On the Foxwell Papers at Kwansei Gakuin University Library

In anticipation of celebration of the 125th anniversary of its founding, the Kwansei Gakuin University has adopted a New Strategic Plan for 10 Years Hence (2009–2018). The correspondence and papers of Herbert Somerton Foxwell (hereafter “Foxwell Papers”) acquired by Kwansei Gakuin in 2013 were purchased as part of activities toward realizing the mission and school motto of the university to “become a world center of research.” This collection of papers is part of the world heritage that testifies to the “global exchange of knowledge” centering on England in the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries.

I. Herbert Somerton Foxwell, 1849–1936

H. S. Foxwell was born at Shepton Mallet in southern Bristol on June 17, 1849 and brought up as a Wesleyan Methodist. His younger brother was Ernest Foxwell (1851–1922) who served as a lecturer of economics at Tokyo Imperial University (1896–1899). At the age of 18, H. S. Foxwell obtained his B.A. at University College London in 1867. Following its regime change in 1868, Japan looked to Britain for models for its modernization and sent numerous young men to study in England with the intent of introducing its knowledge and culture to Japan. They studied, not at Oxford and Cambridge, those ancient institutions of learning that had been nurtured by the Church of England, but at the University of London, the umbrella body comprising, among others, University College, founded as a liberal arts school for the English middle class, and King’s College, created under the protection of the Established Church. For example, around the same time that Foxwell was a student at University College in 1866–1867, Inoue Masaru (1843–1910; later a bureaucrat known as the father of Japanese railways), Samejima Nobuo (1845–1880; diplomat), and Yoshida Kiyonari (1845–1891; diplomat), a little later, 1879–1880, Suematsu Kenchō (1855–1920; politician and scholar) and others, and 1884–1885 Soeda Juichi (1864–1929; financial bureaucrat and banker) and others were at the same college. Japanese studying at King’s College around that time included Hara Rokurō
(1842–1933; banker and industrialist) between 1871 and 1875, Nakamigawa Hikojirō (1854–1901; bureaucrat and industrialist) between 1874 and 1877, and Yamanobe Takeo (1851–1920; businessman) between 1879 and 1880.¹

Foxwell entered St. John’s College at Cambridge to study moral sciences in 1868, in 1870 attended Alfred Marshall’s (1842–1924) lectures on economics; he took the Moral Sciences Tripos that year. He was then chosen a Whewell Scholar and was tutor to Mary Paley (1850–1944), who was to marry Marshall in 1877, about Descartes and Locke. In 1874 he was chosen a Fellow at St. John’s College (where he served 1874–1889 and 1905–1936). That year at the “ unusually early age” of 25 he was appointed, along with William Stanley Jevons (1835–1882; then 39 years old), to examine students in the Moral Sciences Tripos at Cambridge. It was at this time that his close association with Jevons began, bringing him under the influence of Jevons’s tastes as a bibliographer and collector of second-hand books. In 1875, Foxwell was chosen to lecture on Moral Sciences at St. John’s College. In 1876, Jevons was to move to a lectureship at University College, but had to complete his teaching of a term at Owens College, so Foxwell lectured at University College in his place. In 1877, Marshall having married and left Cambridge, Foxwell became the person responsible for the Economics Tripos in cooperation with Henry Sidgwick (1839–1900) and John Neville Keynes (1852–1949).

Foxwell’s younger brother, Ernest, after studying medicine, took the Moral Sciences Tripos at Cambridge in 1874, obtained a master’s degree there in 1880, and became an authority on railways.

On May 7, 1881, H. S. Foxwell became professor at University College to replace Jevons, who had retired in 1880 in order to pursue his writing. Foxwell remained in that position until 1922. He simultaneously took up the Newmarch Lectureship in Statistics. In 1882, he was elected a member of the Political Economy Club (until 1936). When Jevons passed away on August 13, 1882, Foxwell became the editor of Jevons’s collection of essays titled *Investigations in Currency and Finance*, for which he wrote an introduction when it was published in 1884. He also began editing Jevons’s *The

Principles of Economics, but the work passed to Henry Higgs (1864–1940), and after
the editing was completed, it was published in 1905.

Ernest Foxwell was engaged by the Japanese government to teach economics and
finance at Tokyo Imperial University (April 1896 to July 1899) and he also taught
commercial economics (May 1897 to July 1898) at the Tokyo Higher Commercial
School (now Hitotsubashi University). He became very interested in Japanese prints and
later became something of an authority on the subject.

In 1898, at the age of 50, H. S. Foxwell married Olive May Dorrington. In 1908,
when Marshall retired from Cambridge, Foxwell hoped to be chosen his successor, but
Marshall’s favored student Arthur Cecil Pigou (1877–1959) was appointed instead. In
1922, Foxwell resigned from the post of professor he had held at University College for
40 years. In 1929 he was appointed chairman of the Royal Economic Society and served
in that post until 1931. During that time his wife, Olive May, died, and in 1936, Foxwell
himself died.

Selected Works by H. S. Foxwell
1884 Introduction to *Investigations in Currency and Finance*, by W.S. Jevons
1886 “The Social Aspect of Banking.” Read at Institute of Bankers; *Journal*, Feb.
Reprinted as a pamphlet.
1888 “Certain Misconceptions in Regard to the Bimetallic Policy of the Fixed Ratio”
(An address delivered at the Bimetallic Conference, Manchester, 4 April.
Reprinted as a pamphlet).
“The Growth of Monopoly and Its Bearing on the Function of the State.” Read
“The Monetary Situation.” Read before the Political Circle of the National
Liberal Club; reprinted as a pamphlet.
“Shaw’s *History of Currency*.” A review in the *English Historical Review*, Oct.

1909 “The Banking Reserve.” The Secretary, March.
“The American Crisis of 1907.” The Secretary, April and May.


Preface to G. H. Pownall’s English Banking.


Reprinted in Papers on Current Finance.


II. Concerning the R. D. Freeman Papers
Richard Downing Freeman (b. 1936) studied the history of economic thought under
Graham S. L. Tucker (b. 1924) at the University of Melbourne, graduating in 1959. From 1963 to 1970 he taught economic history at the University of Melbourne, and from 1970 he served as an advisor to the Economic Development Commission among other posts. In 1971 he served as advisor to the U.K. Exchequer and thereafter became active in various government posts. In the course of studying English utilitarian philosopher and economist Henry Sidgwick, he became interested in H. S. Foxwell.

1) Discovery of the Foxwell Papers
Research in the field of economic history in the United States and Europe was rapidly propelled by an international conference held at the Villa Serbelloni in Bellagio, Italy in 1972 to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the “marginal revolution in economics” and by the meeting of the History of Economics Society held in Manchester, U.K. World leaders of the history of economics at that time like R. D. Collison Black (1922–2008) and A. W. Coats (1924–2007)\(^2\) shared a common awareness of the importance of handwritten letters and documents in the study of the history of economics. Particularly Black, who had edited the Jevons documents and letters, was distinguished as a bibliographer. He exercised great influence in the collection of Foxwell Papers and exerted himself in the discovery of the correspondence between Jevons and Foxwell. Coats, as well, who was keenly interested in the founding of the Royal Economic Society, studied the discord between Foxwell and Marshall, and between Foxwell and Pigou, who was Foxwell’s rival as Marshall’s successor. Both Coats and Black sent letters to Foxwell’s elder daughter Audrey [asking whether she had any letters], but she responded saying that there were no manuscripts or letters at all.

Freeman was aware that even Piero Sraffa (1898–1983), who was, in addition to being the editor of *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo*,\(^3\) a prominent

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\(^2\) Black in 1980 and Coats in 1984 both visited Kwansei Gakuin, which since the time of president Hori Tsuneo (1896–1981) had been a center of research on the history of economic thought in Japan. Hori had studied under Kawakami Hajime at Kyoto Imperial University. He was a prominent specialist on Ricardo and one of the original members of the Japanese Society for the History of Economic Thought and long served as its chief secretary. See Gilbert Faccarello and Masashi Izumo (eds.), *The Reception of David Ricardo in Continental Europe and Japan*. London: Routledge, 2014.

\(^3\) Hori was the supervising translator of this collected works and Sraffa’s correspondence with Hori is preserved in the Kwansei Gakuin Archives.
economist, had been among those who had searched but failed to find any of Foxwell’s papers. In 1973, when Freeman learned that Audrey Foxwell had died, he obtained cooperation from the publisher Macmillan and was able to make contact with Foxwell’s second daughter, Mrs. Peggy Mettam, and received permission to survey the Foxwell papers at his house at 1 Harvey Road in Cambridge. Freeman recounts how, in addition to numerous rare and valuable books, he found more than 170 cardboard boxes of letters and documents, letters stacked in stairwells, attic rooms, an unused bathroom, chests and drawers, and even in waste receptacles, including many letters of historic importance from world-renowned economists like Marie Esprit Léon Walras (1834–1910), Francis Ysidro Edgeworth (1845–1926), Marshall, Keynes (both father and son), and others. There were also documents that Foxwell had not yet recorded on cards [as he did for everything he collected], the receipts of purchase of books included in the Foxwell collection (which later became the Goldsmiths’ Library), and more. Judging from the amount of dust accumulated on the materials, they had not been touched even once since Foxwell died in 1936. Freeman later introduced Mrs. Mettam to Phillip Son & Neale, one of the three big London auctioneers. In 1974, the books, excluding letters and other documents, were later auctioned off for £7,000 and the furnishings and so on for £20,000. In gratitude for his cooperation, Mrs. Mettam gave all the Foxwell papers (letters and documents) to Freeman. Freeman wrote that “if I had not obeyed my whim to ring Mrs. Mettam . . . the Foxwell Papers would have ended up . . . in the dustbin on their way to the bonfire already burning in the back garden.”

2) The Fate of the Foxwell Books and Papers

H. S. Foxwell had a passion for collection of books and other documents throughout his life. Let us look at where in the world what he collected, including the materials he sold during his lifetime, ended up.

a) Books
   (1) Goldsmiths’ Collection
   This collection is currently housed in the Senate House Library of the University of London. It is a collection of about 30,000 items of printed material on economics

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amassed by Foxwell. It was bought up by the Goldsmiths Company in 1901 for
donation to the University of London and in 1903 was donated.

(2) Kress Collection

Currently housed at the Baker Library at Harvard University, this collection of
about 30,000 old books on economics contained some of the same books as in
the Goldsmiths Library and other books Foxwell later gathered. The collection
was purchased by the American C. W. Kress and donated to Harvard University.

(3) Other

(a) The books put on auction by Phillip Son & Neale in 1974 included rare
titles like Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* (1715) and a first
Selection* (1859). The purchaser is not known.

b) Papers

(1) Foxwell Papers (1)

This group consists of about 500 items: letters to and from second-hand book
dealers and university libraries relating to the collection of the books included
in the Kress collection and clippings relating to bibliographies and antique
books. These are papers donated by Foxwell himself to the Harvard Baker
Library where the Kress collection is kept. They do not include any letters from
other economists.

(2) Foxwell Papers (2)

These are the papers donated to Freeman by Foxwell’s second daughter Mrs.
Peggy Mettam in gratitude for his cooperation in helping to dispose of her
father’s things.

i) Foxwell Papers [2-i]

This group consists of 86 boxes of correspondence with book dealers and
university libraries relating to the collection of books included in the
Goldsmiths’ collection and clippings relating to bibliographies and
second-hand books. These documents related to books collected by Foxwell
from 1880 to 1936; in 1974 Freeman donated them to the Senate House
Library of the University of London where the Goldsmiths’ collection is
housed. The collected bibliographical information in this group corresponds
mainly to that covered by the *Higgs Bibliography of Economics 1751–1775*
(Cambridge University Press, 1935). It does not include letters from other
economists.

ii) Foxwell Papers [2-ii]

This group of papers is the collection purchased by Kwansei Gakuin (hereafter called the R.D. Freeman Collection (RDFC) to be described in detail in part III below).

III. The Content of the R. D. Freeman Collection (RDFC)

1) Inventory

a) Newspaper clippings; minutes of meetings; manuscripts, notes

(1) Newspaper clippings about bimetallism, money and finance, politics, socialism, Bolshevik thought, the labor movement, cooperatives, and other issues. Reflecting Foxwell’s passion for collection, most of the clippings are pasted on paper with notes in his daughter Audrey’s hand. This group, too, includes numerous bibliographic lists, clippings about them, fliers about books, and other materials of bibliographic interest.

(2) Printed minutes of meetings and memos

Includes printed circulars, minutes of meetings, and memoranda of the Royal Economic Society, the British Academy, the London University Library Committee, and the London School of Economics (hereafter LSE), as well as minutes of meetings and memoranda.

(3) Manuscripts and notes

This includes Foxwell’s numerous handwritten notes on a broad range of topics. The content of his lecture notes extends to the subjects of socialism and the labor movement. Those concerning money and fiscal matters are as numerous as those on management issues, especially competition and foreign trade. There are also a large number of notes, as expected, on bimetallism.

(1), (2), and (3) above are of content similar to the Foxwell Papers (2-i) listed above, which Freeman donated to the Senate House Library.

b) Letters

(1) As distinct from the Foxwell Papers (2-i), the RDFC includes numerous personal letters, which cover a period of 70 years of his life from the age of 15 to his death in 1936.

i) About 80 percent are letters addressed to Foxwell (see (2), (3), and (4) below).

ii) About 20 percent are letters by Foxwell (drafts).
iii) Other

Letters addressed to Audrey Foxwell and other letters relating to Foxwell, including letters written after his death in 1936 and onward.

(2) Senders of letters to Foxwell (1)

Foxwell was connected not only with scholars of economics of his day but politicians, journalists, and philosophers and with his “passion for collection” correspondence with them has been preserved, showing a vivid trail of the society he kept. The number of senders of letters in this group of Letters comes to roughly 4,500 (including letters from organizations). This includes about 3,000 letters from other economists. Of these, the following list shows the number of letters mainly from prominent economists, as well as politicians and journalists, professors of Cambridge University, universities, and societies. The figure given after the birth and death dates is the number of letters (figures are tentative).

J. Bonar (Malthaus scholar; 1852–1941: 175)

E. Cannan (LSE; 1861–1935: 41)

W. S. Jevons (predecessor at University College; 1835–1882: 50)

A. Marshall (economist and colleague at Cambridge; 1842–1924: 237)

J. N. Keynes (economist and colleague at Cambridge; 1852–1949: 101)

J. M. Keynes (economist and son of J.N.; 1883–1946: 76)

A. L. Bowley (statistician; 1869–1957: 21 [note that Kwansei Gakuin has a collection of Bowley Sr. and Jr. books]

H. Sidgwick (scholar of ethics and economist; 1838–1900: 46

A. C. Pigou (his rival at Cambridge; 1877–1959: 12)

Edgeworth (Oxford mathematical economist and statistician; 1845-1926: 335)

J. Venn (philosopher; 1834–1923: 20)

H. Higgs (economist, historian of economic thought, and civil servant; 1865–1940: 641)

W. E. Gladstone (politician; 1809–1898: 1)

Hector McNeil (journalist and politician; 1907–1955: 389)

(3) Senders of letters to Foxwell (2)

Foxwell lived in the times when economics became institutionalized and spread around the world, and he corresponded with economists not only in Britain but many other countries. These included:

J. M. Clark (American economist; 1884–1963: 4)
R. T. Ely (American economist; 1854–1943: 1)
E. R. Seligman (American economist; 1861–1938: 42)
I. Fisher (American statistician and economist; 1867–1947: 18)
E. Böhm-Bawerk (German economist; 1851–1941: 2)
Carl Menger (German economist; 1840–1921: 2)
Anton Menger (German economist and younger brother of C. Menger; 1841–1906: 4). Foxwell wrote an introduction to the English translation of his work, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung* [The Right to the Whole Produce of Labour.]

J. A. Schumpeter (German economist; 1883–1959: 2)
Marie Espirit Léon Walras (French economist; 1834–1910: 23)

(For other economists, see list below.\(^5\)).

(4) Senders of letters to Foxwell (3)

Of many Japanese who went to study in England in the late Tokugawa period (1603–1867) and Meiji era (1868–1912) (for details see the above-cited book by Inoue), some 40 also sent letters to Foxwell, who was known worldwide as an authority on economic issues. Those whose names can be confirmed are listed below. (The figure given after the birth and death dates is the number of letters; figures are tentative). The most important are:

Hachisuka Mochiaki (studied at Oxford and after returning to Japan became a minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary and served as president of the House of Peers; 1846–1918: 1)

Hayakawa Senkichirō (instrumental as a secretary in the Ministry of Finance and governor of the Bank of Japan who was involved in the arrangements for receiving the reparations from China following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, later succeeded Nakamikawa Hikojirō as managing director of the Mitsui Bank; 1863–1922: 8)

Matsuda Takashi (president of Mitsui & Co.; 1848–1938:2)

Sakatani Yoshirō (financial bureaucrat; played a major role in politics as a member of the House of Peers: 1863–1941: 2)

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\(^5\) Other economists (figures are tentative): Ashley, W.J. (18); Booth, C. (9); Bowley, A. L (21); British Association (129); Cairnes, J. E. (1); Cunningham, W. (28); Fisher, I. (18); Giffin, R. (41); Higgs, H. (641); Marshall, M. P. (Mrs. Alfred Marshall; 50); Jevons, H. (Mrs. Jevons; 70); Jevons, H. (son; 10); Laski, H. (1); Leslie, C. (16); Levi, L. (1); London School of Economics (170); Palgrave, R. H. I. (99); Scott, W.R. (405); Smart, W. (38); Toynbee, A. (17); University College London (211); Webb, B. (15); Wicksteed, P.H. (42)
Soeda Juichi (studied at Cambridge and after returning to Japan became a
government-affiliated economist, wrote numerous articles about Japan
as Japanese correspondent for England’s *Economic Journal*, helping
to inform the world about conditions in Japan; 1864–1929: 18)

Suematsu Kenchō (studied at Cambridge and after returning to Japan
earned a doctoral degree in law and in letters, served in the
bureaucracy and became a well-known politician; 1855–1920: 9)

Other Japanese whose names have been confirmed and for whom some
information about their careers is known are as follows:
Kuwata Kumazō (professor, Tokyo Imperial University; founder of the
Japan Association for Social Policy Studies; authority on labor issues;
1)
Miyajima Tsunao (professor, Kansai University; 1)
Mutō Chōzō (professor, Nagasaki Higher Commercial School; 1)
Okabe Nagamoto (studied at Cambridge; served as vice-minister of
foreign affairs and member of the House of Peers; 1)
Uchida Ginzō (professor, Tokyo Imperial University)
Watanabe Senjiro (branch manager of Mitsui & Co.; 1860-1916; 1).

2) Availability of the Foxwell Papers
The purchase of the Foxwell Papers (Freeman Collection) by Kwansei Gakuin
University (KGU) is introduced at the Economists’ Papers website
(http://www.economistspapers.org.uk/?p=1034). Currently the KGU Library is
microfilming the documents, mainly the letters, with a view to completing the process
by the end of March 2015. Following the completion of microfilming, the collection
will be made available to the public under the KGU Library’s rules for access to
documents. See also mention in Donald Winch, “Keynes and the British Academy,”
*British Academy Review* 22 (Summer 2013), p. 72.

IV. The Value of the R. D. Freeman Collection (RDFC) Documents
H. S. Foxwell’s lifetime coincided with the period when the field of economics was
moving from classical to modern economics. Modern economics became part of the
basic subject matter of the field, and with globalization, economics became
institutionalized (it was established as an academic discipline, scholarly societies were
founded, scholarly journals began to be published, and departments established in universities for the subject), and it began to spread throughout the world.

One of the great centers of the discipline of economics was Cambridge University, presided over by Alfred Marshall and his colleague John Neville Keynes, along with Marshall’s students H. S. Foxwell, John Maynard Keynes and A. C. Pigou. Further in the periphery of this core were the economists of Oxford University and the London School of Economics, as well as of France, Germany, and the United States. The developing countries of the time, including Japan, were in the process of establishing the discipline for themselves drawing on these academic traditions.

Foxwell, moreover, corresponded not only with economists, but with specialists in ethics and philosophy, and with politicians and journalists, and the scope of those he was in touch with was not limited to Britain but extended in all directions overseas. The means of communication with others in those days was above all letters, and the RDFC consists mainly of a total of about 24,000 letters (the precise number has yet to be determined as the organization of the letters is still going on) received from some 4,000 senders. There are some 3,000 letters from economists alone and more than 2,300 letters of a personal nature received from family and relatives. The letters date from 1864, when Foxwell was 15 to the year of his death in 1936. During that period of Foxwell’s lifetime, Great Britain shifted from its so-called “Golden Age” as the “world’s factory” to a relatively more modest status as the developing countries began to catch up industrially; it then made its shift from the tradition of “small government” to “big government,” eventually emerging as the world’s first “welfare state” supporting citizens “from cradle to grave.” Seen against this historical backdrop, the value of the massive collection mainly of letters that constitute the Freeman documents could be outlined as follows:

1. Top-class primary documents concerning the life of Foxwell as one of the Victorian era’s most prominent economists.
2. Top-class primary documents clarifying the history of the development of Foxwell’s thinking and economics.
3. Top-class primary documents for the study of lifestyle and family history of the educated class of Britain’s Victorian age.
4. Top-class primary documents for the study of the process by which modern economics spread and became established not only in Britain itself, but in the United States, France, Germany, and all the way to Japan.
5. Top-class primary documents for clarifying the debates between orthodox modern economics on the one hand and the historical school of economics and the economics
of social policy on the other hand.

6. Top-class primary documents helping to clarify the stance of the people with whom Foxwell corresponded regarding the institutionalization of economics, at a time when that institutionalization was beginning to spread worldwide.

7. Thus, the RDFC, by its nature, should be valued not only narrowly for the study of the history of economic thought and the history of social thought but broadly from the viewpoint of the sociology of knowledge through the exchange of knowledge that went on in intellectual society, including that of Cambridge University. Indeed, the value of the RDFC seems all the greater when we think of the structural change going on in systems of knowledge during Foxwell’s time, the very time during which “philosophy” was shifting to “the sciences.”

8. In addition, the documents contained in the RDFC are sure to provide a wealth of information needed to trace the changes in Britain’s politics as it was transformed from the ancient regime to a new political system, including the birth of the Labor Party. Indeed, the letters of particularly prominent politicians and bureaucrats are sure to provide information useful in illuminating the political history and the history of Britain in their time. An example would be sender of some 389 of the letters to Foxwell, Hector McNeil (1907–1955). A journalist and later a Labor Party member of the House of Commons, who went on to serve as minister of state in the Foreign Office and vice-president of the United Nations General Assembly (1947), McNeil’s correspondence with Foxwell in their youth is of great interest.

9. The full appreciation of the RDFC characterized by all these interesting dimensions can only be attained through an interdisciplinary approach to research and for this reason it will be primary material of joint research projects to be organized at Kwansei Gakuin.

10. Investigation of the letters to Foxwell from Japanese included in the RDFC is an extremely important part of efforts to further clarify what was going on in the process of the modernization going on at the time, an endeavor which will only be possible through interdisciplinary research on Japan’s political, economic, and intellectual history.

As these points illustrate, we can be quite certain of the utility of these documents not only for research on economics, but for Kwansei Gakuin as a whole centering on research in the social sciences. A final point I would like to make is that not only the study of the history of economic thought but research throughout the social sciences, has moved beyond the stage of studying only from published books and documents. If we intend to contribute to the world of international scholarship, we must pursue
research using unpublished primary documents, including letters and handwritten manuscripts. Until now, the Kwansei Gakuin Library has been steadily collecting primary documents on economists, statisticians, socialists, and others, and the results of research on those materials have gradually been published. Such publications have been rather limited, however. The procurement of the Foxwell Papers (RDFC) has definitively increased the resources of the Kwansei Gakuin Library in both quality and quantity. It contributes greatly to making the Kwansei Gakuin Library, like those of the University of London and Harvard University, a world library.

REFERENCES

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