

THE CARROLL FAMILY: A CORK QUAKER BUSINESS DYNASTY

I

INTRODUCTORY

The Carroll family had been in Cork since the mid-eighteenth century. They derived from Ulster where their immediate ancestor had been Thomas Carroll, Lt.-Col. of 'Carroll's Dragoons,' who fought and was killed at the Battle of the Boyne, fighting on the side of King James II. His two grandsons both married Quakers, Thomas marrying Sarah Greer of Liscurran and Edward marrying Sarah Bell, of Trummery, Ballinderry, Co. Antrim.¹ Edward Carroll's son, John Carroll (1740-1819) of Hyde Park and Sydney Place Cork married Sarah Corfield. He had been educated at the private Quaker school of Ballitore where he was registered in 1767.² Another of his brothers, Isaac Carroll (1745-1816) also lived in Cork and they were both to be in partnership there for long periods as timber merchants. He married Anna Fisher of Youghal in 1783.

The timber yard of Isaac and John Carroll was located at Devonshire's Marsh, part of the land purchase completed by the Quaker family of that name in the northern part of Cork. The area was also later to be known as Leitrim. The Carroll name is perpetuated in 'Carroll's Quay.' Isaac Carroll's property of a cellar and three yards there was valued at £30 in 1793, under the 'Minister's Money' provisions, a variety of tithe which Quakers refused to pay.³ The brothers sold 'American oak, Dantzick dram and Arundel timber, plaster of Paris and tiles etc.' and preferred to accept banknotes, for which they would allow the 'utmost discount.' They also sold tar and turpentine and staves of different sorts.⁴ At various times the products they offered for sale included hops and tobacco.⁵ Of particular interest in view of the later shipping interests of the family, and also on account of Cork's developing ship-building concerns, they might also be noted as selling 'mill, ship and boat timbers.'⁶ Large sales of hogshead and barrel staves might remind us of Cork's important place in the West Indies and cross-Atlantic provisions trade.

The partnership between Isaac and John Carroll would appear to have been displaced by 1807 by a new arrangement between Isaac and

his son Edward but with ongoing mutual use of the deal-yard at Leitrim by John Carroll and his sons Joshua and Thomas. Joshua Carroll in 1805 married Sarah Haughton, daughter of John Barcroft Haughton, of Cleve Hill and an iron-merchant of North Main Street. His entrance into business might reasonably be considered to follow on this and on the receipt of his wife's dowry. Thomas Carroll did not marry until 1816 when he married Mary Hatton. Their business in typical merchant fashion may be assumed to have concentrated on timber but with subsidiary areas of import and export. Thomas Carroll & Co. looked after imports from North America and Joshua & Thomas Carroll the timber imports from Memel and the Baltic.⁷ Such territorial arrangements were common ways of organizing business. Small, divided family partnerships were occasionally a device designed as a protection against any excessive claims that might be advanced by creditors and might lead to bankruptcy.⁸

A review of advertisements as they appeared in the *Cork Advertiser* 1807 suggests that Thomas Carroll received at least six deliveries from North America. A delivery at the beginning of the year involved Philadelphia barrel staves, Quebec staves, Montreal and New York pot and pearl ashes.⁹ Like most of Cork's trade the North American trade was carried on in American-owned vessels. The *Ospray* brought in cotton wool, staves and pot ashes.¹⁰ Another delivery involved 871 barrels of 'American superfine flour.'¹¹ The *Foxwell* landed from New York, 65,000 pipe, hogshead and barrel staves as well as 57 bales of Georgia and 30 bales of West India cotton wool.¹² The New York vessel *Integrity* arrived in September; small deliveries of Montreal pot ashes were received by both Thomas Carroll & Co. and by Lecky & Mark, another well-known Cork Quaker firm.¹³ A delivery in October was in the Charleston vessel the *Amphritrite* and supplied rice, mahogany, cedar, and Sea Island and Upland Cotton wool and also staves.¹⁴ All such imports were offered for auction, sometime in Isaac Carroll's Yard. Such vessels on their return voyages would be advertised by Thomas Carroll as offering freight and passenger facilities.¹⁵

Joshua & Thomas Carroll imported timber from Memel and from Dramen (Norway). In some cases a delivery of timber would involve two vessels, often part of a convoy.¹⁶ Such Baltic deliveries were usually in Scandinavian vessels. Timber imports were to decline during the Napoleonic Wars but the closure of the Baltic ports by Napoleon was to encourage trade with North America and specifically with Canada. Some typical Carroll imports and exports might be noted for 1808, when oak timber, pot ashes, 9,684 staves and pine planks were imported

from Quebec, in the *John*.¹⁷ In the same year they exported to London 203 firkins of butter.¹⁸ The better-lasting and preserved Cork butters were preferred for the West Indies markets. The export of Cork butter to London had been supposedly not common since it was there in competition with cheaper and inferior products.¹⁹ The export to London was eventually to increase.

Cork's trade was to a large degree carried on in foreign-owned vessels, but her own registered tonnage of shipping increased, by 78 per cent between 1799-1824.²⁰ There is a strong possibility that one or more ships were operated by the Carrolls between Cork and Dublin and even that those were involved in the West Indies trade. W.J. Barry who might be regarded as a reliable historical authority states that ships designed for the West Indies trade were built in Cork for the Carrolls.²¹ Whilst the direct import of sugar to Cork from the West Indies is known to have survived until the 1860s it seems that the Carroll family were unlikely to have been engaged in the trade after the early nineteenth century. Contemporary evidence for their import of sugar is not extant. Certainly around 1800 'Carroll's & Co.' were noted in Dublin as employed in the West Indies trade, and the assumption is that the firm is identical with Carrolls & Co. of Cork.²² The *Heart of Oak*, six years old and Cork-built and registered, owned by Thomas Carroll & Co., was certainly surveyed in Dublin in 1810. On the other hand it was equally likely to have been employed in the coastal trade, to bring down goods to Cork that might be used for export to America and other places. For the same year the *Industry*, of 64 tons also Cork-built and the *Swift*, Plymouth-built were particularised as engaged in a coastal and English trade centred on Plymouth, Shoreham and London, from which it might be concluded that the export of Irish provisions was the central operation engaged in. The development of an export of provisions to markets in South-east England would, again be consistent with the practice of H.D. & H. or even with that of the Waterford-based Nevins and other Irish Quaker families.²³

Some discussion of the business of Harvey, Deaves and Harvey [H.D. & H.], provides suggestive contextual parallels to the Carrolls' own operations. The two firms also at various times shared informal, personal and other linkages. The two businesses were similar in their emphasis on timber exports, had brokerage and other dealings in shipping and on some occasions shared cargo space.²⁴ Ebenezer Deaves, one of the partners in H.D. & H. died in 1809 at the relatively young age of 44 years. His wife Sarah, the sister of Reuben Harvey, inherited £30,000 clear of stock in the firm.^{25,26} Ebenezer Deaves' two sons Reuben Harvey Deaves and Thomas Deaves were as yet too young to

take a part in the business. The trustees appointed were Joseph Massy Harvey, John Lecky and Joshua Carroll and the proposed reorganisation of the firm involved its separation into a 'home' and a 'foreign' department; the home department, including provisions, butter and corn with commission and with the profits from the West Indies ventures was offered to a young William Harvey of Youghal, the nephew of Reuben Harvey. A figure of £1,500-£2,000 was suggested as the yearly profits, possibly of the home section.²⁷

The standing and business success of the Carroll brothers is clear in the appointment of Joshua Carroll in 1813 to the Cork Harbour Commissioners. Other Cork Quakers also appointed were Thomas Harvey, Reuben Harvey and John Lecky.²⁸ Family changes among the Carrolls included the removal of Edward to England and the death of Isaac Carroll in 1816. John Carroll sen. died at age 80 years in 1819; presumably he had not been very active in business affairs for some time. The trustees of his will were his sons Joshua and Thomas Carroll and also John Lecky.²⁹ Reorganisation was prompted by questions of inheritance and also by the dramatic period of depression in Cork's business consequent on the ending of the Napoleonic Wars.³⁰ These factors are probably reflected in the disappearance from *Lloyd's Register* of ships long owned by the Carrolls³¹ as merchants generally were driven to find new types of profitable business. The ships *Heart of Oak*, *Industry*, and *Swift*, appeared for the last time in *Lloyd's Register* in 1818 but a new purchase, a bigger vessel of 145 tons, the Cork-built *Earl Talbot*, now makes its appearance. Successive years record its usual routes as being to St. Ubes near Lisbon, a centre for salt-production, to Trinidad (1821) and to Quebec (1822). None of these routes should necessarily be regarded as mutually exclusive.³²

A specific link between the Carrolls and H.D. & H. is to be noted in 1822. In discharge of their trusteeship Joshua Carroll and John Lecky and Joseph Massey Harvey made over property to Thomas Harvey Deaves and Reuben Deaves. The transaction recognised their entrance into their earthly inheritance. They paid £4,000 to the trustees in discharge of a mortgage arrangement entered into by the trustees with Reuben Harvey in 1816. The land and property involved a large area of Lavitt's Island in the 'South-east quarter of Cork.' The trustees were entitled to this sum of money by virtue of their expenditure in erecting buildings and improvements.³³

II

One area into which Joshua Carroll was projected derived from family alliances. His father-in-law John Barcroft Haughton's business touched on an axis of milling interests devolving at various times on the Grubb, Haughton, Shaw, and Power families, all Quaker. John Barcroft Haughton's business itself was based on the import of hardware and metal from England, Wales and the Baltic countries and he had set up the firm in 1779.³⁴ Profits from this, or conceivably as a result of business obligations incurred to him, had been invested in 1798 in a large mill and lands at Kilnap. The practice of buying and then letting mills for investment purposes was a common practice.³⁵ The Kilnap Mills were for a short period let to the Lurgan Friend Archibald Christy Shaw who was married to Helena Haughton and was therefore another son-in-law of John Barcroft Haughton and, necessarily, the brother-in-law of Sarah Carroll the wife of Joshua Carroll.³⁶

The period of business and agricultural depression following the Napoleonic Wars hit in particular the southern part of the country and resulted in the failure of several banks.³⁷ The crisis also led to numerous bankruptcies a few of which were among Friends. One of these was the bankruptcy of John B. Haughton³⁸ which led to his disownment by the Cork Monthly Meeting.³⁹ Another bankruptcy had been that of his son-in-law Archibald Christy Shaw.⁴⁰ Contemporary opinion severely regarded bankruptcy but Quakers carried their sense of the 'Golden Rule' into the area of disciplinary procedure. If a party did not show a proper sense of responsibility or show intention and possibility of repaying his creditors he ran the risk of disciplinary penalty. This did not preclude the efforts of other Quakers to help him and J.B. Haughton's bankruptcy inevitably involved family members, co-religionists and others. The assignees appointed were Thomas Samuel Grubb (who was married to his daughter Elizabeth Haughton) and the non-Quaker Isaac Bell, a shipping agent and coal merchant. The initial auction of the bankrupt's property did not result in the sale of the Kilnap Mills which were readvertised.⁴¹ Joshua Carroll as his son-in-law and in the role of practical counsellor was brought in to assist and provided the £850 sterling to purchase the premises and attached land.^{42,43}

There had been few investment opportunities outside of property which was generally a safe place for capital to be invested. Thomas Carroll who lived at Leitrim Street, in 1823 advertised for letting, the family house and demesne of 'Hyde Park' on the Middle Glanmire Road, and also a new built house near to it.⁴⁴ The granting of mortgages formed an important part of the investment procedures of a merchant: it also served an important function in raising funds for current

expenditure for those whose capital was locked up in buildings or in stock.⁴⁵ The safety of such investments could be threatened by falls in the value of property.

However, in the wake of the so-called 'joint stock mania' (1824-5) wider investment possibilities began to open up. Friends were frequently advised by 'Ireland Yearly Meeting' against unwise speculations.⁴⁶ Such investments as were made tended to be in 'utilities' and infrastructural development. Several Friend-promoted and managed companies were supported in Cork. Thomas Carroll was on the provisional committee of the 'Cork and Limerick Railway Company.'⁴⁷ Joshua and Thomas Carroll in 1823 had each one share of £250 in the 'National Insurance Company' but none in the younger 'Patriotic Company.'⁴⁸ Their cousins Edward and James Carroll were among the Cork Quakers who supported that promotion which had as an advantage lower share-unit prices. Edward Carroll owned 10 shares and James Carroll owned five.⁴⁹ Both of the companies were initiated and effectively controlled by Dublin-based Quaker interests and the Patriotic's maritime and freight policies were promoted by special arrangement through the St. George Steam Packet Co. (St. G.S.P. Co.).⁵⁰ The taking on of insurance agencies could also generate supplementary income for a merchant. Quakers were popular for such agencies, being well enough capitalised to meet legal conditions for having them, having a presumed probity and wide commercial contacts. In Cork, Quaker-held agencies were at various times to include the Patriotic (John Lecky), the Imperial (James Doyle), The West of England (Thomas Harvey) and The Friends Provident (William Martin).^{51 52 53} Joshua & Thomas Carroll do not seem to have had an agency but the local proprietor's supervisory body of the Atlas Fire Insurance Company included Quaker Jacob Mark and Joshua Carroll.⁵⁴ The Atlas was, incidentally, in 1823/24, after the Royal Exchange, the second biggest fire insurance company in Cork with 26.55 per cent of all the property insured.⁵⁵ Joshua Carroll might also be noted amongst the promoters of the Cork Annuity Company designed to provide annuities for the widows of its members. His uncle and other Cork Quakers had been among the promoters of the Clonmel Annuity Company.⁵⁶

The decade 1820-30 marks several new departures in the Carroll business and in the business interests of Cork Quaker merchants generally. The coming of the steam-ship posed both a threat and a challenge. Cork business interests set out to ensure that they would control the direct wholesale import business and steam routes from England. The pioneering company was the St. G.S.P. Co., a venture based on a triple alliance between Cork Quaker and other Cork

interests, with other capital and initiative supplied by Dublin and English Quaker interests. There is no evidence that Thomas or Joshua Carroll had initial interests in it. They did however certainly support the totally Cork-owned and based company owning the steam-ship *Superb*. This promotion was set up in 1826 for the Cork-Bristol run. The promotion ran in direct opposition to the St. G.S.P. Co. It perhaps reflected some anxiety about the widespread management structure of their rivals, that Cork might be neglected. It attracted a different range of Quaker and Cork capital. Out of its 47 proprietors Joseph & Thomas Carroll, Joseph Harris & Brothers, Ebenezer Pike, and H.D. & H., were Quakers.⁵⁷ After a brief flurry of competition between the two concerns the *Superb* was bought out by the larger company and presumably the proprietors were awarded share capital in it.

A second area in which restructuring became apparent in the Carroll's firm related to their timber importing policy. It seems that wherever possible they were determined to bring in timber in their own vessels and this was revealed in the increasing number of ships owned by them that were registered with Lloyd's. For the year 1825 no Carroll listings occur and the *Earl Talbot* had been sold, but come 1826 the three vessels *Gaspee* [150 tons], *Nelson Packet* [127 tons] and *Irio* [306 tons] appear in the list. Of these the *Irio* and the *Gaspee* served the Quebec timber trade and the *Nelson Packet* served a route between Cork and London.^{58,59} The purchase from Deaves Brothers in 1826 of the *Volunteer* used on the Quebec run made a further addition to their increasing shipping stock.⁶⁰ The nature of their trade with London is not very clear but perhaps involved the export of provisions. The scale of the trade was sufficient to cause more than minor ripples when the Cork Quaker George Carr, brother-in-law of James Carroll, was declared bankrupt in 1829. The losses entailed sums of £1,600 due to 'Carroll & Deaves' and of £8,000 due to 'Carrolls of London.'⁶¹

The import of timber, frequently brought in on Canadian-owned boats and regular traders, remained central to the business of Joshua & Thomas Carroll. Canadian-built boats were also frequently sold and disposed of in Cork by the Carrolls who, like the Deaves, operated what appears to have been a ship-brokerage. Because of the displacement of markets for Cork produced goods in North America, outward trade was to be increasingly supplemented by the carriage of emigrant passengers. On occasion H.D. & H., and J. & T. Carroll co-operated to arrange such emigrant passages, not only to Canada but also to New York and Amboy.⁶² Both J. & T. Carroll and Deaves were in 1830 still involved in the traditional importation of American flaxseed but also increasingly sending back passengers.⁶³ Reuben Harvey died 20 Twelfth-month 1830

and in that year the H.D. & H. was already trading under the style of 'Deaves Brothers.' Their wholesale timber yard was in King Street.⁶⁴

III

Joshua Carroll died 10 Second-month 1831 and his brother Thomas died in the following year 4 Eighth-month 1832.^{65, 66} The death of this, the last of the partners having occurred, Joshua's sons John and Barcroft H. Carroll set up a new partnership. Adverting in '31 Eight-month 1832' to the 'old established timber, deal and slate yards at Leitrim Street,' they requested payment of all accounts due.⁶⁷ Thomas's sons Joshua (1820-1885) and Joseph Hatton Carroll (1820 -) went their own ways. In the reformed business an increasing use was to be made of shipping agents, in particular of J. McAuliffe. Such agents, of whom there are ever more appearing in contemporary trade directories, among other matters undertook the booking of passengers for the outward run of ships.⁶⁸ The provision of space for emigrants now formed an essential part of mercantile strategies. Deaves Brothers were also using the McAuliffe agency. Their ship, the *Try Again*, known as a regular trader of 500 tons 'old measure,' and built 1826 was advertised in 1832 by the McAuliffe agency as preparing to sail for New York. The ship had carried out 100 emigrants in February,⁶⁹ and by April a total of 1,800 emigrants had left Cork direct for various North American destinations. Both Deaves and Carrolls and their agents also occasionally organised the auction of ships that had brought in timber thus ensuring an even higher return on their investment.⁷⁰ The *Champlain*, a barque of 300 tons was to remain a 'regular trader' on the Quebec route, and had been auctioned by Carrolls as a result of what were discreetly termed 'peculiar circumstances,' after bringing in its cargo.⁷¹

Advertisements by J. & B. Carroll in 1833 indicate that the ships they used went out on two runs to Quebec each year. The winter cargoes of Carrolls and of other firms were usually completed by January⁷² and their summer cargoes generally arrived in, during July and August. These were often brought in on the regular traders such as the *Champlain* and the *Governor Douglas* from Quebec.⁷³ Between them the two boats mentioned in the advertisement in the *Cork Constitution* brought in 800 tons of red and yellow pine, oak and hardwood and 8,000 'bright spruce deals;' of those it was noted that 5,000 were 'reserved for country customers.' The firm in the next few years was advertising agencies for timber throughout the county in Mallow, Charleville, Kanturk and Clonakilty.⁷⁴

The tonnage of Cork-registered ships between 1825 and 1835 rose steadily by 30.13 per cent.⁷⁵ There had long been regular well established lines of 'constant traders' operating between Cork and Bristol and between Cork and other places.⁷⁶ The rising tonnage reflected an increasing desire by Cork merchants to own their own ships, to make their way against English competition and to control imports. Merchants sometimes owned their ships on a share basis. In the case of Quakers, ownership was often on the basis of internal family partnerships or shared with other and usually Quaker merchants whose track record would be best known. The shareholdings could provide a profitable possession and be transferable. The process of purchase seems to have been advancing for the Deaves Brothers since 1830, when they owned, for the Jamaica run, the schooner *Apollo* [83 tons] and probably for the North America timber trade, the *Brilliant* [146 tons] and the *John Campbell* [343 tons].⁷⁷ A residual West Indies trade survived, and Deaves Bros. continued importing sugars direct from there.⁷⁸

John Carroll and Barcroft Carroll had still some investment in the St. G.S.P. Co., as indicated by the appearance of their names at a proprietor's meeting in 1835. The names of Thomas and Reuben H. Deaves appear in the same context.⁷⁹ It may be that the Carrolls still found such an investment profitable rather than to sink all of their money into their own shipping. The meeting of proprietors had been summoned as a result of murmurings among some Cork citizens about the service being offered. A weekly committee was as a result set up to deal with complaints. The murmurings soon arose to outright opposition and the brief emergence of a rival Cork-based company. The St. G.S.P. Co. responded with an appeal based on the fact of £60,000 of Cork money invested in it and pointed out that its shareholdings yielded an 8 per cent dividend. Barcroft and John Carroll were noted as present at the St. G.S.P. Co. meeting that launched the appeal.⁸⁰ Its rival was not a success and was bought out by the St. G.S.P. Co.

Although Cork's trade with the Baltic was ended, some timber was brought in from there via Halifax at the 'colonial duty'.⁸¹ This would explain the inclusion of 'Memel' timber in Carroll imports from Quebec and the Maritimes but most timber was brought in from Canada or from the United States via St. John's, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In 1835 there were 15 Cork-owned ships engaged in the North American timber trade and it was estimated that each supported perhaps 18 men and their families who with their ships were based at Passage West. At a meeting of the timber merchants called that year, Reuben Deaves stated that his firm had recently spent £1,000 on repairs

to one ship. The meeting had been called as a result of fears that proposed new legislation aimed at reopening direct Baltic timber imports would undermine Cork shipping interests by permitting easy access to continental shipping. A subsidiary reason for the meeting was the offhand way in which Daniel Callaghan M.P. had dealt with their protest.⁸² Other merchants and tradesmen thought differently and 1,000 of them signed a petition in favour of the proposed changes.⁸³

Irish timber duties were different from those of England but this advantage was undermined by the increasing use of steamships by both Irish and English interests.⁸⁴ The steam trade was contributory to a depression in the value of warehousing since the large merchant no longer had calls on space and the retailer could order direct from England. Cork tonnage had increased at the expense of the Welsh-owned corn, timber and colliery vessels. The Deaves fleet had been reduced c. 1836 by changes in the nature of the shipping trade. The sale of their 19-year old schooner the *Apollo* was probably prompted by its age, a need to purchase new shipping stock and a recognition that the West Indies trade was for them effectively at an end.⁸⁵

Investment in railways proved some attraction in 1836. Such investment might have been seen by a firm such as Carrolls' as advantageous to timber sales. The promotion of the 'Cork & Passage Railway' in 1836 attracted about 6.20 per cent of direct investment by Cork Quaker interests. Barcroft Haughton Carroll purchased 10 shares in the company, as did Alfred Greer his brother-in-law. The 20 shares purchased by them amounted to a total amount of £1,000.⁸⁶ The time had been ripe for investment but a sudden change in the 'economic climate' postponed the building of the railway and in its later incarnation, Quaker investment was not an obvious feature.

The 1840s would seem to signal larger investment by John and Barcroft H. Carroll in shipping of their own specifically for the North American timber trade. One of their shipping investments was in the *Henry Duncan* which was built by John Jardine of Richibuto, New Brunswick, Canada 1840, rigged as barque and originally registered at Miramichi. The vessel was used on the Cork-New Orleans run, and nearly certainly designed to capitalize on the passenger trade out. Ownership was divided between the three Carroll brothers with John Carroll having 32 shares, William Carroll 16 shares and Barcroft Haughton Carroll 16 shares.⁸⁷ The decade was generally to be a depressed one, overshadowed by the 'Great Hunger' 1845-8. It had already been heralded by a period of general industrial and business decline in Cork and the widespread closure and disuse of grain and flour mills.⁸⁸

The Carrolls had probably found little special advantage in having any longer shareholdings in the St. G.S.P. Co. and redeployed their resources in their own shipping stock. Having their ears to the ground they had probably early anticipated the possible demise of the St. G.S.P. Co. The one known and probably the last surviving list of its shareholders shows holdings only by William Carroll who had 5 shares of £100 each. Their father's cousin James Carroll was not so fortunate for he had shares in both the British & American Steam Packet Co. and in the St. G.S.P. Co. Only before the crisis in the company James Beale had offered him a favourable rate for his shares. The sudden depression in their price meant that not only were the shares a loss to him but that he was, like the other unfortunate shareholders, subject to constant calls for further capital. Investment money from surpluses might have been better employed in long or short-term bills that yielded a higher and more reliable interest so he supposed. Losses on shares in the two companies amounted to £392. 10s which he wryly commented would have made 'a small fortune for his four daughters.'⁸⁹

IV

The death of Sarah Carroll, the widow of Joshua Carroll, occurred in 1844. From a Quaker perspective it was observed that Barcroft Carroll began to be less frequently present at Meetings for Worship and in addition with William to be wearing heavy mourning contrary to the principles of Friends.⁹⁰ He had further been noted in the same year in the *Cork Constitution* when he sought to be registered for electoral purposes and for which purpose his brother-in-law Alfred Greer, also a Quaker and owner of an extensive paper-manufactory near Blarney, made a requisite affirmation.⁹¹ It was not of course against Friends' principles to vote but the reference is worth noting in the context of Barcroft H. Carroll's later political ambitions. He was later to be identified with Cork Conservative politics. It was perhaps rather unkindly alleged that whilst John Carroll had been known to wear heavy mourning before, his failure to do so this time was less through an allegiance to Friends' principles than from an attachment to his purse.⁹² William Carroll, the other brother, had been disunited 9 Fifth-month 1844 for marrying his first cousin Eliza Grubb of Cahir, thus going against Friends' rules which forbade marriage in that degree of consanguinity. The penalty of disunity was additionally merited by their both being married by a priest of the 'church by law established.'⁹³

The three Carroll brothers, with Ebenezer Pike, were the trustees for the will of their mother. Ebenezer Pike, their co-religionist, was a wealthy shipowner who in 1844 was putting together a rescue package

to save what could be saved out of the St. G.S.P. Co., in order to set up the Cork Steam Ship Company in its place. The information does not exist to quantify the amounts of land or other property involved in the administration of the will. Much complicated legal business devolved on the trustees. Several legal cases became necessary to obtain payment and possession and to clear up their mother's affairs. Such cases frequently stretched a long way back and led to increasing debt for the debtor as well as further trouble for the other parties concerned. One such case going back to Joshua Carroll in 1824 and involving a sum of £2,150 by then amounted to a debt of £3,005.2.9. The arbitration of the case brought in several cross-cases resulting in a compromise settlement.⁹⁴ A case in 1850 involved the Carrolls *ex parte* in Chancery proceedings relative to the Hackett distillery concerns at Midleton.⁹⁵

Some considerable properties were owned and let by different members of the Carroll family in Anne's Parish. In the same parish, even bigger tracts of land had formed the basis of the Quaker Penrose family's investments since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some of the house and business property owned by the Carrolls was also clearly part of consistent investment strategies. Much of their property was based in the area known as 'Dring's Marsh' and around the Glanmire Road and some of it had descended to Joshua and Joseph Hatton Carroll, the sons of Thomas Carroll. Other portions were in possession of Barcroft H. and John Carroll deriving from their father or his widow Sarah. A further significant property was that of 'Mrs. Carroll' of Water Street. This was a dockyard, possibly the original ship-repair yard of the Carroll family and now let out to Anthony G. Robinson whose iron ship-building company was already established.^{96,97} The house, offices and dock-yard were valued at £115. The Cork Steam Ship Company rented offices and a timber yard valued at £90 from John and Barcroft Carroll. Robert Honan, a butter firm, rented offices, a yard, a kiln, corn and butter stores, all valued at £130 from Barcroft Haughton Carroll. A series of eight small houses were owned by the two brothers at Rockgrove Terrace, Strand Road. Their total valuation amounted to £9.10s.⁹⁸ A new house had been built there in 1834 when an advertisement noted also a corn store to be let at Pine Street.⁹⁹ John Carroll owned property with a valuation of £192 and Barcroft H. Carroll in his own name and jointly with John Carroll property with a valuation of perhaps £250 in the Anne's Parish (Shandon) district.¹⁰⁰ In Sarah Carroll's name of course was additionally the dock-yard.

V

Cork registered shipping tonnage continued to increase. Total registered tonnage, at 149,465 tons for the triennial period 1846-48, showed a 77.38 per cent increase over the previous triennial period.¹⁰¹ *Lloyd's Register* for 1847 showed 75 Cork registered ships exclusive of Kinsale and Youghal. John & Barcroft H. Carroll must have increased their shipping stock. Possible short-term ownership and quick resale of their shipping stock may have been a way to augment their profits and avoid losses by deterioration. The names of their older ships are no longer mentioned and the suspicion is that they owned more ships than are actually recorded in *Lloyd's*. The two ships recorded for them there in 1847 are the *John Francis*, a barque of 362 tons built at Montreal in 1826 and the *Bridgetown* [599 tons], built at Nova Scotia in 1836 and used on the Cork-New Orleans route. Deaves Bros. were, like other Cork merchants, going through a difficult time partially caused by widespread recession in England, accentuated in Ireland by the catastrophic Famine. Stock in shipping was at an all time low. The Deaves in 1847 owned the *Kingston* [130 tons] built New Brunswick 1836 for the Cork-Quebec run and the *Manchester* [740 tons] built in Quebec in 1845 and serving a Liverpool- Quebec route.

Business success, an increased alienation from the Society in which he had been raised, and conceivably a wish to identify more with his commercial and Protestant peer group were in 1849 to bring Barcroft H. Carroll to the attention of the Cork Monthly Meeting.¹⁰² Although he 'agreeably' received his visitors from the Monthly Meeting it was clear that he had little intention of attending Meetings for Worship anymore and on 1 Seventh-month 1850 he was disunited.¹⁰³ His brother-in-law Alfred Greer was disunited for a similar matter of non-attendance and was also to join the 'Established Church,' although members of his family remained on the books.¹⁰⁴

Commercial need and a willingness by John Carroll and Barcroft H. Carroll to take on further positions of responsibility in Cork city life emerged in 1850. The shipowners had frequently met in connection with the 'Merchant Seaman's Fund.' When a new apparent threat appeared against Cork shipping interests it was a natural arena to launch a proper Shipowners Society to look after their interests. The perceived threat was partially consequent on the realisation that Cork shipping was in competition with foreign shipping which was seen as unfairly favoured by the structure of charges imposed by the Cork Harbour Commissioners. It was seen as unjust that Cork shipping by paying dues in their own harbour should be subsidising the foreigner. A further complicating factor was that new legislation for a docks and harbour at

Cork was seen to be subsidised by Cobh interests which would not need to use them whereas the foreigner would. John Carroll was seen as a leading figure in the new society although he preferred to be available in an advisory capacity. The chairman of the inaugural meeting was Ebenezer Pike who was also like him a member of the Cork Harbour Commissioners.¹⁰⁵

Following the 'Great Famine' the country entered a period of greater prosperity that was favourable to the building trade. Cork merchant dynasties such as the Suttons, not Quakers, were building up fleets of their own and based on specific trades such as timber, tea, grain and coal. Ships were being built even bigger, but Cork tonnage for the triennial period 1852-54 at 149,516 showed little dramatic increase over the preceding triennial period.¹⁰⁶ Lloyd's *Register* (1856-57) records the Carroll family as owning two ships, the *Julia* [998 tons], Quebec-built in 1851, and the *Lord Raglan* [1,886 tons], Quebec-built 1854, both of which were for the Liverpool - Quebec run. For Carrolls an advantage was seen in bringing in timber via Liverpool, probably to take advantage of greater availability of the material there, possibly to pick up new markets there and also to get ahead of English-based shipping interests and control imports to Cork. Conceivably the immigrant traffic centred on Liverpool provided a commercial prospect. Some Quaker houses such as Richardson Brothers & Co. of Belfast had branch houses in Liverpool. Moves to establish a Liverpool-based shipping line was promoted by Richardson interests in 1849. Their 'Liverpool & Philadelphia Steam Ship Company' was inaugurated there in 1850 and the line provided superior, comfortable and cheap accommodation for emigrants.¹⁰⁷

Barcroft H. Carroll made a first and last attempt at a more explicit political involvement in 1858 when he stood as a Conservative candidate in a Cork election.¹⁰⁸ This marked a decisive break from some traditional Quaker attitudes. Some Cork Quakers even before that had felt able to make a qualified approach to political activism and in England a number of Quaker M.P.s had made their appearance. The first Irish Quaker M.P. was not to be elected until 1865 when Jonathan Pim was voted in for Dublin City as a Liberal candidate. Barcroft H. Carroll had as his platform a liberal conservatism and made a good showing at the polls but was not elected.

John and Barcroft Carroll now effectively fade out of active Cork commerce. Some of their trade was stated to have been directed to the East Indies. Be that as it may, it has not proved possible to locate any corroborative evidence to tell us what trade it was. The last ships that they owned were described as the *Sultan* of 812 tons and the *Lord Raglan*

which Anderson describes as 'East India' men.¹⁰⁹ The auction of their ship the *British Lion* [599 tons] was reported in the *Cork Examiner* of 20 April 1866 when the fall off in the building trade and consequent recession in the timber business was blamed for a complete absence of bidding. John Carroll died in 1869 at the Albermarle Hotel, Piccadilly, London. He left a sum of in the region of £70,000.¹¹⁰ The will was eventually to be administered in conjunction with that of his son Joshua Hargrave Carroll who died in 1872.¹¹¹ It has not proved possible to locate details of the death of Barcroft H. Carroll and although permission might have been granted to him to be buried in the Friends Burial Ground there is no record that he was. Joshua Carroll, a son of Thomas Carroll did not die until 1885 and his name remained on the book of members of the Society.¹¹²

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

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CONVENTION. The Quaker 'plain language' has been retained in all Quaker contexts.

- ¹ John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees, or the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, (Dublin, 1887). Information on the Cork Quaker community, its background and status will be found in Richard S. Harrison, *Cork City Quakers: A Brief History 1655-1939* (Cork, 1991) *passim*.
- ² Mary Leadbeater, *The Leadbeater Papers*, (London, 1862) vol. 1, Appendix. 'Ballitore School List.'
- ³ M.V. Conlon, 'Valuation Lists of Minister's Money, St. Anne's (Shandon Parish), 1793-1853', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, [hereafter, *JCHAS*] XLVII, (1942), 87-111.
- ⁴ *New Cork Evening Post*, 12 January 1797.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1797.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 31 July 1797.
- ⁷ This pattern is clear for example, from the advertising in the *Cork Advertiser* [hereafter, *C.A.*] 1807.
- ⁸ John Mannion, 'The Nevins Family 1800-40' in *Decies Old Waterford Society* XXXXVII (1988), 14.

- ⁹ C.A. 20 January 1807.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., 21 March 1807.
- ¹¹ Ibid., 20 June 1807.
- ¹² Ibid., 10, 15 August 1807.
- ¹³ Ibid., 6 September 1807.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., 31 October 1807.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., 10 August 1807.
- ¹⁶ Information extracted from the C.A. for 1807.
- ¹⁷ *Cork Mercantile Chronicle* [hereafter, CMC], 3 October 1808.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ J. Mannion, 'The Waterford Merchants and the Irish Newfoundland Provisions Trade 1770-1820' in L.M. Cullen et P. Butel, *Négoce et Industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIIIe et XIXe Siècles*, (Paris, 1980); see also William O'Sullivan, *Economic History of Cork City to 1800* (Cork, 1937), 271.
- ²⁰ *Thom's Directory* (Dublin, 1846), Shipping Statistics.
- ²¹ W.J. Barry, 'History of Port of Cork Steam Navigation' in *JCHAS*, XXIII, (1917), 5.
- ²² Foster papers (P.R.O.N.I.) D 207/31/19. For this reference I am grateful to Dr. David Dickson (T.C.D.).
- ²³ *Lloyd's Register*, [thereafter, L.R.], 1810 see also above n. 11 *passim*.
- ²⁴ CMC, 4 May 1810 (for exports on 28 April 1810) H.D. & H. and other merchants shared the vessel *Hope*, the Carrolls re-exporting to London 40 caskets of potashes.
- ²⁵ 'Journal of Margaret Harvey, 1809' in *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, [hereafter JFHS] XXIV (1927), 12.
- ²⁶ CMC, 30 January 1809.
- ²⁷ William Harvey to Thomas Pim, 9 Ninth-month 1810 (D.F.H.L.) Pim Letters Mss. Box 61, Letter 35.
- ²⁸ *An Act for Revising an Act... for better Regulation of the Butter Trade of the City of Cork*, 53 George III c.70 (1813).
- ²⁹ Trustees mentioned in Indenture of Lease. J. Carroll, Barcroft H. Carroll and William Carroll to Archibald C. Shaw. September 1845 (Registry of Deeds, Dublin [hereafter RDD] 1845, 14, 115.
- ³⁰ T. Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland* (London, 1824), 203-4.
- ³¹ L.R. 1818.
- ³² Ibid., 1818, 1821, 1822.
- ³³ Indenture of release and reassignment, a) John Lecky, Joshua Carroll, Joseph M. Harvey/ b) Reuben Harvey/ c) Reuben Deaves and Thomas H. Deaves, 10 July 1822 (R.D.D.) 775, 496, 525, 431. The lease mentioned for 1816 refers back to an indenture of lease of 1765 between Nathaniel Lavitt and Reuben Harvey snr.
- ³⁴ *Haughton Centenary Brochure* (Cork, 1989) (*sic*).
- ³⁵ L.M. Cullen, 'Eighteenth-century Flour Milling in Ireland' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, IV, (1977), 19 and *Leadbeater Papers*, 80-1, 87-8.
- ³⁶ Reference to Archibald C. Shaw in memorial of indented deed of conveyance, 25 August 1823 a) Thomas S. Grubb, Isaac Bell/ b) John B. Haughton/ c) Joshua Carroll (R.D.D.) 786, 111, 531, 646.
- ³⁷ L.M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660*, (London, 1981).
- ³⁸ *Cork Constitution* [hereafter, CC], 17 January 1823.
- ³⁹ Alphabetical List 1815. (DFHL), MM VIII M.5 additional manuscript note.
- ⁴⁰ *Southern Reporter* [hereafter, SR], 6 November 1821.

- ⁴¹ CC 30 April 1823.
- ⁴² See above n. 36.
- ⁴³ Deed of release, Joshua Carroll, Richard Grubb, Thomas S. Grubb, John Haughton (Carlow)/James and John Haughton, 30 August, 1823 (R.D.D.) 786, 111, 531, 647.
- ⁴⁴ SR, 21 June 1823.
- ⁴⁵ Indented deed of reassignment, Joshua Carroll and Thomas Carroll to William J. Shaw, 16 July 1823 (R.D.D.) 783, 180, 529, 915.
- ⁴⁶ See, for example Dublin Yearly Meeting Advice (1817), in *Rules and Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland with Advices issued and adopted therein* (Dublin, 1841), 259.
- ⁴⁷ CC 16 February 1823.
- ⁴⁸ *Articles of Agreement of the National Assurance Company of Ireland* (Dublin, 1823) (Royal Irish Academy) Hal. (Reports) 1283.
- ⁴⁹ Patriotic Insurance Company, Deed of Settlement, 2 September 1824 (in possession of the Sun Alliance Assurance Company, Dublin).
- ⁵⁰ John Lecky (Youghal) to Joseph R. Pim (Dublin) 23 Eighth-month 1822 (DFHL) Lecky Letters, 237 b. See also, Anonymous, 'Irish Friends and Early Steam Navigation' in *JFHS* XVII, 4 (1920), 107-8.
- ⁵¹ Imperial Insurance Co. (Fire) Minutes 18 April 1821, (32) 25 April 1821 (34) (Guildhall, London) ms 12, 160, A19; also, Imperial Insurance Co. (Life) Minutes, April 1821, 52 (Guildhall London) Ms 12, 160 B.
- ⁵² CC 30 December 1837.
- ⁵³ 'Thirteenth Report of the Friends Provident Institute' in *British Friend*, Vol. 5, Fourth-month 1847.
- ⁵⁴ CMC 14 March 1817 Robert Carr was also noted. He was not a Quaker but was possibly a relative of George Carr who was, and is frequently noted in association with Quaker businessmen. Edward Daly of Patrick St., a non-Quaker, was the Atlas agent in Cork.
- ⁵⁵ *Seventeenth Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Revnue arising in Ireland* (British Parliamentary Papers) 1828 (8) XV.1 Appendix 69a Return of all persons or companies to whom licenses to make insurances in Ireland have been granted... securities taken and sums accounted for the five successive years ended 5 January 1823-27.
- ⁵⁶ CC 11 March 1825 and *General Half-Yearly Meeting of the Clonmel Annuity Company* 1 Seventh-month 1788.
- ⁵⁷ SR 9 March 1826.
- ⁵⁸ LR 1826.
- ⁵⁹ The *Nelson Packet* was probably built at Knight's Yard and launched 18 June 1826, for which see, Colman O'Mahony, 'Shipbuilding and Repairing in Nineteenth Century Cork' in *JCHAS*, XCIV (1989), 75.
- ⁶⁰ LR, 1826.
- ⁶¹ 6 Eighth-month 1829 (DFHL) MM VIII A 8. Refers to the cases of George Carr and of Joseph, Samuel and Eustace Harris. See also William Newsom (Cork) to Joseph Newsom (Limerick), 12 Sixth-month 1829 (DFHL) Newsom Letters.
- ⁶² SR 25 April 1826.
- ⁶³ CC 6 February, 6 March 1830.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 2 April 1830 and Reuben Deaves is, e.g. mentioned as a Cork Harbour Commissioner 10 May 1843 (Cork Harbour Commissioners) vol. VII (1843-7).

- ⁶⁵ James Carroll to Edward Carroll, 26 Eight-month 1831 (DFHL) Carroll Letters. Unclassified. (I am at present preparing an account of the life of James Carroll based on these letters. They are sewn together in an apparently random manner, and in connection with the account I have prepared a chronological abstract of them which will in course be deposited in the Dublin Friends Historical Library).
- ⁶⁶ Obituary of Thomas Carroll in *CMC* 6 August 1832. I am grateful to Tim Cadogan (Cork County Library) for drawing my attention to this item.
- ⁶⁷ CC 4 September 1832.
- ⁶⁸ The *Cork Directory* 1820-2 listed nine ship's brokers.
- ⁶⁹ CC 7 February 1832.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 26 April 1832.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 12 February, 3 March 1831. The advertisement appeared two days after the death of Joshua Carroll.
- ⁷² CC 5 January 1833.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 25 August 1833.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 3 May 1836.
- ⁷⁵ *Thom's Directory*, (Dublin, 1847), 208.
- ⁷⁶ Will West's *Cork Directory 1818-9* lists such regular packets on the Cork-Bristol run. The 'Black Ball Line' initiated by the Liverpool Quaker James Cropper was an example of a regular line New York-Liverpool.
- ⁷⁷ *LR* 1830.
- ⁷⁸ *SR* 4 May 1826. Advertisement for sugars imported by H.D.H. & Co.
- ⁷⁹ CC 19 May 1835.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 2 June 1835.
- ⁸¹ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (London, 1837).
- ⁸² CC 13 August 1835.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*, 8 September 1835.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 5 May 1835, see also Lewis: *Topographical Dictionary*.
- ⁸⁵ CC 3 January 1837.
- ⁸⁶ Subscription Contract of the Cork & Passage Railway, 28 November 1836 (House of Lords Record Office). For an account of the railway line see Colman O'Mahony, *The Maritime Gateway to Cork* (Cork, 1986) 76-80.
- ⁸⁷ Registration mentioned in letter to Pádraig ó Maidín, 'shipping file' (Cork County Library).
- ⁸⁸ James S. Donnelly jnr., *The Land and the People of Nineteenth Century Cork* (London, 1975), 34.
- ⁸⁹ James Carroll to Edward Carroll 22 Fourth-month, 24 Fourth-month 1843, (DFHL) Carroll Letters. Unclassified.
- ⁹⁰ James Carroll to Edward Carroll, 8 Fourth-month 1844 (DFHL), Port. 3b, 64.
- ⁹¹ Burgess Revision Court for the Glanmire Ward. When Barcroft H. Carroll's name was objected to by the Liberals his name, on the affirmation of Alfred Greer, was allowed stand as a resident householder. See CC 24 October 1844. For further Greer references see Colman O'Mahony, 'Bygone Industries of Dripsey and Blarney' in *JCHAS* LXXXIX, 248 (1984), 183-4.
- ⁹² James Carroll to Edward Carroll 8 Fourth-month 1844, op. cit.
- ⁹³ 5 Tenth-month 1843, 9 Fifth-month 1844 (DFHL) MM VIII A 10.
- ⁹⁴ *Irish Equity Reports 1848-9*, vol xl (Dublin, 1849), 200-13.
- ⁹⁵ *CE*, 2 September 1850. For Hackett family see John O'Brien, 'The Hacketts: A Glimpse of Entrepreneurial Life in Cork 1800-70' in *JCHAS* XC, 248, (1985), 150-7.

- ⁹⁶ Griffiths, *General Valuation of Ireland* (Dublin, 1851-3) Cork City, Anne's Parish (Shandon).
- ⁹⁷ O'Mahony, 'Shipbuilding,' 81.
- ⁹⁸ Griffiths, *Valuation*.
- ⁹⁹ CC, 16 September 1834.
- ¹⁰⁰ Griffiths, *Valuation*.
- ¹⁰¹ Abstract Register of Births. Cork Monthly Meeting (DFHL).
- ¹⁰² *Thom's Directory* (Dublin, 1860), Statistics, Triennial tonnages.
- ¹⁰³ 6 Ninth-month 1849.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 17 First-month, 1 Seventh-month 1850 (DFHL) MM VIII A, 10.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 10 Second-month 1848.
- ¹⁰⁶ Minutes, 14 July 1843 (Cork Harbour Commissioners) and see CC, 1 January 1850.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Thom's Directory* (Dublin, 1860), Triennial tonnages, also, *LR* 1856-7.
- ¹⁰⁸ *JFHS* XVII, 4 (1920), 111 and *LR*, 1856-7.
- ¹⁰⁹ CC 14 April 1859.
- ¹¹⁰ E.B. Anderson, *Sailing Ships of Ireland* (Dublin, 1951), chapter on 'East India Men' *passim*. For account of the 1860s depression, see James S. Donnelly jnr., 'The Irish Agricultural Depression of 1859-64' in *Irish Economic and Social History* III (1976), 33-54 *passim*.
- ¹¹¹ Auction of the 'British Lion' see CC, 20 April 1866.
- ¹¹² 'Abstracts of Wills and Administrations Cork and Kerry 1858-1900' in T. Casey, (ed.) *O'Kief, Coshe, Mange, Slieve Lougher and Upper Blackwater* (Birmingham: Alabama, 1966), vol. XI.