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Author: Harrison, Richard S.

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The Cork Anti-Slavery Society, its Antecedents and Quaker Background 1755-1859

By RICHARD S. HARRISON

INTRODUCTION

As might be expected, an investigation of the history of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society (CASS) from its foundation in 1826 shows that its role was to be entirely local. In juxtaposition with such issues as Repeal, changes in the franchise, and the promotion of Irish manufactures, its role was peripheral rather than populist. Nevertheless, such an investigation does throw some light on ecumenical and political relationships in Cork at a time of a resurgent — chiefly Catholic — nationalism and consequent heightened tensions and anxieties of many Protestants. The CASS during the first six decades of the nineteenth century kept open the vision of a responsibility to remember the claims of a wider humanity. It provides a limited but worthwhile ground for study, showing as it does the operations of a local anti-slavery society, its structure, its methods of disseminating information and its connexions with other similar bodies. The place of 'Quakers', members of the Religious Society of Friends, in the establishment and advancement of such a society provides some illuminating insights into their consistent interest in the abolition of slavery.¹ Cork Quakers' anti-slavery profile by the 1840s was not perhaps as visible as that of the religious group known as the Independents who were centred round the Jennings and Dowden families. Nevertheless, with the emergence of a powerfully articulate middle class in the nineteenth century the democratic assumptions of

philanthropic societies were to prove singularly congenial to Quakers whose Society was run on consensual principles easily transferable to a secular context.²

FIRST PHASE 1755-88

The struggle against, firstly, the slave trade, and later the Colonial and American-based slave systems has a very long history in Cork. The issue of slavery may for many people have seemed remote but, even apart from residual memories of the Cromwellian transportations of Irish people, commercial contacts with the West Indies and the American Colonies ensured that the question would arouse some response. Occasionally during the eighteenth century, as in 1755, freedom-loving slaves attempted to escape from ships in Cork.³ In 1769 the *Hibernian Chronicle* reported the attempted escape of a negro servant from his master. The newspaper censured the two merchants, 'Messrs Devonshire and Strettell, who have volunteered their services for his recapture'.⁴ Ironically both were of Quaker antecedents and had been disowned by their Religious Society.⁵

Explicit and early signs of Quaker forwarding of the anti-slavery struggle in Cork may be detected in contacts between Anthony Benezet, Pennsylvanian Quaker, and Samuel Neale, a prominent Cork Quaker merchant.⁶ A mutual contact was Richard Shackleton who ran the Quaker-inspired Ballitore School in Co. Kildare. Edmund Burke, the politician, besides having been

educated there maintained a close friendship with the Shackletons. Letters forwarded by Anthony Benezet through Samuel Neale were aimed at winning the support of Edmund Burke for British parliamentary action on the anti-slave trade issue. Samuel Neale, besides having journeyed in America, was in 1783 a link between Richard Shackleton and the American Quaker anti-slavery activist, John Pemberton.⁷ It is noteworthy that in that year the 'London Yearly Meeting' of the Quakers, as a response to the urgent request of their Philadelphia brethren, presented the first ever anti-slave trade petition to the British Parliament.⁸

In Cork on 7 January 1788, Cooper Penrose, prominent and wealthy wood merchant who had only recently been disowned from the Religious Society of Friends for infringements of the Quaker discipline, suggested to the Committee of Merchants that a public meeting be called to consider the question of anti-slavery and to forward a petition to Pitt.⁹ The *Hibernian Chronicle* of 31 January 1788 reported the formation in London in late 1787 of a committee for the abolition of 'traffic and slavery of the human species'. Further evidence of contemporary Cork interest in the anti-slavery issue is shown in the publication in 1792 of a pamphlet by Anthony Edwards, then of 3 Castle Street: *An Essay on the Slave Trade: enumerating its horrors and showing the vice of encouraging it by the consumption of West India productions; and also showing the certainty of its abolition by the disuse of them.*¹⁰

A NEW PHASE 1806-24

Such ongoing local efforts throughout Ireland and England were eventually in 1806 to result in pioneering legislation to outlaw the slave-trade (abolished 1807). The Friends continued to maintain an awareness of the issue of negro emancipation. Abstention

from the products of slave labour was a feature of Irish and Cork Quaker life. Literature concerning the plight of the slaves was commonly circulated amongst them. An interesting example of this genre is *The Negroe's Complaint*, a Cork-printed ballad, in the possession of the Quakeress, Jane Clibborn, 1815.¹¹ Success in the abolition of the slave trade prompted moves to abolish slavery in the West Indies. Ongoing work in both London's and Ireland's Quaker 'Yearly' and 'Monthly' administrative Meetings ensured a high degree of awareness of the anti-slavery issue. Such moves were reflected in 9 Eighth-month (August) 1821 in a decision of the Cork Monthly Meeting to adopt the recommendation of the Irish Yearly Meeting to make a collection towards the total abolition of the slave trade. John Doyle and R. Harvey were requested to collect and forward the subscriptions to Joseph Bewley of Dublin.¹² In spite of the decision the Cork Monthly Meeting recorded next month that 'application was made to several friends for the purpose but without success; and there not appearing any use in further application the committee was discharged immediately'.¹³ Such an unusual failure to implement a decision indicates a variety of dissent. We may assume the failure to contribute was related to a characteristic conservative Quaker distaste for any variety of secular political activism. Similar applications to Cork for anti-slavery contributions were however in later years to be more successful.¹⁴ London Yearly Meeting initiated a new phase in the campaign by sending a petition to the Parliament.¹⁵ Ireland Yearly Meeting followed with its own petition to the House of Commons in 1 Fifth-month (May) 1824. Among its signatories were Cork Quakers Abraham Beale, John Lecky, Joshua and Joseph Harvey, Reuben Deaves and Samuel Newsom.¹⁶

In the year 1824 James Cropper, English

Quaker merchant, philanthropist and shipowner, came to Cork. He came with the triple aim of promoting Irish cotton manufactures, increasing Irish employment and providing an outlet for Indian-produced cotton. His visit utilized the friendly and family contacts implicit in Quaker organization.¹⁷ In Cork he stopped with Reuben Harvey (Jnr) of 'Chiplee', a well-known Quaker philanthropist and businessman whose family came from Youghal. A series of public and private meetings was arranged for James Cropper. Some opposition was expressed by those with trading interests in the West Indies who suggested his philanthropy was a disguise for self-interest, but that did not prevent the formation of a committee comprising Lord Carbery, William Crawford and James Lane.¹⁸ The plan was that they would recruit a larger committee of landowners, merchants and manufacturers of the county to forward the work. Their efforts were to have little practical effect, although it seems likely that in neighbouring Waterford the Quaker Malcomsons were to utilize the opportunity to promote their own phenomenally successful cotton manufactory at Portlaw.¹⁹ James Cropper met John O'Driscoll, the editor of the *Irish Observer*. Among other places he had also visited Limerick where he had stopped with Reuben Harvey's brother, Joseph Massey Harvey, who introduced him to the politician, Thomas Spring-Rice.²⁰

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY 1826-38

Against such a background the Cork Anti-Slavery Society was to emerge. In 1826 an elderly Cork Quaker, Joshua Beale, decided to devote the remaining years of his life to organizing a campaign for the abolition of negro slavery in the West Indies.²¹ He had been disowned by the Cork Monthly

Meeting when he refused to accept some of its disciplinary assumptions,²² but he continued to maintain good relations with his erstwhile brethren and observed all the Quaker testimonies including the Quaker conventions of speech. One of his close personal friends was Abraham Shackleton, another one-time Quaker and son of Richard Shackleton of Ballitore. This Shackleton also was an anti-slavery activist.²³ Joshua Beale is remembered for his part in the promotion in 1787 of the Cork Dispensary and Humane Society.²⁴

Joshua Beale got together the inevitable committee and on 6 January 1826 the first General Meeting of the CASS was hosted at the Assembly Rooms in George's Street. An ecumenical co-operation was implied that brought together Catholics, Protestants, Quakers and Dissenters. The secretaries were John W. Topp, a merchant of Grand Parade, and Walter R. Osborne, an ironmonger of Great George's Street. Among the large 'respectable' attendance were numerous ladies and also well-known individuals such as Baron Carbery. At this meeting opposition came once again from the powerful West Indies merchant lobby and their spokesman, Herbert Osborne Seward. They argued that the slaves were well treated and quite happy until outsiders started interfering on their behalf! Nevertheless a petition 'for the mitigation and gradual but final extinction of Negro slavery throughout the British Dominions' was adopted²⁵ and left for signature at Mrs Osborne's shop at 6 Castle Street.²⁶ The *Freeholder* with its usual waspish tone intriguingly commented: 'Everyone should sign it no matter its emanating from a body hostile to freedom at home. The principle claims our countenance'.²⁷

In a letter to Mary Leadbeater (author and sister of Abraham Shackleton) Joshua Beale described his propagandist *modus*

operandi. He enthusiastically explained how committees might be set up and patrons found among prominent and respected citizens. He suggested that the young might be enlisted and that propagandist journals and petitions be circulated amongst members of the chief religious communities, including if necessary 'the popish priest'. He had experienced great personal benefit from co-operating with people whose views were different from his own and found that his Quakerish scruples did not prove a difficulty to them, to the degree that the 'plain language' was acceptably incorporated into the CASS documents. The CASS itself subscribed to the London-produced *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.²⁸ Whilst the CASS acted closely in conjunction with the central London body in all phases of the campaign it was essentially autonomous. On a number of occasions they sent payments to London.²⁹ By 1830 they would have sent four petitions for presentation to the British Parliament.³⁰

The initiatives of the CASS were conducted with an appreciation of the delicate nature of the political exercise. Gradualism and ecumenical endeavour might have been keywords. The petition adopted at a meeting held at the Friends' Meeting House in Duncan Street reminded legislators of their own 'humane resolutions' passed in 1823.³¹ Daniel O'Connell was in Cork at a meeting held 2 September 1829 where this resolution was passed: 'May the proud exhibition of this day — the union of all sects and parties in the sacred cause of humanity be ever in the recollection of the citizens of Cork'.³² The 'union' existed certainly but probably represented an uneasy juxtaposition of very opposed religious and political interests. William Fagan, one of his biographers, remarked on O'Connell's speaking at an anti-slavery meeting in Cork, that he was able by his golden oratory to win his

audience which was implacably opposed to his politics and had besides strong anti-Catholic prejudices.³³ Daniel O'Connell was also present in Cork on a further occasion in the year 1830.³⁴ He was to be very central to the preoccupations of the anti-slavery movement and had been influenced towards its support by James Cropper.

Some of the operations of the CASS were carried out in tandem with the local branch of the Hibernian Negroes' Friends Society (HNFS), founded in Dublin in 1827 by Joshua Abell, Cork-born Quaker and brother of the antiquarian, Abraham Abell. The HNFS was affected by varieties of evangelicalism and espoused proselytizing ambitions for the negro. Quakers were not very prominent in the organization. The HNFS had set up a shop in Dublin to boycott slave goods and sell free labour produce instead.³⁵ Cork went one better with a confectioner's shop that produced sweets made from East India sugar. The assumption is that the HNFS was behind the development and its presence in Cork in 1830 is certainly indicated by a petition advertised by its secretaries, H. Townsend and J.P. Briscoe, who wrote from the Society's house at 9 Grand Parade.³⁶ The sweet-shop was situated at 3 Caroline Street, opposite the then Post Office. The Cork newspaper, the *Freeholder*, made fun of these efforts, referring to its products as 'well disposed puffs, good-natured jellies, warm-hearted ices, amiable tarts, benevolent kisses and philanthropic lozenges'.³⁷

The CASS was to have a very busy year in 1830. A by-election was held in Cork City on 4 August. The Committee with its secretary, Abraham Beale, a Quaker iron-merchant of Patrick's Quay, urged its members to use its franchise and vote only for pledged anti-slavery candidates. The document was dated in the plain language as '26 Seventh-month' (July).³⁸ Abraham

Beale's activity might to a degree have been regarded by some of his co-religionists as a doubtful intervention. Earlier in the year Irish Quakers had been advised by Ireland Yearly Meeting to keep clear of election proceedings 'except insofar as it is consistent with the preservation of that state of mind which shuns all strifes and contentions'.³⁹

Whatever about Irish parliamentarians, the Annual General Meeting of the CASS held later in the month at the Wesley Chapel censured some Irish MPs who had supported a proposed reduction in duties on West Indies imports. Such a reduction would make slave-produced sugars even more competitive against the East India free-labour sugars.⁴⁰ At the AGM Daniel O'Connell entered while his relative, Dr Baldwin, was speaking. The floor was immediately yielded to him and he promptly grabbed the attention of the meeting by apparently attacking, not alone North America and England, but the anti-slavery societies! He blamed them for not going far enough! Another of Daniel O'Connell's relatives, Richard Ronayne, was also present and earned the censure of the 'Liberator', firstly for his interventions and then for imputed inconsistencies between theory and practice. Ronayne assumed some variety of irreconcilability between priorities for the oppressed at home or abroad and expressed distrust of 'cosmopolites' who roam the world and behold 'with apathy' the people left at home. Interestingly enough, a case investigated at Cork by the CASS resulted in the liberation of a number of slaves who had been imprisoned on board a ship in the harbour.⁴¹

Fired with a missionary impulse, the CASS sent emissaries far and wide. In 1830 Captain Stuart came on a lecture tour. He was most probably travelling for the HNFS.⁴² He was born in Jamaica and had served for a time in the British army in India. He was not

a very inspired speaker but was much liked by the ladies and won support. His manner was somewhat eccentric, but his commitment to the cause of humanity was real enough. His voice was more of a screech. He would address meetings as 'Dear Sisters!', 'Dear Brothers!'. At the meeting he addressed at Wesley Chapel, Bandon, a distinctly more sectarian atmosphere was in evidence in contributions from other speakers. The objects of the anti-slavery society were presented there as including the present moral improvement of slaves, the employment of scripture readers and the circulation of the scriptures. In the context of proselytizing attempts in Ireland at the time, this may well have dissuaded some people from adhering to the cause. The input seemed to be mainly from Wesleyan ministers such as the Revd Messrs Kenny, Waugh, Bellett, Greer, all of whom were noted as being present.⁴³ Through Stuart's efforts auxiliaries were set up in Bandon, Skibbereen, Clonakilty and Rosscarbery. At Clonakilty the branch was set up as a joint CASS and HNFS initiative.⁴⁴ Some of these branches were set up by 'the Ladies'. Soon after his visit to Mallow, the ladies there set about organizing a petition to Queen Adelaide.⁴⁵

As a result of the extension of the Irish Reform Act of 1831 an extended franchise had been produced. The CASS in 1832 was quick to urge the members to get themselves registered for the forthcoming General Election to be held under its provisions.⁴⁶ They also got the candidates to pledge themselves to work for anti-slavery. Favourable replies were received from Wm Henry Worth Newenham, Daniel Callaghan, Herbert Baldwin, Robert King, all for the city, and Garret Standish Barry, Feargus O'Connor, and Jacob Biggs of Bandon.⁴⁷

A degree of success was achieved when in 1833 the British parliament passed legislation that promised freedom to the West

Indies slaves. With a strange twist of logic, if not of conscience itself, it actually compensated the slave-owners with twenty million pounds! The negroes however had achieved a new status. Whilst they were no longer 'slaves' they were now called 'apprentices', but effectively left in slavery!

There is no sign that the CASS went into abeyance at this period, as did many anti-slavery societies including that of Dublin. Indeed in 1835 the CASS committee waited on the Lord Lieutenant who was visiting Cork, taking the opportunity to present their views on the anti-slavery issue. The delegation was received at Woodhill,⁴⁸ the home of the Penrose family. The campaign was in a few short years to enter a higher gear. The CASS and the HNFS were stimulated into renewed action. Gradualism was discredited. The call now was for immediate abolition of slavery and of the so-called apprenticeship system. This change was signalled in Dublin in 1837 by the reforming of the HNFS, which was now to be called the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society (HASS).⁴⁹

This move did not affect the ongoing activity and autonomous status of the CASS, but its auxiliary branch, the Cork Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society (CLASS), began to take its rightful place among the branches of the world. The CLASS issued a statement supporting an urgent delegate meeting to be held in London to secure immediate abolition of negro apprenticeship in the West Indies. They also declared their determination to discourage the use of slave-produced goods.⁵⁰ In 1838 Edward Baldwin, secretary of HASS, in company with the Dublin Quaker, Richard Allen, presented to Queen Victoria a massive petition on behalf of 75,000 of the women of Ireland.⁵¹

THIRD PHASE 1838-59

After some setbacks, the 'Apprenticeship', that is, slavery in the British Colonies, was



RICHARD DOWDEN

eventually abolished by a majority of three on a vote in the Parliament on 22 May 1838. The news was communicated to Richard Dowden by Abraham Beale who received the news from the London secretary of the BFASS. Dowden's remarks were accompanied by incidental references to the studied lack of interest expressed by the *Cork Constitution*.⁵²

With the slave trade and slavery in the West Indies abolished, the next logical step was to co-operate with the American anti-slavery movement to achieve the end of slavery in the United States itself. Towards this end the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS) organized a great World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in June 1840. Daniel O'Connell was present. The Cork representatives were Samuel King and William Connell, and also present was 'Billy' Martin, Quaker, 'grandfather' of the

temperance cause, who is credited with having inspired Fr Mathew to take up teetotalism.⁵³ The London convention was to crystallize long-standing differences of emphasis between the 'old organized' anti-slavery groups (favourable to the followers of William Lloyd Garrison who sought wider associated philanthropic and radical reforms) and the BFASS-led 'new organized' who had a more conservative and narrow anti-slavery viewpoint. Irish Quakers tended to be extremely conservative but the chiefly Dublin Quaker delegates and anti-slavery activists took up the atypical Garrisonian position.⁵⁴

Cork Quakers by their specific links to London bypassed to some degree the assumptions of the Dublin Quaker group that controlled the HASS and may be assumed to have been favourable to the conservative grouping. It is worth remarking however that 'Billy' Martin was a subscriber to the Garrisonian journal, the *Boston Liberator*.⁵⁵ The secretary of the CASS, Abraham Beale, by his social position and his doctrinal viewpoint shows parallels with Joseph Sturge, his contemporary, also a Quaker and a prime promoter of the BFASS, leading us to think that he also would not be much more favourable to the Garrisonians. The conservative predilections of Cork Quakers are hinted at in an undated communication between Walter Osborne and Richard Dowden. This might well relate to the Cork City Parliamentary by-election of 1841. Walter R. Osborne hoped he might come to the anti-slavery breakfast, 'as you may to some extent influence the Quakers to the approaching election. Some are honest and though they would not care a pin for us whites or our liberties yet the blacks across the sea are very precious. If we can get them to vote aright on this occasion it were very well ...'⁵⁶ Such anti-slavery breakfasts were held at the Friends' Meeting House.

Following the London Convention 'Billy' Martin arranged for the CASS to invite Charles Lennox Remond to Cork.⁵⁷ Remond was a young, handsome, free-born negro, from Salem, Mass. Several meetings were held for him, one at the Friends' Meeting House being poorly attended on account of the wet night.⁵⁸ When Remond left Ireland it was to be his honour to bring back a petition from 60,000 Irishmen to their expatriates in the USA. This encouraged them to stand fast by the principles of liberty for all people. It was signed by, among others, Fr Mathew and Daniel O'Connell, and was to be shamefully repudiated by Irish-Americans as spurious.⁵⁹

Remond's visit stimulated the Cork Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. These women were not to be trifled with. A letter was sent from the CLASS to the American abolitionist, Maria Chapman Weston, to state that they were 'old organised abolitionists to a woman!'. They stated that Charles L. Remond's lectures had been 'productive of much good', and signed their letter, Isabel Jennings (secretary), Alicia Hughes, Helen and Charlotte Jennings and Jane White.⁶⁰ Their leadership was undertaken chiefly by members of the Independent congregation, the group to which Richard Dowden adhered. They issued an 'Appeal to the Ladies of the South of Ireland' which was printed in the *Cork Constitution* on 2 October 1841. This sought funds for the support of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a Garrisonian body much estranged from the BFASS. They made it their chief practical work to collect subscriptions and handicrafts for the annual Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar. Their contributions were forwarded for export via the Webb family and their connected — mainly Quaker — group in Dublin. The CLASS committee met every Saturday in the Library of the Independent Chapel, Miss I. Jennings of 4 Brown Street

sharing the secretaryship with Mrs Mannix of 16 Dyke Parade. A number of Cork Quakeresses were involved in the work of the CLASS, including Mrs (sic) William Martin of Patrick Street.⁶¹

A central issue of 1841 was the 'Texas Resolution'. The issue involved the recognition by the British Government of the slave-holding Republic of Texas as separate from Mexico. It was hoped that the British Government would contest this. To this end the CASS committee of '17 Second-month 1841' passed an extensive series of resolutions to express its opinions on the issue. These were published in the *Cork Constitution* and signed by Abraham Beale and by the Chairman, Frederick Trestrail.⁶² The HASS sent a similar series of resolutions to the British Government. The political awareness of the women involved in the CLASS was equally clear, and when it seemed that Texas would be annexed by the USA they referred to this development in their 1845 appeal for support for the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar.⁶⁰ Through their correspondence with the American abolitionists they had their own channels of communication.

An interesting visit was organized by the CASS in 1845. Frederick Douglass had escaped from slavery. He travelled as a lecturer around England, Scotland and Ireland. In Dublin Douglass had attacked the slave-holding pretensions of some Methodists in the United States. He severely disturbed some of the Quakers who feared he might awaken local sectarian tensions that might reflect on themselves. The minority of Dublin Quaker anti-slavery activists countered this by accusing their brethren of caring more about their supposed good reputation than about the truth.⁶³ Such tensions do not appear to have been reproduced among the Cork Quakers who displayed at the best of times very few overt



FREDERICK DOUGLASS c.1847

marks of dissent but on the contrary a consistent and quiet conservatism.

In Cork, Frederick Douglass' programme was very full. At the Court House, the Grand Jury Gallery was 'thronged with ladies who seemed to take the liveliest interest in the proceedings'.⁶⁴ He also addressed meetings in the Wesleyan and Independent Chapels. Richard Dowden, the Lord Mayor, a prominent Liberal and Repealer, presented him with an Address. J.F. Maguire, founder of the *Cork Examiner*, who was to be a consistent anti-slaver, was also present. An Anti-Slavery breakfast was held at 2 a.m. at Lloyd's Hotel. He was there with his travelling companion, James Buffum. We can imagine that copies of his biography, *A Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, were on sale, as they were elsewhere during his tour, to help cover the costs. Douglass also addressed a

meeting of the 'working-classes' and Fr Mathew gave a splendid soiree for him at which 250 persons were present, 'It was decidedly the brightest and happiest company I think I saw anywhere', wrote Douglass, who next morning took breakfast with Fr Mathew.⁶⁵

The dread shadow of the Great Famine was to fall after this. Abraham Beale died in 1847 from fever caught during his exertions as Secretary of the Cork Auxiliary of the Friends' Relief Committee.⁶⁶ But the CASS struggled on. Samuel Beale was appointed Secretary of the CASS in place of Abraham.⁶⁷ New challenges were to emerge, and among meetings held at various times was one in April 1849 to hear John Scoble from the BFASS, a man whose name was anathema to the Dublin anti-slavery activists.⁶⁸ A meeting during 1851 was to hear about 'American fugitive Slave Law'. The meeting was chaired by James Lambkin, the Mayor of Cork.⁶⁹ The last meeting of which I have a record was given by Sarah Parker Lennox, the sister of Charles Lennox Remond, in 1859.⁷⁰ The forthcoming American Civil War was to produce a whole new series of factors in the anti-slavery struggle for these noble and determined Cork citizens of the CASS who had striven to keep open the eyes of the people to the global aspects of humanity.⁷¹

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- 13 *Ibid.*, 11, x, 1821.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 19, iv, 1827, where Robert Going and James Simpson collected £10.15s.
- 15 Jones, *Later Period*, Vol. 1, pp 325, 328. The London Yearly Meeting Petition was presented to the House of Commons by William Wilberforce.
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- 18 Ibid., p. 328.
- 19 Ibid., p. 337.
- 20 Ibid., p. 328.
- 21 Joshua Beale to Mary Leadbeater, 23 First-month 1826, MSS Box 32, (DFHL). The relevant letter is also reprinted in Isabel Grubb; 'An Anti-slavery Enthusiast, 1826', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, Vol. 31 (1934), pp 21-6.
- 22 Ibid., p. 21, introductory note by Isabel Grubb. Joshua Beale may well have been disowned on two separate occasions since Cork Monthly Meeting Minutes show a disownment for a separate disciplinary offence from that mentioned by Isabel Grubb. See MM VIII A.8, (1807-29), 9, xi, 1809 (DFHL).
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- 28 Joshua Beale to Mary Leadbeater, 23 First-month 1826 (loc. cit.).
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- 31 *C.C.*, 29 April 1829.
- 32 *C.C.*, 3 Sept. 1829.
- 33 *C.C.*, 24 Aug. 1830.
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- 37 *Freeholder*, 1 Jan. 1830.
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- 43 *C.C.*, 11 Sept. 1830.
- 44 *C.C.*, 21 Sept. 1830.
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- 47 *C.C.*, 15 Dec. 1832.
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- 54 Clare Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp 4-5.
- 55 Richard Davis Webb to William Lloyd Garrison, 30 Fifth-month 1841, MS A.1.2 V.12.1, p. 35 (Boston Public Library).
- 56 William R. Osborne to Richard Dowden, n.d. (Day Papers, U.140 Class C 67, CAI).
- 57 *C.C.*, 30 Sept. 1841. See also, Scrapbook, p. 65 (Day Papers U.140, CAI).

58 *Irish Friend*, 1 First-month 1841.

59 Samuel Haughton, *Memoir of James Haughton* (Dublin, 1877), pp 58-9.

60 Isabel Jennings et al. to Maria Chapman Weston, 1 Dec. 1841, MS A.9 2, vol. 15 pt 1, 1841 (Boston Public Library).

61 *C.C.*, 2 Oct. 1841.

62 *C.C.*, 25 Feb. 1841.

63 *Cork Ladies Anti-Slavery Society Appeal (1846)*. (Day papers U.140, Class D Printed Items, CAI).

64 *Boston Liberator*; Vol. xv, 24 Oct. 1845, 'Letter to the Society of Friends in Dublin', from Richard D. Webb and Thomas Webb.

65 *C.C.*, 16 Oct. 1845; *Cork Examiner*, 7 Nov. 1845; *Boston Liberator*, Vol. xv, 28 Nov. 1845.

66 *C.C.*, 23 August 1847, and *Cork Examiner*, same date.

67 It has not been possible to ascertain from available genealogies the exact familial relationship of Samuel and Abraham Beale. Samuel was however certainly a member of the Religious Society of Friends and Quaker practice was observed in the subsequent issuing of notices of the CASS.

68 *Southern Reporter*, 7 April 1849. Public meeting advertised. An invitation to a special

meeting of the committee to arrange the proceedings and signed by Samuel Beale is to be found in the Day papers (U.140 Class D Printed items, CAI).

69 Fugitive Slave Law. Meeting held at Lloyd's Hotel. Resolution dated Cork, 30.v.1851. (Day papers U.140, Class D Printed items, CAI).

70 *C.C.*, 19 April 1859.

71 Joseph M. Hernon, *Celts, Catholics and Copperheads* (Ohio, 1968).

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