

# CORK MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (1859-84), AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

**T**his study is concerned with a minute book for the Cork Mutual Improvement Association (CMIA), which was established in 1859 by individual members of the 'Cork Monthly Meeting', part of the 'Munster Quarterly Meeting' of Irish quakers. The minute book covers a period of 24 years and provides a unique index of the intellectual preoccupations of a small group of citizens and incidentally, of Irish quakers generally.

## I

### *THE BACKGROUND (1800-60)*

Irish quakers, concentrated mainly in rural towns and urban centres such as Belfast and Dublin, had by the 1860s entered on a period of overall numerical increase in membership, but the membership in Cork was declining.<sup>1</sup> Their traditional merchant-based businesses had yielded to a new professional and shopkeeping class that often chose to live in suburbs instead of central city locations.<sup>2</sup> Such a spatial segregation was reflected for most quakers in the social distance that they maintained, determined by the exigencies of their group discipline. Including the period covered by this account, this was to a lesser degree to be the case also during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Such a distancing did not prevent quakers being actively involved in business, educational or philanthropic affairs but they avoided explicit or overt political activities.

To evaluate the scientific or social influences of Irish quakers on national life is not pertinent to the more limited aims of this study, but Irish quakers like English quakers, about whom more has been written,<sup>3</sup> certainly made social and scientific contributions out of all proportion to what their minority positions would suggest. Although long excluded from formal or university education they maintained an active intellectual curiosity directed chiefly towards scientific enquiry and commercial improvement. An obituary of the Cork quaker Abraham Beale, who died of typhus as a result of his exertions in the organisation of relief during the Famine of 1845-8, would apparently reflect a popular perception of Irish quakers, 'He was a worthy type of the

Society of which he was a valued member, for in him were observed all that intelligence, uprightness and industry which peculiarly distinguish the Irish quaker'.<sup>4</sup> Such accounts could be multiplied.

The pragmatic and rational approach inspired by their religious viewpoints made the promotion of scientific enquiry a congenial activity for quakers. The democratic and consensual approach inculcated in them through running the affairs of their own religious society made the promotion of secular societies on a similar pattern a natural activity for them. When they left behind the cares of their shops and businesses they showed that they were indefatigable scholars who, insofar as they could distinguish leisure from labour, turned their hours to intellectual profit geared towards the search for truth and integrity. Such serious interests were in line with the traditional doctrinal presentation of their classic apologist Robert Barclay, who advocated for relaxation, gardening and the study of history.<sup>5</sup>

## II

### *QUAKERS AND THE LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES OF CORK*

The exclusion and self-exclusion of quakers from many elements of national life made their support of literary and scientific societies historically more important for them. Through them they met many people of differing religious persuasions and were able to taste, discover and participate in a wider world beyond their own Religious Society hence finding a variety of liberation from some of its more restrictive aspects. The names of quakers occur frequently in the annals of such Cork societies, in particular, and at different periods, in the Cork Library,<sup>6</sup> The Royal Cork Institution (R.C.I.),<sup>7</sup> The Cuvierian Society,<sup>8</sup> and the Cork Literary and Scientific Society.<sup>9</sup>

Many Cork quakers kept fossil collections and took a great interest in their gardens. A number of these quakers emerge in an account of a visit by Abraham Shackleton to Cork in 1814. He had at one time been the proprietor of the quaker school at Ballitore.<sup>10</sup> Many of his visits in Cork were to quakers who had once been his pupils. One of these was John Lecky whose interests were in astronomy and who was a friend of the antiquary Crofton Croker whom he provided with information towards his history of Cork. Lecky was a correspondent of Sir William Herschel.<sup>11</sup> Introductions were arranged for Shackleton to the Royal Cork Institution where he met the Revd Hincks and admired a book of butterflies priced at 12 guineas besides attending a course of lectures given by Edmund Davy, a Cornishman, a relative of Humphry Davy.<sup>12</sup>

He also visited Samuel Wright who was a notable quaker collector of fossils.<sup>13</sup> Samuel Wright was closely associated with the Royal Cork Institution to the degree that it appears as his address in a list of Cork quakers ...<sup>14</sup> He was a formidable geologist in his own right and in an account mentioning his contributions to science it is stated that he was visited by such 'contemporary notables as Sowerby, Phillips and de Verneuil'.<sup>15</sup>

Other quakers might be selected as representatives to illustrate the background to this account. The name of Thomas Beale could be mentioned. He had been for a period of perhaps 30 years the Librarian of the Cork Library.<sup>16</sup> Abraham Abell, a member of the Royal Irish Academy is a quaker remembered as much for his amiable eccentricities as for his antiquarian leanings. His connection with learning was to become even closer when he took up residence in the R.C.I. building at what was known as Nelson's Place (now Emmett Place).<sup>17</sup> He was associated with the group of Cork antiquarians including John Windele and Fr. Mat Horgan of Blarney. A successor to Abraham Abell at the R.C.I. was John Humphries, formerly a teacher and then apparently earning his living by a variety of small posts in the learned societies of Cork. He was in 1863 the librarian of the R.C.I. and also the assistant-secretary of the Cork Literary and Scientific Society and of the Cuvierian Society.<sup>18</sup> Besides these labours he was an eminent conchologist.<sup>19</sup> In the Cuvierian Society, were active also Robert John Lecky, the marine engineer,<sup>20</sup> and Joseph Wright F.G.S.I the palaeontologist who was to be its president 1866-7.<sup>21</sup> We should not forget also to refer to the eminent botanist William Henry Harvey. He had been a pupil of the Ballitore School in 1824, then under the management of James White. Although born in Limerick his father Joseph Massey Harvey was from a Youghal quaker family. He was often to be found visiting his father's native county as well as becoming involved in its scientific institutions. He resigned from the Religious Society of Friends to join what was then still the 'church by law established'.<sup>22</sup>

The membership of the Religious Society of Friends in Cork, and in the country generally was one in which the various families were nearly all intermarried over several generations. Hence they shared one another's intellectual, social and spiritual preoccupations to a high degree. There were in Cork in 1850-60 something in the region of 300 Friends.<sup>23</sup> Evangelicalism had made possible the closer assimilation of quakers to other Irish protestants to the degree that many of them found it hard to discover the rationale of being quaker except in terms of the inherited sectarian niche which history mapped out for them. In that

they identified their own variety of 'Irishness'. Ironically it was the anglican, 'church by law established' which began to exert an ever increasing attraction on Irish quakers. This had been the chief engine of their persecution for ages past and its role was only to be ended in Gladstone's Irish church act of 1869. Protestants generally felt the need to close ranks in the face of a self-confident Roman Catholicism with nationalistic overtones. Irish quakers were not immune to this protestant trend but also felt a need to preserve their unique communal traditions by having social groupings independent of their own disciplinary and spiritually based structures. As a counter-attraction to the pull exerted by the 'gravity-field' of the wider protestantism it was scarcely remarkable that Cork quakers in 1859 should feel that they would like to set up a literary and scientific society of their own. This might be seen as an attempt to assert their group solidarity in their own congenial atmosphere.

The multiplication of societies serving specific sectarian areas was a notable feature of Cork 1850-60. Besides societies such as the Catholic Young Men's Society (established 1853) there were equivalent bodies among various varieties of protestants. Among the protestant bodies might be mentioned in particular The Church of Ireland Young Men's Society set up in 1850. This, situated at 62, South Mall, provided a reading room, lectures, and 'mixed' entertainments all for a subscription of 5s. or 7s.6d. if books were borrowed.<sup>24</sup> There was also a Presbyterian Young Men's Society meeting at the R.C.I.<sup>25</sup> and a Wesleyan Methodist Church Young Men's Society.<sup>26</sup> There was no lack either, of auxiliary protestant institutions such as the Protestant Hall at 22, South Mall<sup>27</sup> or the Cork Religious Tract and Book Society at 35, Grand Parade.<sup>28</sup> There were also of course the literary and scientific societies. Cork had a long engagement with the provision of popular education both for the humbler as well as for the middle classes. The temperance movement also had been a prime influence in the promotion of popular education through its reading rooms and classes involving types of adult and mutual education. Many of these literary and scientific societies took their inspiration from the earlier and highly successful Royal Cork Institution (1806) which survived, if somewhat eclipsed by the establishment of the Queen's College Cork (1845) to which the first pupils were admitted in 1849.

## III

*ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CORK MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (1859-61)*

The Cork quakers set up their literary and scientific organisation in 1859 under the title of the 'Cork Mutual Improvement Association (CMIA)'.<sup>29</sup> Such societies were to become a feature of many cities and towns where a substantial population of quakers lived. One was already in existence in Dublin in 1851, a Friends Young Mens Association (FYMA). It had been established primarily to serve as a social outlet for such Young Friends and others who might be in Dublin. There, it was seen not alone as helping to combat loneliness but to ensure that Young Friends might not mix below their social class! The FYMA is probably to be identified with a nucleus of groupings including the Dublin Mutual Improvement Association and Friends Institute.<sup>30</sup> The first entry in the CMIA minute book is for an indeterminate date in Eleventh-month 1859.<sup>31</sup> The meeting to discuss the proposal to set it up took place at the house of Dr Joshua Reuben Harvey. He was the physician who had been appointed the first Professor of Midwifery at Queens College Cork in 1849.<sup>32</sup>

Forty-six quakers including 21 men and 25 women were present at this first planning meeting. Among the better known quakers to be noted were Robert J. Lecky, a marine engineer much involved in the Cuvierian Society,<sup>33</sup> and Isaac Carroll whose family had long been involved in the City's shipping and wood importing and other mercantile businesses but who was himself involved in a stock and sharebroking business. Also present were James and George Cotter Beale,<sup>34</sup> closely associated with shipping and ship building. The context does not make it possible to say if James Beale the ship builder<sup>35</sup> or James Beale his nephew are referred to. The nephew was known as a poet.<sup>36</sup> The business methods of the CMIA were in some ways less typical of Friends' business procedures and more typical of contemporary practice in the running of such an organisation. Balloting with black and with white balls was resorted to for deciding questions of membership. There was a president, a vice-president and a committee of five to manage its affairs, with a quorum of four required. The annual subscription was to be 5s. and the sessions were to last from Tenth-month to Fourth-month with meetings beginning at 7.30 p.m. and finishing at 9.30 p.m. Members were to be issued with complimentary tickets for their friends. Lectures, and the reading and writing of essays, and the promotion of discussions were to comprise the chief business of the Association, Central to its operations was to be the principle,

enshrined in its fifth rule, that 'Party politics and sectarian or controversial questions of religion shall be carefully excluded.'<sup>37</sup>

The first President elected was Dr Harvey with James Beale as his vice-president and Hewitson Edmondson as its secretary. The committee members were Thomas Chandlee, Samuel Wright, Isaac Carroll, John Cotter Beale and Joshua Carroll.<sup>38</sup> The first meeting was held on 4 First-month 1860 at no. 35, Grand Parade in the apparently delapidated room belonging to the Cork Tract Society. Some expense was made to redecorate it. Dr Harvey read an inaugural address.<sup>39</sup> The numbers attending and joining increased so rapidly that the committee felt encouraged to seek the use of a room at the Grattan Street (Duncan Street) Meeting House. That request was acceded to but perhaps the permission was not taken up for some time yet.<sup>40</sup> Expenditure for the next few years was to include such items as for a candle stick 7s. 9d. and purchased from Joseph Beale, a doorkeeper's book, a ballot basket, 'A gasolier on the Parade', gratuities and wages to the doorkeeper and postage and rent.<sup>41</sup>

The CMIA had access to a wide range of knowledge and skills among its members. Among subjects on which members presented papers in the first session were 'Structural biology', Penrose Beale;<sup>42</sup> 'An essay on the analysis of light', Alfred Beale;<sup>43</sup> 'An essay on the adaptation of nature in connection with certain British mollusca', Samuel Wright;<sup>44</sup> 'The French Revolution and the causes that led to it', Thomas Chandlee;<sup>45</sup> humour and poetry were not neglected. It would have been interesting to have heard 'A complaint of the feet in verse' or an 'Account of an oyster and a mouse'.<sup>46</sup> The evident success of the CMIA made the committee seek more contributors to lectures. It was felt that, 'one of the great advantages to be derived from such an association as this is the favourable opportunity afforded to its younger members of becoming accustomed to express themselves in public as well as in the writing, an acquirement which may be of incalculable advantage to many in a later period of their lives'.<sup>47</sup>

Many of the contributions were closely geared to contemporary economic and scientific developments and so, incidently provide an index to the preoccupations of many of Cork's well-informed citizens. A paper was read by Joseph Wright on the 'Geology and fossils of the neighbourhood'.<sup>48</sup> Joseph Wright was for a while the vice-president of the CMIA but removed to Belfast in 1868 to set up a tea merchants business. In Belfast he was to continue his palaeontological researches and achieve as a result a lasting place among Irish scientists.<sup>49</sup> John Charles Newsom read his paper on 'The introduction and progress of railway communication'.<sup>50</sup> Some contributions were occupational in

significance. Richard Baker, preferred to speak about ‘The growth of tea and its manufacture’<sup>51</sup> while Penrose Beale spoke on ‘Flax and its culture’.<sup>52</sup> The subject of flax growing was then very prominent in Cork, in particular where widespread efforts were underway in the western part of the County in increase flax acreage and to substitute linen for cotton manufactures as a result of the American Civil War.<sup>53</sup>

#### IV

#### *DEVELOPMENT (1861-72)*

In 1861 the Dublin equivalent of the CMIA sent down a copy of its annual report. A letter enclosed with it suggested that members of the various similar quaker societies throughout Ireland and London, ‘Yearly Meetings’ should get together and share papers. There were by then similar groups to be found in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and later in Belfast.<sup>54</sup> One appears to have flourished on a limited scale in Limerick also. Its very short minute book survives.<sup>55</sup> The need for access to a library was a priority and a solution was found on 30 Fourth-month 1862<sup>56</sup> when the committee agreed for the privilege of borrowing specialist books, to pay three guineas to ‘Morrow’s’ library. Arrangements were also made to share borrowing facilities with the Royal Cork Institution and other libraries.<sup>57</sup> It is not possible to say when the CMIA first assembled its own library but it did amass a very rich and useful collection of books.

More ambitious plans were embarked upon. It was planned to hold a ‘Conversazione’.<sup>58</sup> This was eventually held at the beginning of 1864. The account of the event states,

§ Tea was served in the Rotunda at the conclusion of which the entertainment for the evening commenced in the large hall of the Atheneum which was well lighted and nicely decorated for the occasion.

§ The entertainment was of a varied nature, many members having liberally contributed objects of interest, such as geological specimens, collections of shells, paintings, stereoscopic views and also numerous curiosities of historical interest.

§ Apparatus was abundantly supplied for chemical, mechanical and philosophical experiments the result of which proved most successful and added much to the enjoyment of the evening.

§ The attendance on this occasion was very large and the general expression of satisfaction quite exceeded our expectations.<sup>59</sup>

The event was so successful that it was still being referred to in the Report for 1865 where further details emerged concerning the exhibits. The whole of the published portion of the ‘splendid “Geological Survey” ’ was lent by one of the members and occupied a prominent

position in the hall. 'Foucault's pendulum experiment' was also tried and attracted a lot of attention'.<sup>60</sup>

It was hoped by the committee that more contributions on the social sciences would be read by members.<sup>61</sup> If it was not part of the original plan a discussion society seems to have emerged in parallel with the lectures. Surviving 'syllabus' cards advertise the two groupings separated from each other. In 1868 the CMIA was favoured by a visit from William Thompson jnr, of the Dublin Friends Institute who read a paper on 'Church declension in connection with the Society of Friends'.<sup>62</sup> The issue was an apposite one in view of the obvious overall numerical decline, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, of Friends in both Ireland and London Yearly Meetings. Only in 1859, as the result of such concern John S. Rowntree, an English quaker had written and had published an essay entitled '*Quakerism, past and present*'.<sup>63</sup> Contributions from women Friends were infrequent, but the implicit acceptance by Friends of the equality of women did result in an anonymous paper on 'The rights of women in the twentieth century'.<sup>64</sup> It is worth remembering that the Irish, pioneering woman feminist and quakeress, Anna Maria Haslam was born at Youghal, near Cork.<sup>65</sup> A further discussion on the subject was to occur in 1874 'That the electoral disabilities of women should be removed'.<sup>66</sup> Such discussions coincided in Cork with an extended period of intense debate on the subject of women's rights, the subject having been raised in the Cork Literary and Scientific Society.<sup>67</sup> In an attempt to encourage contributions from all, including women, the CMIA suggested to its members that the women Friends might like their offerings read for them!

There was no necessary shyness among women in the general conduct of the affairs of Friends, women of course, still having their own Meetings for Discipline. Elizabeth P. Addey scornful subterfuge was the first woman CMIA member to take the plunge. She read her own essay based on a selection of Irish poetry.<sup>68</sup> Thomas S. Wright read in 1877 a paper on 'Women Physicians' in which he maintained that the average man was immeasurably inferior to the 'picked woman' for any medical training.<sup>69</sup>

A second 'Conversazione' was organised for 21 Second-month 1872, this time at the Protestant Hall, it was organised to coincide with the Munster Quarterly Meeting<sup>70</sup> so that Friends from a wider area might have the benefit of attendance. At the 'Conversazione' there were working models of steam engines on show, models of steamers, chemical apparatus and the electric light. More than 340 people came to see them, 'pretty' experiments illustrating galvanic and electrical 'forces'.<sup>71</sup> A paper memento of the occasion still exists among the



Friends Archives. It was signed by 116 of the attendance, and by the committee members and the President. It was designed to 'illustrate the art of lithography'.<sup>72</sup>

Advantage was occasionally taken of the possibility of a visiting lecturer. Many such itinerant lecturers, secular prophets of the scientific age, travelled out from London, Dublin and other centres, making their money on the lecture circuit. The first of these came to Cork in 1872. His name was Edmund Wheeler<sup>73</sup> and he attracted a comparatively massive audience of 199 people. He gave lectures illustrated by practical experiments on the subject of the 'phenomena of sound' and on 'ocean telegraphs'. Resultant confidence inspired the committee to arrange for another lecturer to come and to share the costs perhaps with the YMCA and with the 'Literary and Scientific'. Their plans were coolly repulsed. They did 'not care to!'.<sup>74</sup>

#### V

#### FINAL PHASE (1871-1884)

Participation in the abrasive and occasionally sectarian or violent electioneering of the early nineteenth century had been regarded with great distaste by Irish quakers who saw such commotions as interfering with their attention to spiritual guidance. Such a viewpoint contributed to the CMIA rule that political questions should be 'practically excluded' from their discussions. Social conditions were now changing. The discussion of politics was beginning to emerge. As early as 1871 Home Rule was discussed by Alfred Addey.<sup>75</sup> George Scarr, a Friend from Dublin, in 1877 promoted a 'very animated discussion on Home Rule' under the title of 'Henry Grattan'.<sup>76</sup> Rule five, referring to political discussion was eventually removed in 1878<sup>77</sup> but the portion of it forbidding sectarian discussion was retained. Edward A. Wright was a live spark among Friends at this period in Cork.<sup>78</sup> Aspects of politics and social questions were of interest to him. He read papers on such topics as 'Is our civilization a failure? Is the Caucasian played out?'<sup>79</sup> In wider areas he was known as an advocate of the Home Manufacture Movement for which he occasionally lectured.<sup>80</sup> Articles from his pen appeared in the *Cork Daily Herald* and he was for a period the editor of *Southern Industry* the organ of the Home Manufacture Movement printed by Guys of Cork.<sup>81</sup> Its lists of commercial concerns were to be the predecessors of Guy's well known Cork and Munster trade directories. Among advertisers in the paper were Wright's who advertised their own jams. The paper appeared for a few brief months before being absorbed idiosyncratically into the *Munster Military Journal*

where it scarcely survived much longer. Edward A. Wright was to adopt a very critical approach to the Religious Society to which he belonged. His views led to a very prolonged discussion in 1878.<sup>82</sup> In other papers he advocated the Land League<sup>83</sup> and a variety of social welfare. Referring to a recent period of famine in the country he contrasted the action of the British government in giving enormous amounts to spend in fighting the Zulus and Afghans whilst resisting the idea of giving a half million pounds to help 'the poor starving Irish'. The discussion following these remarks was noted as 'being more lively than usual'.<sup>84</sup> In 1882 Edward A. Wright promoted a discussion on the 'Irish Question'. He was in favour of Home Rule.<sup>85</sup> It is noted in the committee minutes 'but with few of those who spoke advocating such a change as the essayist proposed'. There were 43 members present on that occasion.<sup>86</sup>

As early as 1876 the CMIA committee was mentioning the fact that their Association was in a 'dwindling state'<sup>87</sup> but was not yet in danger of winding up its operations. The Library which had a separate committee of five men and five women Friends<sup>88</sup> reported an increase of borrowings to 532, an increase of 109 books over the previous year.<sup>89</sup> Members presented papers not alone about foreign countries but on their own visits to them. Alfred Cook had been a 'first class engineer' and had travelled on steamers to numerous ports in Spain, Turkey and Italy<sup>90</sup> and in 1880 Alfred Webb, of Dublin, one of the few Irish M.P.s to come of quaker background<sup>91</sup> addressed the CMIA on thoughts suggested by continental travelling'.<sup>92</sup> A notable lecture in 1881 was given by Joseph Bennis of Limerick whose speciality was phrenology.<sup>93</sup> He was renowned for his interest in this subject and is reputed to have gone round Limerick's graveyards to collect skulls as illustrations for his lectures.<sup>94</sup> In the same year Thomas Haslam, husband of Anna Maria Haslam and like her a pioneering feminist lectured on 'The prevention of pauperism', apparently advocating a variety of social welfare insurance.<sup>95</sup> Sixty-two Friends were present to hear that. Such an attendance was outshone by Edward Sparrow from the Dublin Friends Institute who in 1882 gave a talk under the irresistible title of 'Thoughts on a common failing of the genus Homo'.<sup>96</sup> Seventy-two people favoured him with their presence.

Lively essay and lecture topics were not enough to keep the CMIA going. The membership was probably by then predominantly old and perhaps tired.<sup>97</sup> Suggestions were made that it was time to dispense with the services of the librarian. By way of compromise the librarian was for a sum of £6 per annum retained to attend on Fifth-days (Thursdays) from 'the rise of meeting till one o'clock'.<sup>98</sup> The librarian was not to be

earning the honorarium for long. As a result of a meeting of the CMIA on 20 Eleventh-month 1884 and on the motion of Richard S. Baker and seconded by Barclay Clibborn, the CMIA was disbanded and its collection of books combined with the Monthly Meeting library<sup>99</sup> and its predominantly quaker collection of books. The new collection was called the Cork Mutual Improvement and Library Association. The remains of its large library of elegantly bound and gilded volumes was, on the closure of the Grattan Street premises transferred to the new premises at Summerhill. The books were sold off in 1989.

*Richard S. Harrison*

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

I am grateful for many kindnesses to Mary Shackleton the present Curator of the Dublin Friends Historical Library. For the privileged access to its treasures which as its Deputy-Curator I enjoyed for many years. I acknowledge my lasting debts of gratitude to Terence Mallagh and to Professor T.W. Moody, both now deceased, who were so keen to back me up in my studies.

I also thank the Friends in Cork Monthly Meeting who gave me access to the C.M.I.A. minute book which is the subject of this study.

The assistance of Kieran Burke of the Cork City Library has been much appreciated in the locating of books that were needed during the preparation of this article.

#### NOTE ON DATING

In the interests of historical accuracy as also in accordance with the convictions of some quakers, all dates, where appropriate, have been retained in the numerical form of the quaker 'plain language'.

<sup>1</sup> The period 1865-79 was to show a national increase of 2.36 per cent in membership of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland. The increases were chiefly located in urban areas, in Dublin (7.34 per cent), and in Ulster (36.22 per cent). Belfast (Lisburn Monthly Meeting) showed an increase of 21.22 per cent. Rural membership was declining in Munster (31.37 per cent) and Leinster (1.92 per cent) except in a small number of rural towns. Cork Monthly Meeting, the membership of which was chiefly urban, declined by 19.21 per cent. This information derived from *Proceedings of the yearly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland* (hereafter *Proceedings IYM*) (printed annually from 1864), 1866, 1876, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> The phenomenon, in relation to Dublin, is commented on in Richard S. Harrison, 'Dublin quakers in business 1800-50', (unpublished M. Litt., University of Dublin 1987), pp. 40-2, The multi-class population of pre-Famine Cork, and both its residence and employment in the shared central environment of that city is noted by John O'Brien, 'Merchants in Cork before the Famine', in P. Butel and L.M. Cullen (eds.), *Cities and merchants: French and Irish perspectives on urban development, 1500-1900* (Dublin 1986), 221-2.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry* (London 1950).

<sup>4</sup> *Cork Examiner*, 23 August 1847.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Barclay, *An apology for the true christian divinity* (8th ed., Dublin 1788), 540-1.

- <sup>6</sup> James Coleman, 'The Cork Library in 1801 and 1820' *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (JCHAS), XI, (1905), 82-93.
- <sup>7</sup> M. MacSweeney and J. Reilly, 'The Royal Cork Institution', Part I, (1803-26), JCHAS XLVIII, (1957), 22-36, and Part 2, (1826-49) JCHAS XLVIII, (1957), 77-94.
- <sup>8</sup> Robert Day, 'Cork Cuvierian and Archaeological Society', JCHAS, X, (1904), 117-22, and see especially 117-8. See also *Report of the Cuvierian Society for the cultivation of the sciences, for the session 1854-5* (Cork, 1855). Quaker members therein mentioned include Samuel Wright, William Henry Harvey and John Humphreys.
- <sup>9</sup> F.W. Allman, 'Cork Literary and Scientific Society', JCHAS, I (1892), 463-70, at 466. Thomas Beale is mentioned as 'censor' for the Society in 1823.
- <sup>10</sup> Abraham Shackleton, 'An Eight Weeks Tour. Oct. 1814' [hereafter, Shackleton, 'Tour'], (Dublin Friends Historical Library [hereafter, DFHLJ]).
- <sup>11</sup> C.M. Tenison, 'The private banks and bankers of the south of Ireland', JCHAS, 1, no 12 (Dec. 1892), 245. See also, Olive C. Goodbody, *Irish Quaker Records* (Dublin 1967) (hereafter, Goodbody: *Quaker Records*), pp. 80-3, John Lecky(1), 'the banker' (1764-1839), was the father of Robert John Lecky. John Lecky(2) was the son of Robert John Lecky, was born 11 Eleventh-month 1844 and died aged 84, on 29 Third-month 1929. See 'Obituary', JCHAS, XXXIV, no. 139 (Jan-Jun, 1929), 49-50. He was educated at Dr Newall's School on the South Mall, Cork. His uncle was James Beale, originally of the St George Steam-packet Company.
- <sup>12</sup> Shackleton, 'Tour', p. 41.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 22. 'Went to see Samuel Wright's collection. they consist mostly of fossils of the petrification kind - also smaller and precious stones'. He had 36 kinds, about half from the County Cork.
- <sup>14</sup> Alphabetical List, (1815), MM VIII M.5, (DFHL).
- <sup>15</sup> Samuel Wright (1780-1847) is mentioned in course of 'Joseph Wright F.G.S.', *Irish Naturalist's Journal* [hereafter INJ], XXII, no 5 (Jan. 1987), 169-80.
- <sup>16</sup> *Freeholder*, 27 January 1831, where scurrilous remarks are made about the fitness of Thomas Beale for office in the Cork Library, and, *Cork Constitution*, 31 January 1831, where Thomas Beale appears as secretary of the Cork Library.
- <sup>17</sup> John Windele, 'Abraham Abell of the South Munster Antiquarian Society', JCHAS, XXV, (1919), 63-7. Also, John Windele, 'Notice of the Death of Abraham Abell Esq., M.R.I.A.', JCHAS, XXV, (1919), 68-9. Abraham Abell was born at Pope's Quay, Cork, 11 Fourth-month 1783, and died in his native city, 12 Second-month (February) 1851, aged 68.
- <sup>18</sup> R.H. Laing, *Cork Directory* [hereafter, Laing, *Directory*], 1863, pp. 146, 147, 150.
- <sup>19</sup> Robert Day, 'John Humphreys', JCHAS, VII, (1901), 248.
- <sup>20</sup> See above, n. 11, and also, account in Goodbody, *Quaker Records* (Dublin 1967), 80-3. Robert John Lecky was born 25 Third-month 1809, and died 11 Eleventh-month 1897, aged 89. He was, with 'Mr Mangan, one of the "correct timekeepers" for the City and had a special observatory built for the same'. He was chiefly educated at Ballitore School.
- <sup>21</sup> See above, n. 15. Joseph Wright, F.G.S.I., was the son of Thomas and Mary (née Dudley) Wright, and was born in Cork, 7 First-month 1834. He died in Belfast, 7 Fourth-month 1923.
- <sup>22</sup> Anonymous, *Memoir of William Henry Harvey* (London 1869) William Henry Harvey was born at Limerick Second-month 1811 and died 1866. He was the son of Joseph Massey Harvey of Youghal.
- <sup>23</sup> *Proceedings*, LYM, 1867.

- <sup>24</sup> *Guy's County and City of Cork Directory* [hereafter *Guys*], 1875-6.
- <sup>25</sup> Laing, *Directory*, 1863, p. 160.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.
- <sup>27</sup> *Guy's*, 1875-6.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>29</sup> Minutes of the Cork Mutual Improvement Association [hereafter, CMIA], (Eleventh-month 1859) – 20 Eleventh-month 1884), (In the possession of Cork Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends).
- <sup>30</sup> Young Mens Association of the Society of Friends (18 Eleventh-month 1851 – 8 Fourth-month 1863), MM II R.2, (DFHL).
- <sup>31</sup> CMIA ... Eleventh-month 1859.
- <sup>32</sup> N. Marshall Cummins, *Some Chapters in the Medical History of Cork* (Cork 1957), 37, and 46, Joshua Reuben Harvey, (1804-?)A.B. Q.U.I., M.R.C.S. Eng (1828), Physician to the Lying-in Hospital, South Infirmary, and General Dispensary, Cork. He should not be confused with his relative Dr Joshua Harvey, (1790-1871). Neither should he be confused with Dr Reuben Joshua Harvey, his, and Elizabeth (née Todhunter) Harvey's son (17 Fourth-month 1845-1881). Dr Reuben Joshua Harvey was the founder of the Trinity College Dublin Medical Prize that carries his name.
- <sup>33</sup> See Day, 'Cuvierian Society', loc. cit., 117-8.
- <sup>34</sup> R.J. Hodges and W.T. Pike, *Cork and County Cork in the 20th Century* (Brighton 1911), 162. George Cotter Beale (2 Second-month 1827 – 15 Fourth-month 1914) was a son of Joshua Beale. Isaac Carroll (1828-80) is to be identified with the Cork Friend of that name referred to by Ernest H. Bennis in, 'Some Reminiscences of Limerick Friends' (1930), (DFHL), p. 10, as, 'in his day ... the best living authority on lichens'. See also R. Lloyd Praeger, *Some Irish Naturalists: A Biographical Notebook* (Dundalk, 1949), p. 60.
- <sup>35</sup> James Beale, (c.1798 – 2 Seventh-month (July 1879), was a partner in the Lecky & Beale shipyard. He was the man who undertook the scientific and commercial challenge to prove the possibility of transatlantic steamship travel, and a shareholder and director in the St George Steam packet Company, a largely Quaker-inspired venture. See, Anonymous, 'Irish Friends and Early Steam Navigation', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, XVII, 17, no.4 (1920), 105-113 *passim* and 108-9.
- <sup>36</sup> Evelyn Noble Armitage, *The Quaker Poets of Great Britain and Ireland* (London 1896), 36-7. James Beale, (5 Second-month 1829 – 24 Twelfth-month 1907), the poet, son of Joshua and Susanna Beale of 11, St Patrick's Hill was the nephew of James Beale. See above, n. 34.
- <sup>37</sup> CMIA ... Eleventh-month 1859.
- <sup>38</sup> CMIA 28 Eleventh-month 1859.
- <sup>39</sup> CMIA 28 Eleventh-month and, 10 First-month 1859.
- <sup>40</sup> CMIA 12 First-month 1860 and, 7 Second-month 1860.
- <sup>41</sup> CMIA 3 First-month 1861.
- <sup>42</sup> CMIA 24 First-month 1860. Penrose Beale (17 Third-month 1836 – 14 Eighth-month 1889), was the son of George S. and Elizabeth Beale. He had left the Society and his burial certificate notes that he was buried in the Cork Friends burial ground, 'by privilege'.
- <sup>43</sup> CMIA 13 Third-month 1860. Alfred Beale (7 Fifth-month 1838 – 1 Sixth-month 1932) was an accountant of 1, Alexandra Place.
- <sup>44</sup> CMIA 24 Fourth-month 1860.
- <sup>45</sup> CMIA 14 Second-month 1860.
- <sup>46</sup> CMIA 12 Second-month 1861.

- <sup>47</sup> CMIA 3 First-month 1861.
- <sup>48</sup> CMIA 26 Third-month 1861.
- <sup>49</sup> Joseph Wright's uncle was Samuel Wright. See above, n. 10 and n. 20. His father Thomas, owned Baker & Wright, druggists of Patrick Street, Cork. The family lived at 39, Duncan Street, opposite the Meetinghouse (a fact not correctly noted in Wilson, *INJ.*) CMIA minutes for 23 Tenth-month (October) 1868, note Joseph Wright's departure for Belfast where he established a tea business.
- <sup>50</sup> John Charles Newsom, was of the Newsom grocery and tea business of 9, French Church Street, Cork. His residence was at Ashton Lawn, Cork, according to *List of members (Munster)* (Dublin 1873).
- <sup>51</sup> Richard Baker, of a family of oil and colour merchants, Baker & Wright of 49, Patrick Street, Cork.
- <sup>52</sup> CMIA 13 Eleventh-month 1861.
- <sup>53</sup> 'The Irish flax industry and the Flax Extension Association', in W.P. Coyne (ed.), *Ireland industrial and agricultural* (Dublin 1902), 127-34.
- <sup>54</sup> CMIA 19 Fifth-month 1861. The Belfast 'Friends Institute' was apparently a result of a re-formation in 1863 of some earlier body and designed for young Friends away from home. No minute books are known to survive. For this information I am indebted to G. Leslie Stephenson the keeper of the Ulster Friends Quarterly Meeting Archives at Lisburn.
- <sup>55</sup> Proceedings of the Limerick Mutual Improvement Association (12 Eleventh-month 1865) (DFHL). On internal evidence this was apparently a second attempt to get such an association together in Limerick. In addition, James Hill, *Diary* (1847-68), Shelf P. no. 16 (DFHL), entry at 4 Tenth-month 1847, mentions, the probably Friend-inspired Atheneum Society, of similar purpose in Limerick.
- <sup>56</sup> CMIA 30 Fourth-month 1862.
- <sup>57</sup> CMIA 13 First-month 1863, when at the Third A.G.M. it was reported that the Royal Cork Institution and other libraries were willing to make their facilities available to the CMIA. 29 Eighth-month 1863, Morrow's Library was situated at 90, Patrick's Street.
- <sup>58</sup> CMIA 14 Eleventh-month 1862.
- <sup>59</sup> CMIA 26 First-month 1864.
- <sup>60</sup> CMIA 23 First-month 1865.
- <sup>61</sup> CMIA 23 First-month 1865.
- <sup>62</sup> CMIA 12 Second-month 1866.
- <sup>63</sup> John S. Rowntree, *Quakerism Past and Present* (London 1859).
- <sup>64</sup> CMIA n.a. 1869.
- <sup>65</sup> Rosemary Cullen Owens, *Smashing Times* (Dublin 1984), 22. Anna Maria Haslam (1837-1922), was a daughter of Peter Moor and Margaret Anne Fisher.
- <sup>66</sup> CMIA 8 Second-month 1874.
- <sup>67</sup> Owens, *Smashing Times*, 19-23, and Scrapbook Cup. B/65 (DFHL).
- <sup>68</sup> CMIA 25 First-month (January) 1875. Elizabeth Poole Addey was of a Wexford family. An account of her life is to be found in 'Recollections of Lizzie Poole Addey, written about 1875', in Deborah Webb, 'Reminiscences of Childhood' (DFHL).
- <sup>69</sup> CMIA 12 Eleventh-month 1877.
- <sup>70</sup> The Munster Quarterly Meeting was concerned with the disciplinary administrative and spiritual concerns of members of the Society in the Province. The Religious Society of Friends, operating as it does in consensual terms informed by a spiritual imperative therefore encouraged a widespread attendance at these meetings which were held alternatively in different centres. They incidently proved pleasant social occasions.

- 71 CMIA 21 Second-month 1872.
- 72 Portfolio 7 C. 16 (DFHL).
- 73 CMIA 20 Twelfth-month 1872.
- 74 CMIA 16 Tenth-month 1875.
- 75 CMIA 4 Twelfth-month 1871.
- 76 CMIA 26 Eleventh-month 1877.
- 77 CMIA 18 Eleventh-month 1878.
- 78 Edward A. Wright (1852-1924), was the son of William and Jane Wright of Summerhill. He died in California. His uncle was Joseph Wright, F.G.S.I.
- 79 CMIA 26 First-month 1873.
- 80 Edward A. Wright, *Irish industries: their promotion and development. A lecture* (Cork 1883).
- 81 *Southern Industry* n.s. (Cork) 1 April 1889.
- 82 CMIA 14 First-month 1878.
- 83 CMIA 22 Eleventh-month 1880.
- 84 CMIA 22 Third-month 1880.
- 85 CMIA 27 Eleventh-month 1882.
- 86 *Ibid.*
- 87 CMIA 13 Eleventh-month 1876.
- 88 CMIA 8 Eleventh-month 1875.
- 89 CMIA 3 Eleventh-month 1879.
- 90 CMIA 15 Twelfth-month 1879.
- 91 Alfred Webb (1834-1908), Home Rule M.P., represented Waterford West 1890-5. He was also treasurer of the Home Rule party. He resigned from Friends to join the Church of Ireland. Author of *A Compendium of Irish Biography* (Dublin 1878).
- 92 CMIA 1 Third-month 1880.
- 93 CMIA 3 First-month 1881.
- 94 Bennis, 'Reminiscences', p. 10.
- 95 CMIA 5 Twelfth-month 1881. Thomas J. Haslam (1825-30 January 1917), was a correspondent of John Stuart Mill. Some biographical details in Scrapbook Cup. B./65 (DFHL). See also, Owens, *Smashing Times*, 23.
- 96 CMIA 23 First-month 1882.
- 97 Membership of Cork Monthly Meeting stood at 248 members in 1879 and 197 members in 1889, representing a decline of 20.56 per cent. For which see, *Proceedings, IYM*, 1879, 1889.
- 98 CMIA 6 Third-month 1882.
- 99 CMIA 20 Eleventh-month 1884.