

THE BANKER AND THE MARINE: TWO BROTHERS FROM AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY QUAKER FAMILY

From their beginnings, Quakers have believed that their direct relationship with God precluded acts of violence. 'Whoever can reconcile "resist not evil" (Matthew 5.39) with the injunction that evil must be resisted by force' wrote Robert Barclay, 'must also have found a way to reconcile God with the devil. War is absolutely unlawful for those who would be disciples of Christ.'¹ But this path of peace 'was that of individual renunciation, essentially turned inward toward one's own soul'.² It did not mean that non-Quakers should be expected to lay down their arms. In Barclay's words, 'Today's Christians are still an admixture of the old and the new. They have not yet achieved a patient suffering spirit...therefore they cannot leave themselves undefended until they attain that degree of perfection.' Isaac Pennington 'spoke not against people's defending themselves or making use of the sword to suppress the violent and evildoers... for a great blessing will attend the sword when it is borne uprightly to that end, and its use will be honourable'.³ Only over time would nations reach that 'better state, which the Lord has already brought some into'.

Some of those early Friends had a military background, including James Fade who was born around 1620 at an unidentified spot called Aunderdell. It was probably in the old Scottish county of Dumfries, from where this unusual surname originates. Perhaps he served in the army sent over by the Edinburgh government during 1642 to help the Scots settlers in Ulster and which remained there until defeated by Cromwellian forces seven years later, but he is not listed among their Officers.⁴ Some troops opted to stay in Ireland. James Fade is believed to have married Cecily White in 1648, and their eldest son Robert was born in Dublin during 1651.⁵

Four years later, 'Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith came to Dublin and spoke at St Audoen's (Church) , for which they were promptly imprisoned by the Lord Mayor'.⁶ James may have been among their earliest converts, as in 1660 'for refusing to pay toward the repairing of the steeple-houses were taken in Dublin City from (him) some goods'.⁷ In the next year, James was one of the twenty-one Friends 'taken out of their usual meeting-place by a guard of

soldiers and committed to Newgate by order of the Mayor'. And in 1673, 'because he would not answer on oath...he not only lost £40 (owed to him) but £70 more to get clear of the debtor'.⁸ Cecily died in 1664 and three years later James married Elizabeth Smith, perhaps the preacher. Through his two marriages he fathered eleven children, of whom three sons and three daughters outlived him.⁹ James' involvement in the linen trade grew into a financial and property empire which by his death in 1701 included houses in fourteen Dublin streets and two pieces of land outside the city.¹⁰ As an active Quaker, he was appointed to the committee for finding a new meeting house in 1677 and was the second largest contributor towards its eventual cost.

The major contributor, who provided £30 compared with James' £10, was Anthony Sharp from Gloucestershire, who had arrived at Dublin in 1669. He represented a new type of Quaker, concerned above all with the Meeting's reputation. In 1681 he and three colleagues 'had been sent to see (James) because his behaviour grieved Quakers, but when he refused to acknowledge his faults. Sharp's delegation left him to have the matter referred to the Meeting if he thought good'. The old soldier who had suffered for his faith must have had a low opinion of this younger generation as he was accused of 'statements attacking Sharp and other stalwarts of the Dublin Meeting'. Then in 1694 and 1696 'the Meeting dispatched Sharp and others to speak with James Fade's sons because their "untruthlike carriage" reflected adversely on Friends'.¹¹

By January 1701 (New Style) James, aged about 80, had fallen into hopeless debt. He owed £1,652 to prominent Dubliners, including several Quakers, and 'had to sign over virtually all his possessions to six trustees (including Anthony Sharp) in return for five shillings per annum'. Later in the year James died and his trustees wound up his estate. He had bequeathed £400 to his son-in-law Joshua Wilcocks 'in lieu of his wife's portion', £50 to Joshua's son Issachar, £4 a year to his own son William, £1 to his daughter Cecily Richardson (who had been married by a priest), then 'all remainder to Joseph Fade', his youngest child.¹²

Anthony Sharp did not survive his adversary for long. One of the four overseers of his will in 1707 was Joseph Fade, born in 1680 and now aged 26/27. He had probably been too young to attract the Meeting's earlier censures, and had become a model Quaker. Under his direction the family's linen and banking interests flourished again. His father's will had realised £4,000 for him, and 'the Bank at the Glib' (named after a Dublin stream) expanded until 'in 1755

it was said that more than £300,000 of notes issued by Fade's Bank were in circulation'.¹³ Joseph drew the notice of Dean Jonathan Swift, who in 1725 wrote forty-eight lines of doggerel lampooning a new coinage issue. One verse has the 'halfpenny-monger' declare:

You will be my thankers, I'll make you my bankers,
As good as Ben Burton or Fade;
For nothing shall pass but my pretty brass,
And then you'll be all of a trade.'¹⁴

Joseph's involvement in Dublin development led to two streets being named after him in his own lifetime; Joseph Lane has now disappeared under a market but Fade Street still runs south-east of the Castle.¹⁵ His property extended beyond the city to an 'estate and lands in the County Wicklow known as the two Brittass',¹⁶ and a villa named Furry Park House which he had built on a farm at Killester, four miles north-east of Dublin centre.¹⁷ It was there that he wrote his Diary, of which the first seven months of 1736 are preserved in Dublin Friends Library.

At first glance this Diary seems simply to record the humdrum life of a small farmer - walking his fields, worrying about his cattle over the winter, noting when he heard the first cuckoo,¹⁸ having 'Smutt the cat killed for killing some young chickens'. Above all he meticulously recorded the weather, morning and evening. But then it becomes apparent that he is also mixing with distinctly urban people. On the day before the cuckoo, he 'went to the Glib (where) Col. Beckett gave a mortgage for £476.1.5d on four houses in Francis Street'. Two weeks later, 'a very fine warm bright day. Alderman Grattan who is now Lord Mayor came here and dined'. Then after sending two cucumbers to the Speaker of the Commons and two to the Bishop of Derry, he 'went to the Change, the merchants signing a paper against the falling of the gold. Dean Swift there and signed it'. Joseph's religion barred him from seeking public office for himself.

Joseph regularly exchanged visits with local (Church of Ireland) parsons and attended meetings of Clontarf Parish Vestry (or Council). He also bought half a pew for the use of his servants. His own trips to Dublin Friends Meeting took place most Sundays, particularly the first of each month when collections were made, 'our poor being in want of necessaries'. He always noted who preached and who prayed, rarely more than two of each but equally men and women, with occasional English visitors. Once 'a paper was read for Friends to be careful and that we may deserve the favour of the affirmation (instead of oath-swearing) that was granted to us this last session of Parliament, and not to be anyways concerned in defrauding the king of his duty by running of goods'. This was timely, as the Commons Speaker himself

had been caught with an illicit cask of Madeira sent from Holland. Joseph wrote that 'I never was concerned in that trade'.

Joseph did not marry, and in 1736 his sister Elizabeth, Joshua Wilcocks' widow, was living with him. Her son Issachar had been made a Bank partner in 1728, but was dead by February 1748 when Joseph made his will, proved on 25 May of that year. He was aged 68 according to the Friends' Burial Register. Elizabeth was left £100 and a silver tankard, with £50 each to three others in her family. Smaller bequests were made to various kinsmen and servants, with £200 for a bed at St Stephen's Hospital and £100 to 'Blewcoat Hospital', a boys' charitable school, both in Dublin. But the bulk of Joseph's estate went to the families of his two nieces, who were Elizabeth (Betty), married to Benjamin Dawson, and Mary (Molly), the wife of Jacob Goff. Both of them lived close to Joseph and were constantly visited by him. Molly was left £500 together with Joseph's punch-bowl and silver-ribbed ladle, while six of her children were given sums ranging from £300 to £500 according to their age, not their sex.¹⁹ Betty was bequeathed Joseph's Wicklow property 'with reversion to her son John Dawson, linen draper'. John had succeeded Issachar Wilcocks as Joseph's business partner. His younger brother Benjamin was given £500 and married sister Sarah some rents, but John was left the residue of the estate 'including interest in the Bank at the Glib', and was to be sole executor of the will. As a Quaker, he 'made his solemn affirmation well and faithfully to administer and dispose of...the goods and chattels of the deceased'.²⁰

Yet in 1755 the Bank collapsed with a £42,000 deficit, largely due to embezzlement by a clerk. Both Parliament and Monthly Meeting set up investigations, and creditors were eventually paid 18 shillings for every pound.

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Betty Dawson and Molly Goff were the only children of John Fade who was born in 1675. Molly's birth is given as 10th of 3rd month 1700 (21 May New Style) in Dublin Friends' Register; Betty's arrival does not appear, but as she married in 1717 she was probably the elder sister.²¹ John had wed Sarah Barnard, four years his junior and therefore a teenage bride, at an unknown date. Unlike his two surviving brothers, he was unmentioned in his father James' will. (The only other unmentioned child was Katherine, married by a priest in 1682.)

John was probably one of James' sons rebuked by Dublin Meeting in 1694 and 1696. After this date he may have moved to England and never returned to live in Dublin, even though Molly's birth was noted there. The Barnards were London Friends; Sarah's father

John Barnard of Devonshire House Meeting had goods confiscated in 1683 and was fined £5 two years later after being 'indicted for a riot'. He was a wine merchant and his son John, Sarah's younger brother, 'joined the family firm at the tender age of 15 because of his father's failing health'.²² John junior conformed to the Church of England and subsequently became Lord Mayor of London, MP for the City, and a knight. Yet his concerns included theatre regulation and corruption in Sir Robert Walpole's government, and he 'never discontinued the plain Quaker garb'.²³ Joseph Fade noted his visit to Dublin in 1736, when they met at the Dawsons' home.

John Barnard senior had in 1677 married Sarah Payne, daughter of two pillars of Reading Meeting. Robert Payne was imprisoned on 8 April 1662 at Newbury Sessions 'for not going to the public worship',²⁴ and his wife Sarah followed him nineteen days later. They were in and out of gaol for the next fifteen years. Their children must have been among the young people that 'kept the meetings up when we were all in prison, notwithstanding the wicked Justice, when he came and found them there, (who) would pull them out of the meeting and punch them'.²⁵

The quotation is from a letter to George Fox from Thomas Curtis of Reading, in whose house the meetings took place and who was also dragged off to prison in 1662. The Payne and Curtis families were probably linked by marriage; Robert Payne's elder brother Silvanus had married an Elizabeth Curtis in 1653 and his uncle John Payne wed 'Ales Curteyes' in 1609.²⁶ Thomas Curtis had a daughter Esther, who was to become the first wife of Anthony Sharp of Dublin.

The bond between George Fox and Thomas Curtis was shattered in 1675, when Curtis supported John Story and John Wilkinson in their opposition to the growing centralisation of power among Friends. Anthony Sharp, with his personal connection to the Curtises, tried to mediate though eventually he came down on Fox's side. But the strongest opponent of Curtis's party in Ireland seems to have been James Fade, who Curtis alleged had spread 'spurious charges that he (Curtis) had accused Fox of attempting to establish popery in England'.²⁷ James denied the accusations but it may have embittered him against Curtis's supporters, who included the Paynes and Barnards. Perhaps it soured relations with his son John, as he married into this family network. In Reading, the exchange of harsh words (Curtis called one opponent a "mooncalf") led to the establishment of separate meetings.²⁸ The schism continued until 1716, by which date all its instigators were dead.

John must have become disillusioned with Friends' divisions. On 30 January 1706, aged 30, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant

in Colonel Jacob Borr's Regiment of Marines, in the Colonel's own Company.²⁹ He may have enlisted several years earlier; the start of the Spanish Succession War in 1702 had led to the creation of six Marine Regiments, and Borr's troops took part in the capture of Gibraltar during July 1704. Unlike the regular army, Marine commissions were not purchased. On 1 April 1706 John was joined by a James Fade, also made Second Lieutenant in another Company of the Regiment, who was perhaps a son of John's much older brother William.³⁰

Warfare in Spain produced rapid promotions to replace officers killed in action. James Fade was made First Lieutenant on 25 February 1708; John reached the same rank on 13 April 1709 and was promoted Captain of his own Company on 18 February 1710. In the summer of that year, four hundred Marines including a detachment from Borr's Regiment joined an expedition to Nova Scotia which captured the French settlement of Port Royal. But in 1713 the fighting ceased, the Marines were disbanded, and both Fades were placed on half-pay. Two years later Borr's Regiment, along with three others, was restored as an Infantry Regiment 'on account of their eminent services during the late war'.³¹ James Fade was recommissioned (though he does not appear again in the records) but John apparently did not return to the colours.

On 2 December 1728 John signed his will, 'being indisposed in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory, praised be God'.³² Aged 53, he entitled himself 'Captain of the Honble. Colonel Charles Dubourgay's Regt. of Foot', though Jacob Borr had remained in command until 1723. The will reveals him to have been a wealthy widower. At his daughter Betty's wedding in 1717 he had been described as 'John Fade of Clapham', home of the Barnards, but in 1724 he had leased the six-acre Murcoat Farm at Crudwell, near Malmesbury in Wiltshire. Future income from this property was to be divided equally between his two daughters. £200 was left to each of his grandchildren, but any marrying without parental consent were to be disinherited. Ten guineas were bequeathed to his brother Joseph, and the same to his sister Elizabeth Wilcocks and his brother-in-law Sir John Barnard (also Sir John's younger brother Robert). £50 was left to Thomas Holeman, an old regimental colleague, and £10 'to be distributed among twenty of the poorest and most ancient people in St Patrick's Parish, Dublin'. Bequests were made to servants, with £20 'to buy them mourning'. The residue of the estate was then to be shared between Betty and Molly. The will concluded that 'if any strife or contention shall arise... I devise the legacy of such contentious person to my executors', who were John's two sons-in-law, Benjamin Dawson and Jacob Goff. They jointly made

their solemn affirmation on 26 September 1729, as John Dawson was to do for Joseph Fade nineteen years later.

John Fade effectively ceased to be a Quaker on joining the Royal Marines, and there is no sign that he ever returned. He made no mention of the Religious Society in his will, which gives the months their conventional names. But like Sir John Barnard, he must have retained his Quaker sympathies. Perhaps it was his wife's death, date unknown, that caused him to send his daughters back to Dublin, where they were probably brought up under the care of their uncle Joseph. Both married Friends in Dublin Meeting House and raised their children within the Religious Society. In due course, John's body was returned to be buried in Dublin Friends' cemetery.

John Fade's military career precluded him from Quaker involvement but did not extinguish his concern for Friends nor his wish to have Quaker descendants. And it seems that the amicable relationship between John and his younger brother transcended their different occupations, both of which derived from their father James. John's daughters and his brother Joseph had chosen the 'better state' of peaceable people; yet they did not condemn those who bore the sword uprightly and used it honourably.

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ENDNOTES

1. Dean Freiday (ed) *Barclay's Apology in Modern English* (Newbury, Oregon: Barclay Press, 1967), pp. 427, 435.
2. Meredith Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.229
3. Isaac Penington, quoted in *Quaker Faith and Practice*, (Britain Yearly Meeting, 1995), 24.21
4. Edward M Furgol, *A Regimental History of the Covenanting Armies, 1639 -1651*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1990)
5. The Library at Quaker House in Dublin holds records of Fade births, marriages and deaths.
6. Maurice J Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, (Dublin, 1992 edition), p. 19
7. Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers*, (London, Luke Hinde, 1753), Vol.2 pp. 467, 471
8. Thomas Wight, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland from the year 1653 to 1700...* (Dublin: 1.Jackson, 1751) p. 138.
9. James Fade had five children by his first wife, of whom William (born 1653), Katherine (born 1655) and Cecily (born 1659) reached adult life. He had six children by his second wife, of whom James (born 1672), John (born 1675), Elizabeth (born 1677) and Joseph

- (born 1680) reached adulthood. James junior's widow is mentioned as a tenant in the 1701 document, but not as a legatee.
10. Edited by P B Eustace and Olive Goodbody, *Abstracts of Wills from Quaker Records of Dublin*, (Dublin, 1957), p.31
 11. Richard L Greaves, *Dublin's Merchant Quaker: Anthony Sharp and the Community of Friends, 1643 - 1707*, (Stanford University Press, 1998), pp 140, 187
 12. *ibid*, pp.195-6.
 13. Richard S Harrison, *Dictionary of Irish Quakers*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008) p.84
 14. Jonathan Swift, *Petition to the People of Ireland from William Wood, Ironmonger and Half-penny monger*, (1725). Burton was a non-Quaker banker.
 15. "Fade Street" is the title of A Reality Television series set in Dublin and aired by RTE in Ireland from November 2010.
 16. *Abstracts of Wills*, p. 32
 17. Furry Park House still stands, though divided into flats and fronted by a garage.
 18. Joseph "heard a cuckow" on 14.2.1736 Old Style, 25 April New Style.
 19. The Goffs' eldest child Joseph Fade Goff got £500; Fade Goff and Hannah Goff £400 each; Mary, Jacob and Elizabeth Goff £300 each; a seventh child Sarah (not the youngest) is unmentioned in the will.
 20. Will Administration from Dublin Friends Library.
 21. Betty married on 28.1.1717 Old Style, 8 April New Style; Molly on 7.7.1721 Old Style, 18 September New Style.
 22. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), Vol 3, pp. 959-61.
 23. J M R (Jane Marion Richardson), *Six Generations of Friends in Ireland 1655-1890*, (London, Edward Hicks, Jun., 1893), p. 74-5.
 24. Joseph Besse, Vol. 1. p. 13
 25. W C Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919), pp 226-227
 26. International Genealogical Index (IGI), Berkshire County
 27. Richard Greaves, p.40
 28. Chris and Gil Skidmore, 'Unquiet Quakers': paper read at Reading University (2008)
 29. Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1902), Vol. 5 p.149 and Vol. 6 pp. 121,122: all dates are in New Style.
 30. A James Fade married Barbara Phillips in London on 9 March 1694 New Style: (IGI)
 31. Charles Dalton, Vol.6 Introduction p. xxix
 32. From a manuscript supplied by a Fade relative.

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