylor and his customers at the Philadelphia Free Labour Depot. Sales

varied enormously at the Street Depot, from forty yards of cloth, to just a quarter of a yard, which suggests that there was large variation in customers' shopping needs in sewing projects for the home, family and charity fairs.

The thesis finds that the free produce photographs, taken by John Aubrey Clark in 1858, are remarkable social documents, which have recorded lost items of clothing, seen in action on the Clark family. Thus it explains that these images are vital to our understanding of how free labour cotton was consumed by activists, and made into clothing. The garments shown are extraordinarily eye-catching and bold, and as a manifestation of anti-slavery belief, they are highly emphatic. The thesis has offered original readings of the Clarks' clothing and that they may be interpreted as paradoxical; both reassuring and uncomfortable to the wearer and marking an empathic link with the slave. Despite the incontrovertible anti-slavery rationale for using free produce, garments that were free from slave labour also served as a troubling and metonymical "remembrancer" of the enslaved. The links thus established between the checked cotton gingham worn by free produce supporters and the home-made checked cloth worn by field workers on the plantations indicates a complex link between the abolitionist and the enslaved.

From the thesis's investigations into the hitherto little-researched British campaign against slave-grown cotton, key findings are that this campaign was set within the transatlantic Free Produce Movement, it lasted approximately thirty years and it reached a peak during the 1850s. It was enacted by a deeply committed, and morally conscientious community, which although predominantly comprised of white, middle-class, Quaker women, also had broader appeal across racial and class divides, especially in America. This is evidenced by the African-American abolitionist visitors to Britain, who deeply endorsed a boycott of slave-grown cloth.

This thesis concludes that above all, the free produce community comprised of the ordinary "army" of women campaigners and their families, who used their existing networks to explore free produce activism. These networks were forged through friendship, religious kinship, family ties, marriage and commerce. Anna and Henry Richardson were pivotal in sustaining British support for free produce and bolstered by their important periodical The Slave, the free produce community laboured under the simple rationale, that "Slavery is

sustained by the purchase of its productions. If there were no consumers of slave products, there would be no slaves.”⁴

The thesis has explained that free produce allegiance was very deeply felt, and as a result the free produce community was robustly undeterred by detractors’ arguments, including fierce criticism from William Lloyd Garrison and his supporters. Rather than suppressing the movement, Garrisonian hostility shifted the arena of activism from America to Britain, where with the assistance of Joseph Sturge, the Richardsons, Elihu Burritt, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Highland Garnet, the movement took root, gained publicity and flourished. As shown in the writings of Eleanor Clark, British awareness at the shocking compliance between the burgeoning Lancashire cotton industry and American slave-plantations reinforced the argument that free produce was a British solution to the iniquities it upheld. This argument especially resonated with members of the free produce community, many of whom came from backgrounds in finance, manufacturing and trade and who were in the process of making investments in new, global commercial ventures. This period of free produce activism also coincided with British imperial development in West Africa, where the growing of cotton in new colonies was proposed, thus offering the potential to supply raw cotton for the British cotton industry, creating a ‘civilising effect’ and stimulating new markets for British products. Thus, as shown, typically through Clark’s writings, free produce arguments intersected with plans for colonisation in Africa, and the re-location of ex-slaves from the West Indies and America.

This thesis has made a new enquiry into the size of the British free produce community; concluding that the number was comparable to the monthly print run of The Slave, of roughly three to five thousand copies. As shown, another indicator of the community’s size was the network of Olive Leaf Circles, which comprised approximately two thousand British women. These figures point to the number of participants in the British Free Produce Movement being lower than in America, where Ruth Nuermberger estimates there may have been five to six thousand participants.⁵ The British community was therefore a small, but significant group, and as discussed, it at least equalled the number who subscribed to the British and Foreign Bible Society. The thesis has also made an estimate of the quantity of raw free labour cotton imported into Britain, and using press reports for

⁴ Masthead of The Slave: His Wrongs, and Their Remedy (Newcastle and London: 1851-1856).

⁵ Ruth Nuermberger, The Free Produce Movement. A Quaker Protest Against Slavery (New York: AMS, 1970 [Duke U P, 1942]) 115.

the year 1849 – 1850, it has found that at least 1,324 bales of free cotton were imported that year. It should be pointed out that this figure is miniscule when compared to overall imports of slave-grown cotton, but nevertheless it is higher than previous estimations, made by Louis Billington, that only a “few hundred bales” were imported in the period 1840s – 1860s.⁶

Through the examination of the life and work of Eleanor Clark, this thesis has fitted the Street Depot into a particular framework of evangelical, middle-class, Quaker women’s domestic, social and public sphere activities. As shown, Clark was rooted in the domestic sphere, and was known for her “motherly” identity in the village, but she was clearly far from confined to home. Her position within the thriving women’s, Quaker, philanthropic and business networks underwrote her activities, and ensured that she was linked to a range of people in the social and public spheres in Britain and America. Especially important was her kinship with Hannah and Sophia Sturge, which consolidated good connections with the Birmingham Ladies’ Negro’s Friend Society, and forged links with the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society in Boston. Both evangelicalism and traditional Quaker culture played important roles in shaping Clark’s dutiful but empowered attitudes to charity and philanthropy. It is clear that Quaker women were especially encouraged to negotiate the journey from the private, domestic world of home and family, to the intermediate sphere of charity, and on to the public worlds of commerce and politics, where the effects of her philanthropic work were felt far from home.

Sewing was an integral, quotidian activity in Clark’s life, and through which she constructed a respectable, middle-class, womanly identity. For Clark and fellow women members of the free produce community, the switch from slave-grown to free-grown cotton cloth was a logical way in which to serve the anti-slavery cause. It was also a highly appropriate one, for notwithstanding the conservative backlash against women’s actions, for example from John Estlin of Bristol, the focus upon cloth and stitches rendered the Free Produce Movement a socially acceptable medium for women’s political expression. Yet clothing that was constructed from free labour cotton was highly political, in short it was a clever solution to negotiating the debates on the appropriateness of women’s inclusion in political life. The thesis has stressed that the free produce campaigns were organised, led

⁶ Louis Billington, “British Humanitarians and American Cotton 1840 – 1860,” *Journal of American Studies* 11:3 (1977): 313-334, 315.

and enacted by women, and they were calculated specifically to permit women to take practical actions against slavery, through their individual and collective consumer acts. In the proto-feminist opinion of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “Much may be effected by woman – important consequences have, in all ages of the world, been produced by her influence – and when was she ever a loiterer in the cause of justice and humanity?”⁷

The Free Produce Movement however failed to attract the full endorsement of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and it was seen as an auxiliary to their ‘bigger’ campaigns. This thesis argues that free produce was never central to the institution’s aims, yet in many ways it was completely central to its debates. For example, it addressed the issue of gradual versus immediate emancipation of slaves, and its arguments were enmeshed with wider debates on the market economy, imperial and emigrationist development and it concerned women’s political activism. Thus it could hardly have addressed more important and less marginal concerns within nineteenth century discourses.

Since it chiefly concerned women, until the late 1980s, free produce has attracted little academic attention, and it was firmly situated at the “margins” of the anti-slavery movement.⁸ As discussed, since the 1980s, the work of Clare Midgley, Julie Roy Jeffery and Carol Faulkner has significantly expanded our understanding of women’s anti-slavery activism, and these writers have raised the profile of the Free Produce Movement in the anti-slavery narrative.⁹ This thesis follows on from these writers’ works, and adds to their findings via a close, empirical study of a hitherto unexplored free produce activist, and her work in making free labour cotton available, at the Street Depot.

The thesis has found that during the period of free produce activity, the American enslaved population rose, cotton plantation output grew and British imports of slave-grown cotton tripled. Whilst these facts are stark reminders of the power held by the slave-cotton industry, nevertheless, the Southern States expressed a degree of concern for anti-slavery activism and especially the campaigns of the 1850s. Anger was especially directed at

⁷ Chandler, *The Effects of Slavery*” Benjamin Lundy, *Essays Philanthropic and Moral by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, principally Relating to the Abolition of Slavery in America* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Lemuel Howell, 1836) 8.

⁸ Howard Temperley, *British Antislavery 1833-1870* (London: Longman, 1972) 246.

⁹ Clare Midgley, *Women Against Anti-Slavery. The British Campaigns 1780-1870* (London: Routledge, 1992); Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism. Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC.: U of N C P, 1998); Carol Faulkner, “”The Root of the Evil.” Free Produce and Radical Antislavery 1820-1860” *Journal of the Early Republic* 23:3 (Fall): 377-405.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, as is seen in a lithographic print, created in 1853 by C.R. Milne of Louisville, Kentucky, entitled, “A DREAM Caused by the Perusal of Mrs. H. Beecher Stowe’s Popular Novel, “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,”” (Figure 6.1). The print was based on an etching “The Temptation of St. Anthony” by Jacques Callot (1635) and it shows nightmarish demons being unleashed by the anti-slavery actions of the supporters of Uncle Tom’s Cabin.¹⁰ The central figure, an African-American dressed in Quaker garb, holds a placard proclaiming, “Women of England to the Rescue.” This mocks Stowe’s English, female supporters, such as Eleanor Clark, who enacted the wave of abolitionism in Britain.

Milne’s satire was a clever visualisation of real fears that the surge in anti-slavery support would defeat slavery. It suggests that the campaigns of the 1850s, including the Free Produce Movement had sowed seeds of alarm among Southern slave holders, and there were fears that the future of slavery could be influenced by both Quakers and the “Women of England.” This chimes entirely with the view expressed by slave-holder Isaac Morse, who understood that consumers held the power to stop the slave system. Morse stated “There is a very easy way to get rid of slavery in the United States ... which will effect your object as clearly as day succeeds night ... TOUCH NOT, TASTE NOT, HANDLE NOT, one single product of slave labour.”¹¹ The campaign against slave-grown cotton did not abolish Lancashire’s reliance upon American slave-grown cotton , but as part of the wider anti-slavery movement, which was eventually successful in abolishing slavery in America, the Free Produce Movement must be recognised as playing a constituent role.

The campaign against slave-grown cotton was certainly small in terms of the quantity of free labour cotton that it generated, but it was highly significant to the women activists who bought it. This study has shown that for Eleanor Clark and her kinswomen, sewing, using and wearing free labour cotton fulfilled a number of important objectives. These included practical acts against slavery; Quaker humanitarianism; Christian duty and empathy; avoidance of morally repugnant products and the safeguarding of home and family. Importantly free produce dress also offered the wearer an opportunity to go public in one’s anti-slavery beliefs through a visible anti-slavery identity. In the words of Elizabeth Chandler:

¹⁰ Marcus Wood Blind Memory. Visual representations of Slavery in England and America 1780 – 1865 (Manchester: Manchester U P, 2000) 202-203.

¹¹ Isaac E. Morse, reported in British Friend (2nd Mo, 1850): 35.

Oh! let us renounce for ever,
All things touched by Slavery's touch,
Feeble though each effort be,
By the might of unity,
We should then accomplish much.

Let us seek to win the blessing,
Which the Saviour gave to me,
Who the costly ointment poured,
Whilst the Master she adored, -
"What she could, that she hath done."¹²

¹² Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, "Free Labour Cotton," the British Friend (4th mo, 1849).



Figure 6.1
Lithograph, “A DREAM CAUSED BY THE PERUSAL OF MRS. H. BEECHER STOWE’S POPULAR WORK, UNCLE TOM’S CABIN,” by Colin Milne of Louisville, Kentucky, 1853.

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MS Box 5, folder 17, two large fragments of printed, free cotton cloth.

MS Box 8, folder 1 “The Kansas Freedmen’s Relief Association,” varied paper and printed items, 1-19.

MS Box 8, folder 2, (not numbered), letters and printed items.

Box 8, folder 3, (not numbered), papers, letters, printed and cloth items pertaining to the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street.

MS Box 8, folder 4, “The Birmingham Ladies’ Negro’s Friend Society,” varied paper, letters and printed items, some pertaining to the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street, items 1-15.

MS Box 8, folder 5, “Letters and Papers of Elihu Burritt,” papers, letters, receipts and printed items, the “Account Book” of the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street and other items pertaining to the depot, items 1-36.

Picture Collection.

Costume Collection.

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BC 0277/32, photographs of the Clark family.

ONE, numbers 15-16, editions of “Village Chronicle.”

ONE 12/26, photographs.

ONE 36/13, papers, family letters.

CJC 337/04, reminiscences of Street.

MIL 47/04, varied paper and printed items, family letters.

HSHC 1, papers, family letters.

HSHC 2, papers, typescripts of manuscripts.

HSHC 39, papers, photographs.

HSHC 52, papers, typescripts of manuscripts, “Account Book” of Eleanor and James Clark 1836-1838.

HSHC 53, papers, family letters, ephemera.

HSHC 55, papers, family letters, printed materials, memoranda, photographs.

VA 02/1, editions of "Village Album."

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Appendix 1: Glossary of Terms, Relating to Cotton, Textiles and Dress

African cotton – Africa was an important source of raw cotton, especially Egypt, Ghana, Algeria, Nigeria, Liberia, Natal, South Africa. West Africa had a long tradition of growing cotton and manufacturing cloth. Indian checked ‘Madras cloth’ and ‘Manchester Goods’ were used for trading slaves by British and Portuguese slave traders from the 17th century. The French also had specific printed textiles for the trade in slaves, known as ‘La Traite.’

African chintz – 19th century term for traditional, ‘batik’ or resist-dyed, printed cloth.

American cotton – The major source of the world’s cotton in the 19th century, chiefly from the Slave States and Texas.

Apron check – (USA) Cotton checked gingham cloth.

Arkwright, Richard (1732-1792) – Textile pioneer of a water-powered mechanised spinning machine, ‘Arkwright’s water frame’ (1769).

Bale – The common unit of measuring raw cotton, compressed using a bale press, into a block for shipping. Standard bale was 5 ft 4 inches long by 3 ft six inches wide, weights changed from 250lb in the early 1800s to 400lb in 1860.

Bale mark – Bales were wrapped in strong canvas tied with cord, and the wrapper was painted with the manufacturer’s mark, to make it easily identifiable, e.g. at quayside.

Barège, Barage – (Fr) Fine gauzy wool/cotton/silk mixed fabric, named after the town of Barège in France. It was sold in black for mourning, or pale colours for overdresses. Also ready-made into **Barège Dresses**.

Batting (USA) – Open-weave, heavy, industrial cotton, for webbing or strengthening.

Bed checks – (USA) Furniture gingham, used in bedding textiles.

Berlin wool-work – Woollen embroidery, created using pre-printed patterns, transferred onto canvas and worked with brightly coloured wools. Popular for decorative personal and home manufactures such as slippers, stools and fire-screens, and often sold at fairs.

Boteh or buta – (India) Traditional Indian design motif, also known as **pine cone** or **Paisley**.

Brocade – Silk cloth with figuring or woven pattern on the ground in one of the basic weaves. Both figure and ground may be formed of the same warps and wefts, or additional ones may be added for the figure.

Buff pantaloon (USA) – Dense, beige, cotton trouser cloth, in smooth or brushed finishes.

Calico – Generic name for smooth cotton cloth of many grades, plain or printed. The name comes from the port of Calicut, on the Indian Malabar coast south of Madras.

Cambric – Lightweight, finely woven cotton or linen cloth, made by fine yarns that are closely packed in the weave, to produce a smooth, crisp texture, e.g. for shirts.

Canton flannel (USA) – Strong, yellow, plain, brushed cotton for winter shirts, underclothes and bed textiles.

Canvas – Heavy duty, closely woven strong cotton, used for wrapping purchases.

Caps – Small close-fitting hats, worn by women and infants, ubiquitous in the 19th century.

Cartwright, Edmund (1743-1823) – Textile pioneer, inventor of a water-powered loom, 1785. This developed mechanised weaving.

Chambery, Chambray, Chambrey – Plain thread-dyed cotton calico, used for gowns and shirting.

Check or Checkered – (USA) Plaid or checked woven cloth, such as gingham or muslin.

Cheesecloth (USA) – Same as muslin.

Chintz – Painted and later, printed calico of Indian and Chinese origin, often depicting floral and botanical designs.

Cotton – Plant of genus *Gossypium* cultivated for its fibres or ‘wool,’ which are processed into cotton cloth. There are 43 different types, grown in a range of climates. It produces a soft and fluffy, lint-filled seed pod, in the case of ‘Upland’ cotton, the lint is very firmly attached to the seeds and has to be torn off, in the case of ‘Sea Island,’ the lint is longer and easy to detach from seeds. Since ancient times the plant has been recognised as a source of fibres for cloth.

Cotton Famine – The years of the American Civil War, 1861-1865 saw disruption and cessation in supply of American cotton to the Manchester textile industry. By November 1863, 331,000 textile workers were out of work, and forced to rely on provisions made by the Poor Law for relief.

Cotton Industry – British, see Lancashire

Count or Thread Count – The fineness of yarn is specified by the number of standard lengths or hanks of yarn, needed to make one pound in weight; the higher the number, the finer the yarn and consequently the denser the cloth. The system was based on 840 yards in a hank, thus ‘10-count cotton’ contains 10 hanks to the pound.

Coutil/coutille – Strong twilled cotton cloth, for corsets.

Crompton, Samuel (1753-1827) – Textile pioneer, inventor of a powered, mechanised spinning machine, ‘Crompton’s mule’ (1770).

Crinoline – Woman’s petticoat, stiffened with cane or metal hoops, to enlarge the circumference of the skirt, worn from 1855 through to 1865. This was widespread in mainstream female dress and considered an essential of polite, middle class genteel dress.

Delaine – (Fr) From mousseline de laine, soft, lightweight woollen cloth. Different weaves and prints were fashionable, such as satin stripe de laines were fancy, satin-striped wool.

Delaware – American state where much cotton manufacture was carried out, especially in Wilmington which had a large Quaker community, involved in yarn spinning and cloth manufacture, such as Joseph Bancroft, kinsman of the Clarks.

Derry – Strong, durable corduroy or ribbed cotton.

Dimity – A generally stout white cotton fabric, plain or twilled with a raised pattern on one side and often printed, e.g. with spots. Some dimity was fine and furniture or window dimity was a heavier type.

Domestic – Plain, heavy cotton cloth for household furnishings.

Domestic system – Means of spinning yarn and weaving cloth. Silk, linen, wool and later cotton handlooms were set up in weavers’ homes, in cellars (for cotton) and upper rooms (for silk), where weaving was carried out to the weavers’ schedule, with the assistance of children and family. The factory system largely replaced the domestic system for cotton in the late 1700s.

D’oyley or **doyley** – Decorative small cloths and runners for tables etc., often trimmed with lace or crochet, popular for sale on stalls at fairs.

Drab – Dull colour, a mixture of grey, brown and green commonly seen in plain, traditional Quaker clothing.

Drill – Strong durable fabric in twill weave made in various weights for heavy clothing, such as working men’s trousers. Heavy drill was used in bed tick and furnishings.

Duck – Durable and closely woven heavy cotton fabric, usually unbleached.

Dyeing – Impregnating cloth with colouring substances.

East Indian cotton – India was the major source for cotton until the 18th century, chiefly from Surat, Bengal and Madras, superseded by America in the 19th century.

Egyptian cotton – Egypt was an important 19th century source for cotton, especially Sea Island type.

Factory system – Means of spinning yarn and weaving cloth using power – steam or water, dating to the mid 1700s. Machinery was set up in large premises, warehouses, mills and ‘manufactories’ known as factories. This speeded rates of yarn production and created a wholly different working environment.

Fall Front – Also called **Apron Front**, a style of Quaker women’s gowns, especially 1700 – 1830s. The bodice is constructed as a flap that can be lowered, and was pinned closed at the centre front, or at the sides to create a bib-effect.

Flannel – Soft twilled cotton fabric with a slightly napped surface and often checked.

Flax – Plant, genus *Linum* from which linen is made, native to many northern countries.

Flax-cotton – Discussed in *The Slave* (1851) as a new innovation in textile manufacture. It involved treating flax like cotton, processing or “cottonizing” it into “flax-cotton wool.”

Fustian – Coarse, strong cloth, originally linen, then linen/cotton mix (a linen warp and a cotton weft). By 1850, it was made wholly of cotton. It was a generic category of many types of cotton cloth, such as moleskin and corduroy which were worn by the working classes and the poor.

Gin – Nickname for an engine or machine. The most famous was the cotton gin, credited to American, Eli Whitney (1792). This mechanised separation of lint from seeds of Upland cotton. In Britain engines were also called ‘jennies.’

Gingham – Woven cloth, from the Malay word ‘ging-gang’ meaning striped cloth. It was made first from silk, then linen and from the 18th century, cotton. It was woven from dyed yarn, in patterns of stripes or checks. Factory-made cloth gingham was very cheap and completely ubiquitous.

Glacé – Textile process of passing cloth through rollers to impart lustre, usually to silk.

Grandrill – (USA) Heavy twilled cloth, used for making trousers for working men.

Grey cloth – Unbleached cotton or linen.

Hand loom – The principle item of textile machinery until power looms were introduced in the late 18th century. Cotton handlooms were a sturdy, box-like construction, threaded with the warps, a shuttle was drawn across (over and under) warps, to create the cloth and warps were lifted by a foot-operated treadle.

Hargreaves, James (1720-1778) – Textile pioneer, inventor of a powered, mechanised spinning machine, or ‘spinning jenny’ (1770).

Holland – Cotton calico cloth, bleached or unbleached and which was often printed.

Homespun – Cloth made in the home, hand loomed from hand spun thread, made in cotton, linen and wool or combinations thereof. A humble cloth, it tended to be loosely woven and irregular fabric, as seen on slave plantations.

Hosiery – Stockings or ‘hose’ commonly hand knitted, later machine made, in buff, grey or white cotton or wool.

Huckaback – Linen or cotton cloth with honeycomb weave, for towels.

Hungarian Fancies – Glazed worsted or wool-cotton mix cloth, glazed and woven in rainbow stripes, made in Norwich and highly popular in America.

Indigo – Plant, genus *Indigofera* native of many parts of the world. When mashed, soaked and aerated, the leaves yield deep blue dye. It was cultivated in the Caribbean, using slaves, and was targeted by the Free Produce Movement.

Ikat – From Malay textiles, this refers to resist-dyeing of warps or weft, prior to weaving to give random fine ‘zig-zag’ style.

Jaconett or **Jaconet** – (USA) Close-woven buff cotton cloth, used for linings or men’s trousers.

Jacquard Loom – Loom of French origin in the early 19th century and common in British manufacturing, it was fitted with a harness consisting of cards, card cylinder, needles, hooks and cords, which control the warp in weaving. Jacquard woven cloth (cotton or silk) was self-coloured, with the pattern woven in satin weave, typically for table linen and was a popular choice for Quakers.

Jean – Twilled cotton fustian cloth, typically dyed with indigo. It was thick and strong for working cloth.

Kay, John (1704-1779) – Textile pioneer, inventor of the ‘flying shuttle’ (1733), a hand-operated pulley wheel device which aided shuttle throwing, in the weaving process.

Kerchief or **handkerchief** – Square of cloth, folded in half to form a triangle, worn crossed on the breast by traditional, plain Quaker women.

Knitting – Cotton thread for hand knitting.

Lampwick– Napped, cotton fabric with a raised pattern, tufted and corded, used for bedspreads.

Lancashire – the epicentre of the British cotton industry, where cotton was spun, woven, printed and finished in a collection of towns, surrounding Manchester, dubbed ‘Cottonopolis’ by The Times. Its precursor was the linen industry (prior to 1600s), fustian production (1600s to 1800s), cotton production (late 1700s through to 20th century). The damp climate, rivers and proximity to Liverpool made it an ideal location for cotton work.

Lawn – Sheer, plain-woven cotton or linen fabric, made in several finishes, also printed.

Length or Dress Length – piece of cloth cut to 6 or 8 yards, sold for making dresses.

Lining – Dense, smooth cotton fabric for backing and lining, glazed had a shiny surface.

Linsey-woolsey – Coarse cloth, a mixture of wool and linen, originating in Devon.

Long staple cotton – Cotton fibres of a longer length, suitable for finer weaves, the best was American Sea Island, grown in the Eastern Seaboard, especially the Carolinas.

Long cloth – Wide, basic plain, bleached or un-bleached calico, used for economical underwear and sheets. It was sold in lengths of 37 yards, often specified origin, such as ‘India long cloth.’

Long shawl – Stole or long rectangular shawl wrap, used by Quakers in the 19th century.

Lowell Massachusetts – Cotton textile town in USA, maker of cheap grade of cloth, known as ‘Lowell cloth,’ worn by the poor.

Lustres – Shiny, smooth-faced fancy silk or cotton cloth.

Mixtures – Of different fibres, silk, wool and cotton, commonly seen in the 19th century and the Free Produce Movement, to boost cotton volumes or since silk had no connections to slavery. In USA mixtures included ‘satinet’ and ‘cashmerette’ for men’s trousers.

Mantles – Shawls or cloaks, they could be simple rectangle shapes with a drawstring or they could be tailored.

Moleskin – Strong, soft, fine-piled cotton fustian, the surface of which is ‘shaved’ before dyeing.

Mule – Spinning machine originally developed for cotton spinning by Samuel Crompton. It had a moving carriage for simultaneously drawing and twisting fibres into a sliver into yarn or thread, and then winding it on spools.

Muslin – Very fine, light, semi-transparent, silk, linen or cotton cloth. Cotton muslin was first imported from India in the 18th century, and many types of numerous qualities were developed in Britain. It was plain or patterned, printed or figured through woven patterns and often embroidered and decorated with spangles. The colour white predominated.

Nankeen – Plain, closely woven yellowish or buff cotton cloth, for breeches and trousers, so-called after Nanking in China.

Negro cloth – or **Nigger cloth** (USA), derogative descriptor for a coarse quality cotton/linen/wool or combinations thereof, worn by slaves. Slave codes stipulated that only a few types were suitable for slaves. Also known as ‘crop cloth’ or ‘plains,’ it was manufactured at Lowell, and in Britain in Kendal, Carlisle and Manchester.

Ornamental aprons – (USA ‘pinafore’). Plain, printed or embroidered, these were popular goods at fairs.

Organdie – Thin, light, plain weave cotton cloth, made with fine weft threads and given a stiffening finish to make it crisp.

Osnaburg, Osnaberg, Osnabrig, Ozenbrig – Cheapest grade of coarse cloth originally from Germany and manufactured in America and Britain, used for working cloth and for the poor and enslaved.

Outwork or Outworker System – Means of organising production of cloth, where merchant manufacturers employ people to weave in their home, who were paid per item.

Over – The number of times a pattern repeat fits into a width of fabric, such as ‘three-over’ or ‘four-over.’

Pantaloon – (USA) Tubular trousers worn by men and boys and girls under tunics and frocks.

Peplum – Short ‘skirt’ or frill on the hem of a bodice or jacket for women.

Piece or Piece Goods – Standard length of fabric which could also be cut up into smaller lengths, in shops.

Piece Work – Payment by output, rather than by the hour, standard in the hand loom industry.

Piqué – Durable fabric of cotton or silk, woven with cross-wise ribs, obtained by the interlacing of a fine surface warp and a heavy back warp.

Plain weave – a smooth cloth, with warp and weft threads equally interlaced.

Plainness – A Testimony of Quakers. It concerned the absence of decoration or addition in designs and it influenced Quaker visual culture and attitude to design, closely observed until 1860, when it became known as ‘simplicity,’ a moderated version.

Plantation – Industrial system of farming, using large numbers of labourers, managed by a few supervisors, typically in a monoculture such as cotton or sugar. Imported, African slave labour was introduced into the early plantations of the New World, to fill a gap in labour and push up profits.

Printing – Ancient method of transfer of design to cloth, first using woodblocks, then plates or rollers, often applied to calico. In USA this was known as ‘figured.’

Quaker apron – This was a traditional item, made from fine linen or muslin. In the 17th century it was green. Often aprons were made from cotton gingham, hence the American term for gingham – ‘apron check.’

Retting – Textile process of softening flax (linen) fibres in alkali chemicals and water, to make ready for spinning into thread.

Satin or Sateen – dense cotton textile, the warp covers the weft threads, creating a smooth surface appearance, given by distributing the intersections of warp and weft widely and equidistantly.

Sea Island cotton – *Gossypium barbadense*, long staple fibre cotton which produces a superior grade of cloth. Introduced to USA at the end of the 18th century, by the Dutch, using seeds from the Amazon River basin, it grew especially well in the temperate seaboard of Georgia and South Carolina. It has fibres over 2 inches in length and is relatively easy to separate the lint from the seeds. Compared to *hirsutum* it requires higher temperatures and more water and premium prices were paid for this high-value crop.

Serge – Durable twilled cotton or woollen fabric having a smooth clear face and a pronounced diagonal rib on the front and back.

Sewing cotton – Cotton thread, spun into different gauge, such as ‘6 cord.’

Shawl – Rectangular or square wrap, often folded in half to form a triangle, a traditional item for Quaker women.

Shirting – Common grey cloth (unbleached) woven 36-45 inches wide and cut to 36 inches long as a ‘length,’ often a fine, smooth cloth of different grades and finishes, such as brushed or soft.

Shoddy – Recycled woollen cloth, pioneered by Benjamin Law in Batley, Yorkshire in the early 19th century. It was a poor-quality woollen cloth, for uniforms and outerwear, woven using yarn spun from shredded dirty rags collected from rag pickers. When mixed with new fabric, such as tailor’s off-cuts, it was called ‘mungo.’ Shoddy was of a poor quality hence the term for badly-made goods.

Spinning – Process of drawing and twisting fibres to make yarn or thread.

Swiss cambric lawn – Fine woven, close-textured cotton cloth, as fine as muslin.

Tape – Very narrow woven strip of twill cotton, used for fastening, reinforcements and household purposes.

Tape check – Woven check-patterned muslin, usually white or unbleached muslin, with raised pattern.

Tartan –(GB) (USA ‘plaid’), checked, woven cloth associated with Scotland, which gained huge popularity in the 19th century.

Ticking or Bed-ticking – Strong, heavy, closely-woven twill cotton cloth, typically blue and white stripes and woven in large widths.

Twill – a type of dense, strong cotton cloth, with a woven pattern of diagonal ribs.

Union Cloth – Stout linen/cotton mix, dressed with stiffeners to make a working cloth.

Upland cotton – *Gossypium hirsutum* or common cotton, so-called as it could be grown in non-coastal, upland areas, and its seeds are ‘hairy’ and tufted with cotton fibres, between 13/16 inches and 1¼ inches long. Lint is firmly stuck to the seeds, making this cotton very difficult to separate by hand.

Warp – Threads or yarns set up lengthwise on a loom, through which the filler threads or wefts are interlaced to produce cloth. Warps need to be very strong indeed, as they were under great tension and were made in specialised warping mills.

Weft – Threads that lie width-wise in the cloth, across the warp from selvedge to selvedge. Wefts are softer and weaker than warps.

Warp dyed or weft dyed – Patterns introduced into the cloth by dyeing warp or weft thread prior to weaving.

West Indian cotton – Important source of cotton, before the mid 19th century, especially Martinique, Jamaica, St. Vincent, Demerara, St. Domingo, Barbados and Dominica.

Winding – Making bobbins of yarn in spinning process.

Worsted – smooth compact woollen yarn spun with average to hard twist from long wool fibres that have been carded and combed. This was woven into **woollen worsted cloth**, which was for heavy quality, nap-less fabrics. Worsted was a speciality of Somerset, as seen in the worsted stockings made by the Metford family of Glastonbury.

Yarn – Spun thread.

Appendix 2: List of Names of Subscribers to ‘Penny Offering’ in Street

Transcript of printed subscription card, showing donations from readers of Uncle Tom’s Cabin (1852) to the ‘Penny Offering.’ All additions are in parenthesis in bold e.g. **[illegible]**.

“Birmingham Ladies’ Negro’s Friend Society TRIBUTE TO MRS. STOWE FROM THE READERS OF “UNCLE TOM’S CABIN” (IN CONTRIBUTION OF ONE PENNY AND UPWARDS) Trustees:

THE EARL OF CARLISLE, – THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, – SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ., – SIR EDWARD N. BUXTON BART., – JOSEPH STURGE ESQ., – GEORGE W. ALEXANDER ESQ. To save room, the contributions of a family may be entered in one amount. *This list when filled up to be sent, with amount collected, to Eleanor Clark* Name of collector: Julia and Henrietta Clothier. Residence: Street.”

[Name	Amount	Name	Amount]
Captain Festin	5s	Annie Clark	6d
Mary Edwards	6d	Eliza Stephens	1d
Elizabeth Milshele	1d	Louise Hooper	1d
J. Hooper	1d	Elizabeth Godfrey	1d
James Perkins	1d	Mr. L [illegible] Chambers	1d
Mary White	1d	Mary Bristow	6d
Elizabeth [illegible]	1d	James Perrin	1d
Thomas Hood	1d	Walter Boyle	1d
Mrs. Landy	1d	George Pitman	1d
Eleanor Clark	2s 6d	James Stacey	1d
Emily Harding	4d	Louisa Clark	1d
Fanny Clark	2d	Sarah Hooper	1d
Mary Clark	2d	Fanny Bingley	1d
Alfred Adams	1d	Sarah Foster	1d
Thomas Petvin	1d	Anne Petvin	1d
Sarah Tucker	1d	Charlotte Giles	1d

Louisa Blake	1d	Walter Cousins	1d
Eliza Hood	1d	Anne Hooper	1d
Thomas Gallop	1d	F. Kelly	1d
A Friend	1d	A Friend	1d
Ellen C. Impey	3d	Catherine Impey	3d
Anne Stephens	1d	Cyrus Clark	1s
J. E. Clark	6d	Sarah Clark	1s
Beavan Clark	6d	Mrs. Kidder	6d
Mary Othery	1d	Mary Grander	1d
Mary Hood	1d	Elizabeth Plenty	1d
Frances Hood	1d	Mary Reynolds	1d
Mrs. Briscoe	1d	Fanny Plenty	1d
Gabriel Foster	1d	Mrs. Gaugkins	1d
Solomon Hillard	1d	Elizabeth Gaugkins	1d
Anne Mortlake	2d	H. M. Mee [illegible]	1d
Rebecca Stephens	1d	Servant	1d
Benoni Stephens	1d	Keturah Clothier	1s
Henrietta Clothier	6d	[illegible] Penn	6d
Mrs. Julia Clothier	6d	C. & J. Clark factories	3s

Appendix 3: List of Free Labour Cotton Suppliers, Manufacturers, Retailers and Free Produce Societies in Britain 1830s – 1860s

List of free labour cotton spinners, weavers, suppliers, depots, retailers and free produce associations (FPAs) in Britain and their wares (if known).

Name/Association	Address	Nature of Business	Goods Sold (if known)
Adshead & Meredith, Messrs.	53, Strand London	Hosier and shirt-maker	
Alexander, J.	Dublin	Manufacturer, weaver	
Alexander, Mr.	Crawford-street, Portman-square London	Draper	
Allen, Richard	Dublin	Manufacturer, weaver	
Allpress, J., Mr.	206, Upper-street, Islington, London	Draper	
Alnwick FPA		FPA	
Arnell, Messrs.	North-street, Chichester	Draper	
Axton, Mr.	Kennington Gate	Draper	Sewing cotton
Barrow & Satterthwaite, Messrs.	Lancaster	Manufacturer	Knitting cotton, white and grey calico
Bath Depot	Orange-street, Bath	Free labour cotton depot	Cloth, haberdashery, 'knittings,' 'sewings' and hose
Beckett & Woodhouse, Messrs.	16, Lower Parade, Leamington	Draper	
Birdseye & Bloyce, Messrs.	160, High-street, Clapham	Draper	
Birkenhead FPA		FPA	
Birmingham & West Bromwich FPA		FPA	
Boocock, T.	4, Tolmer's-place, Hampstead-road, London	Draper	

Bowden, Mrs. J.	14, Bishopsgate-street Without, London	Draper	
Bowden, James	16 Old Market Street, Bristol	Draper	Hosiery, haberdashery
Bragg, Charles	Newcastle	Draper	
Braydon FPA		FPA	
Brighton FPA		FPA	
Bristol & Clifton FPA		FPA	?Mooted in 1853
Bromfield Mr. J.P.,	26, Tavistock-place, Tavistock square, London	Draper	
Brown, Thomas Jnr.	15 Marsden-square, Manchester	Wholesale	
Brown & Thomas, Messrs.	Grafton-street, Dublin	Draper	
Browne, Josias & Co., Messrs.	Marsden Street, Street Manchester	Warehouse; wholesale, retail and mail order	Cloth of many types, readymade items, hosiery, sewing and knitting cotton
Buckley, Mrs.	Kingstown, Dublin	Draper	
Burford, E., Mr.	Grove House, Stratford, Essex	Draper	
Burtenshaw & Gande, Messrs.	45 Fore Street, London	Draper	Strutt's Knitting Cotton
Candy, E., Mr.	Clevedon	Draper	
Cane, John	140 & 141, High-street, Margate	Draper	
Capper, J. & Son	69, Gracechurch-street, London	Draper	
Chrimes, Joseph	18 Marsden Square, Manchester	Shirt-maker	
Clark, E., Mrs.	Street Free Labour Cotton Depot, Temperance Hall, Street, Somerset	Free labour cotton depot	Cloth - calico, muslin, print, gingham, dimity, readymade dresses and hosiery, haberdashery, sewing and knitting cotton
Clark, Mr. F.	Gateshead	Draper	
Claves & Son, Messrs.	Canterbury	Draper	

Clegg, Thomas	Manchester	Cotton spinner	Free labor cotton spun, including supplies obtained in Nigeria
Cole, Mr.	Richmond House, Caledonian-road, London	Draper	
Cook, G. S., Mr.	58, Marchmont-street, Brunswick-square, London	Draper	
Coldstream FPA		FPA	
Cove, Henry	Tottenham	Draper	
Cox, Mr.	96, Bishopsgate-street Without	Draper	
Cox, late Hogg, Mr.	447, New Oxford-street, London	Draper	Sewing cotton
Cox, Horne & Hog, Messrs.	Nottingham	Hosier	Bleached and unbleached and coloured hose
Crewdson, Wilson,	Manchester	Manufacturer, weaver	Cotton shirting, cambric, calico, printed calico and muslin
Cruickshanks, Mr.	George-street (New Town), Edinburgh	Ladies' outfitter	
Darlington FPA		FPA	
Dean, J.	Haslingden	Manufacturer	
Dunse FPA		FPA	
Edwards, Mr.	Middle-row, Holborn, London	Draper	
Edwards, Charles	14, Southampton-row, Russell-square, London	Draper	
Elliston & Carroll, Messrs.	Oxford	Draper	
Evans, Mr.	Hampstead	Draper	
Farr, Mr.	East-street, Chichester	Draper	
Farrar, R.	25, Great Russell-street, Covent-garden, London	Draper	
Field, Mr.	Ventnor, Isle of Wight	Draper	
Filby, W.	Hammersmith	Draper	
Fisher, King & Lovell	Bristol	Draper	Cambric, shirting, muslin

Foot, G. Mr.	Warwick House, Warwick-street, Pimlico, London	Draper	
Foster ,W., Mr.	Cardiff	Draper	
Fowler, Thomas	Worcester	Draper	
Fowler, William	Southampton	Draper	Shirting calicoes
Gateshead FPA		FPA	
George & Brown, Messrs.	Newcastle	Hosier, glover and lace-man	Hose
German, George	Cornmarket, Derby	Draper	Calicoes, prints, shirting
Gill & Hartley, Messrs.	Leigh, Manchester and 120, Wood-street, Cheapside, London	Manufacturer, weaver	Coutil
Grainger, Mr.	Edmonton	Draper	
Granville, C. G., Mr.	15, Broadway, Deptford, London	Draper	
Gregory, Mr.	Wine-street, Bristol	Draper	
Gregory, Phoebe	Bristol	Draper	
Hartlepool FPA		FPA	
Heelas & Sons	Minster-street, Reading	Draper	
Henry Smith	Brixton-hill	Draper	
Hetherington, Henry	Great Missenden, Berks	Draper	
Hitchin FPA		FPA	
Hitchcock & Co., Messrs.	St. Paul's Churchyard, London	Draper	
Holmes & Sowter, Messrs.	35, Union Passage, Birmingham	Draper	
Horsfield & Pomfret, Messrs.	Burnley	Manufacturer	
Howitt & Co., Messrs.	Albion House, High Holborn, London	Draper	
Inglis, E. Mrs.	7, Blomfield-street then 22, Broad-street Buildings, London	Free labour cotton depot	Calico, muslin, print, gingham, haberdashery, knitting and sewing

			cotton
Jackson, Messrs.	Calder Vale Mills, near Garstang	Manufacturer	
King & Gurney	37 Wine Street, Bristol	Draper	Milpuff, calico and sheeting
King, E., Mrs.	35, Colmore-row, Birmingham	Draper	Sewing cotton
Knight, Mr.	Kingstown, Dublin	Draper	
Lambert, Mr.	Bath	Draper	
Lambert, Mr.	Bull-street, Birmingham	Draper	
Lee, J.B.	87, St. James-street, Dickinson-street, Manchester	Wholesale or manufacturer, weaver	
Livesay & Thorpe, Messrs.	9, Phoenix-street, Manchester	Manufacturer	
Luton FPA		FPA	
Macey, C.	27, Great Titchfield-street, and 28, Foley-street, London	Draper	
Mangolls, J., Mr.	Richmond, Yorkshire	Draper	
Marshall, T.W., Mr.	57, St. Martin's-lane, London	Draper	
Maryport FPA		FPA	
McConnell & Hadfield, Messrs.	Manchester	Manufacturer	
Metcalf, W., Mr.	79, Lupus-street, Pimlico, London	Draper	
Middlesbrough FPA		FPA	
Morley, J. & R.	Wood Street, Cheapside, London	Draper	Hosiery
Morris, William & David.	Manchester	Manufacturer	White, grey, bleached and unbleached calico, tape, lining, sewing cotton
Newport FPA		FPA	
New Bacup & Wardle Commercial Co.	Stacksteads-street, Manchester	Manufacturer	

Nuneley, Mr.	Barnet, Herts	Draper	
North Shields FPA		FPA	
O'Connell, John	South Main Street, Cork	Manufacturer, weaver	Linen, linen and cotton gingham and hand loomed cotton
Padmore & Lane, Messrs.	Ryde, Isle of Wight	Draper	
Parkyn & Co, Messrs.	13 Brown-street, Manchester	Wholesale or manufacturer	
Patterson, Thomas Bowman	Fore-Street, Tiverton	Draper	
Peters & Underwood	Sloane-square, Chelsea, London	Draper	
Peckham FPA		FPA	
Pennington, Swanwick & Co., Messrs.	1, Marsden-street, Manchester	Wholesale and manufacturer, weaver	
Pilling, J.	Haslingden Grave	Manufacturer	
Ramsdale, Joseph	50, Wine-Street, Bristol	Draper	India long cloth
Rayner, J. & G., Messrs.	27, South-street, Worthing	Draper	
Reynolds, Thomas	32 Wine Street, Bristol	Draper	Haberdashery, hosiery, calico shirting
Richardson & Coxon	Newcastle	Draper	Hose
Rishton, Henry	Dolphinholme Mills, Near Lancaster	Manufacturer, ?spinner	
Roberts, J.	29, Cannon-street, Manchester	Wholesale	
Ross, J & G, Messrs.	Exeter	Shirt-maker, hosier. Glover etc.	Hose, gloves, shirts.
Ruddle & Son, Messrs.	14, Pavement, Clapham, London	Draper	
Rylands & Sons, Messrs.	56, High-Street, Manchester and 56a, Wood-street, Cheapside, London	Manufacturer, weaver	
Rymer, Messrs.	13, Tib-lane, Manchester	Manufacturer	
Saunders, George	Great Missenden, Berks	Draper	

Scott, Bell & Co., Messrs.	2, 3, 4 and 5, Wellington Quay, and 5, Exeter- street, Dublin	Draper	
Selfe & Wilmott	Bristol	Draper	Table linen, sheeting, Russia, bleached linen, huckaback
Shaw, John	Ramsgate	Draper	
Smith, Henry	Brixton-hill	Draper	
Smith, William	Burnley	Manufacturer	
Smith & Sons, Messrs.	Audley House, South Audley-street, London	Draper	
South Shields FPA		FPA	
Spafford & Co., Messrs.	53a Brown-street, Manchester and Commercial Mills, Haslingden	Manufacturer	
Spencer & Hewitt	180, Oxford-street, London	Draper	
Spencer, Samuel	26, Southampton-row, Russell-square, London	Draper	
Stockton FPA		FPA	
Story, Messrs.	Lancaster	Manufacturer	
Stride & Co., Mesdames	Conduit-street, Regent- street, London	Draper	
Sturge, E.S., Mrs.	5, Terrace Walks, Bath	Draper	
Sunderland FPA		FPA	
Surridge, E.	3, Westbourne-place, Bishop's-road, London	Draper	
Sutton, W.	49, St. George's-place, Knightsbridge, London	Draper	
Tardrew & Tibball, Messrs.	York House, Kingsdown, Bristol	Draper	
Taylor, H.	23, Oxford-street, London	Draper	
Thompson, Mrs.	Westgate-Street, Newcastle	Free Labour Depot,	
Tierney, Samuel	Belfast	Manufacturer	Cotton and linen cloth.

Turnbull, Mr.	opposite the College, (Old Town), Edinburgh	Draper	
Valantine & Coles	199, Upper-street, Islington, London	Draper	
Vernon, Isaac	Lutterworth	Draper	
Walthamstow FPA		FPA	
Watkin & Son, Messrs.	9, Nicholas-street, Manchester	Manufacturer	
Weeks, John	54, Baker-street, Portman-square, London	Draper	
Whitehaven FPA		FPA	
Winlaton FPA		FPA	
Willett, Thomas W.	High-street, Margate	Draper	
Wilmott, R.	Congresbury	Draper	Hosiery, brown holland
Wingrave, John	Free Cumberland Gingham Company, Irish Dam-side, Stanwix, Carlisle	Manufacturer, weaver	Hand-loom workshop for gingham. Also supplied cloth by other manufacturers.
Withy & Little	11, Bridge Street, Bristol	Draper	
Withy, George	68, Castle Street, Bristol	Draper	Blankets, millpuff, bolsters
Worcester FPA		FPA	
Workington FPA		FPA	
Worthington	Manchester	Manufacturer, weaver	Heavy cotton, twill
Wright, F.E. Mr.	Kettering	Draper	Bleached and unbleached cotton calico, long cloth.

Appendix 4: Selected Catalogue of Costume in the Alfred Gillett Trust at C. & J. Clark

Catalogue of nineteenth century items, from the Costume Collection, at the Alfred Gillett Trust, C. & J. Clark, in Street (26 boxes). Listed by Anna Vaughan Kett, with Charlotte Berry (24-26 May 2010) and revised (16 June 2010).

Collection strengths: 19th century especially 1850s, female domestic Quaker dress, including: domestic linen, bonnets, caps, shawls, collars, kerchiefs, underwear, baby wear.

Some 18th and 20th century items, including some purchased from the Victoria Emporium, Bristol (used for theatricals?) Some of the items have either been labelled or have accompanying notes, giving details of their provenance and connection with the Clark family. A significant number of items have originated from Lucretia Kendall Clark; two Mrs. R. Clarks, Helen Sophie Horn Clark (HSHC) and Sarah Bancroft Clark (SBC) and Margaret Clark Gillett.

Box 1

Box label: Quaker bonnet, infant's long robe

Provenance: See RC labels for items 1-5

1. Lady's Quaker bonnet.

Slate grey corded silk bonnet with poke brim. Drawstring and ties under chin.

1820s-1860s

Very Good Condition. Very little fading. Scratches.

Provenance: Belonged to Mary Clark or possibly her mother.

2. Lady's cap (as worn under bonnet or alone).

Fine white cotton muslin, with pleats and frills. Small neck frill. Long ties under chin.

1850s

Good Condition. Some yellowing.

Provenance: Belonged to Mary Clark, possibly her mother.

3. Lady's Quaker collar.

Thin white cotton lawn collar. Ties and button.

19th century

Fair/Good Condition. Yellowing, spots, patch and mends.

4. Lady's Quaker cap (as worn under bonnet).

White cotton net and silk trim. Very fine. Long silk ribbon ties under chin.

1830s-1860s

Good Condition. Some yellowing. Fragile.

5. Baby's long gown.

Cream cotton gown, textured self-stripe. Hand-crocheted trim and inserts. Side opening.

19th century [post 1850]

Good Condition.

Box 6

Box label: DLP/38

1. Lady's nightdress.

White cotton nightdress with label 'S B Clark'. Blue ribbon tie.

Late 19th century

Good Condition

Box 7

Box label: DLP/38; 36/17

1. Lady's gown

Silk dress worn by Helen Priestman Bright Clark. High quality one-piece gown, with additional 'pannier' panels to be worn on hips. Turquoise stripe on grey/blue background, turquoise fringing. Front opening with hooks and glass decorative buttons.

Poor Condition. Very fragile indeed, green staining, many splits, tears and mends.

Provenance: Worn by HPBC on the night before her marriage to WSC at Rochdale, 24 Jul 1866. As seen in wedding photographs.

Retrieved from 'Street Players,' 1974. Theatre collection?

Box 13

Box label: 'Clothing – various, Mrs. R Clark's etc'. 'Room 2 rack 3'. 'Gillett box 29, 25/5/1979'

1. Beaded footstool, geometric pattern

1860s

Good Condition

Provenance: Collection of Margaret Gillett

2. Glass framed beadwork picture, showing grapes.

Reverse: 'To C & J Clark Museum from the estate of Margaret Gillett, died 24.1.1962. 8th May 1862'

Good Condition

Provenance: Collection of Margaret Gillett

3. Square framed bead picture, wreath design on blue

1850s-1860s

Reverse: 'To C & J Clark Museum from the estate of Margaret Gillett, died 24.1.1962. 8th May 1862'

Good Condition

Provenance: Collection of Margaret Gillett

4. Square framed geometric petit point

1850s-1860s

Reverse: 'To C & J Clark Museum from the estate of Margaret Gillett, died 24.1.1962. 8th May 1862'

Good Condition

Provenance: Collection of Margaret Gillett

5. Large beaded footstool

19th century

Good Condition

Provenance: Collection of Margaret Gillett

Box 14

Box label: 'Clothing – various, Mrs. R Clark's etc'. 'Room 2 rack 3'. 'Gillett box 29, 25/5/1979'

1. Child's wooden cart

Reverse: 'To C & J Clark Museum from the estate of Margaret Gillett, died 24.1.1962. 8th May 1862. Belonged to Martha Gibbins when a little girl, MG born 1798'

Box 15

7. Large beaded footstool

1850s-1860s

Box 18

Box label: 'Room 2, rack 3, clothing and costumes etc'; 'Clothing Gillett 24'

1. Little child's wicker basket

Silk lining, also three little papers on flowers.

Provenance: Note: 'this little basket was used by RP... during her illness she kept her pocket handkerchiefs in it – and requested it might afterwards be given to Helen, whom she dearly loved – to remember 'her dear aunt atish' by P.B.'

2. Knitted silk-lined reticule

Green and gradations, green silk lining

Good Condition.

Provenance: 'Knit by my grandmother Margaret Bragg, specially for me and passed on by me to Helen, if she would like it'. 'The handwriting is that of Anna Maria Priestman (Aunt Anna) sister of Elizabeth Bright'

3. Silk brocade purse

Also cards including a Christmas card, from Dick and Mary 'to dear aunt Lillian'

1850s

Good Condition

Provenance: 'Uncle Dick's grandfather (Richard F Curry) was a captain at Poole, who evaded customs and bought French brocades into England, this was the origin of the bag'

4. Painted silk flat fan, with crochet trim

1850s

Very fragile, torn

5. Child's dress

Black with green and blue wool work, with sash

c. 1880

Provenance: 'This frock was embroidered and made by Florence (Clark) Impey daughter of James and Eleanor Clark, about 1880 – for one of her nieces. From Margaret Clark Gillett, 1955, the said niece.'

Very Good Condition

Box 20

Box label: 'Room 2, rack 3, Clothing and costumes of Mrs. R Clark, various'; 'underclothes, caps etc, to be kept (LHK 1849 etc)'; 'Clothing 6, Mrs. R Clark etc'

1. Linen apron

Marked 'L H Kendall'

19th century [? 1850s]

Good Condition

2. Embroidered cloth

Use unknown

19th century

3. Woman's shift

With embroidery

4. Woman's drawers, LHK

Linen, with crochet trim and open gusset

Some staining

5. Pair of undersleeves, striped cotton and spot design

1850s-1860s

Very Good Condition

6. Bodice front panel (stomacher-style)

Fine muslin, embroidered front

1850s

7. Lady's fine white lace collar, round

Mid 19th century

Very Good Condition

8. Muslin cap

High quality, embroidered

1849

Provenance: 'Lucretia Hasseltine Kendall, grandmother of R.K.C. Found by HSC, Jan 1945'. Given to her by her mother

Good Condition

Box 21

Box label: 'Room 2, rack 3, Clothing and costumes of Mrs. R Clark'; 'Underclothes, caps etc to be kept (LHK, 1849 etc)'; 'Clothing 6, Mrs. R Clark etc'

1. Long cloth (? runner)

Linen, cutwork, oriental motif

Very fragile

2. Silk and crochet cloth (? Runner)

High quality

Very fragile

3. Linen squares (2)

One is plain, one cutwork with Isle of Man symbol

Late 19th century

Excellent Condition

4. Lady's Quaker lace cap

High quality

1875-1900

Good Condition, some yellowing

5. Lady's drill bodice front

Tangerine cotton, with tie sides

? 1860s

6. Table cloth (small runner)

Linen irregular edged

? 1890s

Excellent Condition

7. Baby's gown

Pleated, fine silk front only

8. Miscellaneous cotton objects, lace edges of sleeves and cut pieces

Probably saved for sewing projects

Lace, whitework etc

9. Miscellaneous embroidered scraps, frills and pieces of lace.

Also one sleeve, tucker and neckpiece.

Also one small square 'EKK'

10. Miscellaneous scraps of lace, lawn and embroidered pieces

Possibly for collars and cuffs or sewing projects (contents of a sewing basket ?)

Box 22

Box label: 'Room 2, rack 3, clothing and costumes of Mrs. R Clark, various'; 'Gillett 22'

1. Undersleeves (3) to be worn under short-sleeved gowns

Lawn

1850s-1860s

Very Good Condition

2. Quaker kerchief, triangular shape

Plain style, cream, heavy silk

19th century

Good Condition

3. Quaker kerchief with edge strip, plain style

19th century

Good Condition

4. Quaker kerchiefs (7)

Some plain, some with border, various sizes

19th century

Good Condition

5. Ribbed silk Quaker kerchief

19th century

Good Condition

6. Ribbed silk square Quaker scarf, plain style

19th century

Good Condition

7. Lady's Quaker bonnet

Ribbed silk, pale blue, with bavolet neck frill and drawstring

1856-1858

8. Lady's Quaker net cap with ties

1850s

Good Condition

9. Lady's Quaker collar and neckcloth

Plain white linen shoulder-cape style collar with upstanding neck frill, and neck cloth (use unknown ? bodice front)

19th century

Very Good Condition

10. Lady's undersleeves (3)

Cotton or linen

1850s-1860s

11. Lady's Quaker kerchief

High quality white cotton with crochet trim, fawn square

19th century

Very Good Condition

12. Lady's Quaker lawn collars (3)

Also upstanding frill (shoulder cape type); small neck frill

Plain traditional styles, white cotton lawn

Box 23

Box label: 'Room 2 rack 3, Clothing and costumes of Mrs. R Clark, various'; 'Gillett clothing box 22'

1. Collection of lady's accessories

Gloves (2) Fine silk knitted fingerless, 19th century

? Sleeves / tubes of cotton (2), 19th century

Gloves (2), fine kid, primrose yellow, 19th century

2. Lady's cami-drawers, all in one style

Fine cotton, opening flap at back

Late 19th century

Some staining

3. Lady's cami-drawers, all in one

Fine cotton, opening flap at back

Late 19th century

Some staining

4. **Woman's smock**

Linen, with neck openings (? for ribbon ties)

19th century (? or earlier)

Some staining

Good Condition

Provenance: Marked 'E Priestman'

5. **Lady's kerchief square**

Cotton

19th century

Provenance: Marked 'Alice Clark'

Box 24

Box label: 'MCG keeps, Helen to have the offer after my death, if not wanted by her, or any of our children, or Street relations, they can be offered to a costume museum, such as there is at Manchester. Or to Mr Marker, in charge of C & J Museum'

1. **Baby gown**

'Long gown of haircord muslin, as worn by Helen Priestman Bright, and by our children.

This was also worn after Helen Bright by her McLaren cousins, and could be offered to

Ann McLaren of Bodnant, Tal y Cafyn, Wales, rather than go to a museum'

Early 19th century.

Poor Condition, very discoloured

2. **Baby's short gown**

Cotton, embroidered

3. **Baby's petticoat**

Cotton

Good Condition

4. **Baby's/infant's caps (4)**

1. Net frill

2. Spotted muslin

3. Spotted bead panel

4. Cut work (very small)

Excellent Condition

5. **Baby's long gown**

Haircord muslin, off white, slightly textured cotton muslin

[One of 5 listed in accompanying note from Alice Clark, 1934, identifying baby clothes]

Very Good Condition

6. **Baby's long gown**

Cotton muslin, off white

[One of 5 listed in accompanying note]

Very Good Condition

7. **Baby's long gown**

Cotton

[One of 5 listed in accompanying note]

8. Baby's short gown

Cotton

[One of 5 listed in accompanying note]

9. Very long baby's gown

White cotton lawn, with belt tie

[One of 5 listed in accompanying note]

Excellent Condition (pristine ? unworn)

10. Table napkin marked 'P'

Large, damask. Used as wrapper

Box 27

Box label: 'Clothing and costumes etc Mrs. R Clark'; 'Clothing 23 Gillett'

1. Lady's lace cape

3. Lady's Quaker shawl

Dove grey square, wool, large, with silk trim

? 1890s

Good Condition

4. Lady's Quaker shawl, plain style

Cream silk square

19th century

Very Good Condition

5. Lady's Quaker shawl, plain style

Large cream square, heavy silk

19th century

Good Condition, some staining

6. Lady's Quaker shawl

Silk triangle kerchief, plain style, pale grey silk

19th century

Very Good Condition

7. Lady's Quaker shawl

Cream square, net with fringing

19th century

Very Good Condition

8. Lady's Quaker shawl

Cream triangle, very large, heavy silk, plain style

19th century

Good Condition, some stains

9. Lady's Quaker shawl

Peach/beige square, very large, cotton with silk trim, plain style

19th century

Good Condition

10. Lady's Quaker shawl

Cream corded silk, fine quality, plain style

19th century

Fair Condition

11. Lady's Quaker shawl

Beige silk cut triangle, not edged

19th century

Fragile, due to cut edge

12. Lady's Quaker shawl

Grey triangle of very heavy mid-grey glacé silk, lined with heavy corded silk. Very fine

19th century

Very Good Condition

13. Lady's Quaker shawl

Cream square, silk crepe

19th century

Good Condition, some staining

Box 29

Box label: 'Clothing 8 Mrs. R Clark'

1. Girl's petticoat

Plain white heavy cotton

19th century

Some staining

Provenance: Labelled 'E L Clark.'

2. Girl's cotton petticoat

19th century

Some staining

Provenance: Labelled 'E L Clark.'

3. Woollen baby gown

19th century [possibly 1880s, as woollen underclothes were then considered healthy)

Fair/Good Condition, some holes and staining

Provenance: Marked 'ELC.'

4. Long woollen baby gown

19th century

Fair/Good Condition, some holes and staining

Provenance: Marked 'ELC.'

5. Long woollen baby gown

19th century

Fair/Good Condition, some holes and staining

Provenance: Marked 'ELC.'

6. Short woollen baby petticoat

Fair Condition

Also cloth with cotton edge, use uncertain (some holes, darns and stains)

7. Pink silk lavender sachet

Contains lavender

In same bundle:

Embroidered case, wool, with red stitches

Linen cloth, use unknown. Marked 'Sister Mary'

Box 30

Box label: 'Clothing 8 Mrs. R Clark'

1. Child's blue cotton frock

1850-1900

Good Condition

2. Baby's gown

Short length, cotton lawn. Lace triangular front panel and embroidery

1850s

Good Condition

3. Long cotton baby gown

1850s-1900

Provenance: Marked 'ELC.'

4. Long cotton baby gown

1850s-1900

Provenance: Marked 'ELC.'

5. Long cotton baby gown

1850s-1900

Provenance: Marked 'ELC.'

Box 31

Box label: 'Clothing 8, Mrs. R Clark'

1. Infant/child's short drawers, with 6 further pairs, some with lace trim

Good Condition

2. Plain cotton baby/infant gown

Good Condition, greying

3. Plain cotton baby/infant gown (2)

Good Condition, greying

4. Fine cotton infant gown

19th century

Very Good Condition

Box 32

Box label: 'Clothing 8 Mrs. R Clark'

1. Plain white cotton infant gowns (3)

19th century

2. Baby's long gown

Checked cotton, white

19th century

Marked 'ELC.'

3. Infant's sleeveless cotton pinafore (or petticoat)

19th century

4. Infants' sleeveless cotton pinafores (or petticoats) (2)

19th century

5. Infants' sleeveless cotton pinafores (or petticoats) (3)

19th century

6. Infants' sleeveless cotton pinafores (or petticoats) (2)

One with flounces on skirt

19th century

7. Cotton infant bodices (7)

Some with frills

19th century

Some staining

8. Baby long gown

Cotton with lace neck trim

19th century

Fair Condition. Large stain

9. Striped cotton baby's long gown

19th century

Very Good Condition

10. Fancy embroidered whitework baby gown

Long sleeves

Post 1850

Very Good Condition

11. Fancy embroidered whitework baby gown

Short sleeves

Post 1850

Very Good Condition

12. Child's gown (Mrs. R Clark's dress)

Fine muslin with embroidery

1905

Provenance: Dress worn as a child in India (aged 5 or 6), as bridesmaid to Arthur Sharp, son of Isaac Sharp, 'recording Clark of London yearly meeting and back from Brisbane, married in Bombay'

13. Handkerchiefs (4)

Provenance: Labelled LHK Clark'. Note: 'Dear R, for Helen and you, I think she would like them. The 4 handkerchiefs are for her babies or children love from Mother'

14. Linen napkin

Damask pattern

Provenance: note: 'Napkin, threadspun by great-grandmother Fanny Clark nee Sturge. R C Clark, 97 Palmer Road, SW2'. Note inside reads 'RKC. Made from linen thread spun by Fanny Clark, mother of James Clark'.

Also envelope 'Napkin thread spun by grandmother Fanny Clark, JEC'. Addressed to 'The Misses Clark, Greenbank, Street, London'

15. Cotton pillow cases (5)

16. Embroidered pillow case

17. Embroidered linen case

Red stitch detail

18. Crocheted wool baby jacket

White with blue edging

? c 1884 late 19th century

Good Condition

Provenance: note 'This jacket was made for Roderic by dear Elizabeth Camstock'

19. Baby caps (3)

Sunbonnet; also fine lace; also muslin

Early-late 19th century

Some fragile

20. Lady's fine muslin bonnets (3)

1850s-1860s

21. Baby's short frock

Zig zag machine broderie anglaise hem. Possibly for a boy

19th century/early 20th century

Very Good Condition

22. Cotton child's gown

Blue cotton insert, behind lace on bodice

19th century

23. Baby's gown

Cotton, broderie anglaise triangle on bodice

19th century

Provenance: Marked 'E L Clark.'

24. Baby's cotton gown, long

With lace trim. High quality cotton lawn

19th century

Some yellowing

25. Baby's long gown

High quality, cotton lawn, white. Lace on bodice

19th century

Good Condition

Box 33

Box label: 'Clothing 8, Mrs. R Clark'

1. Fine sleeveless cotton baby's gown, long

19th century

Very Good Condition

2. Long fine lawn baby's gown

19th century

Very Good Condition

Provenance: Marked 'E L Clark.'

3. **Child's heavy cotton frock** with very large collar

Thick cotton

1890s-1905

Very Good Condition

4. **Child's heavy cotton frock** with large collar

1890-1905

Very Good Condition

[NB items 5-7 are wrapped in three tissue bundles]

5. **Damask cotton baby's bib**

19th century

Provenance: Marked 'E L Clark.'

6 and 7. **Damask cotton baby's bibs** (17)

19th century

Provenance: Marked 'E L Clark.'

8. **Baby's shirt** with chiffon cuffs

Exceptionally fine.

c. 1769

Provenance: note reads 'John Kimball son of dear John Kimball and Ann Ayer Kimball.

Concord NH. Born Oct 3 1769'

9. **Padded baby's bibs** (3)

19th century

Some staining

10. **Green and cream knit baby's booties**

1830-1860

Very Good Condition (inspected by June Swann)

11. **Cotton bib**

Square, loose textured cotton, with remains of red stitching, embroidery

16. **Checked cotton shade for cradle**

Mid 19th century

Provenance: Marked 'E L Clark.'

17 **Matching checked cotton shade** for cradle at item 16.

Mid 19th century

Provenance: Marked 'E L Clark.'

Appendix 5: Catalogue of inspected Costume in Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London

Note this is a catalogue of selected items of textiles and dress inspected (14 May, 2010) and is not the LRSF full costume catalogue.

Catalogue no.	Item LRSF description and own observations	Date
(1)(1a) 403 Box A	Lady's Quaker cloak. 'Black, women's traditional full length silk cloak. Metal toggle catches. Provenance unknown.' VGC Pristine, traditional, heavy cloak, as seen in Headley 1861.	?1840s
406 Box B	Lady's Quaker bonnet. 'Blue/grey ribbed silk, with cream silk ribbons. Donated Phillip Radley, 1975.' Traditional wear VGC	19 th c
409 Box C	19 th c Quaker doll. 'Wax head and limbs, with cloth torso, hair and eyebrows made from real hair and glass eyes. Ca. 60 cm long. Greyish dress, 2 white petticoats, white shift, white bloomers, 2 black bonnets, 2 caps, 2 shawls – 1 b and 1 w.' Uses both hand and machine stitch, but stitching crude – a child's? Dress is ultra plain, drab green/grey, with plain black and white accessories. Gown is silk/wool or mix? Doll very heavy Donated FW Carter, 1946. Traditional styles GC	Mid 19 th c
426 Box E/1	Lady's Quaker cap. 'Cap, muslin, extending under chin.' Provenance: Note reads: "My beloved aunt Mary Capper's under and upper cap, who died at her lodging in Bull Street, Birmingham She completed her 90 th year on 11 th 4 th month last and died 23 v. 1845." Donated by Lucy and Mary Mounsey, 1908.' Long strings to fasten over back of hair, or chignon to keep in place, like a hairnet? Note the Capper family is listed in Milligan, as draper and supplier of shawls etc. See illustrations by Wilson, 1860. Traditional wear GC	Pre 1845
427 Box E/1	Lady's Quaker cap. 'Soft net, gathered at edges, extending under chin on string, string tying at nape of neck.	Mid 19 th c

	Gift of E Mounsey.’ Again, this is held hair in place like a hairnet. Traditional wear GC	
427 Box E/1	Lady’s Quaker caps x 2. Very similar, one labelled; ‘Lace cap. Net, gathered at edges tape under chin, gathered at nape by 2 sets of tape. Presented by Lucy E and Mary E Mounsey, April 1908.’ Traditional wear 1 VGC 1 GC	Mid 19 th c
446 Box E1	Lady’s Quaker kerchief. ‘Net kerchief, white net triangle with borders.’ Plain white cotton netting, with hem on short sides, very tiny rolled hem on long side. Traditional wear GC	Early 19 th c
‘From Phillip Radley’	Lady’s Quaker shawl. ‘Crossover or shawl, white squared thin cotton, triangular about 5’ [?] each side, presented by Phillip Radley, believed to be worn b members of his family.’ Fine cotton, self-check, lawn (?) Traditional wear VGC	19 th c
408 Box B	Lady’s Quaker shawl. ‘Shawl, blue on white small check cotton square 1.2m x 1.2 m. Donated by Phillip Radley, 1974.’ Wonderful, plain but subtle geometric pattern, checked cotton square. Was it woven as a shawl length? Hand rolled and stitched edges. Looks like a tea-towel. Traditional wear. VGC	19 th c
511 Box J	Lady’s knitted wristlets. Hand knitted, white cotton or linen.	19 th c
509 Box J	Lady’s Quaker cap. ‘Cap, thin cream cotton, textured with dots, embroidered on edges with cotton ribbons, late 19 th c. Provenance: “Isabelle Cameron, Grandmother Simpson’s Q bonnet.”’ Exceptionally fine spotted muslin. Has machine made edges, broderie anglaise, late 19 th c?	Dated late 19 th c
501 Box J	Length of cotton net/ ? Lady’s Quaker kerchief, small shawl. ‘Length of white net, purpose uncertain. Donated Isabel Cameron, re Grandmother Simpson. In box labelled Grandmother Simpson’s Quaker bonnet.’ Very fine cotton netting, hand edged. This must have been a kerchief	19 th c

	<p>or rectangular shawl. Traditional wear VGC</p>	
496 Box J	<p>Lady's Quaker shawl. 'Plain lawn cotton shawl 1.2m square. Donated Isabel Cameron, 1975.' Very fine white cotton muslin, plain style, hand sewn with pretty sateen edge details in thin lines. Traditional wear VGC</p>	19 th c
496 Box J	<p>Lady's Quaker shawl. 'Shawl, white cotton lawn, plain white square 4' x 4'. Box labelled GS's Q bonnet.'</p>	19 th c
544 Box L	<p>Lady's Quaker crossover shawl or kerchief. 'Shawl or crossover navy and white check cotton square. 76.2cm square.' This is silk which LOOKS like cotton. It has all the look of a humble, check square, but actually is heavyweight silk. Indigo blue, edged by hand. Very heavy. Traditional wear GC some yellowing</p>	19 th c
606 Box O	<p>Lady's nightdresses. '2 hand sewn women's nightgowns, plain white cotton, cap sleeves, blue lace frill at neck, marked initials 'SP.'' Pale blue hand crocheted lace at neck. Heavy, soft cotton. VGC</p>	19 th c
598 Box O	<p>Lady's Quaker belts. 'Pair of black belts, probably from dresses. 1 black ribbed silk, backed with lining material. 1 black satin sash with bow.' 1 measures 34" (ribbed silk) 1 measures 30" (silk bow) Traditional wear FC</p>	Mid to late 19 th c
594	<p>Box of threads. 'Box of threads "Quality cords" I green cardboard box containing cottons, embroidery silks and other sewing threads.' Really interesting finds here, e.g. Bagley and Wright were listed as manufacturing free labour sewing and crochet cotton : 2 reels "mercerized Crochet Cotton 'Silkateen.' The American Thread Co., Fall River, Made at Wilmantic Conn., USA" in drab green. 1 reel "Brightest Lustre 'OSosilkie' for knitting and crochet, shade 140." I in canary yellow, one in yellow/dark yellow random dye, streaky. 1 reel "Clark's ONT Lustre Crochet Cotton, 100 yards" in sky blue. (This matches the crochet trim on the nightdresses).</p>	19 th c

	<p>1 reel "Silkateen" in cream. 1 reel "Silkateen" in violet. 2 reels "Ardern's Crochet, Extra Quality, Number 12." In cream. 1 reel "Bagley and Wrights of Manchester, 50 yards "Brighteye" Embroidery and Crochet, 362." In grey. 1 reel "Brighteye" in shade 370, pale blue. 2 reels "Ardern's "Star Sylko" 8, Manchester No. 8." In dark brown. 1 reel "Star Sylko" in grey. 1 loose ball with no centre reel, of thick crochet cotton, in cream, possibly hand wound off cone or hank.</p>	
608 Box O	<p>Raffia Workbox. 'Raffia workbox. Cream raffia with blue stripe containing embroidery silk, reels of cotton thread, small black velvet purse, remnants of cloth.' Containing a paper dated 1898. Do the needlework contents also date from then? Contents: 1 ball of grey wool. 1 ball of heavy drab wool. Tiny black velvet purse with chain. Remnant soft cream wool fabric, with pink selvedge stripe 1 reel shiny cotton "Beldray Bros. & Co. shade 743" in wine colour. 1 reel "Black Bros. & Co. cotton" in wine. Various skeins of embroidery cotton wrapped in paper, in shades of cream, green, apricot, light and dark mauve. Various skeins of embroidery cotton in red, light and dark blue, moss green, vibrant green, rust. Tapes in cotton twill, various widths and lengths. Paper wrap of fine cords, in red, gold and blue. Sheet from a periodical (in German), dated 1898, not translated. Contains info on coffee. Small pieces of elastic and string.</p>	Late 19 th c
486 Box H	<p>Lady's Quaker gown. 'Dress, gray silk, 1860s, boning, device for fastening characteristic of 1860s, as is machine work. Turned down collar unfashionable, normal lining for 1850s, and 60s and wool braced at bottom to catch dust, buttons up front of bodice, long sleeves. In box labelled 'Great Grandmother Shipley, dress, cap etc., 1859.' Sweeper in hem, concessions to style, fullness and shorter sleeve to accommodate under sleeve. Full skirt. However, the waist is straight cut and it does not have the huge fullness to accommodate a crinoline. Grey effect is made by it being a black and white, very tiny check/ weave in interlocking, geometric pattern. Plain, traditional style.</p>	c.1860 1859

	EC.	
485 Box H	<p>Lady's Quaker gown. 'Dress brown silk, apron front, (1800-1815), lengthened waistline, even apart from what is taken up suggests later date, lining suggests late 1820s, fabric 1825-50, long sleeves, bodice pinned under. Presented by Isabel Cameron, 1975.'</p> <p>This is a magnificent, rich, subtle brown silk gown, with traditional Quaker apron or fall front, long sleeves and adjustable bodice. High waist, modest neck. But note how difficult to date! Very traditional wear.</p> <p>GC</p>	c.1825-40 altered
491 Box H	<p>Child's cotton pinafore. Child's cotton pinafore, black and white checked gingham.</p> <p>Unusual design. Made in school or as a sewing project by the child? Dated by note?</p> <p>EC</p>	c.1850-1900
493 Box H	<p>Commemorative handkerchief. Printed cotton square handkerchief, in memoriam to John Bright, died 1889.</p> <p>GC</p>	1889
417 Box D	<p>Lady's Quaker shawl. Heavy cream silk shawl with very long fringe. Plain, very heavy quality, stole shape. Geometric woven pattern, beloved of Quakers.</p> <p>Traditional wear</p> <p>GC</p>	19 th c
486 Box H	<p>Lady's Quaker gown. Drab grey Lady's Quaker silk gown. Slightly raised waist, full sleeves, modest wide neckline and moderately full skirt.</p> <p>Dull greenish/dove grey.</p> <p>Traditional, plain wear.</p> <p>GC</p>	c.1830s-40s

Appendix 6: Yearly Summaries of Trading, From the Street Free Labour Cotton Depot Account Book

Transcription of yearly summaries of trading, which appear in the Account Book, summarising amounts paid in and out of the depot during the period 17th May, 1853 – 9th June, 1856 (years 1 to 5). All additions are in parenthesis, in bold type e.g. [**Year One**].

[Year One 1853 5th Month, 17th – 1854 5th Month, 31st]

[Date	Goods/payment	£	s	d]
[Year One paid out]				
1853				
5 th Mo				
17 th	Paper and string			10½
27 th	Paid to J.F. Browne & Co.	16	19	3
6/4	paid to J. Wingrave	6	6	8
7 th Mo 11 th	Paid for printing		4	0
13 th	The low table and chairs		14	0
12/9	Paid to J.F. Browne	4	8	0
1854				
1/27	To John Wingrave	5	15	3
	Carriage 4 parcels		10	0
3 rd Mo	Paid to J.F. Browne & co.	8	1	11
	Paid J.F. Browne	3	13	0
Cash spent		46	2	11½
5/31 st	Balance forward	6	2	0½
		52	5	0
[Year One paid in]				
1853				
5 th Mo	To received of C. & J. C[lark]		10	0 0
10 th	To do of J. Penny	2	0	0
12 th	To do of C. Clothier	5	0	0
13 th	To do of K. Clothier	1	0	0
6 th Mo	To rec'[eive]d of F.J. Thompson		5	0 0
	Capital	23	0	0
5/21-	Given for furniture		2	6
17	To rec'[eive]d for goods		1	3 4
6/4	To do do		5	8
20 th	To do do	3	16	1¾
8/9	To do do	5	9	0½
11/30	To do do	1	2	7

1854					
2/4	To do	do	4	19	9¼
3/6	To do	do	3	6	10½
	To do	do	5	6	10
5/31 st	To do	do	3	12	3

Cash received			52	5	0
			52	5	0

[Year Two, 1854, 8th Month, 11th – 1855, 3rd Month, 31st]

[Year Two paid out]

1854					
8 th Mo 11 th	Paid J. Wingrave		5	1	6
9/4	Paid J.F. Browne		8	13	9½
12 th Mo 13 th	Paid J.F. Browne		3	19	6
1855					
4 th Mo 14 th	Paid J. Wingrave		2	13	0
6 th Mo 14	Paid J.F. Browne		10	17	0
7 th Mo	Paid J. Penny		2	0	0
9 th Mo 15 th	Paid E.C.		4	19	4¼
Paid K. Clothier			1	0	0
1856					
Paid C. Clothier			5	0	0
Paid F. Thompson			5	0	0
Loss on goods				16	8½
	To E. Clark		5	0	7¾
Balance in favour			3	1	9¼
			58	3	3¼
Goods			1	5	5
Cash			1	9	4½
2	14	9 ¼			
			31	4	9½

[Totals paid for cloth

[Year Two paid in]

1854-5					
6 th Mo 1 st	Cash in hand		6	2	0½
8 th Mo 14	Received for goods		3	0	8½
9 Mo 3 rd	To do	do	5	9	2¼
11/ Mo 4 th	To do	do	4	8	1½
1855					
3 rd Mo 30 th	To do	do	4	17	7½
6 Mo 6 th	To do	do	6	12	0½
6 Mo 14	To do	do	1	13	2

7 th Mo 11 1856	To rec'[eive]d of D. Brooks	2	10	0
7 th Mo, 6 th 1858	To do do	14	12	3
	To rec'[eive]d for stand and table		8	0
1 – 2	To rec'[eive]d of D. Brooks	5	16	8½
3 – 22	To do do	1	2	
	To Goods left on hand	1	12	5
		58	3	3¼
3/31	Goods in hand	1	5	5
31 st	Sold to [?]	6	6½	
6/9	Sold to E.C.		18	10½
	[remaining cash?]	1	5	5

Appendix 7: Record of Sales from the Account Book of the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street

Transcript of the record of sales (227 transactions), from the Account Book of the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street, comprising 15 loose pages, which have become detached from binding. This has been transcribed as accurately as possible, with spellings, crossing out and revisions as they appear, and pages are transcribed in the order they are catalogued in LRSF. No attempt has been made to sequence the pages.

All additions not appearing in the original are in parenthesis, in bold type e.g. **[Illegible]**.

[Month, date	Quantity	fabric	price p/yd or item	£	s	d]
	X 25	calico	9	18	9	
	X 2	p[ai]r stockings	2/2		4	4
	¼ lb	knitting cotton 1/8			5	
5 Mo 23	x 6 yds	lining	4d		2	0
“ 30	do [ditto]	do	“		2	0
6 Mo 4	4	lining	4		1	4
“ “		reel cotton	2d			2
			Received E. Clark	1	9	0
6 mo 4	3 yds	muslin	10½		2	7½
6 mo 9	x 6½ yds	gingham	7d		3	6
2 “	x 2¼ yds	Dimity	11		2	0¾
“ “	x 4 pr	Stockings	2/2		8	8
6 mo 11	9 yds	Gingham	8d		6	0
“ “	7 ¼ yds	Lining	4		2	3
“ “	¾ yd	Calico	7			5
“ 18	1 ¼ yd	Muslin	11 ¼		1	2½
“ “	12 yds	Calico	4 ½		4	6
“ “	3 pr	Stockings	1/8		5	0
“ “	2 pr	Sto [ckings]	2/2		4	4
“ 20	4½ yds	Muslin	10 ½		3	11½
“ “	x 13 yds	Gingham	8d		8	8

2 13 4½

[New page]

Brought forward 2 13 4½

6 mo 20 x 13 yds Gingham 6 ½d 7 0½

“ “ x 6 yds do 6d 3 0

“ “ x 6 do do 7d 3 6

“ “ x Barege Dress 9
3

6 – 20 Received E. Clark 3 16 1¾

16 yds calico 7d 9 4

6 mo 21 Barege Dress 9 3

“ 22 12 yds lining 4d 4 0

“ “ 8½ yds calico 9d 6 4½

“ 24 1 yd muslin 11¼ 11½

“ 25 ½ lb cotton 1/8
10

“ 26 12 yds calico 6d 6 0

“ “ 4¼ yds Gingham 8d 2
10

“ 27 Barege Dress 9 3

4½ yds Lining 4 1 6

8 yds Gingham 8d 5 4

1 yd muslin 10 ½ 11½

28 4½ yds lining 4d 1 0

“ “ 3 yds calico 9d 2 3

1 reel cotton 2

3 0 6½

[New page]

11 mo 17 Bro[ugh]t up 12
10

“	“	2½ yds	calico	7	1	5½
12 mo	7	12 yds	calico	7	7	0
“	8	6 yds	lining	4	2	0
	22	2¼	lining	7	1	5½
1 mo	2	1¾ yds	Ging[ham]	7	1	0½
“	8	1 reel		2		2
	17 th	1 yd	muslin			11
		4 yds	calico		1	6
	30	12 yds	calico	6	12	0
		1 do	do	7		7
	3 – 1	9	Gingham	4½	3	4½
		1½ yds	calico	6		9
					1	19
					4	3
					6	2

Received Eleanor Clark

2nd Month 4th 1854.

[New page]

11 mo	17		Bro[ugh]t up		13	/
1 “	29	6	Gingham	6½	3	3
“	“	18	Calico	6	9	
“	“		1 piece lining	4d	6	6
	“		do do	4d	6	6
12 mo	27	12 yds	calico	7	7	
	“	do	do	6	6	
1854						
1 mo	17	11 yds	Gingham	6½	5	11½
		15	do do	8d	10	0
“	30	12 yds	calico	9	9	0

“	“	12 yds	calico	7		7	0
						4	3 3½

[New page, whole page crossed through with X]

1854

2 mo		6 yds	Gingham	4½		2	3
“	“	12	calico	9		9	0
“	“	8	do	7		4	8
“	“	4¼	calico	6		2	2
“	17	1¾ yds	[Illegible ? muslin]	6			10½
	“	1½ yd	Gingham				9
	18	8	[Illegible]	4½		3	
	10						
	30	20 yd	calico	6		10	0
“	“	3½ yds	do	6		2	9
						1	15 5½
							18 1
						2	13 6½
				[In pencil]		13	4
				[In pencil]	3	6	10½
				[In pencil]		Received E. C.	
3 mo	27	4½	Gingham	7		2	6
“	“	11¾ yd	Lining	4		3	
	11						
4 mo	6	11	Print	9½		8	8½
“	“	3	Gingham	7		1	9
“	“	4 pr	Stockings	2/2		8	8
[Illegible]		1 ½ yd	Gingham	4½			6½
						1	6 1

[New page, whole page crossed through with X]

1854			E.C.			
3 mo	2	6	Gingham	7	3	6
		1	Dimity			
	11					
		6	calico	4d	2	0
		2	muslin	9½	1	7
					18	1
[In pencil]		1 pr	hose –	1/8	13	4
[Crossed out]		6	Gingham		1	11 5
		6	Gingham	5 ½	2	9
3 mo	27	24	calico	7 ½	15	0
		6¾	Dimity	11d	6	2½
	29	9	Gingham	7	5	3
4 mo	8	6	Gingham	7	3	6
“	“	“	“	3½	2	9
	11	6	Calico	7½	3	9
“	“	“	“	4	2	0
[Illegible]		20 yds	Gingham	5½	10	10
		12 yds	Print	9½	9	6
					3	1 6½

[New page, whole page crossed through with X]

1854			E.C.			
			Bro[ugh]t up		3	1 6¼
4 mo	21	2 yds	Gingham	7	1	2
“	“	5	do	5 ½	2	3½
“	“	6	do	7	3	6
“	“	8	do	6 ½	4	4
“	“	6	do	4 ½	3	3
“	“	3	Calico	3 –	1	3

					£3	16	3¾
4 mo		2 yds	lining	4d			8
5 mo		4	calico	4d		1	4
“	6	6	lining	4d		2	0
	“	6	Print	8 ½		4	3
“	“	5	muslin	9 ½		3	11½
		6 reels	cotton	2		1	0
	26	4 yds	Calico	5 ½		1	10
“	“	6	“	4d		2	0
“	“	22	Print	8 ½		15	7
	29	1 yd	lining	4			4
		2	Calico	4 ½			9
		12	muslin	11		12	0
					£2	5	8¼

[New page]

1854

6 mo	6	2	Gingham	4½			9
“	“	1	[Illegible]	9½			9½
“	“	10	Ging[ham]	7		5	
	10						
“	30	2yds	[Illegible]	9 ½		1	8
7 “	24	10	Calico	6		5	0
		2	“	4 ½			9
8 mo	2	1	Lining	4			4
“	12	1½	Ging[ham]	7			10½
“	“	5	do	4½		1	10½
						17	10½

[New page]

6 mo		1 yd	calico	4d			
4							
“	26	12 yds		7½		7	6
“	27	¼ yd	calico	6			1½
		2	Print	8½		1	5
		3	Mus[lin]	10½		2	7½
		2½	Mus[lin]	11¼		2	5
		[Illegible]	Mus[lin]	11		13	9
7	20	14½	Calico	7½		8	5½
“	“	8	Gingham	5½		3	8
8 “	1	4¾	4d Lining	4		1	7
		1	Mus[lin]	11½			11½
					£2	2	10
						17	10½
					£3	0	8½

Received E. Clark

“	15	14 yds	Ging[ham]	7		8	2
“	“	6	Calico	5 ½		2	9
“	“	“	“	4 ½		2	3
“	16	12 reels	cotton			2	0
“	“	38 yds	Calico	7	1	2	2
“	“	6 “	“	3		1	6

[New page]

8 mo	22	40 yds	calico	5 ½	x	18	4
“	“	13	do	7	x	7	0
		3	Ging[ham]	6		1	6
“	24	14 yd	calico	7	x	8	2
“	28	7¼	Lining	4		2	5

10 mo	24	6	Cal[ico]	4	2	0
11 “	2	12	Cal[ico]	8½	8	6
“	“	“	“	7	7	0
“	“	3	“	4½	1	1½
“	“	3	“	3		9
“	“	12 yds	Lining	4	4	0
“	“	3	“	4	1	0
	“	2	Boxes Tape	8 ½	1	5
					£1	10 5½

[New page]

9 mo

	14	2	Calico	4		8
“	“	1	“	5½		5½
		4¼	Lining	4	1	5
		4	Cal[ico]	4	1	4
		¾	Mus[lin]	9		2½
10 mo	12	8	Calico	7	4	8
“	“	6	Lining	4	2	0
“	13	6	“	4	2	0
“	“	1	Cal[ico]	5 ½		5½
		1	“	3		3
“	16	24	Cal[ico]	8 ½	17	0
	18	1¼	“	7		9
“	25	4	reels cotton			8
11 “	3	2¼	Ging[ham]	5	1	1½
					£1	13 0
					1	10 5
					£3	3 5
			Bro[ugh]’t Fow[ar]’d		£1	4 8

4 8 1
 Received E. Clark

[New page crossed through with X]

1854

4 mo	17		Bro'[ugh]t up		1	6	1
"	17	1½ yd	gingham		x		10½
"	"	3 yds	Ging[ham]	4½	x	1	1½
"	18	2½	Ging[ham]	7		1	5½
"	"	2½	Ging[ham]	4½			11½
					1	10	6
					3	16	3¾

[In pencil] Paid rec'[eive]d E.C.

4 mo		12 yd	Ging[ham]	7 –		7	0
"	"	24	"	4½		9	0
		12 yd	Muslin	9½		9	6
		½	Gingham				2
5 mo	22	¾	Lining	4			3
"	30	1	Calico	7 ½			7½
					1	6	6½
					2	5	8½
					3	12	3

Received E. Clark

[New page]

"	30	1	Calico	7½			7½
6 mo	30	9	Br[ough]t F[or]w[ar]d Gingham	6	3	0	6½ 4 6
		1½	Mo[slin]	7		10½	
		1½	calico	6			9

7 mo	2	2	reels cotton	2		4
	8	1	do do	"		2
"	8	9 yds	Gingham	6	4	6
"	"	1	calico	6		6
	19	8 yds	Calico	7d	4	8
	"	2	Reel Cotton	2		4
"	"	1	Pair stocking		1	8
"	25	¾	Calico	6d		4½
	28	½ yd	9d calico	9d		4½
8 mo	6	9 yds	Muslin	1/-	9	0
"	13	1½ yd	Calico	4 ½		6½
"	15	11	do	6	5	6
"	"	1	do	7		7
"	27	6	do	4½ d	2	3
"	"	"	do	7	3	6
		1½	Lining	4½		6
[New page]						
"	"	"	do	7	3	6
6 mo	28	4¾	muslin	11½ d	4	8
7 mo	14	3	Calico	4½	x	1 ½
"	"	12	Lining	4	x	4 0
"	"	3	calico	4½		1 ½
	18	2	Muslin	11½ d	x	2 2
8 mo	2	3	Gingham	7 ½		1 10½
"	"	"	do do	8		2 0
	8	6 yds	Calico	7 d		3 6
"	"	7½ yds	Lining	4d	x	2 6
9 mo	14	9	ging[ham]	8d		6 0
"	"	2	Calico	4½		0 9

“	“	1	do	do	6		0	6
“	22	10	Lining		4	x	3	4

[Last page].

Appendix 8: Record of Sales from Account Book of the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street, Sequenced Version

Using record of sales in the Account Book of the Free Labour Cotton Depot in Street, this version puts sales in chronological order (wherever possible), using the amounts brought forward and dates (when recorded). The record of sales covers the period (unknown date) May, 1853 until 3 November, 1854. This version uses standard, not Quaker notation for dates.

Date	Quantity /yards	Fabric	d/yard	£	s	d
May 1853						
? May	25	calico	9	-	18	9
? May	2	pair stockings	2s 2d	-	4	4
? May	¼ lb	knitting cotton	1s 8d	-	-	5
23 May	6	lining	4	-	2	-
30 May	6	lining	4	-	2	-
June 1853						
4 June	4	lining	4	-	1	4
4 June	1	reel cotton	2	-	-	2
4 June	3	muslin	10½	-	2	7½
9 June	6	gingham	7	-	3	6
9 June	2¼	dimity	11	-	2	¾
9 June	4	pair stockings	2s 2d	-	8	8
11 June	9	gingham	8	-	6	-
11 June	7¼	lining	4	-	2	3
11 June	¾	calico	7	-	-	5
18 June	1¼	muslin	11½	-	1	2½
18 June	12	calico	4½	-	4	6
18 June	3	pair stockings	1s 8d	-	5	-
18 June	2	pair stockings	2s 2d	-	4	4
20 June	4½	muslin	10½	-	3	11½
20 June	13	gingham	8	-	8	8

20	June	13	gingham	6½	-	7	½
20	June	6	gingham	6	-	3	-
20	June	6	gingham	7	-	3	6
20	June	1	barege dress		-	9	3
20	June	16	calico	7	-	9	4
21	June	1	barege dress		-	9	3
22	June	12	lining	4	-	4	-
22	June	8 ½	calico	9	-	6	4½
24	June	1	muslin	1 ½	-	-	11½
25	June	½ lb	cotton	1s 8d	-	-	10
26	June	12	calico	6	-	6	0
26	June	4¼	gingham	8	-	2	10
27	June	1	barege dress		-	9	3
27	June	4½	lining	4	-	1	6
27	June	8	gingham	8	-	5	4
27	June	1	muslin	10½	-	-	11½
28	June	4 ½	lining	4	-	1	6
28	June	3	calico	9	-	2	3
28	June	4 ¾	muslin	11½ d	-	4	8
28	June	1	reel cotton	2	-	-	2
30	June	9	gingham	6	-	4	6
30	June	1½	muslin	7	-	-	10½
30	June	1 ½	calico	6	-	-	9

July 1853

2	July	2	reels cotton	2	-	-	4
8	July	1	reel cotton	2	-	-	2
8	July	9	gingham	6	-	4	6
8	July	1	calico	6	-	-	6
14	July	3	calico	4½	-	1	1½

14	July	12	lining	4	-	4	-
14	July	3	calico	4½	-	1	1½
18	July	2	muslin	11½	-	2	2
19	July	8	calico	7	-	4	8
19	July	2	reels cotton	2	-	-	4
19	July	1	pair stockings	1s 8d	-	1	8
25	July	¾	calico	6	-	-	4¼
28	July	½	calico	9	-	-	4½

August 1853

2	August	3	gingham	7 ½	-	-	10½
2	August	3	gingham	8	-	2	-
6	August	9	muslin	1s	-	9	-
8	August	6	calico	7	-	3	6
8	August	7 ½	lining	4	-	2	6
13	August	1½	calico	4½	-	-	6½
15	August	11	calico	6	-	5	6
15	August	1	calico	7	-	-	7
27	August	6	calico	4½	-	2	3
27	August	6	calico	7	-	3	6
27	August	1½	lining	4½	-	-	6

September 1853

14	September	9	gingham	8	-	6	-
14	September	2	calico	4½	-	-	9
14	September	1	calico	6	-	-	6
22	September	10	lining	4	-	3	4

October 1853 – no sales found

November 1853

17	November	2½	calico	7	-	1	5½
29	November	6	gingham	6½	-	3	3

29	November	18	calico	6	-	9	-
29	November	1	piece lining	4	-	6	6
29	November	1	piece lining	4	-	6	6

December 1853

7	December	12	calico	7	-	7	-
8	December	6	lining	4	-	2	-
22	December	2¼	lining	7	-	1	5½
27	December	12	calico	7	-	7	-
27	December	12	calico	6	-	6	-

January 1854

2	January	1 ¾	gingham	7	-	1	½
8	January	1	reel cotton	2	-	-	2
17	January	1	muslin	11	-	-	11
17	January	11	gingham	6½	-	5	11½
17	January	15	gingham	8	-	10	-
17	January	4	calico	4	-	1	4
30	January	12	calico	6	-	6	-
30	January	12	calico	9	-	9	-
30	January	12	calico	7	-	7	-
30	January	12	calico	7	-	7	-
31	January	9	gingham	4½	-	3	4½
31	January	1 ½	calico	6	-	-	9

February 1854

?	February	6	gingham	4½	-	2	3
?	February	12	calico	9	-	9	-
?	February	8	calico	7	-	4	8
?	February	4 ¼	calico	6	-	2	2
17	February	1 ¾	?	6	-	-	10½
17	February	1 ½	gingham	6	-	-	9

18	February	8	?	4 ½	-	3	-
20	February	20	calico	6	-	10	-
20	February	5½	calico	6	-	2	9
March 1854							
2	March	6	gingham	7	-	3	6
2	March	1	dimity	11	-	11	-
2	March	6	calico	4	-	2	-
2	March	6	gingham	5½	-	2	9
2	March	6	gingham	5½	-	2	9
27	March	24	calico	7½	-	15	-
27	March	6 ¾	dimity	11	-	6	¼
27	March	4 ¼	gingham	7	-	2	6
27	March	4 ¼	gingham	7	-	2	6
27	March	11 ¾	Lining	4	-	3	11
29	March	9	gingham	7	-	5	3
April 1854							
?	April	12	gingham	7	-	7	-
?	April	24	gingham	4½	-	9	-
?	April	12	Muslin	9½	-	9	6
?	April	½	gingham	4	-	-	2
?	April	2	lining	4	-	-	8
6	April	11	print	9½	-	8	8½
6	April	3	Gingham	7	-	1	9
8	April	4	pairs stocking	2s 2d	-	8	8
8	April	1 ½	gingham	4 ½	-	-	6 ½
8	April	6	gingham	7	-	3	6
8	April	6	gingham	5½	-	2	9
11	April	6	calico	7½	-	3	9
11	April	6	calico	4	-	2	-

17	April	1½	gingham	7	-	-	7½
17	April	3	gingham	4½	-	1	1½
18	April	2½	gingham	4½	-	-	11½
18	April	2½	gingham	7	-	1	5½
21	April	2	gingham	7	-	1	2
21	April	5	gingham	3 ½	-	2	3½
21	April	6	gingham	7	-	3	6
21	April	8	gingham	6½	-	4	4
21	April	6	gingham	4 ½	-	3	3
21	April	3	calico	3	-	1	3
30	April	20	gingham	5½	-	10	10
30	April	12	Print	7½	-	9	6

May 1854

?	May	4	calico	4	-	1	4
6	May	6	lining	4	-	2	-
6	May	6	print	8½	-	4	3
6	May	5	muslin	9½	-	3	11½
6	May	6	reels cotton	2	-	1	-
22	May	¾	lining	4	-	-	3
26	May	4	calico	5½	-	1	10
26	May	4	calico	5½	-	1	10
26	May	6	calico	4	-	2	-
26	May	22	print	8½	-	15	7
29	May	1	lining	4	-	-	4
29	May	2	calico	4½	-	-	9
29	May	12	muslin	11	-	11	-
30	May	1	calico	7½	-	-	7½

June 1854

?	June	1	calico	4	-	-	4
---	------	---	--------	---	---	---	---

?	June	1	calico	4	-	-	4
6	June	2	gingham	4½	-	-	9
6	June	1	?	9½	-	-	9½
6	June	10	gingham	7	-	5	10
26	June	12	calico	7½	-	7	6
27	June	¼	calico	6	-	-	1½
27	June	2	print	8 ½	-	1	5
27	June	3	muslin	10½	-	2	7 ½
27	June	?	muslin	11	-	13	9
30	June	2	?	9½	-	1	8

July 1854

20	July	14½	calico	7½	-	8	5½
20	July	8	gingham	5½	-	3	8
24	July	10	calico	6	-	5	-
24	July	2	calico	4½	-	-	9

August 1854

1	August	4¾	lining	4	-	1	7
1	August	1	muslin	11½	-	-	11½
2	August	1	lining	4	-	-	4
12	August	1¼	gingham	7	-	-	10 ½
12	August	5	gingham	4½	-	1	11½
15	August	14	gingham	7	-	8	2
15	August	6	calico	5½	-	2	9
15	August	6	calico	4½	-	2	3
15	August	6	calico	4 ½	-	2	3
16	August	12	reels cotton	2	-	2	-
16	August	38	calico	7	1	2	2
16	August	6	calico	3	-	1	6
16	August	12	gingham	7½	-	7	6

16	August	11	gingham	7½	-	6	10½
16	August	¼	muslin	9½	-	-	2½
22	August	40	calico	5½	-	18	4
22	August	12	calico	7	-	7	-
22	August	3	gingham	6	-	1	6
24	August	14	calico	7	-	8	2
28	August	7¼	lining	4	-	2	5
31	August	3	calico	4	-	1	-

September 1854

1	September	12	calico	5	-	5	-
1	September	12	calico	5	-	5	-
4	September	11	gingham	7½	-	6	10½
4	September	8	calico	7	-	4	6
4	September	1	calico	7	-	-	7
4	September	6	gingham	7½	-	3	9
4	September	4	lining	4	-	1	4
4	September	6	lining	4	-	2	0
4	September	4	lining	4	-	1	4
6	September	8	muslin	9 ½	-	6	4
6	September	12	gingham	5	-	5	-
6	September	8	calico	7	-	4	8
6	September	1	calico	5 ½	-	-	5½
6	September	5¼	lining	4	-	1	9
6	September	3¼	calico	5½	-	1	5½
14	September	2	calico	4	-	-	8
14	September	1	calico	5½	-	-	5½
14	September	4¼	lining	4	-	1	5
14	September	4	calico	4	-	1	4
14	September	¾	muslin	9	-	-	2

22	September	3	gingham	6	-	1	6
October 1854							
12	October	8	calico	7	-	4	8
12	October	6	lining	4	-	2	0
13	October	6	lining	4	-	2	-
13	October	1	calico	5 ½	-	-	5½
13	October	1	calico	3	-	-	3
16	October	24	calico	8 ½	-	17	-
18	October	1¼	calico	7	-	-	9
24	October	6	calico	4	-	3	-
25	October	4	reels cotton	2	-	-	8
November 1854							
2	November	12	calico	8½	-	8	6
2	November	12	calico	7	-	7	-
2	November	3	calico	4	-	1	1½
2	November	3	calico	3	-	-	9
2	November	12	lining	4	-	4	-
2	November	3	lining	4	-	1	-
2	November	2	boxes tape	8½	-	1	5
3	November	2 ½	gingham	5	-	1	1½

No further sales found.

Appendix 9: Statement of Accounts of the Free Labour
Cotton Depot in Street, 1853 – 1859, drawn up With David
Brooks

Transcript of the statement of accounts completed with David Brooks, for the years 1853 – 1859. All additions are in parenthesis, in bold type e.g. [£].

[Date	Item	£	s	d]
[1853-4]				
	Stock in trade	17	4	7½
	Furniture		12	0
	Cash in hand		6	0½
		24	6	8
	Capital to begin with	23	0	0
		1	6	8
1855				
[payments in]				
	6[th Mo]. 19[th].	26	10	1
[payments out]				
7.	11	to	Cash	2 10
1856				
9.	2	“	Br[ooks]	14 12 3
1858				
1.	1	“	Br[ooks]	5 16 8½
		“	Loss	11 4½
1859				
1.	16	“	Goods left at Street	1 4 5
		“	Loss	5 4
		“	D[itt]o	8 0
3.	22	2	Cash	1 2 -
				26 10 1

Appendix 10: List of Subscribers to the Street Olive Leaf Society

Transcript of two collecting cards, listing subscribers to the Street Olive Leaf Society, of which Eleanor Clark and Catherine Clothier were Secretaries. All additions are in parenthesis in bold e.g. **[card one]**.

[card one]

“OLIVE LEAVES SUBSCRIBERS NAMES *For the Gratuitous Distribution of Elihu Burritt's Olive Leaves in French and German upon the Continent.*”

[name	£	s	d]
A Mrs.		1/-	
J. Wilkes		1/-	
J. Coole		1/-	
Mrs. M [illegible]		1/-	
E. Palmer		1/-	
H. M. B [illegible]		2/-	
P.G. –		1/-	
Mrs. Gillett		1/-	
K. Clothier		1/-	
S. Clark		1/-	
S. Clothier		1/-	
Mrs. H. Impey		1/-	
M. Wright		1/-	
A Friend		1/-	
S. Clark		1/-	
E. B [illegible]		1/-	
A Friend		2/-	
J.G [illegible]		1/-	

Received, E. Clark

OLIVE LEAF SOCIETY SECRETARY

[card two]

“OLIVE LEAVES SUBSCRIBERS NAMES *For the Gratuitous Distribution of Elihu Burritt's Olive Leaves in French and German upon the Continent.*”

Sarah Pratt	3s	
H. J. Clark		3d
A. E. Clark		4d
F. C.		2d
E. Clark	1s	
[illegible] – P		4d
A. Stephens		6d
E. C.	3s	
J. C.		6d
M. – [illegible]		6d
E. –		4d
A. S.		6d
S. C.	1s	
Rose Luggling		6d
J. C.		6d
J. R. Clark		6d
H. M. Match	1s	
H. C.		6d
E. H.		6d
H. – [illegible]		2d
F. C.		2d
E. Clark		1s
S. C.	1s	
A. Stephens		6d

Received Catherine Clothier

OLIVE LEAF SOCIETY SECRETARY.

Appendix 11: Quaker and Free Produce Textiles and Dress in British Museums and Collections

Summary of information on museums, collections and schools, especially the West Country of Britain, regarding holdings of Quaker dress, or any items connected to the Free Produce Movement and free labour cotton. All establishments were contacted 2008 – 2011.

Name of collection	Any items of Quaker Dress?	Any items connected to the FPM?	Details of items, notes on them and additional information where relevant
Ackworth School, Pontefract, West Yorkshire.	No	Possibly, but unable to clarify	Account Books 1780s-1830s detail the debate on cotton or linen items of dress. Anti-slavery was supported.
Alfred Gillett Trust, C. & J. Clark, Street.	Yes	Highly probable, but cannot be clarified	Extensive collection of Quaker dress belonging to the Clark family. Strong collection of 19 th century women's Infant's and domestic textiles and dress. Items belonging to EC, including caps, thus very probable that these are free labour cotton.
American Museum, Bath.	No	No	
Blaise House Castle Museum, Bristol.	No	No	
Bootham School, York.	No	No	
Brighton Museum and Art Gallery.	Yes	No	Quaker silk gown, 1820s – 1830s.
Cheltenham Art Gallery Museum.	No	No	
Chilcomb House, Winchester.	Yes	No	Small collection of early 19 th century Quaker dress from Curtis family, including two wedding gowns and some bonnets.

Fashion Museum, Cheltenham.	No	No	
Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Philadelphia.	Yes	Yes	2,000 Quaker items now passed to Philadelphia History Museum. Free produce items in collection. Small remaining study collection at FHL, of caps and small dress items. Some may be free labour cotton.
Gallery of English Costume, Manchester.	Yes	No	Quaker silk wedding gown and bonnet belonging to Elizabeth Priestman Bright (1839) and grey silk Quaker gown (1845).
Gloucester Folk Museum.	No	No	
Killerton House, Broadclyst, Devon.	No	No	
Manchester Museum of Science and Industry.	No	No	
Mount, the School, York.	No	Possibly, but cannot confirm.	Anti-slavery was supported, as seen in samplers in York Castle Museum.
North Somerset Museum, Weston-Super-Mare.	No	No	
Philadelphia History Museum (formerly Atwater Kent), Philadelphia, USA.	Yes	Yes	Extensive collection of printed cotton Quaker gowns from the 19 th century, including 2,000 items donated by FHL from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting area. Little documentation came with collection. Known free produce items. Baby's gown, with provenance that it is free labour cotton (87.35.368). Others may be free cotton (not inspected); Apron (87.35.324), 1868; Undersleeve (87.35.522.A) c.1860; Undersleeve (87.35.522.A) c.1850; Fragment of Cloth

			(87.35.522.B) c.1860; Boy's Skeleton Suit (87.35.905) c.1830.
Red House Museum, Christchurch, Dorset.	Yes	No	Quaker silk wedding gowns and bonnets (1820s -1830s).
Costume Collection in Library of Religious Society of Friends, London.	Yes	Cannot confirm, but probably some garments. Yes other items.	Extensive collection of Quaker textiles and dress, dating to the early 18 th century, many may be free labour cotton. One sewing basket contains free labour cotton sewing thread "Brighteye" (594). Two pieces of printed free labour cotton cloth, with letter of provenance (MS Box 5:17).
Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.	No	No	
Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro, Cornwall.	No	No	
Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, Salisbury.	Yes	No	Quaker matching grey silk satin dress and bonnet, ?wedding (1838-40).
Sibford School, Oxford.	No	Possibly, but cannot confirm	School had an interest in anti-slavery.
Sidcot School, Winscombe, Somerset.	No	Yes	School's records (in the 19 th century) show purchases of linens and cottons from free labour suppliers in Bristol and Somerset.
Somerset County Museum, Taunton.	No	No	
Somerset Rural life Museum,	No	No	

Glastonbury.			
Textiles Study Centre, Norwich.	Yes	Possibly but cannot confirm	<p>Large collection of Quaker bonnets and several silk items of dress belonging to Elizabeth Fry (1780s – 1845).</p> <p>Collection of dress from a Quaker family (1825 – 1829) including a dress and petticoat, made from cotton lawn, these may be free produce cotton.</p>
The Assembly Rooms, Bath.	No	No	
Totnes Costume Museum, Totnes, Devon.	No	No	
Victoria and Albert Museum	No	No	

Appendix 12: Eleanor Clark's Contributions to Village Album

Some were listed in print form and others were included in handwritten entries at the beginning of Albums. They include works under 'Eleanor Clark' and 'Eva.'

<u>Entry</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Volume</u>
Bridport	poetry	I
Charlotte Bronte	poetry	II
The Blessing of the Sword	poetry	II
Gretchen, a True Story	poetry	III
Glastonbury Holy Thorn	poetry	III
Remarks on letters received by Secretary		IV
Lines on Incident in West of North America		IV
Remarks of Secretary to V.A.		IV
Editorial Remarks		V
Editorial Address		VI
The Herefordshire Beacon		VI
The Naturalist's Calendar		VI
To all Whom it May Concern		VII
The Naturalist's Calendar		VII
Remarks on the [illegible] of the White Horse		VII
Editorial Article that ought to be		VII
The Devil's Horse Shoe		VII
An Invalid's Thoughts this Season	poetry	IX
Lines Written on the Death of John Brown	poetry	X
To the Aquarian Naturalist		X
To all Whom it May Concern		X
It Dropped Right Down From Heaven	poetry	XI
Culbone Church		XI

The Silver Tankard	poetry	XII
Autumn Berries	poetry	XII
Charade	poetry	XII
Christmas 1861	poetry	XIII
Cotton		XIII
Saving Your Bacon and Your Credit Too	poetry	XIII
Lines on the Accident in Hartley Colliery	poetry	XIII
Ho! England to the Rescue	poetry	XIV
On Pride in Dress		XIV
The Sewing Machine	poetry	XV
The Bridge of Gold	poetry	XV
Ripon Falls	poetry	XV
Minutes of Committee of V.A.		XV
The Lost and Found		XVI
Four Days in the Highlands		XVII
Lines on War (from the French)		XVII
Notes on Flowers		XVII
Daybreak in Venice	poetry	XVIII
A True Incident in the American War	poetry	XVIII
Report of Album Committee and Rules		XVIII
Autumn Treasures	poetry	XIX
Incident in the Life of a Diver	poetry	XIX
Violets on Christmas Day	poetry	XIX
Released	poetry	XIX
Charley's Message	poetry	XIX
The Wedmore Thirty Eight	poetry	XX
Lines referring to the Death of the Son and Grandson of Eli and Sybil Jones	poetry	XX
Maiden's Lament for Crab Apple Tree	poetry	XX

Tract Distribution, Incident during American War	poetry	XXI, XXII
Thoughts for a Worker for the Sick and Wounded	poetry	XXIII
Lines on a Bunch of Snowdrops	poetry	XXIII
Out of the Mouths of Babes etc.	poetry	XXIV
Minutes		XXIV
The Wild Daffodil	poetry	XXIV
The Prince and the Prayer	poetry	XXIV
A Week's Adventures in a Pony Carriage		XXV
New Year's Eve	poetry	XXV
Spring Flowers	poetry	XXVI
On Finding a Wild Rose in November	poetry	XXVI
Behold the Fowls of The Air	poetry	XXVII
King Arthur's Castle, Tintagel	poetry	XXVII