N O LESS than eighty-seven per cent of the imports of the United States of America during the years 1793-1807 came from Britain. In round sterling figures, this meant that no less than £92,473,000 worth of goods were shipped across the Atlantic during those fifteen years, at a time when Britain herself was engaged in a continental war of considerable magnitude.¹

The men who made this possible have a peculiar interest to us today: as Britain once more makes a bid for dollar markets. Some of those men have been brilliantly resurrected by Professor H. Heaton in a recent paper, dealing with the exports of cloth to the United States from the West Riding of Yorkshire.² Though it is impossible to emulate his study of the morphology of a particular trade, it is worth while pointing out the activities of a merchant engaged in an equally significant trade, that of Sheffield Plate and Cutlery.

It was the fastidious Horace Walpole who, in September 1760, wrote: "As I went to Lord Strafford's, I passed through Sheffield, which is one of the foulest towns in England, in the most charming situation. There are 22,000 inhabitants making knives and scissors; they remit £11,000 a week to London. One man there has discovered the art of plating copper with silver. I bought a pair of candlesticks for two guineas. They are quite pretty."³ Walpole's candlesticks were of Sheffield Plate. The man he referred to was Thomas Boulsover, who, in 1743, discovered that when silver and copper were put together and the silver melted, the fusion of the two metals produced an ingot which, when rolled out into a sheet, had all the virtues of a single metal. This dis-

covery put silver ornaments, buttons, snuffboxes, and such like
products within a far wider range of customers than had hitherto
been the case. It cheapened production and stimulated new ideas.
Boulsover capitalized upon his discovery in the button trade, while
Joseph Hancock capitalized upon it in others, setting up a water
driven rolling mill to produce sheets for other manufacturers to
use. Soon the oldest industry in the town, that of cutlery, adopted
the new material for knife handles, forks, and spoons. The wooden
mazers that, with horns, cocker nuts, and shells, had sufficed for
those who could not afford silver tableware, were now supplanted.
For the next hundred years Sheffield Plate was to hold the mar-
ket, till it was itself supplanted by the cheaper process of electro-
plating. 4

One of these cutlers was Robert Sutcliff. To build up a picture
of him is extremely difficult, since not only did he escape an
obituary notice, but he was also a single minded Quaker, with a
great devotion to his business. 5 This, at least, we can deduce from
evidence that is available to us. He was a Quaker, educated in the
same society as another, more distinguished Sheffield industrial
pioneer, Benjamin Huntsman. In 1772, he was apprenticed to
Robert Trickett, of Packhorse Hill. 6 A year later, in 1773, the gov-
ernment deemed it expedient to establish an Assay Office in Shef-
field to cope with the increasing amount of silver plated goods, and
to free the Sheffield platers from the unpleasant necessity of send-
ing their goods a hundred and fifty miles to be assayed. 7 At the
conclusion of an eight years apprenticeship, in 1781, Robert Sutcliff
was admitted to the Freedom of the Cutlers Company, the then
hundred-and-fifty-seven-year-old collective trading and profes-

4 It was the patenting, March 25, 1840, by Elkington and Sons, of Bir-
mingham, of the electrolysis method which put an end to the trade: R. E.
305-322. For illustrated histories and analysis by Britons see Bertie Wylie,
Sheffield Plate (London, 1907); H. N. Veitch, Sheffield Plate (London,
1908); and F. Bradbury, The History of Old Sheffield Plate (London, 1917);
by Americans, see J. W. Torrey, Old Sheffield Plate, Its Technique and
History (New York, 1918); and F. W. Burgess, Silver: Pewter: Sheffield
Plate (New York, 1947).

5 He was the second son of Abraham Sutcliff, the well known doctor, of
Paradise Square.

6 R. E. Leader, A History of the Company of Cutlers of Hallamshire
(1906), ii, p. 363.

7 In response to a petition addressed to the House of Commons on February
1, 1773. The report of the House of Commons Committee showed that 7
Sheffield firms were registered in London.
sional conscience of the community. In this same year, 1781, his brother Joshua was apprenticed to him.\textsuperscript{8}

On January 15, 1781, Robert Sutcliff and Antony Sporle registered their trade marks in the eight-year-old Assay Office as “Plate Workers.”\textsuperscript{9} Six years later, Robert Sutcliff, this time without Antony Sporle, registered another trade mark, this time a Union Cross; and he was thus the only cutler to ignore the wording of an act passed in 1784, two years earlier, obliging all cutlers to see that their surnames were clearly marked on their devices.\textsuperscript{10} By 1789, when Joseph Gales brought out his Directory of Sheffield, Sutcliff, Sporle and Co. were given as “Silver Cutlers, King Street” and also as makers of “table knives, silver and plated.”

By 1792, Robert Sutcliff was given as a “merchant and manufacturer” while John (presumed his brother as will be seen later) was given as “a draper.”\textsuperscript{11} In 1797, he was shown as being in partnership with his brother Joshua, as “merchants and manufacturers of table knives,” and a fresh mark was given for his firm, this time: \textsuperscript{12} His business address was given as The Wicker, and his home address as 16 Allen Street.\textsuperscript{13} There was plenty of competition in the trade, especially from Samuel Roberts, who had started business in Eyre Street three years after Sutcliff had registered his trade mark with Antony Sporle.\textsuperscript{14} Yet Sutcliff’s work had individuality, and Bradbury, the greatest authority on the trade, has pointed out that his mark is distinguishable on four classes of goods. On the handles of old silver cutlery the letters R.S. and figures 1781 have been identified.

\textsuperscript{8} R. E. Leader, \textit{op. cit.}
\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Sheffield Assay Office Register} (Sheffield, 1911), p. 7.
\textsuperscript{10} B. W. Watson, \textit{Old Silver Platers and Their Marks} (Sheffield, 1908), p. 4. This mark is also given by F. Bradbury, \textit{British Assay Office Marks, 1544-1927} (4th edition, Sheffield, 1936), p. 75.
\textsuperscript{11} J. Gales and D. Martin, \textit{A Directory of Sheffield} (1787), reprinted 1889.
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Universal British Directory} (1792), p. 405.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Robinson’s Directory} (1797), pp. 118 and 179.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{The Autobiography and Literary Remains of Samuel Roberts} (Sheffield, 1849).
On plated goods we know that he registered the trademark of the Union Cross in 1786; while the following year he registered two trade marks, one for silver goods (A.S. R.S. & Co.), and the other (S.S. and Co.) for cutlery. American collectors might find it worth their while to look for such old pieces, for there must have been a quantity of genuine old Sheffield plate exported there in the heyday of the trade, which lasted from 1795 to 1831.

Pressurising the character of Robert Sutcliff was his Quaker faith. This, in a trade where standards of workmanship and integrity of promise were all important, must have made him a merchant to be trusted. The few Quakers whose names appear in the history of eighteenth century Sheffield exercised an influence out of all proportion to their number. Robert Sutcliff knew, and shows evidence of having been powerfully affected by, another Sheffield Quaker cutler, Thomas Colley. Colley, a quondam drummer in the army, was weaned from the loose conduct that characterized workmen in the new plating trade while working for Samuel Roberts’ father. His writings exercised a great influence: A Tender Salutation in Gospel Love written principally for the Use of his Relations reached a second edition in London in 1794; and another, An Apology for Silently waiting upon God in Religious Assemblies, with Some Observations on the Nature and Ground of True Faith, and the Application thereof to the Important Concern of Worship, reached a third edition at London in 1807. Colley was a quietist, which probably accounts for the fact that Sutcliff took no part at all in the stirring events going forward in the town which led George III to exclaim, “Sheffield, Sheffield, damn bad place, Sheffield.”

His Quaker faith also led him to look towards America. Thither Thomas Colley had gone, after he had become a minister in 1779. James Hurnand, in his old age, could remember Colley’s triumphant witness in the hall of the legislature at Richmond, which he heard as a boy.

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21 Charles Drury, A Sheaf of Essays by a Sheffield Antiquary (Sheffield, 1929), found few.
22 A Quaker lady named Fairbank stimulated Samuel Roberts to crusade against climbing boys (Autobiography).
23 Barbers waited upon them to powder their hair!
25 For which see my article in the North Carolina Historical Review.
26 Vide his letter in the Sheffield Independent, December 16, 1875.
many to tears, and refused to have his sermon printed. Robert Sutcliff could also look to an old school-fellow, William Thornton, another friend, who in May 1802 had been appointed the first person in charge of the patent office of the United States of America—a tribute to his acquaintance with mechanical arts, no less than to his eccentricity. Indeed, there was an established Quaker network, for English Quaker philanthropists were closely associated with a group of American Quakers of similar interests and outlook. Though Robert Sutcliff was not in the London ambience of William Allen, Peter Bedford and William Forster, who were all younger than he was, he nevertheless knew of the older generation of American Quakers like Jeremiah Warder; T. Scattergood (a profound quietest like himself who came to England in the last six years of the eighteenth century); James Pemberton (the shipper who was deported to Virginia during the War of Independence for opposing armed resistance to Great Britain); William Savery (who, in his preaching tour in Britain had attracted so many that buildings were crowded to suffocation, and amongst other conversions, was responsible for causing Elizabeth Gurney (later Fry) to “feel a little religion”); and, of course, the great and legendary Dr. Rush.

With the advent of the new century, the continuance of the war with Napoleon meant that markets other than purely continental ones had to be sought. The short lived Peace of Amiens afforded a temporary relief, but the war drums beat loudly in Sheffield itself. For though the proclamation of peace was publicly read in the market place and the High Street on May 5, 1802, on July 14, 1803, a public meeting was held to raise a regiment of volunteer cavalry in the town. In between these two dates, on March 7, 1803, two workmen of the town were sentenced to seven years transportation for administering unlawful oaths. On July 28, 1803, the town engaged to raise a Corps of Volunteer

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20 Robert Sutcliff, Travels in Some Parts of North America in the Years 1804-06 (York, 1815), p. 209, “a schoolfellow with me at Yealand.”
21 1748-1814, a tanyard owner, mentioned by Sutcliff, op. cit., p. 46.
22 1723-1809, a shipping merchant mentioned by Sutcliff, op. cit., pp. 55 and 234.
23 1750-1804, a master tanner who met Tom Paine in Paris. Paine was also in England in 1789, working with Walker’s, of Rotherham, near Sheffield, and was well known in the town.
24 See Pennsylvania History, January, 1950, pp. 3-22. Rush (1745-1813) was not free from criticism in Sutcliff's eyes, op. cit., p. 79.
infantry as well, and by September 4 the necessary 600 men were forthcoming. These forces were yet further augmented before the year expired by the enrollment of a thousand special constables. Not unnaturally, Robert Sutcliff set about making personal exertions to widen his scope, and to break through the restrictions that hampered his trade.²⁷

On June 22, 1804, he left Sheffield with his wife and children for Liverpool. Fortunately for us, he committed the details of his actions during the next three years to a journal.²⁸ This journal escaped the notice of the eagle-eyed and industrious Dr. R. G. Thwaites, probably on account of its distinctively personal character. For Sutcliff swings into his story with admirable directness, announcing at the start that the reason why he was about to undertake a voyage to America was “solely commercial.”

He went first to Manchester, where he and his family spent the time with T. Hoyle (a bleacher, printer and dyer), and then took packet boat for Warrington by the Duke of Bridgewater’s canal. He reached Liverpool five days after he had left Sheffield, where he stayed with another relation, T. Binns, who showed him the Lyceum, News Room, Botanical Gardens, and other wonders of the port. He also saw a press gang at work recruiting sailors for the navy. On the 28th, he visited the ship on which he was going to travel to the United States. This was the Laura; and he paid thirty-five guineas for his berth. There were two false starts, due to contrary winds, and it was not until the first of July that the Laura finally stood down the river for her eight-week voyage to New York.²⁹

The tedium of the fifty-eight days on board was eased by a variety of sights. Before the pilot left them, the crew were so intoxicated that they could not work the ship, and the captain had to entreat the pilot to forego his usual custom of presenting them with a bottle of spirits. Sailing past the coast of Wales, they heard cannon firing, but it only proved to be a slave ship scaling

²⁷ It was purely a luxury trade, and being a Quaker, Sutcliff could not make bayonets.
²⁸ Published as Travels in Some Parts of North America, at York in 1811, with proper names deleted; Philadelphia in 1812; and York again in 1815.
²⁹ H. Heaton says “Spring and fall arrivals in America, summer and early winter arrivals in Britain, with two round trips a year and hibernation in ice-free British ports, was the high water mark of efficient shipping operation until after 1815.” The Trade Winds, p. 199.
its guns.°° Sutcliff's comment was typical of the man: "they took the opportunity of exercising . . . when in a situation that would produce the greatest echo and noise; a disposition very prevalent in the world." After exchanging papers with the Liverpool, they ran into a week of gales; all the cutlery was washed overboard, so they had to be content with improvised forks made by the mate from an old barrel hoop, using the anchor as the anvil. They launched bottles with messages inside (one was later picked up on the sands at Newport, R. I.), caught sharks, and sunk thermometers into the sea to find its temperature. Not all was fun; the captain was harsh to a negro, and Sutcliff reproved him. The captain later apologized to Sutcliff. Before they could land at Boston, they were examined by a boarding party from two British men-o-war, which were patrolling outside the harbor in wait for two French frigates that were lying in New York. The whole journey had been livened for him by the company of two Philadelphians: Jeremiah Warder (whose ancestors had emigrated there in 1699), and John Large. William Williamson made up a trinity of Americans, while John Flintoff of Leeds, who seems to have been one of that West Riding Colony in New York, put the English point of view.

Once in America, he was moved by the contrasts—the masses of fruit displayed, the ample breakfasts. He was soon off by mail coach for Philadelphia, where, among its thousand Quaker families, he intended to make his home for the next two years.°1 Leaving New York on August 3, he arrived in time for breakfast in Philadelphia the following morning. Two days later, he attended the Quarterly Meeting, which, though one of the largest in the country, "only lasted for half an hour." Here his brother, John Sutcliff,°2 introduced him to other Friends. He dined with T. Scattergood after the Quarterly Meeting, and admired his tanyard, especially the use made of pine and walnut for tanning, as well as the traditional English oak. His brother, John Sutcliff, took him to "a relation's" estate between the Schuylkill and the Perkiomy which

°° There were grisly precedents cautioning awareness: in 1797, 375 negroes on the slaver Thomas, of Liverpool, revolted and captured the ship. Two years later, on October 1, 1799, the slaver Amelia and Eleanor beat off a heavily armed French privateer.

°1 Sutcliff, op. cit., p. 56.

°2 Probably the John Sutcliff who was given as "a draper" in the Universal British Directory for 1792, at Sheffield, p. 405. There is no record of his emigration.
“commanded one of the finest prospects in Pennsylvania: an estate which was formerly owned by a Vaux, and which had only cost £3,600 sterling.” By this relation he was taken to a meeting at Providence. There, he had yet a further example afforded to him of the haven which Philadelphia had become to foreign refugees, for two German redemptioners were of the household. After visiting a lead mine where ore was being mined in 18-inch veins at a depth of only twelve feet, he returned to Philadelphia.

It was very hot. The thermometer was 76° in the shade. Yet in spite of it, Robert Sutcliff spent the next few days “in business.” In the evenings he would dine with Benjamin Johnson (who had formerly visited the South of France) or Rebecca Jones (who was the real centre of the Philadelphia group of Quakers). Sutcliff was much impressed by this venerable focus of the movement: “the lively and cheerful flow of her spirits remains with her in old age,” he wrote, “and she enjoys in a remarkable degree the love and esteem of her neighbours and friends.”

Enlightening him on the economic past of the town, James Pemberton, eighty-four years old, and Rebecca Jones’ senior by sixteen years, spoke of the one ironmonger’s shop that there used to be, supplied by only one ship in the trade. Sutcliff wrote:

Although approaching his ninetieth year, he was then of considerable activity in offices of kindness to his friends. Having lived nearly all his time in this city, he has had the opportunity of observing its regular, though rapid progress, from a small town to a great commercial city. Amongst other things he mentioned to me that he well remembered the time when there was but one ironmonger’s shop and one ship in the trade between Philadelphia and London; and the arrival of this vessel used to be of so much importance that marriages were sometimes delayed until its return.

But that was no longer so. Robert Sutcliff had to go out and win his markets, and this he proceeded to do. He started by a journey to the North which lasted from August 22 to Sep-

33 Sutcliff, op. cit., p. 54. Professor Elbert Russell calls her “a second Margaret Fell,” and calls attention to her “wide contacts with English friends,” especially with Catherine Poyton Phillips. The History of Quakerism (New York, 1942), pp. 264-265.

34 Sutcliff, op. cit., p. 55.
tember 12. On his journey to New York, he noticed at Crosswick "the noble meeting house and school" erected by the Friends. In New York he noticed two Indians, walking with their bows "like two wild animals." He was impressed by the sale of a forge and saw mills to which were attached four houses and fifty acres of ground selling for £270 though only ten miles up the Hudson. Occupying himself for most of the time "with business," he returned to Philadelphia.

After only a night's rest, he was off again, this time Southward. There was system in his travels, for this time he went down to Baltimore and Washington. His comments on the latter bear quotation:

"little is done towards the foundation of a city excepting the public offices, and houses for the accommodation of the officers and clerks in the various departments of the state and a few inns and taverns.

Upon the whole the situation is one of the most eligible spots for a city that I have ever seen . . . it bids fair, at some future day, to be one of the most elegant and regularly built cities in the world.

To a contemplative mind, there is something very interesting in the consideration of the representatives of an extensive empire, like that of the United States, thus jointly fixing upon the most eligible situation for their chief city."

Wherever he went, he was not far from Sheffield. At Alexandria he visited a family from Wickersley. After attending to his business, he tried to see Mount Vernon, but could not. He attended the Alexandria Monthly Meeting, and wrote letters to catch a boat that was sailing back to England. From Washington, he took trips to Port Tobacco, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Gouchland and the little settlements round about. Only at Fredericksburg did he have any complaint to make. The landlord not only overcharged him for a verminous room, but sent the stage off early when Sutcliff changed hotels so that he could not reach Alexandria. Luckily for Sutcliff, a sympathizer called John Christy was forthcoming with a horse, and serious delay was avoided. Staging his way back, he travelled with Thomas Washington (whom he had met before) so that by October 6, he was once

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as Sutcliff, ibid.
more “engaged in concerns” in Baltimore. Just how profitable those “concerns” might be, can be gathered from the modest entry: “spent the evening with an old customer who having acquired a large property in trade had now retired from business.” This customer had so risen in the world that his eldest son had proposed to William Patterson’s daughter, but the girl had preferred—Jerome Bonaparte! On October 11, he was similarly entertained “by two of my old customers” at Wilmington, one of whom accompanied him to see Brandywine. By the thirteenth of the month, he was once more back in Philadelphia.

After this burst of energy, he was content to stay in Philadelphia for several months. This was not surprising, since the worst frost for forty years had gripped the city. Ice on the Delaware was twenty-two inches thick. The day after he returned, he went to the funeral of another customer, and then that of a fellow Shefielder. His evenings were spent visiting friends: Dr. Rush on October 17, Samuel Smith’s on November 2, Rebecca Jones once more on January 9, and Dr. Fothergill of Bath on January 14. These visits provoked him to random reflections on “the number of friends in Philadelphia who come from various parts of the continent of Europe,” and made him write:

I was sometimes ready to think that Philadelphia might be considered as a kind of central depot, in which is found people of every nation on the earth; and where all appear to unite cordially, as in one common family. Such are the beneficial effects of a free and liberal policy, the seeds of which were sown by that enlightened man, William Penn.86

The frost provided strange sights and sounds. Stage coaches had to fare forth on sliders that “glide along with such silent celerity that the law requires the horses should have bells fixed to their harness, that passengers in the streets may have notice of their approach.” Another sight was that of a vessel, frozen in the river, around which the owners had thrown a great net so that the crew should not escape, for having received their wages in advance, it seemed as if the sailing would be delayed for some time. But these months of ice were not wasted. Sutcliff kept his ears open for likely markets, and on March 1, 1805, he heard

86 Sutcliff, op. cit., p. 87
of "shop vessels that serve the settlements on the banks of the Ohio, calling their customers by blowing a horn." He recorded the fact that four or five of these vessels would pass a settlement in the course of a day.

After over three months at Philadelphia, he set off once more on April 6. First of all, he went to meet the Laura (the vessel in which he had come out), and we must presume he collected her cargo, or made arrangements for it to be collected, though he does not say so. By the fifteenth he was back in Philadelphia once more, and attended the yearly meeting. Visiting his relation's estate he wrote: "the more I see of it, the more I am convinced that it is one of the most beautiful and healthy situations I have ever known, either in America or in England." After putting fifteen hogsheads of tobacco aboard the Rose for England, he went back to New York on June 24, for the yearly meeting there, staying five days. En route, he "spent an hour or two very pleasantly in company with George Dillwyn. Most of the time we sat upon the benches at his door, the weather being fine and warm." Back in Philadelphia by July 1, he wrote that he had been gone "seven weeks, principally in attention to commercial engagements."

On July 28, he was on the road southward once more. Down the Delaware by packet he sailed with Edward Wilson to Newcastle, then by stage, then by packet again to Baltimore which he reached on August 3. There he visited the flour mills of the Ellicot family, grinding out their 300 barrels a day. He was later to travel northwards and stay with these two remarkable brothers. After three days, he left for Georgetown with T. Moor of Sandy Springs. Together, on the seventh, they came to Washington, where Sutcliff called upon Dr. Thornton of the Patent Office, his old schoolfellow. Thornton, accompanied by the mayor of Washington, took him to General Mason's house. That the mayor should row the boat was to Sutcliff a wonderful thing: "the great officers of these cities are not above occasional offices of this kind." Two days at Richmond from the fourteenth to the sixteenth left him with a great distaste for it: "a place of great dissipation." By the eighteenth, he was at Alexandria, attending the Alexandria Meeting. The twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh saw him experi-

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Dillwyn (1738-1830) was, like Rebecca Jones and Thomas Scattergood, known for his English connections.
menting with the flat-bottomed boats on the Susquehanna. Columbia and Lancaster impressed him before as doing "considerable business in the manufacture of locks, latches and guns."

Changing his headquarters for a time to Merion, he spent the next three weeks going to Philadelphia on business, varying this by trips to New York and Amboy. This was a breathing space before undertaking his most extensive trip of the tour, to Buffalo and Canada. This trip was itself following in the footsteps of a Quaker pioneer, who, fifteen years before, had moved from East Hoosac to the Genesee country. Sutcliff's progress thither was leisurely. He took a fortnight to travel from New York, crossing the Mohawk to Genesee on November 18, 1805. He was very interested in this settlement. The activities of the Indians, like Obadiah Scipio and others, made him write: "Many of these villages are further advanced in the useful arts of civilized life than many of the inhabitants of the remote parts of Great Britain and Ireland." Echoes of his fellow townsman's journey touched him en route, as when he lodged with Trice Mosier, who had known Thomas Colley. Sleeping on beds which were covered with Manchester print, in rooms where Manchester fabrics furnished the curtains, he foresaw that in Genesee there lay a future market of some consequence. "I think it very possible that the long extended line of the Genesee turnpike road may, in a few years, be as thickly inhabited as some parts of Europe are at this time."

Seeing the civilized aspect of such Oneida Indians as John Denny, he mused on the folly of the Southern states which, by lumping the negroes into an untouchable mass, had erected a "barrier against every improvement in mechanics."

He saw the prairies, passed over into Canada, dined with a British officer who had once been stationed at Sheffield, then came back to the Holland Purchase. Here he stayed with the two brothers, Joseph and Andrew Ellicot, whose flour mill at Baltimore had so engaged his attention. The three million acres of the Holland Purchase had only been open for settlement since 1800, and Joseph Ellicot, as their land agent, ranked as the "patroon" of Western New York State. From his office at Batavia, he planned roads, surveys, and townships. His most ambitious undertaking, perhaps was the foundation of Buffalo, which was laid out two

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*Sutcliff, op. cit., p. 137.*
years before Sutcliff arrived. Sutcliff saw in them a family “remarkable for their ingenuity” who had “rendered essential services to this country by the improvements they have made in the machinery of flour mills.” He lived with them in Batavia, doubtless introduced to them through their own Pennsylvania connections. Sutcliff also saw the wonderful clock, made by Andrew when he was only fifteen. Even the Indians seemed wealthy in these parts, if their loaded horses were any index. He ate with some friends at Black Creek and wrote: “It was a very fine beautiful sight to see ten fine orderly children sitting round the table with their father and mother, who were still in the prime of life and living independently of the uncertainties of commerce.” So, working his way down from settlement to settlement, he reached Merion once more, having travelled 1,000 miles. On the last day of 1805, he wrote that he was engrossed in “commercial concerns” in Philadelphia.

The new year 1806 saw him watching the ice harvest on the river, dining with an English acquaintance sent out by David Barclay, and talking to emigrants from Germany. The monthly meetings at Philadelphia, the quarterly meetings at Baltimore and Washington saw him in attendance. On February 10, he was shown Dr. Thornton’s plans, and three days later he dined with George Mathews, the inspector of beef and pork. He still kept his commercial eye open, and noted:

I was rather surprised that in some of the shops in this place, as well as in Philadelphia, although nearly all the whole stock consisted of the manufactures of other countries, yet but little of it was from England.

He left Baltimore on February 16, for the quarterly meeting at London Grove, meeting en route the centenarian daughter of Joseph Gilpin. He showed his quietist faith at the closing sitting of this meeting (one of the largest he ever attended) by noting that even the Indians “have evinced conviction that the Great Spirit can be known and worshipped in silence.” By March 25, he was back in Philadelphia again, and recorded that John Elliot,

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29 Dutch bankers were behind this scheme, hence its name.
30 Sutcliff, op. cit., p. 176.
31 Ibid., p. 214.
formerly of Leicester, England, “possessed as much of what I should call sterling Christianity as I have ever observed in any other human being.”

This ended his travels. The rest of his time in America was spent quietly in Merion or Philadelphia. On the twenty-first he attended the yearly meeting, and between the meetings, “had the company of Friends from different parts of the continent of America.” Over 2,000 flocked to Philadelphia for the occasion. Sutcliff talked with David Bacon, and Holyday Jackson, the educator of the Indians. A Friend from Ohio told him that over 800 families had moved there in the previous few years, and that a yearly meeting was being thought of, though it did not materialize till six years later. The older generation—James Simpson, Jacob Jones, and Mary Price—impressed him. It was a great finale to his stay. On October 1, he left Merion en route for England once more.

It was not his first trip across the Atlantic. At the conclusion of his book, he wrote that he had crossed the Atlantic “four times,” which probably means that he had been to America some time in the seventeen nineties. Nor was it his last. Life in England, during the war, became progressively harder for one engaged in such a trade with principles such as his. The Jeffersonian Embargo which followed his return must have pinched him sorely, as it did others in the trade. By April 6, 1810, the journeyman scissor makers were combining together and resolving not to work for masters making cast scissors, and other workmen in other trades were combining for an advance of wages. This was met by a combination of the masters and manufacturers meeting together and deciding to prosecute such workmen as did enter into unlawful combinations. Public meetings, like the one held on June 6, 1810, protested against the arbitrary arrest of individuals for crimes which should have been tried in courts of law. By June 6, 1811, Sutcliff had made up his mind. He embarked with his wife and family for New York, intending to settle for the rest of his life at Philadelphia. His intention was short lived. He died on May 11, of that year, five months after leaving Sheffield.