

IRISH QUAKER PERSPECTIVES ON THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT*

Introduction

Discussion of the anti-slavery movement inevitably in an Irish context involves discussion of Quakers, or 'Friends', members of the Religious Society of Friends. If the pursuit of a concept of a wider humanity was in nineteenth-century Ireland, and earlier, polarised and distorted by nationalistic and sectarian assumption, some middle ground remained. To this, Quakers, at all periods, were attracted even if they were excluded and self-excluded from direct party political activity.

A study of the evolution of the Quaker anti-slavery position in Ireland and the related internal doctrinal considerations and accommodations involved in their humanitarian stance might be expected to throw some light on any wider Irish advocacy of the abolition of slavery. Quaker activity provides a consistent biographical and structural link that enables an analysis of the development of the various anti-slavery societies that were from time to time to emerge during the nineteenth century in Ireland. Material for such an analysis is conveniently available in the Quaker records of their 'Yearly', 'Quarterly' and 'Monthly' administrative 'Meetings' and in family documents. Apart from that, the material must be derived chiefly from newspaper reports. These are somewhat disparate and must be used in an impressionistic way. Nevertheless the major themes and assumptions of administration, organisation and activity used by secular anti-slavery societies clearly emerge. In most of these Quakers were active.

Quaker consensual structures ensured that the promotion of secular philanthropic or, for that matter, of business and joint-stock companies, proved singularly congenial to them. They derived their humanitarian stance from a conception of the indwelling Christ in the human heart. From that resulted both individual obligations and communal disciplinary implications. The Society nurtured a variety of responses in individuals that drove them to undertake the promotion of "anti-slavery" as a matter of burning concern. Its structures of close interrelated family groups, of transatlantic business and philanthropic

contacts reinforced by the constant patterns of mutual review implicit in their discipline ensured that its membership had a powerful incentive towards informed humanitarian action.

Ireland's direct involvement in the slave-trade was minimal to the point of invisibility in comparison with that of England. It may be supposed that some Irish Quakers like other merchants were involved in the West Indies provision trade but their chief links 1720-70 were with mainland North America where their brethren were significantly not associated with the slave trade.¹ Occasionally, in newspaper reports from Cork and Belfast negro servants or negro runaways were advertised.² In one such case in Cork in 1769, two merchants with names indicating Quaker antecedents were censured for volunteering to aid in the recapture of such negroes.³ The merchants in question, Devonshire & Strettell were chiefly associated with the export of goods to the West Indies and the import of flax-seed from North America.⁴ They had been disowned several years before for offences against the Quaker discipline.⁵

During the two decades from 1770 on, a sharpened awareness of slavery had developed among Irish Friends as well as a wish to assist their American brethren in the abolition of the slave-trade. It reflected the concern of their American and English brethren and partially derived from their contacts with them. Epistles with anti-slavery sentiment from London Yearly Meetings (L.Y.M.) were formally read in Irish 'meetings'. The Irish National Meeting in 1776 issued an edition of the 'Journal' of John Woolman, the American Quaker who urged the necessity of the manumission of slaves.⁶ Further examples might be adduced. Anti-slavery emerged also in business areas in which Friends were active. Following the promotion of an anti-slavery petition from the Dublin Committee of Merchants in 1788 a similar move was promoted among Cork merchants in 1789 by the erstwhile Quaker, Cooper Penrose.⁷ The cause was popular also in the political circle of the Belfast Republicans and reflected in publications originating in Cork and Dublin.⁸ The issue was in Ireland pushed to one side as a result of the Rising of 1798 and the ensuing Act of Union of 1800. Irish Quakers, had further problems also in the internal discipline of their own religious society.

A constant factor in the background of early nineteenth-century Irish Quakerism was to be internal doctrinal dissent. It was to colour the various phases of Quaker anti-slavery activism. Such dissent involved views on the position of scripture but also, and more, views of the function of the Quaker 'discipline'. The contemporary orthodoxies of

Irish Quakers inclined to a variety of evangelicalism but were qualified by the disciplinary and corporate assumptions of Quakerism. Doctrinal dissent had been most acute in the Ulster 'Quarterly Meeting'.⁹ Many Friends there were seen not alone as undervaluing the written words of scripture but also as infected by democratic assumptions derived from Republicanism, perforce of a non-violent nature.¹⁰ Central to the doctrinal dissent in Carlow 'Monthly Meeting' was Abraham Shackleton of Ballitore, the proprietor of the private Quaker school there.¹¹ His father Richard had been associated with American Quaker anti-slavery activists and was a friend of Edmund Burke.¹² Abraham was a man of strong character. His critical view of scripture and of the Quaker discipline eventually led to his resignation and in 1801-2 to the brief closure of his school. Like other Quakers he abstained as a moral protest from the use of sugar and other slave-produced goods. His interest in every aspect of philanthropy was transmitted to his pupils and also through the influence of his sister, the writer Mary Leadbeater.¹³ Imperfectly resolved doctrinal emphases associated with the atmosphere of Ballitore school, may inadvertently have fuelled later tensions in Dublin between the orthodox and the more 'liberal' Friends over anti-slavery and other philanthropic activities. Among Quaker anti-slavery activists with a high public profile and who were pupils at the school should be mentioned Joshua Beale, James Haughton, Joshua Abell and Richard D. Webb.¹⁴

II

The slave-trade was abolished in 1807 but slavery continued to exist not only in America but in the British Colonies,¹⁵ For a while campaigning enthusiasm was in suspense particularly as a result of the absorbing issues of the Napoleonic wars. In 1821 each Irish Quaker local 'Meeting' was requested to consider raising funds for anti-slavery activity. Such funds were probably destined for the support of the central anti-slavery society in London, itself dominated by Quaker personnel and finance. Joseph Bewley of Dublin was the treasurer to whom sums were to be sent. The collector in Limerick Meeting was Benjamin Clarke Fisher.¹⁶ His name is to be noted in the context of later anti-slavery activity in that city. Decisions on such subscriptions as on all other matters were regarded as binding. Cork Monthly Meeting failed to subscribe indicating a variety of dissent or at least a lack of informed interest. Further subscriptions were fulfilled by them.¹⁷

A new phase in the campaign for the abolition of slavery was signalled in 1823 when L.Y.M. took up the question again.¹⁸ Ireland

Yearly Meeting (I.Y.M.) in 1824 followed with a petition on the subject to the British Parliament. This had the signatures of 175 Irish Friends including those of Joshua Abell, Richard Allen and Richard D. Webb who were all to be very active in the anti-slavery campaign.¹⁹ One unusual feature of Quaker anti-slavery in 1824 was that some individual Quaker meetings sent off their own petitions to the Parliament, thus undertaking a type of activity usually associated with the 'National Meeting'. A Communal petition promoted by Quakers is believed to have been sent from Moyallon, a traditional Quaker centre,²⁰ Another, with 203 names was sent from the Friends in Clonmel.²¹

Of personal rather than corporate significance was the visit in 1824 of the English Quaker James Cropper. He was a ship owner and corn merchant dealing with America and Ireland. He was concerned about both Irish poverty and the slave trade and believed that both problems could be simply solved. All that was necessary, he supposed was to purchase East Indian cotton (and incidently helping the people there), to manufacture it in Ireland and to boycott West Indian cotton thus provoking the emancipation of negro slaves. Cropper visited Limerick, Clonmel, Waterford, Mountmellick, Cork and Dublin where he finished his journey in December 1824.²² His approach was pragmatic and involved acting through committees of landowners and merchants who could exercise both political, economic and organisational power. Ecumenical and trans-party political co-operation was implied. Cropper was facilitated by Irish Quakers with whom he stayed and they arranged interviews with leading Irish politicians such as Thomas Spring-Rice, an intimate friend of the Quaker Harvey family of Limerick. Daniel O'Connell also displayed much interest and was stimulated to a closer activity on behalf of anti-slavery. The plan, did not in the end come to anything although it probably resulted in the Quaker Malcomson family of Clonmel setting up their effective and powerful cotton manufacture at Portlaw, County Waterford.²³

An anti-slavery society existed in Carlow in 1824 but the first consistent reports of such a society originate from Cork. Its origins and operations are detailed in two letters written by Joshua Beale to Mary Leadbeater.²⁴ A picture of the operations of the Cork Anti-slavery Society (C.A.S.S.) and its links with the wider anti-slavery movement can be built up in conjunction with newspaper reports. Joshua Beale was a leading figure in its establishment. He had been a Quaker and maintained close connections with the Religious Society of Friends in addition to a continuing adherence to Quaker scruples such as those in favour of the Quaker 'plain language'. He had been disowned for the

infringement of marriage regulations of the Society as well as for his dissent from Quaker doctrinal orthodoxies.²⁵ He was long renowned for his philanthropic activities and was a prime promoter of the Cork Humane Dispensary in 1787.²⁶

In 1826 Joshua Beale then probably 63 years old, felt called to undertake the promotion of the C.A.S.S. In his two letters to Mary Leadbeater he transmits his enthusiasm for this new phase of the anti-slavery campaign, encouraging her to use her good influence for the cause among young people in Co. Kildare. He had anticipated opposition from the powerful West India merchants. Support including that of Lord Carbery came from people who had already been involved in the Cropper-inspired committee. Beale explained how committees might be set up and patrons found among prominent and respected citizens. He anticipated a positive response from the use of Quaker administrative structures and family networks, hoping to time his propaganda for the forthcoming 'Ulster Quarterly Meeting'. He suggests that propagandist journals be circulated and petitions promoted among members of the chief religious communities including 'if necessary' the local 'popish priest'. He felt that his chief successes had been among 'dissenting people'.²⁷

The C.A.S.S. was an auxiliary of the London Anti-Slavery Society and used its influence to stimulate the formation of similar auxiliaries in other parts of the country, in particular in Cork and Kerry. The satirical Cork journal, the *Freeholder*, commenting on it proposed first petition, advocated that 'everyone should sign it, no matter it emanating from a body hostile to freedom at home'.²⁸ The 'body' was not further defined but may be presumed to have involved persons affected by a proselytising evangelicalism. Several Friends were to take administrative and promotional roles in anti-slavery societies. Their presence at public meetings was frequently commented on and such meetings were often held in their meeting-houses. Some of them also were affected by the current evangelicalism and its associated activism, but this was qualified by their own quietish approach and wish to act in terms of their own organisational assumptions.²⁹

Internal Quaker concern about the slave is indicated in national subscriptions raised in 1826 and in 1827 to help the anti-slavery cause. These sums were probably mediated by the London Friends and their 'Meeting for Sufferings'.³⁰ Increasing Quaker interest from contacts with Friends in L.Y.M. is shown in a letter from James Henry Webb to his friend Richard Allen. Both were to become activists. The letter details his attendance at the L.Y.M. and later at an anti-slavery meeting

which was addressed by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and J.J. Gurney. With an awakened concern he notes the part which women are taking in the new established women's slavery societies. The younger Friends are so far moved by the events as to give a standing ovation, a departure from conservative Quaker practice.³¹

Belfast conceivably was not fertile ground for the promotion of an anti-slavery society. A search of Belfast newspapers leads to the conclusion that although they carried information about the state of the slaves, and about London based anti-slavery activity there was no local auxiliary. This apparent lack of local activity might perhaps be attributed to the powerful West Indies interest in Belfast as also to residual ambivalence about any liberal activities.³² The lack of a Belfast anti-slavery society at this period is indicated by a report of the arrival in its port of two ships said to contain slaves. Contact was made, interestingly, with the members of the Society of Friends, members of the Moyallon Anti-Slavery Society. The Friends Wakefield, Christy, Sinton, and Dawson 'waited on several of the magistrates' one of whom turned out to be the brother of the Governor of Bermuda, the proprietor of four of the slaves.³³

The Dublin Anti-slavery Society (D.A.S.S.) was possibly set up in 1827. The *Freeman's Journal*, acidly comments on the fashionable and religious appearance of its widely advertised meeting.³⁴ This perception shows a different slant on the reported operations of, for example, the C.A.S.S. The early anti-slavery societies were generally conducted with a due appreciation of the delicate nature of the political exercise. Gradualism and ecumenical endeavour might have been their keywords. Daniel O'Connell was present at a C.A.S.S. meeting in Cork on 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'.³⁵

An early, if not the first, secretary of the D.A.S.S. was Joshua Abell, another Cork Quaker. Only a few years before, in 1824, he had founded the Hibernian Peace Society.³⁶ Associated with him in the D.A.S.S. was the noted evangelical the Rev W. Urwick, Dr C.H. Orpen and Henry Grattan Curran. At the Second Anniversary Meeting in 1829 the Chairman was Robert Fayle, a Quaker of High Street. The committee of 13 included the Quakers Mark Allen, Henry Bewley and Dr Joshua Harvey of Youghal. Non-Quakers included the prominent Tory Sir George Whiteford, later to be Lord Mayor of Dublin. Several of them such as John David Le Touche of Castle Street and John Purser

jnr., of James' Gate were known for their commitment to varieties of evangelicalism. A particular member who must be noted was Thomas Lonergan whose address was the same as that of Richard Lonergan of the *Dublin Morning Post* which gave much publicity to the D.A.S.S.³⁷

Daniel O'Connell was already very central to the preoccupations of the anti-slavery movement in Ireland, England and the U.S.A. He was to become very friendly with the English Quakers Joseph Sturge and Joseph Pease as well as several Irish Quakers. However, as may be noted there was a degree of mutual ambivalence in the views of O'Connell and of the Quakers. Daniel O'Connell was present in 1830 at the Third Anniversary Meeting of the D.A.S.S. in the Rotunda where over 2,000 people were present. His increasing support for the movement coincided with a massive increase in public interest in the issues involved.³⁸

A new factor in increasing public awareness of the anti-slavery issue was the inauguration 9 July 1830 of the Hibernian Negro's Friend Society (H.N.F.S.) This was run in tandem with the D.A.S.S. but obeyed its own organisational imperatives. Its chief aims were the circulation of the scriptures, the abolition of slavery and the promotion of negro freedom.³⁹ A special part was seen in the establishment of Free Labour Produce Warehouses. One of these was managed by Henry Russell, a Quaker grocer at 36, South Frederick Street, Dublin.⁴⁰ The H.N.F.S. role was chiefly informational and did not trespass on the local auxiliary anti-slavery societies. In 1830 it apparently employed an agent, Captain Stuart, to travel round the country and give lectures. As far as his tour has been traced it took in New Ross, Waterford, Cork, Bandon, Clonakilty and Skibbereen followed by Killarney and Limerick. He reached Belfast towards the end of 1830 where his meeting was held 31 December.⁴¹ Many of his meetings were held in Wesleyan meeting houses. Whilst Quakers were active in the H.N.F.S., it is probably correct to see the organisation as primarily supported by the Wesleyan community. In both England and Ireland their awareness of the privations of the slaves in the West Indies and threats to their missionary territories induced them to further open their doors to the anti-slavery activists.⁴² Their more aggressive missionary activities at home may have led one commentator to see some members of the C.A.S.S. as tinged with anti-catholicism.⁴³

The period 1830-3 marked a concentrated peak of anti-slavery activity. Disappointment at the poor results achieved by the policy of gradualism, as well as a new awareness of the power of the middle-class vote as a result of political reform, stimulated a more aggressive phase of

anti-slavery activity; this first emerged in Cork in time for a by-election 4 August 1830. Efforts there were directed away from petitions to voting only for candidates who would pledge themselves to substantial anti-slavery legislation. The committee of the C.A.S.S. at that time had for its secretary Abraham Beale, a Quaker iron merchant of Patrick's Quay. The document expressing C.A.S.S. policy was dated in the 'plain Language' as 26 Seventh-month (July).⁴⁴

Not all Quakers felt it necessary to refrain from the import of West India sugars and there was no formalised disciplinary pressure on them so to do.⁴⁵ There is not further literary evidence available to draw a wider conclusion from this. The L.Y.M. in Fourth-month (April) 1831 sent a petition on anti-slavery to Parliament.⁴⁶ Whilst such petitioning was acceptable Irish Quakers were nevertheless in the same year advised by their Yearly Meeting to 'refrain from being improperly engaged in public or political questions'.⁴⁷ A further petition was sent by the L.Y.M. in 1833.⁴⁸ Such concern was partially a sign of retreat to their own sectarian safeties in the face of nationalism with overtones of resurgent Roman Catholicism, and of movements to parliamentary and electoral reform. It was partially a wish not to permit any external detraction from proper attention to the internal imperatives of the religious life. It showed an awareness of the corruption and violence so often associated with electioneering and party or sectarian politics. Quaker aloofness caused popular criticism as occurred during a Protestant boycott of businesses in Youghal where Quakers were found amongst both the liberal and conservative interests.⁴⁹

III

Slavery in the British colonies and dominions was ostensibly abolished on 1 August 1834. In place of slavery the category, of 'apprenticeship', was created.⁵⁰ The anti-slavery campaign went now for a time into abeyance, although there was great general dissatisfaction about the morality and the practicality of the legislation. It was already clear by 1836 that the apprenticeship was not going to work. Irish Quakers continued interested in the wider issue of emancipation and in the same year raised a subscription to help charitable efforts for the negro in the North Carolina Yearly Meeting.⁵¹

A new phase in the anti-slavery campaign opened in 1837 on the revelations of the oppressed state of the West Indies 'apprentices'. This followed on a trip of investigation to the West Indies by the English Quaker Joseph Sturge, the son-in-law of James Cropper.⁵² An

immediate ending of the unjust negro apprenticeship was now demanded. Awareness in Ireland took second place to national electoral considerations. The *Dublin Morning Register*, editorialised, 'How will the Quakers vote?'. Taking into account their known stance on anti-slavery and peace as well as their historical sufferings for the refusal of tithes, it could not see them as consistent Tories. The fact that several of them had voted the previous day for Daniel O'Connell and Robert Hutton was admiringly mentioned.⁵³

In Dublin, as first step to informing themselves and a wider public. Edward Baldwin the secretary of the H.N.F.S. (which now apparently subsumed the role of the D.A.S.S.) in Dublin invited the well-known lecturer George Thompson to address a meeting on 11 August 1837.⁵⁴ This meeting was to prove seminal for several Dublin Quakers, in particular for Richard Davis Webb, a young Quaker printer. Thompson's influence and that derived from reading Harriet Martineau was eventually to lead him to correspond with several American abolitionists including William Lloyd Garrison. Webb was thus projected into a central position in the transatlantic abolitionist network.⁵⁵

A significant reorganisation of the H.N.F.S. took place on 18 September 1837 when it was reconstituted as the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society. Its address continued at 28, Upper Sackville Street, Dublin. Its secretaries were Dr. Charles E.H. Orpen and Richard Allen, Quaker draper of High Street. Six out of its nine committee members were Quakers. Other Irish anti-slavery societies, such as that in Cork, participated in this new phase of the campaign but without any apparent changes in personnel or structure.⁵⁶ In London, the Central Negro Emancipation Committee (C.N.E.C.), was set up by Sturge to forward a more aggressive pressure on the government, as well as to side-step the ineffectual temporizing of the older London anti-slavery committee.⁵⁷ The C.N.E.C. summoned on three successive occasions urgent delegate meetings to coincide with the introduction of abolitionist motions in the British Parliament. Delegates from Dublin and Cork, and including James H. Webb and his brother Richard D. Webb, were present on these.⁵⁸ On 27 February 1838 the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (B.F.A.S.S.), was set up in London to spearhead ongoing abolitionist activity.⁵⁹ This was eventually to take over the functions and inherit the structures of the C.N.E.C. and the older anti-slavery society. Its centralist assumptions, to the irritation of some local groupings, were to be those of England and London.

Following the defeat in the House of Commons, of Sir George Strickland's motion for the abolition of the apprenticeship, the *Dublin Morning Register*, criticised Joshua Abell for his accusations against Hutton the Dublin member who had voted against it. Hutton was seen as in favour of abolition but not so immediately as both the *Dublin Morning Register*, or Joshua Abell would like. Joshua Abell, had however stated that Hutton was pledge bound by a public meeting to vote for the motion. Abell was seen as inconsistent in his apparent liberalism. He had, in the last election, voted for Hamilton West, the Tory candidate, who was defeated.⁶⁰

For the information of Quakers, the I.Y.M.'s standing Committee paid Richard D. Webb on 21 Fifth-month (May), to reprint a Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 'Address on Slavery'.⁶¹ The same committee undertook to prepare and forward a petition for the Abolition of the Negro Apprenticeship.⁶² On 1 August 1838 the British Parliament by a majority of three abolished the 'Apprenticeship'. Co-operation with the English Quakers extended to Richard Allen's borrowing a pair of Joseph Sturge's silk stockings for the delegate levee that had been summoned to lobby M.Ps. The power of as yet unemancipated women was shown when on the following day a petition from 75,000 Irish women was presented to Queen Victoria.⁶³ The news of the anti-slavery victory was conveyed by the secretary of the B.F.A.S.S. to Abraham Beale, secretary of the C.A.S.S.⁶⁴

The campaign did not now cease. Co-operation with American anti-slavery societies to help in the abolition of slavery in the United States was to be the next phase. Sturge promoted the holding of a World Convention in London, and in this he was encouraged by Daniel O'Connell. Sturge undertook to visit, Dublin, Belfast and Scotland, and G.W. Alexander to visit Waterford and Cork to inform the people about the event.⁶⁵ The World Anti-slavery Convention began in London on Friday, 12 June 1840⁶⁶ and continued for two weeks. Some of the delegates were from auxiliary anti-slavery societies in Cork and Belfast, but most of the Irish delegates were from the H.A.S.S. in Dublin, and were Quakers including Richard D. Webb and James H. Webb.⁶⁷ For them, the Convention crystallized a new set of human relationships and doctrinal emphases. They were exposed to a whole series of radical ideas on non-resistance and women's rights which were introduced by the American delegates under the leadership of William Lloyd Garrison.⁶⁸

Irish Friends were exceedingly touchy about even the discussion of doctrinal matters, and in the 1840s were suffering the effects of a minute

secession by the eccentric and anarchistic group of 'White Quakers'.⁶⁹ The 'radical' American connexions present at the Convention were highly repugnant to the conservative majority of both Irish and English Quakers also. These new ideas coincided with a new and radical phase in philanthropic reform and sparked off ardent controversy in the *Irish Friend*. Several Friends cancelled their subscriptions as a result.⁷⁰ They disliked the secular and political overtones implicit in co-operation with some of the supposedly radical reformers. Much of the criticism focused on William Lloyd Garrison, the American abolitionist. His views were seen as allied to the discredited Hicksite doctrines of some separated Quaker Yearly Meetings in America. As such they were identified with similar doctrines that had caused hurtful doctrinal dissent among Irish Friends in the early nineteenth century. Webb was friendly with Lucretia Mott a delegate and a Hicksite who had been excluded, as a woman, from the World Convention. For many Friends such issues as non-resistance and women's rights were seen as extraneous to anti-slavery and detracting from the central cause.⁷¹

The committee of the H.A.S.S. was essentially formed of Richard D. Webb, his two brothers, Richard Allen, James Haughton, and R.R. Moore. All were Quakers, except Haughton who had resigned his membership to become a Unitarian and R.R. Moore. The committee was an important clearing-house of unique anti-slavery information derived from the international contacts and correspondence of its members. They held regular meetings in the Royal Exchange and made a creative use of the press. Their audiences, favourable to teetotalism were seen as open to other philanthropic reforms. In different combinations the H.A.S.S. committee formed the Hibernian Peace Society. The Hibernian British India Society and the Hibernian Temperance Society.⁷² All had links of friendship with Daniel O'Connell, perforce qualified by ambivalence about him as a politician. James Haughton was a member of the Loyal National Repeal Association, Richard D. Webb printed material for him, and Richard Allen had co-operated with him in the abolition of the Dublin Guild system.⁷³

An important local intervention was organised by the H.A.S.S. in 1840 when it was discovered that Irish people were being inveigled to go to the West Indies as part of a system of indentured labour akin to slavery. The system was to be operated through Limerick. The influence of the H.A.S.S. and its secretary Richard Allen, with Daniel O'Connell and with the editors of newspapers was effective in putting an end to it.

The Limerick auxiliary of the B.F.A.S.S. co-operated and, like the H.A.S.S. faithfully kept the B.F.A.S.S. informed. Samuel Grey, the Chairman and Samuel Evans the secretary of the Limerick Auxiliary were both Quakers and Quakers were noted in publicly rallying the oppositions in the city.⁷⁴

A more successful nation-wide series of meetings was organised by the H.A.S.S. for Charles Lennox Remond, a 'man of colour'. To do this they used their pre-existent Quaker network. In Waterford he stopped with Webb's Quaker in-laws. His visit to Cork was arranged by William Martin the well known Quaker advocate of teetotalism and in Limerick he was welcomed by Benjamin Clark Fisher, yet another Quaker. Most of his meetings were held in Quaker meeting-houses and in Independent chapels. The Methodist community was not favourable to him on account of his forthright attacks on the slave-holding propensities of their American brethren.⁷⁵ His visit stimulated activity by the Cork Ladies Anti-Slavery Society (C.L.A.S.S.) and other female anti-slavery groups. When Remond returned to America he brought with him an 'Address' drawn up by Webb and Haughton and signed by 60,000 Irish people including Daniel O'Connell and Father Mathew.⁷⁶ The Address was designed to persuade Irish Americans to use their influence against slavery. At least one Cork Friend expressed a dissenting position from the petition which for him involved not only an internal inconsistency but advocated a 'christian republicanism' that should be seen as contrary to Friends principles. The petition was to be rejected as spurious by prominent Irish-Americans.⁷⁷

An extensive discussion of Richard D. Webb is not really pertinent to the broader aims of this study but it is enough to remark on his centrality to all propagandist Irish anti-slavery activities. Whilst consideration of him may be illuminating it might also introduce an element of distortion into this study. The less vocal and more conservative Friends were the norm against which he often reacted. Besides their quietist penchants it is clear that they felt a distinct distaste for propagandist activity and a preference for practical schemes of relief. Webb himself was forced to admit that it was their money that kept much of the anti-slavery cause alive.⁷⁸ For Webb abolitionists gave him a sense of freedom from the restrictions of the religious society to which he belonged as well as from the restrictions and sectarian bigotries which he felt in his own country.⁷⁹

Outside of Dublin such radicalism does not seem to have been reflected in any other Irish Quaker community, except in isolated instances as with Webb's cousins, the Poole family of Wexford.⁸⁰ The

C.A.S.S., an auxiliary of the B.F.A.S.S. continued to reflect a pattern of trans-sectarian activity centred on the 'Independent' community of the Dowdens and the Jennings.⁸¹ An increasing sense of Protestant cohesion was likely to have heightened the more introverted disciplinary sense of the smaller Cork Quaker community. As a community they seemed content to take a back seat. In Belfast the overwhelming Presbyterian milieu by then perhaps discouraged consistent anti-slavery activity. For the few radical Dublin Friends the reforms they were promoting became implicitly a vehicle for criticism of their more conservative brethren. For many Friends, at a time when they were excluded or self-excluded from formal political activity, philanthropic activity provided a vicarious substitute for political action. They were not all equally critical of their brethren and Richard Allen espoused a variety of evangelicalism not inconsistent with the doctrinal base of the Society.⁸² A number of Quaker sympathisers to Repeal may also be assumed. Among these was Ebenezer Shackleton a grandson of Abraham of Ballitore. He could not see much difference between slavery and the condition of his impoverished fellow countrymen.⁸³

Irish Friends were perceived as 'conservatives' by Richard D. Webb, who felt that 'Nineteen out of twenty English Quakers are decided radicals or at least Whigs. Nineteen out of twenty Irish Quakers are rank Tories and bigoted enemies to the Catholics - political enemies I mean'.⁸⁴ This view was certainly in keeping with one popular perception of Quakers. It was expressed in an invitation to an anti-slavery breakfast and contained in a letter from Walter R. Osborne to Richard Dowden of Cork. The letter encouraged the influencing of Quakers during the forthcoming election and stated, 'Some are honest and although they would not care a pin for us poor whites or our liberties, yet the blacks across the sea are very precious'.⁸⁵

O'Connell saw it as inconsistent with the anti-slavery of Irish Quakers that they took so little interest in Repeal, but on the same occasion praised their community, 'I believe that almost all of them voted for me'.⁸⁶ Their introverted stance and principled avoidance of party politics left them open to misunderstanding. Their supposed Toryism like their commitment to Free-trade was however likely to have been qualified by a pragmatism derived from their non-dogmatic approach to religion. Abraham Beale, secretary of the C.A.S.S., during an election in Cork, under the terms of the 'Municipal Reform Act' permitted his name to go forward as a candidate. In itself this was a remarkable occurrence for a contemporary Irish Quaker but his acceptance was still qualified by principle. He explained that he would

not canvass votes or take a party-line. The shrewdly political Cork conservatives saw him as a variety of crypto-liberal and withheld their votes from him.⁸⁷

The heady confidence of the earlier years of the decade when it seemed that any reform was and would be obtained was replaced gradually by a despondency. For Webb this came to a new head in 1843. The I.Y.H. refused to accept an epistle from a breakaway group of the Indiana Yearly Meeting.⁸⁸ The breakaway group had been formed by anti-slavers whose enthusiasm had been disappointed in a letter published in the abolitionist Boston *Liberator* and ostensibly reporting on the recent 1843 London Anti-Slavery Convention, Webb challenged Irish Quakers about the refusal.⁸⁹ If the letter was noticed by Friends or regarded as a challenge there is no sign that they took any disciplinary action, perhaps hoping that patience would mend the hurts.

Further causes of tension between Dublin's anti-slavery activists and Friends surfaced when Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave came on a visit in 1845. His forthright criticisms of Methodist slave-holders naturally enough annoyed Dublin Methodists. Dublin Friends were offended that their meeting-house should be used for such criticisms and withdrew its use for future meetings. Richard D. Webb and his brother James Henry Webb accused Friends of being more concerned about their good reputation than helping in the proclamation of anti-slavery truth, James and Richard D. Webb went public with a letter in the *Liberator*.⁹⁰ From then on they began to be more and more estranged from Friends, although Richard D. Webb took a part in the administration of relief during the 'Great Hunger'.⁹¹

The Famine also led to tension. The Central Relief Committee (C.R.C.) turned down a subscription from a concert in London but accepted one collected by known slave-holders. The inconsistency of this was very clear to Webb, Allen and Haughton. Webb printed an open letter addressed to the C.R.C. and written by Henry C. Wright, a visiting American Garrisonian.⁹² Interestingly, even at the height of the Famine the Irish Friends were not forgetful of the erstwhile slaves of the West Indies. Dublin Friends, reported in third-month (March) 1847 that they had raised a subscription of £137, 'for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the coloured population in the West Indies, Mauritius etc'.⁹³

IV

During the period from the Famine to the American Civil War varieties of anti-slavery activism continued. A central part was played in

this by the Ladies anti-slavery organisations of which the chief was the Dublin Ladies Anti-slavery Society (D.L.A.S.S.).⁹⁴ Its subscriptions lists are made up of primarily 'Quaker' names. The 1858 committee of the D.L.A.S.S. included 14 such out of 15 and the secretary was the Friend Mary Edmundson.⁹⁵ The subscription lists include the names of several men Friends not previously noted as vocal in the anti-slavery cause such as Thomas and William H. Pim and Samuel Bewley jnr.⁹⁶ Their funds were devoted to issuing addresses to emigrants, providing information on the cause and helping negro fugitives. Some local auxiliaries of the B.F.A.S.S. such as the C.A.S.S. continued to organise public meetings. The C.A.S.S. in 1851 organised a meeting on the 'Fugitive Slave Law'. This was attended by the Lord Mayor, James Lambkin and its Quaker secretary Samuel Beale.⁹⁷ In Belfast, it was remarked that except among Quakers there was no longer any interest in the subject of anti-slavery.⁹⁸ During 1859, Sarah Parker Remond, sister of Charles Lennox Remond visited and gave a series of public meetings in Dublin, Cork, Clonmel and Waterford.⁹⁹

Webb's anti-slavery activities were to continue, although as the culmination of a long period of dissent he had left the Religious Society of Friends in 1851.¹⁰⁰ He edited and published the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*.¹⁰¹ The American Civil War provoked a new series of Irish reactions, much polarised in terms of pro and anti-English perceptions.¹⁰² Webb the idealist found it hard to reconcile his peace views and his anti-slavery views.¹⁰³ Those Friends who had maintained a studied neutrality based on their historic adherence to the Christian gospel of peace were not faced with such a conflict. Nevertheless by a strange paradox many Irish Friends found initial sympathies for Northern Federalists replaced by sympathy for the Southern Confederates.¹⁰⁴ If anti-slavery activism was now at a stop some Irish Friends found a practical role. In Waterford, in 1862, a sum of £460 was collected to help the Lancashire cotton operatives who had been put out of work by the war-induced cotton famine. Of this sum £270 was contributed by the Friends.¹⁰⁵

With the ending of the Civil War a massive relief and reconstruction effort began. The I.Y.M. acting on information mediated from its own 'Committee' and from the London 'Meeting for Sufferings' set up a committee of 27 members to organise the collection of funds for relief to the emancipated slaves and to the victims of the war including American Friends.¹⁰⁶ By the next year a total of £1,450. 8s. 10d. had been collected.¹⁰⁷ Such continuing humanitarian work was seen as a measure of acknowledgement for American help to Irish people during the 'Great Hunger'.¹⁰⁸ During 1864 Levi Coffin the American organiser

of the 'Underground Railway' visited Ireland. A meeting was arranged for him in Dublin at the Friends Institute, and several notables were invited to discuss ways of raising relief funds. Present at the meeting was the Lord Mayor of Dublin as well as such Friends as Samuel Bewley, William Barrington, Jonathan Pim, and James Haughton J.P. A sum of £200 was immediately subscribed.¹⁰⁹ Levi Coffin followed up this meeting with visits to Cork, Waterford, Belfast and Moyallon being assisted in each place by Friends, who arranged meetings with prominent citizens.¹¹⁰

To summarise, the Religious Society of Friends provided sustaining structures which permitted and encouraged individual members to take up the cause of the slave. All were not equally vocal or active but whenever a humanitarian movement went into popular abeyance they were able with their practical organisational skills and financial assistance to initiate it once again. These advocates of abolition were important to the formation in Ireland of a sense of responsibility and co-operation in the cause of a wider humanity. Their political ambivalence and reticence set them apart, but left them with a consistent practical role that could be responded to by the public.

Richard S. Harrison

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*I express my thanks to the Dublin Friends who made available a bursary fund that enabled me in 1982 to visit the Boston Public Library, where I consulted some of the material used here. I am likewise grateful for the use of the Dublin Friends Historical Library and for the assistance of Patricia McCarthy of the Cork Archives Institute, and of Noel O'Mahony of the Bantry Public Library. I am also indebted to Dr David Dickson (T.C.D.) whose comments on an earlier and more primitive draft encouraged me to the writing of this study.

¹Thomas H. Truxes, *Irish American Trade 1660-1783*, [hereafter Truxes, *Trade*] (Cambridge, 1988) p. 141 and p. 76. For drawing my attention to these references I am grateful to Dr David Dickson (T.C.D.).

²*Cork Journal*, 4 Dec. 1769.

³*Ibid.*, 4 April 1769.

⁴Truxes, *Trade*, 78.

⁵Cork Monthly Meeting [hereafter C.M.M.] Minutes. 24 Fifth-month (May), and 24 Tenth-month (Oct) 1756 (Dublin Friends Historical Library [hereafter D.F.H.L.] MM VIII A.5(1752-6).

⁶Dublin Monthly Meeting [hereafter D.M.M.], Minutes, 22 Eighth-month (Aug), (D.F.H.L.), MM II A,13(1767-9).

⁷Louis M. Cullen, *Princes and Pirates*. (Dublin, 1983), 54 and Minutes of the Committee of Merchants, 7 Jan. 1789 (Cork Museum, Fitzgerald Park, Cork).

- ⁸Henry Joy, *Historical Collections relating to the Town of Belfast*, (Belfast, 1817), p. 374 and, Mary McNeill, *The Life and Times of Mary Ann McCracken 1770-1866*, (Dublin, 1960), p. 295, A typical publication to be cited might be *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 necessity of its Abolition by the Disuse of them*, published by Anthony Edwards, 3 Castle Street. (Cork, 1782).
- ⁹Neville I. Newhouse, 'The Irish Separation of 1800' in *Friends Quarterly*, XVII, 3, (1971), 123-9 and XVII, 4, (1971), 169-79.
- ¹⁰E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland Statistical and Political*, (London, 1812), II, 734 and, Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, (London, 1921), I, 298.
- ¹¹see above n. 4.
- ¹²Jones, *Later Periods*, I. 319.
- ¹³John Hancock, *A Sketch of the Character of Abraham Shackleton of Ballitore*, (Dublin, 1818), see also, R.D. Webb, *Recollections of the Character of Mary Leadbeater*, (Dublin, 1829).
- ¹⁴Mary Leadbeater, *The Leadbeater Papers*, I, (London, 1862), Appendix.
- ¹⁵Howard Temperley, *British Anti-Slavery 1833-70* [hereafter, *Anti-Slavery*], (London, 1972), 6.
- ¹⁶Limerick Monthly Meeting, Rough Minutes (11 Seventh-month (July) 1820 - 15 Twelfth-month (Dec.) 1829). 14 Eighth-month (Aug.) (In keeping of John and Helen Grubb, Limerick).
- ¹⁷C.M.M. Minutes, 19 Fourth-month (April) 1827, (D.F.H.L.), MM VIII. A, 8(1807-29).
- ¹⁸Jones, *Later Periods*, I, 328.
- ¹⁹Anti-slavery Petition from Ireland Yearly Meeting. 1824 (D.F.H.L.), Port. 13,33.
- ²⁰Draft Petition of the Inhabitants of Moyallon and its Vicinity in the Co. of Down, Ireland n.d., (P.R.O.N.I.) D. 1762/50.
- ²¹*Southern Reporter*, 3 July 1824.
- ²²Kenneth Charlton, 'The State of Ireland in the 1820s: James Cropper's Plan' in *Irish Historical Studies*, XVII, 67, (1971), 320-9.
- ²³*Ibid.*
- ²⁴Petition from Carlow Anti-Slavery Society, *Hansard* (Commons), 2nd ser., XI, 1406, 15 May 1824, and Joshua Beale to Mary Leadbeater, 23 First-month (Jan.), 1826 (D.F.H.L.) Mss. Box 32. The relevant letter is also printed in, Isabel Grubb, An Anti-Slavery Enthusiast, *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* [hereafter, *J.F.H.S.*], XXXI, (1934), 21-6.
- ²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 21. Joshua Beale may well have been disowned on two separate occasions. Cork Monthly Meeting disowned him for a different disciplinary offence from that mentioned by Isabel Grubb. See C.M.M. Minutes, 9 Eleventh-month (Nov.), (D.F.H.L.), MM VIII A, 8.
- ²⁶N. Marshall Cummins, *Some Chapters of Cork Medical History*, (Cork, 1957), 33-4.
- ²⁷Grubb, *Enthusiast*, 24.
- ²⁸*Freeholder*, (Cork), 1 Jan. 1826.
- ²⁹*Freeman's Journal*, [hereafter, *F.J.*], 17 May 1824, where O'Connell accused younger Dublin Quakers of being Orangemen. The Quaker rejection of his remarks was reported in *F.J.* 24 May 1824.
- ³⁰Ireland Yearly Meeting [hereafter, I.Y.M.] Minutes. Fifth-month (May) 1826, (D.F.H.L.), Half YM A. 6(1809-52), and, see, C.M.M. Minutes, 19 Fourth-month (April), when Robert Going and James Simpson collected £10.15s., (D.F.H.L.) MM VIII A.8., Temperley, *Anti-slavery*, 10.

- ³¹James H. Webb to Richard Allen, 17 Fifth-month 1828 (D.F.H.L.) Port. 8 (9).
- ³²*Northern Whig*, 26 Jan. 1826 notes mainly direct imports of West Indies sugar (1824), 5, 441 hogsheads and 1,614 casks and (1825), 4,558 hogsheads and 931 casks.
- ³³*Northern Whig*, 4 Sept. 1828.
- ³⁴*F.J.*, 2 Nov. 1827.
- ³⁵*Cork Institution*, [hereafter, C.C.], 3 Sept. 1829.
- ³⁶Richard S. Harrison, *Irish anti-War Movements 1824-1974*, (Dublin, 1986).
- ³⁷*Dublin Morning Post*, 22 April 1829.
- ³⁸*Ibid.*, 12 April, 1830.
- ³⁹*Ibid.*, 23 June 1830, 15 July 1830.
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 6 Nov. 1830.
- ⁴¹His tour may be traced in part from *Waterford Chronicle*, 7, 10, 14 Aug. 1830, C.C., 11, 21 Sept. and 20 Nov. 1830, *Limerick Chronicle*, 25, 29 Sept. 1830, *Belfast Newsletter*, 31 Dec. 1830, 1 Feb. 1831.
- ⁴²David Hampton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society 1750-1850*, (London, 1984), 208-10.
- ⁴³W.T. Fagan, *The Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell*, (Cork, 1847-8), II, 239-40.
- ⁴⁴C.C., 31 July, 1830.
- ⁴⁵See *Limerick Chronicle*, 26 Feb. 1831.
- ⁴⁶I.Y.M. Minutes, Fourth-month (April) 1831(D.F.H.L.), Half YM A, 6(1809-52). The petition was presented by Phillip Cecil Crampton, Solicitor-General.
- ⁴⁷D.M.M. Minutes, Fifth-month (May) 1831, (D.F.H.L.), MM II A, 19(1824-33).
- ⁴⁸I.Y.M. Minutes, Fifth-month (May) 1833 (D.F.H.L.).
- ⁴⁹Ann Barry and K. Theodore Hoppen, 'Borough Politics in O'Connellite Ireland. The Youghal Poll Books of 1835 and 1837'. *J.C.H.A.S.*, I. XXXIII, 238 (1978), 106-46, 111.
- ⁵⁰Henry Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (London, 1864) see, 104-9 and Temperley, *Anti-slavery*, 16-8.
- ⁵¹Yearly Meeting's Committee [hereafter, Y.M.C.] minutes, 18 Fourth-month (April), (D.F.H.L.), YM D. 4(1834-53).
- ⁵²*Richard Memoirs*, 133-62.
- ⁵³*Dublin Morning Register*, 19 Aug. 1837.
- ⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 11 August 1837 and, George Thompson to Edward Baldwin, 26 July, 1837, see, Clare Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists*, [hereafter, Taylor. *Abolitionists*], (Edinburgh, 1974), 58.
- ⁵⁵Richard D. Webb to Anne W. Weston, 5 July 1847 (Boston Public Library), MS A. 9. 2 Vol 24 (81).
- ⁵⁶*Irish Friend*, [hereafter, *I.F.*], 1 Seventh-month (July) 1837, I, 1, 7.
- ⁵⁷Richard, *Memoirs*, 165, and Temperley, *Anti-slavery* 39-40.
- ⁵⁸See, for example, 17 Nov. 1837, James H. Webb, Richard D. Webb, William Eltoft, Edwin Baldwin and James Lane (of Cork) in (D.F.H.L.) Port. 5B, 23 b.
- ⁵⁹Temperley, *Anti-slavery*, 66-7.
- ⁶⁰*Dublin Morning Register*, 16 April 1838. The way in which Irish M.P.s voted is noted in *F.J.*, 3 April 1838.
- ⁶¹Y.M.C. Minutes, 21 Fifth-month (May) 1838, sum of £6. 7s. 6d. noted, (D.F.H.L.) YM D4(1834-5).
- ⁶²*Ibid.*, also see *I.F.*, I, 9, 2 Seventh-month (July) (1838).
- ⁶³Hannah Maria Wigham, *A Christian Philanthropist of Dublin: A Memoir of Richard Allen*, (London, 1886), 29-32.

- ⁶⁵Richard Dowden to ?. 26 May 1838, (Cork Archives Institute, [hereafter, C.A.I.], Day papers, U 140 Class C. 56.
- ⁶⁶Richard, *Memoirs*, 213.
- ⁶⁶Temperley, *Anti-slavery*, 89-92.
- ⁶⁷*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 17 July 1840 (n.s.) See also, 'From the Conventants' Sixth-month (June) 1840 (Boston Public Library, [hereafter, B.L.P.]) MS A. 1. 2 Vol 9(1) Anti-slavery letters to Garrison no. 6 The Webb Manuscript. (Reprinted in Taylor, *Abolitionists*, 94-101).
- ⁶⁸Taylor, *Abolitionists*, 94-101.
- ⁶⁹Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*. (London, 1929), 126-30.
- ⁷⁰The correspondence can be followed in the *I.F.*, III, 9(1840) to IV, 1, 1841.
- ⁷¹Richard D. Webb to Wiliam L. Garrison, 30 Fifth-month (May) 1841 (B.P.L.), MS A. 1. 2 Vol 12.1, 35. Partially reprinted in Taylor, *Abolitionists*, 152.
- ⁷²J.A. Collins, 'Irish Philanthropists', in *Liberty Bell*. (Boston, 1843) 170-4, also see Wigham, *Philanthropist*, 15-17.
- ⁷³Wigham, *Philanthropist*, 11-12.
- ⁷⁴Wigham, *Philanthropist*, 40-1, and Carl Senior, Limerick 'Slaves' for Jamaica, in *Old Limerick Journal*. 19, (1986), 33-40.
- ⁷⁵*Liberator*, 24 Sept. 1841.
- ⁷⁶Samuel Haughton, *Memoir of James Haughton* (Dublin, 1877), 58-9.
- ⁷⁷C.C., 9 Oct. 1841, letter from a 'member of the Society of Friends'. A discussion of the issues relating to the American 'Address' are to be found in Douglas C. Riach, 'Daniel O'Connell and American Anti-Slavery', *I.H.S.*, XX, 77, (1976), 10-11.
- ⁷⁸R.D. Webb to Maria W. Chapman, 22 Second-month (Feb.) 1842 (B.P.L.) MS. A. 1. 2 Vol 12 (2) no. 30, reprinted in Taylor, *Abolitionists*, 168.
- ⁷⁹Richard D. Webb to Edmund Quincy, 2 Second-month (Feb.) 1844 (B.P.L.) MS 960, reprinted in Taylor, *Abolitionists*, 213-6.
- ⁸⁰Their co-operation was limited to preparing contributions for the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar and subscribing to anti-slavery journals.
- ⁸¹A general account of Richard Dowden is to be found in, Robert Day, 'Richard Dowden', *J.C.H.A.S.*, XXII, (1916), 21-24. Dowden's newspaper scrapbook gives more specific information on anti-slavery. (C.A.I.) Day Collection.
- ⁸²Wigham *Philanthropist*, 16.
- ⁸³*F.J.*, 26 Aug. 1840.
- ⁸⁴See n. 89.
- ⁸⁵Walter R. Osborne to Richard Dowden, n.d. (C.A.I.), Day Collection. U. 140, C. 67.
- ⁸⁶*F.J.*, 3 Aug. 1841.
- ⁸⁷C.C., 21 Eighth-month (Aug.) 1841, letter of Abraham Beale, and *Cork Examiner*, 3 Oct. 1841, Abraham Beale received 16 votes.
- ⁸⁸Drake, *Slavery*, 165-7.
- ⁸⁹*Liberator*, 28 July 1843.
- ⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 24 Oct. 1845.
- ⁹¹*Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland in 1846 and 1847*, Appendix III, 198-204.
- ⁹²Henry C. Wright, *Slaveholders or Playactors, Which are the Greatest Sinners?* (Dublin, 1847).
- ⁹³D.M.M. Minutes, Third-month (Mar.) 1847, (D.F.H.L.) MM II A,20 (1833-58).

- ⁹⁴See, *Dublin Ladies Anti-Slavery Reports*, [hereafter, *D.L.A.S.S.*], (1858-61), *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, Aug. 1853, 88, mentions that contributions are being received for the Boston Anti-slavery Bazaar, those from Belfast being care of Miss Ireland, Royal Institution, Belfast, *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, Mar. 1854, 142 mentions that money has been received from Ladies Anti-Slavery Societies of Waterford, Clara, and Clogher, Co. Tyrone.
- ⁹⁵*D.L.A.S.S.*, (1858).
- ⁹⁶*Ibid.*, and *D.L.A.S.S.*, (1859). Samuel Bewley jnr, (1806-77).
- ⁹⁷C.C. 31 May 1851.
- ⁹⁸McNeill, *McCracken*, 295.
- ⁹⁹C.C., 19 April 1859, and *D.L.A.S.S.* (1859).
- ¹⁰⁰Richard D. Webb to D.M.M., 24 Sept (*sic*) 1851 (D.F.H.L.) Rm 4 SH, N BOX 1, Bundle B, 10 E.
- ¹⁰¹The *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, was published from 1852-63.
- ¹⁰²See, in particular, Joseph M. Herson jnr., *Celts, Catholics and Copperheads*, (Ohio; 1968).
- ¹⁰³Temperley, *Anti-Slavery*, 252-3.
- ¹⁰⁴N. Harvey, *Autobiography*, (Waterford, 1904), 37, and 40, also George G. Willauer, 'An Irish Friend and the American Civil War; Some Letters of Frederick W. Pim to His Father in Dublin'. *J.F.H.S.* 53, 1 (1972), 62-75.
- ¹⁰⁵Harvey, *Autobiography*, 40.
- ¹⁰⁶*Proceedings of Dublin Yearly Meeting*, 27 Fourth-month (April) - 5 Fifth-month (May) 1864, 11-12.
- ¹⁰⁷*Proceedings*, 1865, 24. By 1871, the totals collected by I.Y.M. were to amount to £9,961. (for which see *Proceedings*, 1865-71). Temperley, *Anti-Slavery*, 260 notes for, L.Y.M. a total of £25,000. Whilst he notes a contribution for I.Y.M. he does not state if that is included in his figure.
- ¹⁰⁸Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, (London, 1876), 682-3.
- ¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 685.
- ¹¹⁰Advertisement of a meeting held for Levi Coffin at Waterford, 22 Ninth-month (Sept.) 1866 (D.F.H.L.), PB 20 (121), and, Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 688.