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Fishwick and Ward

EVEN the specialist in Baptist history may perhaps be forgiven if he does not know who Fishwick and Ward were.¹ They have a small niche in records of various Baptist churches, especially at Newcastle, and are referred to in one or two biographies of other Baptists, thereby gaining a few incidental references in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; they are also at last coming to be recognised as partners, with a third and greater name, in an industrial enterprise which may claim its place in English economic history. If they are now forgotten, they were not without importance in their day; it is not alone as Baptists that they will have whatever small share of fame may be allotted to them. But while other denominations have already found historians to relate the work of their forefathers to the social, economic and political background of their times (the Quakers, for example, in Dr. Raistrick), Baptists appear to have neglected this aspect of their history, especially the part played by eminent laymen. Fishwick and Ward were successful businessmen, besides being zealous Baptists, at a period when industrial England was changing rapidly and when English Baptists were, largely under the influence of the Evangelical Revival, beginning to display a new vigour.

Richard Fishwick was a Hull man who, born in 1745 and admitted a member of John Beatson's church there in 1777, came to Newcastle in 1778² to take his part in conducting what came to be known as the Elswick White-Lead Works. The story is that on his arrival in Newcastle he enquired at his inn whether there were any Baptists in the town: the waiter did not even know "what" these people were. Making further enquiries, however, Fishwick heard of Caleb Alder, from whom he learned that there were indeed a few local Baptists, but that they were not in a very happy state: in common with many churches at that date, it appears that Socinian doctrines had infected them "with most baneful effect." Alder, once a pillar of the church had adopted these Unitarian

¹ The main printed source about Fishwick and Ward as Baptists, is David Doug'as, *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England from 1648 to 1845* (1846), a volume without an index; its meandering arrangement makes it difficult to consult, but it is a valuable record. It was used, with some additions, by Rev. F. G. Little and Rev. E. T. F. Walker in their *Story of the Northern Baptists* (1945) a concise and popular account. I have had access to ms. sources to supplement the story: these are the Kinghorn letters, and for permission to transcribe and make use of them I am greatly indebted to C. B. Jewson, Esq., of Norwich, the owner.

² Douglas says 1780, but the date 1778 given by Little and Walker seems preferable, especially in view of the partnership agreement to be mentioned later.

views and was preaching in a room on North Shore, assisted by his son-in-law, William Robson. Fishwick soon put new life into the old body and a new era in the life of Tuthill Stairs began, not, however, immediately nor without curious and even scandalous incidents. Some mention of these incidents will be made later, but it is not quite correct to assume that it was Fishwick alone who revived Tuthill Stairs at this period: his partner Ward played a large part also. These two had a prominent share in resolving a long and complex squabble about the ownership of the property of the church.

His enthusiasm for Baptist work in all its forms never flagged: he was especially keen to help young men into the ministry, by encouraging them individually and at one time proposing to found an academy for their training. About these young men, among whom were Joseph Kinghorn, William Ward the missionary, and Robert Imeary,³ as well as his premature scheme for an academy, more will be said presently, in referring to his work for various Baptist churches. Newcastle was the real centre of his activity, and Tuthill Stairs owed much to him ministerially, as well as legally and financially, but he had a habit of turning up in the most unexpected places, Norwich, Hull, Scarborough, or Bishop Burton, generally at the exact moment when his advice was wanted. In 1798 the Northern Evangelical Society appointed him its first Treasurer.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century he had become a very rich man, and with his money he was moderately liberal while it lasted. He subscribed to Carey's appeal, for example, lent continued support to the missions, and gave half the sum of £700 required to purchase a building for the use of the North Shields church. Towards the end of his life, it is said that he indulged in speculations which proved unfortunate. He removed to London in 1806 and in the following year was dismissed to Dr. Rippon's church. On January 17th, 1825, he died in his eightieth year at Park Street, Islington, after having suffered mental aberration for many months.⁴ He was twice married. About the first Mrs. Fishwick, by whom he had a son and a daughter, little is known; she died on March 25th, 1797.⁵ The second was his housekeeper, Ursula Grey, niece of a well-known Baptist minister, Charles Whitfield.

Archer Ward seems to be best remembered for his connexion with the church at Derby, of which he was founder and deacon, but by origin he was a Bishop Burton man who had links with Hull and London, and quite as close a connection with Tuthill Stairs

³ Little and Walker, *op. cit.*, 22.

⁴ Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 243, and *Gent. Mag.*, 1825 (i) 188.

⁵ Kinghorn mss., April 5, 1797. On the daughter, see later.

as his colleague Fishwick while he remained in Newcastle. He was born on September 28th, 1743⁶ and seems to have taken up farming as a young man. He was thrice married. His first wife, Rebekah, died in September, 1770, apparently in childbirth, for on the "grey stone, with black letters" which Ward placed in Bishop Burton chapel to her memory⁷ (stirred thereto only in 1797 after the decease of his second wife) both mother and infant are named, the mother being only twenty-two years old. The second lady was Elizabeth Autherson,⁸ member of an East Riding family well known to the Kinghorns from whom most of this information is derived, and through her Ward became brother-in-law to two Baptist ministers, William Pendered and William Shaw, themselves not unknown at Hull and Newcastle at the end of the century.⁹ She died on December 26th, 1796, but it did not take Ward long to recover from any sense of loss at her demise, for on May 25th, 1797, he married Nancy, daughter of that Richard Hopper, Baptist minister at Nottingham, who had been first pastor of the church at Bishop Burton.¹⁰ Throughout life he was thoroughly surrounded by Baptists: he never forgot his poor relations and, like Fishwick, gave much of his substance to Baptist work.

He died on July 2nd, 1800, "at his house near the White-Lead Works," Greenhill House, Derby, at the age of fifty-six, and a memorial tablet to his memory was placed in the Baptist church in that town.¹¹ His widow married Thomas Ward Swinburne, banker, of Derby. Both Mr. and Mrs. Swinburne likewise supported the Baptist cause there: he is remembered in another memorial inscription in the chapel—"Sacred to the Memory of Thomas Ward Swinburne, of Mill-Hill House, Derby, who died June 20, 1825, aged 64"—while it is recorded that she furnished the church with an organ, at a cost of £170, in 1827.¹² Something of the character of these two latter ladies will emerge at a later stage.

⁶ Kinghorn mss., July 8, 1797, for the day and the month; the year is deduced from the tablet mentioned below.

⁷ *Ibid.*, April 22nd, 1797. There is also among these mss., a rough sketch, presumed to be in Ward's own hand, of the lettering on this tablet.

⁸ There are variant spellings of the name.

⁹ Pendered spent much of his stormy career quarrelling with his various flocks and wandering the British Isles in search of new pastorates. Shaw, says Douglas, *op. cit.*, often preached at Tuthill Stairs, being preferred by some to the distinguished essayist John Foster, who was likewise invited to preach there.

¹⁰ Kinghorn mss., December 31st, 1796, April 5th, 1797 and other letters of April and June, 1797. Douglas, *loc. cit.*, is therefore in error in speaking of Miss Hopper as Ward's "second" wife.

¹¹ Stephen Glover, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Derby* (1829), II, 499. *Genl. Mag.*, 1800 (ii), 702. ¹² Glover, *loc. cit.*

PRACTICAL BUSINESSMEN

Ward and Fishwick are often thought of as the founders of the Elswick White-Lead Works at Newcastle, but they were two only of three original partners, the third bearing a greater name than theirs. In April, 1778, an agreement was signed between Samuel Walker the elder, Richard Fishwick of Hull, gentleman, and Archer Ward, merchant, of the same place, to become co-partners in the business of making and selling white lead.¹³ This Samuel Walker, of Rotherham, was no other than the famous founder of the celebrated iron works at Masborough, who finds his place in English economic history as an early example of the new capitalism created by the Industrial Revolution. He seems to have found the larger proportion of the capital for the new enterprise, doubtless out of the increasing profits he was making in his foundry; Ward placed his business connections, and Fishwick his practical knowledge, at the disposal of the firm; such, in brief, was at any rate the tradition at a later date.

Two acres of land, says the official record, were obtained on a ninety-nine years' lease from John Hodgson at an annual rent of £20, situated in the township of Elswick and known as East Tyne Heughes; or, as Archer Ward himself said, writing, naturally, to one who knew the ground:¹⁴

... the ground we have a lease for 99 years belongs to Mr. Hogson, one end is about 30 yards from the well called King James well, which we have a right to bring the stream into our ground, the other end comes to the road which parts Andersons ground from the above, the side is along the tyne and about 40 yards broad . . .

John Kinghorn told his brother in the following April that Messrs. Ward and Co., as he called them,

have Wrected a Mill and Several houses next field to Jemmys Well for the purpose of making paints

In 1780 they rented Bussell's Factory House in the parish of Benwell for eighteen years and converted it to a factory for painters' colours, adding the manufacture of red lead in 1784. Meanwhile, Samuel Walker the elder had died in 1782 and was succeeded by four sons in the partnership of the white-lead works. In 1785 further premises were opened at Islington, and, a little

¹³ The documentary history of the white-lead works is given in *The Walker Family, Iron Founders and Lead Manufacturers, 1741-1893*, ed. A. H. John (Council for the Preservation of Business Archives, 1951), p. 33 ff. The Walkers have long been known to historians from the account of them given in J. Hunter's *Hallamshire* and J. Guest's *Rotherham*.

¹⁴ David Kinghorn. Kinghorn mss., 21 July, 1778.

later, at Red Bull Wharf, London, when Thomas Maltby entered into partnership also.

The Newcastle firm had now become Walkers, Fishwick and Co., the four Walkers holding four shares each, Fishwick five, Ward five and Maltby two, with a proviso that Fishwick's son and a nephew of the Walkers should become partners on attaining their majority. Thus the official record once again; but the firm was known loosely by various names, for example simply Ward, Fishwick and Co., to those who knew those two partners. In 1787 the manufacture of shot was introduced at Elswick, after the purchase of a patent from the inventor, Watts of Bristol, for £10,000. The famous shot tower, erected as part of the necessary equipment, took more than a year to build, the firm employing its own workmen at a wage of about £10 a week each (an unprecedented amount in those days); but when completed in 1797, it was found to be two feet out of the perpendicular. By a somewhat dangerous expedient of digging down to the foundations, soil was removed on one side, and the tower gradually righted itself.

In a period of rapid expansion, new branches were formed at Chester, Liverpool and elsewhere, with which Ward and Fishwick had nothing to do,¹⁵ except at Derby, for when the partnership agreement ended in 1799, Fishwick withdrew along with Samuel Walker junior, and Ward had not long to live. The official record describes how Joseph, Joshua and Thomas Walker took premises at Derby for a lead factory in 1792, and when a new deed was drawn up in 1800, the other partners paid them £1,000 for participation in that property. Ward appears to have been overlooked by the firm's historian, who blandly continued, "in 1809 Mr. Ward retired from the partnership." This is not surprising, for he had died in 1800. What is more surprising is the lack of any mention of his part in establishing the Derby concern: this part is displayed in one or two references in the Kinghorn letters about to be quoted.

How the original Walker had made the acquaintance of Ward and Fishwick is not revealed; but the lead and iron trades were not unconnected at that date, and "many of the merchants at the more important ports traded in both classes of metal. Hull was one such port."¹⁶ However this may be, once begun the business prospered exceedingly, so much so that its rapid development and great profits were almost certainly the reasons why Walker's sons left the iron works to "concentrate their activities in the industry in which the bulk of their fortunes now lay."¹⁷ The recent editor

¹⁵ Though it may not be without significance that Fishwick died (1825) at Islington, where one of these branches was situated.

¹⁶ So Mr. A. H. John, *Walker Family*, p. iv.

¹⁷ The assets of the lead works in 1817 were valued at £456,799.

of the firm's records, Mr. A. H. John, has much to say of their importance to economic historians, and to his remarks¹⁸ in full the reader is referred for further details; it is hoped that the present paper will add fresh information, and not least help to establish the claim of two Baptists to a small place in English economic history. They laid the foundations of a great industrial enterprise which survived them for nearly a century and was of major importance.

Both of them were inventors in a small way; they were never sleeping partners in the firm. In 1787 Fishwick patented a "new method of making white lead," a quite simple change in the ordinary method of manufacture which substituted "spent tan" or used tanners' bark for the usual "horse-litter" then employed,¹⁹ but one which Mr. John asserts was "the only generally accepted advance in the making of white lead in the century" (1778-1893) covered by the firm's annals. Ward's invention was of a more humane kind. Among the premiums offered by the Society of Arts in 1794 was one of £50 in chemistry for a "method of preparing white lead which shall not be prejudicial" to the health of the workmen. Next year the Society announced that it had awarded its gold medal to "Mr. Ward" for an invention which it hoped would prevent the "horrible complaints" to which the workmen were subject in that manufacture arising "principally from the dust of the corroded lead." Ward's own account of his discovery, in a letter to More, Secretary of the Society, is dated from Derby White Lead Works, January 2nd, 1795; it was printed in the Society's *Transactions*²⁰ for 1795, with attestations from Samuel Walker, Parker and H. Browne; Parker said Ward's method had been used at Islington for some time past, and Browne, writing from Irongate, Derby, thought it a valuable improvement.

Ward and Fishwick, then, were good, practical, businessmen; what were they like in their private capacities? Their relationships with the Kinghorns, now to be described, will reveal something of that side of their characters.²¹

¹⁸ A. H. John, *op. cit.*, "Introduction," where little or nothing is said of Fishwick and Ward.

¹⁹ *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of specifications relative to acids (&c.) 1622-1866* (1869), p. 35. There is a full description in *The Repertory of Arts* . . . III (1795), pp. 225-30.

²⁰ Vol. XIII, p. 229 ff., with a plate. It was a fortunate coincidence that both Fishwick and Ward should have appeared before the public in print at the same time.

²¹ The Walkers were great patrons of the Congregational Church at Masbrough and the Rotherham Academy, in the same way that Ward and Fishwick were of various Baptist churches. The piety of the first Samuel Walker is very like that of Archer Ward. Cf. J. Guest, *Historic Notices of Rotherham* (1879), 458-9, 461, 488, 500.

THE KINGHORNS

Early in 1770 a young man aged thirty-two arrived at Bishop Burton in the East Riding of Yorkshire to take pastoral oversight of the church formed there in 1764; a chapel had only just been built and was not yet properly licensed;²² but the members were anxious to have a successor to their "gifted brother" Richard Hopper, who had accepted a call to Nottingham. The new probationer was David Kinghorn,²³ a Durham man, once a shoemaker but now a preacher; already he had married a second wife, one of a numerous clan of ancient and honourable Northern Baptists, the Joplings, and it was largely through her that he had become a Baptist himself. She had borne him one son, Joseph, four years old at this date. David Kinghorn decided to settle. Among the deacons who signed the invitation to him, and later the formal call,²⁴ was Archer Ward, destined to be of great service to him; Ward also came to be related by marriage to Richard Hopper.

It was perhaps but natural that after a while David should have felt a little homesick for Newcastle, where he had learned to preach and where he was well known, not only for business, but also for family reasons. It is fortunate that his correspondence, full of enquiries about the state of church affairs in what was virtually his home town (strictly he was a Gateshead man), has survived in large quantities: from it a fuller picture of the unhappy state of the cause at Tuthill Stairs may be gleaned than from any source hitherto available. The Kinghorns had lodged with that very Caleb Alder who was to be Fishwick's first Baptist discovery on his arrival in Newcastle; for another thing, they had in Philip Nairn, a hypersensitive Christian much concerned about the state of his soul, an excellent if odd correspondent about the state of Newcastle affairs also. Nor was it long before Newcastle again was to prove of vital service to David; as it had changed the course of his own life, shortly it was to alter that of his only son; so once again information about Newcastle poured in to Bishop Burton.

²² A copy of the original licence, dated July 10, 1770, is reproduced in E. H. Skingle, *The Story of a Country Baptist Church* (1929), p. 11.

²³ The main facts for the early career of both David and Joseph Kinghorn are to be found in M. H. Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn* (1855). This biography was compiled from a vast hoard of Kinghorn letters, now in the possession of C. B. Jewson, Esq., of Norwich; they have been used in the present study to supplement Wilkin's account, and are referred to as "Kinghorn mss." For the Joplings, and a brief series of notes on David Kinghorn, see D. Douglas, *op. cit.*

²⁴ The first invitation to David Kinghorn was dated January, 1770, a second and more formal call was written in April, and still a third in November of that year, the spelling of which, by modern standards, is atrocious.

At the end of 1774, David, always inclined to pessimism, lamented that amongst various misfortunes that had befallen his church, one was the impending removal of Archer Ward.²⁵ In March, 1777, Ward is referred to as being at Hull, but on July 21st, 1778, he sent a note to David from Newcastle²⁶ of which the very first words are significant of his double interests :

As I have now been a few weeks at this place you perhaps will Expect a line from me with Respect to the preachers . . .

He sends news of friends and relations and mentions that though the Baptist interest had for some years been on the decline, it now appeared to be stirring: they wanted preachers, and maybe at some future date the Lord would bless their labours with a stated minister. He went on to give the description of their lease of land which has been already quoted. Writing again on February 23rd, 1779, and apologising for delay in answering David's letters, he said :

I readily agree with your thoughts in the Close of your first Letter Viz. the Grand end of preaching or hearing is Edification—I cant say much of being Edify'd with preaching in General, my Comforts Chiefly consists in a simple Veiw of the Redeemer . . . (sic)

He cheers Kinghorn up with views on the trials and discouragements of this life which speak the man, especially the economic man who was also a dissenter :

While we are in search After any Object Natural or Spiritual Tho with great difficulty in our Acending yet the Object in view is a Spring to the movement of our Whole frame. But when obtain'd we are pleas'd with the prospect thereof. However pleasing the prospect in such a state is much Expos'd to Storms of various Kinds shou'd we ob'ain any good in our proceeding we ought to be joyfull but if to the Contrary Consider he that Gives the Blessing also witholds, who only knows what is best for us. Ecc. C 7—V 14. Mr. Fishwick has seen Mr. Hague at Scarbro & heard Mr. Rogers at Bridlington the 21st In . . .

He wrote on June 2nd of the same year to report on a visit to Hamsterley, where he had met Mrs. Kinghorn's folk, and to tell of the Association meeting :

As to our own concerns is not much Either flattering or frowning time is to determine these things I wish for patience in Every Situation and Due Submission to the Allwise D'sposer of all Events. I hope I am still Leaning on Jesus as I go along this Wilderness State.

At the end of this year it was felt that the time had arrived for Joseph Kinghorn to find a job. Beatson, pastor at Hull, reported that a situation could be found for him with a watchmaker in that town, a Mr. Cliffe, if terms could be agreed upon, but the £10

²⁵ Kinghorn mss., 23 November, 1774.

²⁶ *ibid.*

needed might prove a difficulty. Joseph was in Hull by the end of January, 1780, when his father sent him a variety of comforts and much more advice: Joseph's reply, dated January 25th, is his first recorded piece of writing. A further letter from David, of February 18th, is omitted from Wilkin's biography of Joseph, but it is instructive; addressed to the youth "at Mr. Joseph Denton's, Clock & Watch Maker, Scale Lane, Hull," it contains the usual good advice but refers also to the despatch of "Canne's Bible, Concordance, Greek and Latin Testament, and Watts' Childrens' Hymns," besides articles of clothing. It is a pointer to David's intentions for the boy: nothing was farther from his mind than to make a minister of Joseph, he merely desired him to be well grounded in the faith whatever profession he chose. But in March there followed an ominous letter of advice about medicines: it was the beginning of the end of Joseph's career as a watchmaker, for it was clear that his health was not adequate to the strain of close confinement. Yet he never lost the skill he gained in that short training.

At this very time, Archer Ward wrote to give David a full account of a discovery for the pastorate at Newcastle (March 21st), of which no more is heard, for the Kinghorn correspondence breaks off at this point for nearly a year. When it is resumed Ward again referred to Tuthill Stairs, after wandering at large over the problem of Christ's pre-existence, to say that a settlement of the long vexed problem of the ownership of the premises was in sight. But it is his "P.S." that is important:

If you shou'd think of Joseph coming to N.C., Mr. Fishwick will talk to you about that matter.

No time was lost, for on Saturday, March 24th, 1781, David wrote to his son "at Mr. Ward's White Lead Works near the Close, Newcastle-upon-Tyne." Joseph had left on the previous Tuesday, going by way of Leeds, where he learned something of the new Baptist church, York, and Durham, at which place he met Fishwick, who directed him on his way.

On April 8th, Joseph sent an account of himself which showed that he was obviously in a much happier frame of mind, enjoying the air and finding a better appetite. His duties were clerical and had nothing to do with the lead, "that seems dangerous." He went on:

The Company of Mr. Ward at Evenings &c. is very agreeable and Mr. Fishwick seems just cut out for an Instructor.

Ward was "strenuous" about "Christ's being the Word from Eternity and not God's eternal son." This roused David to join in the argument, and in reply Ward said on April 8th:

without a Doubt Afflictions is good for us in the present state in the hand of ye Lord, they serve to wean us in some measure from the World which is in itself a blessing tho Diligence is our duty as ye wise man says Riches are not for Ever.

He wants every man to be allowed his own thoughts. As for Joseph, he was pleased with him and promised to look after him.

The correspondence continues with great regularity month after month. Joseph had come home from home, and if his parents betrayed a not unnatural anxiety for the well-being of their only son, he was not without many friends. David continually counselled him against vain wrangling, and advised strict attention to duty, especially as he owed so very much to his masters. Joseph lodged with the Wards: Ward himself he found argumentative about doctrinal matters, Mrs. Ward possessed of a "hasty, fiery disposition." After a month or two she began to grumble at Joseph's expenses, especially his "washing," even hinting that he could leave if he felt he could do better elsewhere; she must have been a cheese-parer indeed to have questioned his extremely moderate expenses, but matters were soon smoothed over.

It was Fishwick who began to attract Joseph more and more as time passed by. Very early he had told Joseph that he "might as well keep his nose out" of the actual lead in the works. He had, according to Joseph, the mildest temper of any man he had ever known, and lent encouragement to his studies of the Greek Testament. Not that Joseph had much time for private study in these early days: his hours were often from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m., which he would not mind, he said, if they did not mean confinement summer and winter alike. The strain began to tell and he kicked against the pricks. Not only that, but for a long time he could not find out for himself what Ward and Fishwick really thought about him. Thereupon David found out by frankly asking for a report: it was very favourable.

Still, by the middle of 1782 it was clear that Joseph was far from satisfied with his lot. David counselled patience, but the situation came to a crisis in June, when Ward and his wife paid a visit to Yorkshire. While they were away, Joseph stayed with the Fishwicks, and though quite happy there, he suddenly announced to his father that he was contemplating a career in the watch and clock business again.

He had kept in practice by doing odd jobs for the firm and friends. Making every effort to dissuade him, David told of Fishwick's first promises to make gradual increases in his wages and to train him so as to fit him for a better situation. At this juncture Ward came to Bishop Burton and the matter was argued out. Both Ward and David counselled patience. Ward thought

that in two or three years' time Joseph would have acquired such a thorough knowledge of the business that he would have a better chance for a good place, but he blamed Fishwick's "swiftness" for Joseph's long hours. David thought long hours by no means evil as they left Satan with few opportunities to act. Joseph acquiesced, but with a sigh. Fishwick showing meantime an increased interest in him, he was perplexed whether to stay with him or return to the Wards when they came back from Yorkshire: he went back, in fact, but almost immediately a change of attitude is discernible. The interview between Ward and his father had evidently had some effect that August.

Joseph began to ask what was the use of his knowledge of "the tongues and arts" and was told by David that they were of little use if not employed for the "public good." This was not lost on Joseph. He found he had now more time for study and had been "put forward" in the counting-house; he was learning shorthand and taking notes of sermons, and even dabbling with Hebrew. This was in September, 1782. He then announced that he proposed to visit Bishop Burton to be baptized. In December he first makes mention of what was to prove yet another decisive influence on his career, the search for a settled minister at Newcastle; application being made to Bristol for such a man, William Pendered was the result. Pendered came, and stayed with Fishwick: very soon he and Joseph were great friends. Joseph became more and more restless; he was clearly wavering about his future career and now asked how much notice was required to terminate his employment in the leadworks. Ward shrewdly declined to give him an answer. Both Fishwick and Ward were "close-mouthed" about him, he told his father. A gift of books from Fishwick aroused David's suspicions that Fishwick, at least, did not intend Joseph always to be employed at the works. Fishwick bought more books at an auction in Durham and Joseph had his share; among Joseph's own bargains was *Poli Synopsis Criticorum*, five massive volumes for twenty-two shillings, obtained by outbidding a bookseller. At this point it seems incredible to the historian that these obvious pointers to the boy's true calling should have meant nothing to him or his father; but so, on the evidence, he must conclude it apparently was.

On April 12th, 1783, Ward sent a favourable account of Joseph's conduct but threw in a hint that his attachment to his studies was carried to "perhaps a fault." He allowed him time off to come to Bishop Burton, however, to be baptized. While there, Joseph had a business note from Fishwick (Ward adding a social note) with quotations for red paint and lead, so on his return early in May he was able to do business for the firm at York and earn thereby part of his expenses. Back at Newcastle he still felt that

his future was not settled—but for a different reason now. What had been said at Bishop Burton will perhaps never be revealed, but all talk henceforward for some months is of Joseph's training for the ministry.

The only question which concerned him, at first, was the choice between Aberdeen and Bristol, but for his elders there was the prior question whether he was ready for training. Pendered was urging him on whole-heartedly, too much so, thought David. The seemingly interminable negotiations over his entry into college are of little concern here, except in so far as Ward and Fishwick played their part. David found much support for his policy of delay: Beatson reminded him, for example, that there was an engagement with Fishwick and Ward which, though only verbal, it was "not well to break," counselled caution, and said that when the engagement ended in March, 1784, then was the time to act freely. Nor was Hopper sanguine. David told his son that education was not everything in a minister's make-up, not even the chief thing. All were agreed that Joseph was in too great a hurry. Even Fishwick seemed to share their views, but he suddenly capitulated so far as to agree that Joseph might, if necessary, leave the firm earlier than March, 1784, possibly so soon as October, 1783.

The effect on Joseph was to stimulate him to gain experience in public speaking: the opportunity he sought was to hand, at the homes of Ward and Fishwick, where, in alternate weeks, prayer meetings were held at which a dozen or eighteen folk, not necessarily members, met from 7.30 to 9 in the evening.²⁷ One of their number was nominated to "exercise," and the turn often came round to Joseph, Pendered, one suspects, often heavily loading the dice. At his father's suggestion, Joseph set about the task of writing a long essay on "The Promise of Life," and found, like many another student, that the result was easier envisaged than performed. Yet if Joseph with all these ideas and activities tried his utmost to counter all objections to going to college, David told him roundly that there was one argument which was conclusive—he could not afford even the modest £10 required as a minimum for one year's stay at Bristol, and he would not borrow.

But if the Lord see meet so to do he can open a door even when all seem shut. Therefore I shall leave the matter to his all disposing hand . . .

In August Joseph flatly determined that if he did stay at Newcastle, it would be "against his will." Whether by now Ward and Fishwick had tried to teach him more about the business or not, is not clear, but he speaks of "dirty, awkward jobs" to which the

²⁷ *ibid.*, 29 June, 1783.

counting-house was by far to be preferred. Pendered kept up his persistent advocacy, for he and Joseph were more bosom friends than ever. Even the cantankerous Mrs. Ward was converted to the idea that, as he was commanded by her to tell his father, he would "be a P-rs-n very soon."

At this juncture, in September, both Archer Ward and Mrs. Fishwick visited Yorkshire, to be followed in December by Fishwick, and they all, naturally, paid a call on David. Of Joseph's efforts at speaking, Ward said they lacked "brevity," a judgment with which Joseph strongly disagreed when he heard of it. Still David saw no way out for his son: if all else were to his wish, he said, the cost was prohibitive. Meanwhile, at Fishwick's house, and at church, Joseph met "young Mr. Hall from Arnsby" on his way to Aberdeen and was much struck with his composure in the pulpit, envied his powers, and found him, out of the pulpit, "a more facetious companion than could be met with in many a long day."²⁸ David was not impressed and thought Hall's levity would make him a most unsuitable minister. But in the very letter in which he told of Hall, Joseph apologised for his hasty scribble by saying that it was one o'clock in the morning when he wrote, work having but ceased half an hour before, so "throng" was the firm. Indeed, business was pressing heavily on Joseph's leisure, small as it normally was, by the end of 1783, and he saw that the year was now too "far spent" to do anything about his urgent desire. But David was weakening. Yet one can sympathise with the man who wished to give his son every possible advantage but found that one third of his salary would be required to do so: David was earning no more than £30 a year.

If he were determined, then, not to stay at Newcastle, wrote the old man in December, everything possible would be done to get him into an academy:

if otherwise, we hope Mr. Fishwick will perform his promise by endeavouring to get you a better place.

Sending David a frank letter about his son's abilities and prospects, Pendered was able to dispense with the ordinary post and have it delivered "pr favour of Mr. Fishwick," who was visiting Yorkshire. This double visitation from Newcastle marks the beginning of the end: under bombardment from all sides David told Pendered:

If the Lord design him for that important work his mind seems so much set on, and which Mr. Fishwick and Mr. Ward & yourself as well as some here think there is apparent prospect of, He that made the Mouth can and will, if He call to the work, give a Mouth & Wisdom to speak

²⁸ *ibid.*, November, 1783.

For both Fishwick and Ward were still not perfectly satisfied with Joseph's proficiency in speaking. Joseph himself was more determined than ever :

As to another year, should I not go to Bristol next year, I should like another situation, as I dont see Im making much out here, only I should not be so opposite (opposed?) to this place as not to wait here 3 months or so untill I saw if anything was likely I could hear of. But as I wish to be at Bristol next entrance I must of consequence leave this place, & as the sooner an Application is made the better, it seems necessary I should go Home when my time is out.²⁹

He would spend six months at Bishop Burton at work on "hic, hac, hoc, &c.", wishing to press on and not be "retarded" in Bristol. Even at this point, Ward offered him employment after his time was out, so as to save David expense.

Fishwick called on David on both the 13th and 24th of December. Reporting their long talks together, David gives the impression at first that college was still a hopeless objective for Joseph; he still harps on his inability to bear the cost.

Upon Consultation with friends I find there voice in General against your going

But, he added :³⁰

Mr. Fishwick Generously proposed to us that if we could bear the expences the first year (which perhaps is all we can do, travelling is so expensive) he would engage if the Lord spared and continued to prosper him for a second year. He thought Mr. W. would for another but as he had not consulted him pirticularly on that head he would not say possitively. And thus the matter must rest till after Mr. F. returns home.

Joseph was sworn to secrecy, but he was not to worry "about giving them warning" as his time was out in March; pessimistic to the last, David added that he could stay on till May, "or even another year."

The crisis had arrived; after a few last flickering doubts and hesitations, few of them Joseph's, it was decided that he should be allowed to go to Bristol. He thereupon drew up an ingenious "Dr. & Cr." account of his prospects for Fishwick's perusal.³¹ So that he might stay three years there, Ward promised to give £5 towards his expenses, after one year, and Fishwick promised £10 after two years. Fishwick more than redeemed his promise, for in October, 1786, he sent £20 to Bristol. In a letter of thanks, Joseph referred to him as "the main instrument of giving me these favourable opportunities of improvement."³² Fishwick called on the Kinghorns at Bishop Burton on October 31st, and told them that he did not intend to let them bear any part of the cost of

²⁹ *ibid.*, 8 December, 1783.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 27 December, 1783.

³¹ Wilkin, *op. cit.*

³² *ibid.*, 103.

their son's education; he deemed his generosity "well bestowed." At the break in May-June, 1785, Ward provided him with £5 for his journey home.³³

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Joseph's first appointment was at Fairford, and it did not last long. It was soon hinted that it would be better if he left. At this depressing moment, great was his surprise to receive a letter from Caleb Evans, head of Bristol academy, enclosing another which Joseph was astonished to see bore the Norwich postmark. In bewilderment he opened it and found it was a letter, in Fishwick's hand, to Evans, dated January 21st, 1789, recommending the church at Norwich to seek his services! Once again Richard Fishwick had given a decisive turn to his career. It appeared that while he had been staying in Norwich, he had accidentally heard, or incidentally discovered, that the Baptist church there was in need of a minister to replace the young pastor, Dunn, actually a fellow student of Joseph's, who was about to leave them as not quite the type of man they needed. Fishwick had immediately recommended Joseph Kinghorn to their notice.

It is history that Joseph went to Norwich and remained there for the rest of his life. It would have been unnatural if the precious links forged between him and Fishwick had then been entirely broken: they were not, but never again were they so close and strong. Even on his way to Norwich, Joseph met Ward in London (March, 1789) and stayed with him. But the first and most natural weakening, though small, occurred in January, 1790, when Joseph's dismissal from Tuthill Stairs took place.

Fishwick was irrepressible. He had told David in January, 1791, that he was glad to have been of use to him and his son, adding that Pendered had left Newcastle, that Shaw was then exercising his gifts and that he had met Ward the week before in London. In March, 1792, he wrote from Newcastle to Joseph desiring to see him there. Evidently Joseph had been the means of introducing to Fishwick, Walkers & Co. his new friends the Wilkins, and business transactions followed. Fishwick sent an account for shot and paint supplied and went on to ask as "*An Act of Charity*" that Joseph would visit Newcastle and supply the pulpit for three weeks. Even without a minister, membership had "been much more upon the Encrease than for some years back" and now had reached a total of about fifty.

"P.S. I must just intimate to you that my *temporal* concerns have long been very prosperous both here and in London—Mr. Ward I think is likely to spend more of his summer(?) at Derby where we are erecting a White Lead work."

³³ *ibid.*, 37.

He then mentioned his proposal to establish a "seminary in Yorkshire" for the training of men for the Baptist ministry, and his intention to build a new meeting-house at Newcastle, with baptistry, two vestries, school room and library. Joseph being "a little bookish" might advise him about this last item. In reply, Joseph agreed to come, but wanted more details first about the proposed academy: he wished it every success, but pointed out various difficulties such a plan would encounter.

The visit was long postponed, for it appeared later that Fishwick had been called to Scotland on business³⁴ and afterwards to Leeds, Rotherham, Derby and London. He wrote again to Joseph on June 11th, repeating his invitation. Hartley had disappointed them by declining to settle as their minister, he said; they had no "supply" other than Brother Shaw, but Thomas Langdon of Leeds had applied at Bristol for a young man from Yorkshire, "Mr. Foster." They might lose Shaw, "who is fixed to go to Derby to settle there with Mr. Ward, who is just about leaving London." He advised a sea journey for Joseph, as the expense would be less, though they offered £5, which they hoped would be enough as it had been reported that Joseph was now probably "rich." "However, I may give you an old Book to help to eke out!" Joseph's reply was very cautious, but nevertheless he could announce to his father on June 28th that he was "safe in the Counting House, White Lead Works, Newcastle," and would visit Bishop Burton in about three weeks' time, to give his experiences *vica voce*. He did, and was back in Norwich on August 5th.

Early in September David reported that Hopper and Mrs. Ward had called on him, followed by Ward and Hopper and their wives: Ward went off to Hull on his way to Nottingham or Derby. In November David had news from Beatson, who had it from Fishwick himself at Hull, that

Mr. Ward was going to Build a Meeting House at Darby.

Fishwick had a habit of bobbing up unexpectedly. On May 7th, 1793 Joseph wrote to his father:

Who should come to Norwich on Saturday but Mr Fishwick, quite unexpected but not unwelcome?

In letters of September and October of the same year, David mentions that Mr. and Mrs. Ward, along with Mr. Hopper, came to Bishop Burton, while Fishwick was at Scarborough. "Thus they trip about."

Mr. Ward is I understand a principle person in building a meeting house at Derby wc. is now going fast forward.

What is curious is, that Joseph, in his replies, displays the most casual interest in these matters, unlike his previous concern.

³⁴ Kinghorn mss., May 28, 1792.

By June of 1795, David was lamenting that

all our correspondence from the North is intirely dropt . . . We seem dead to them and they to us

and news meanwhile becomes more plentiful about the disturbed state of the church at Hull. But just then, to give the lie to his despair, the Wards suddenly arrived, in July, at Bishop Burton, with William Shaw. On the 18th, Mrs. Ward's "mother Eliz. Authorson died." Ward himself

is very well in health and Mrs. W. looks exceedingly well, but is sore stript up as she says and short of breath and very dull of hearing . . . she says there are many ministers come to their house at Darby but none she would be more glad to see than you and us. Mr. W. has built a meetinghouse 12 yards by 14 within at Derby.

He went to Hornsey for a week's holiday.

In January, 1796, David learned that the new chapel at Derby was "but poorly attended," which he thought must have been "very discouraging," as doubtless it was. In fact, it was but the first of a series of misfortunes for Ward, relieved only by one pleasant interlude before the inevitable end. The Wards came to Bishop Burton in August: Ward himself had been ill at Newcastle and was soon off to Scarborough; his wife remained behind, still suffering from shortness of breath and hardness of hearing. Riches may be counterbalanced by miseries, is David's comment. She died in December.

Mrs. Ward has finished her course on Monday last, 26 (wrote David to Joseph on December 31st) & left her share of a close & the old house her father lives in to sister Mary Johnson, out of which 15*l* each to be paid to her other 3 sisters, viz. Pendered, Shaw & Merit. Mr. Ward has sent her will to S.G. (regson) & has ordered 5*l* to be given to your mother for Mourning, to M. Johnson & (hannah Merit the same . . .

A cynically jovial letter from a laconic friend of the Kinghorns, O. Kirkbride followed on April 5th, 1797, which shed further light on these domestic affairs; mentioning Mrs. Ward's death, he adds that Mrs. Fishwick had also died "the 25 Ulto."

I do not think either of the Gent. n will be long cast down wh Grief. However the former I understand begins to think of what God said at the beginning, "it is not good for Man to be *alone*," & intends shortly to take to himself a Helpmeet—Perhaps Miss H—r, whom I dare say you know very well.

Kirkbride was right: in June David wrote to his son:³⁵

Perhaps I need not tell you that A. Ward, esq. was married at Nottingham to Miss Hopper, daughter of the Revd. Richard Hopper, on May 25 . . . The new couple set off for Matlock . . . with 2 maids & a footman so we are told. Thus Lead is turned into Gold and flies abroad. The Ladies Maid is now the Lady.

³⁵ In May he had also told Joseph of the burning down of the Derby Lead Works only a few days before the marriage.

Ward had quickly disposed of his late wife's clothing among her sisters,

so Nancy will not have to wear any of *her* Cloaths who once so haughtily dominered over her.

Joseph, who must have known far more about the lady's haughtiness than his father, had nothing to say about her, in reply, but he waived aside all David's sarcasm about Ward himself :

There are many things in Mr. Ward I like very much & the more I have seen of this world the more on the whole I have thought well of him. I shall be highly pleased that the evening of his days are more comfortable than the former part. Marrying is with him a *safe* experiment : he cannot jump out of the frying pan into the fire. I am glad God has prospered him in the World. I have no objections whatever to his being A. Ward, esqr., nor any to 2 maids & a footman on an expedition to Matlock. The World is worth nothing without it be enjoyed. Let a man partake of the fruit of his labor, it is the gift of God. Yet I own I think the difference in age an objection & tho the match may terminate well, & I hope it will, yet it cannot be praised for its prudence.

His father disagreed with this last judgment :

Mr. Ward is about 53, 28 Sepr. next, and Divine providence has favoured him with a large portion of worldly goods, but no offspring. I think he could *not do* better than wed one of 31, by whom there is at least a probability of enjoying some posterity.

He went on to say that Ward had always been mindful of poor relatives and happy to befriend them, nevertheless if he had children of his own he might restrain his liberality (though it was hoped he would not) as he had been very liberal in some cases, "instance his donation to the fund."

In August, David heard that Ward was

young again . . . so a young wife puts spirits into the aged . . . After all, I do not think he will ever again have good health, the Lead having tainted the inside, its effect is not soon removed.

He was right this time. The visits to Bishop Burton ceased henceforth, and the old friends saw one another no more. At the same time came news from Kirkbride of Hull, in his usual light-hearted style :

Fishwick is reported to be upon the point of marriage with a servant that has been with him many years. I do not now recollect her name, but Pendered knew her well & said when he heard of it he always thought such a thing probable in the event of Mrs. F.'s death. You will have seen in the papers that his daughter was lately married to Geo. Gibson, *esq.* : *re*, whom I do not know but probably you do as I understand he is related to Mr. F.—& has been connected with Miss F. for *many years*. She must have been a *forward* chick as I apprehend she is not *now* more than 21 or 21

David supplied more details in October : the new Mrs. Fishwick

was a niece of Whitfield, Ursula Grey, who had been Fishwick's servant for many years, and the couple had been married at Hamsterley. Fishwick did not cease to move around, and in April was at Hull, advising the church that Richards of Lynn, one of Joseph's friends, was "moveable." Hull was sorely troubled about its pastorate at that time and was looking for a minister to replace Pendered, who had not failed to maintain his reputation as a storm-centre.

After resolving the question of memorials to his wives at Bishop Burton, Ward apparently ceased to communicate directly with David: he kept in touch with his old friend Simon Gregson, however, and in January, 1798, asked him to see David about the possibility of Joseph visiting Derby for a month or two, as they were without pastor. David doubted it, but left the matter to Joseph's consideration: Joseph was in two minds, for it was a request very difficult to refuse, coming from an old friend. Time passed by and no personal invitation came from Ward to Joseph. David had the opportunity to record only one more piece of information about Ward before he left Bishop Burton for Norwich in July, 1799, having quarrelled with his flock. This was to the following effect, in January, 1799:

Mr. K(irckbride) has sold the ship of which he had a share, it went by his name. Mr. Ward had 900£ in it, for his share he received 1,000 Guineas: we are told W. has made his will & settled 300£ per annum on Mrs. W. Wealth flows in like a sea, or this could not have been done; he never could have done it by farming.

Ward's death in 1800 finally severed a thirty years' friendship.

Fishwick had still a great deal of life left in him. As has been seen, he retired from the Walker Company in 1799; but in 1801 there is news that³⁶

Mr. Fishwick's new Iron Works in the Neighbourhood of Scarbro' has proved very encouraging to Mr. Hague, as at the present they are enlarging the Meeting, and I am told the expence is discharged as they go on.

David's successor at Bishop Burton had soon fallen out with his deacons, but once again Fishwick was on the spot and lured him to Newcastle:

I must say (wrote this same correspondent) that I am rather surprised that Mr. F—k should patronise Mr. C., and that he should be so acceptable at Newcastle, as it is too obvious that he is very deficient as a real pastoral Character. A young man of the name of Shaw has been over from N— & who when there is a lodger in his house, he represents him as a very light irreverent man.

³⁶ Kinghorn mss., letter of W. Skinn, Beverley, September, 1801. Hague was pastor at Scarborough.

Mordaunt Cracherode, the man referred to, lasted next to no time at Newcastle.

Fishwick's project for an academy had come to nothing, so far as is known, but he did not therefore cease to lend his aid to poor students. Having taken a fancy to William Ward, baptized at Hull by Pendered, he sent him at his own expense for tuition by Dr. Fawcett at Ewood Hall in 1796³⁷; this Ward, the famous missionary, was no relation to Fishwick's partner, so the incident is no doubt further evidence of Fishwick's genial temper, as he had quarrelled with Pendered in the meantime. An academy did make a start, in 1804, but under different auspices, and it still flourishes in its second abode at Rawdon: incidentally it was proposed that Joseph Kinghorn should become tutor in this new college, and strong efforts were made by Langdon of Leeds (whom Joseph had consulted about Fishwick's scheme on his way to Newcastle in 1792) to secure his services. They were courteously refused, as were later overtures of a similar kind from London.

From July, 1799 onwards, personal contact between the Kinghorns and their Northern friends ceased, but correspondence with Newcastle was suddenly renewed between Hawkins, church secretary at Norwich, and Michael Atkinson, a local Baptist, for a brief period in 1803, on business matters. The latter gave personal tittle-tattle to Joseph and made references to the cause at Tuthill Stairs, from which it appeared that Hassell, like his predecessor Pendered, had left Newcastle after a difference with Fishwick; one Hoyle had succeeded and left in disgrace and a hurry; then Cracherode came and likewise fell out with Fishwick straightway. Almost nothing more is to be gleaned about the remaining quarter of a century of life still to be run by this ubiquitous and purposeful gentleman.

Ward and Fishwick were self-made men in an age of self-help, men therefore of energy and self-confidence, the kind of men whose virtues, once so highly extolled by Samuel Smiles, have latterly been less highly regarded. Certainly they were men of their day, of an age which, whatever its demerits, made England rich and great. They never deserted the church of their early choice. They stood by it when membership of a Baptist church was certainly not the road to social or political honour or dignity. In the nineteenth century the Baptists were destined to play no inconsiderable part in the formation of the Nonconformist Conscience: what would they have been able to do without the support of men like Fishwick and Ward, or without the scholarship and advocacy of the men they patronised, like Joseph Kinghorn?

FRANK BECKWITH.

³⁷ J. C. Marshman, *The Story of Carey, Marshman & Ward* (1864), p. 43.