



NUI MAYNOOTH

Dhíscall na hÉireann Má Nuad

THE QUAKERS OF COUNTY TIPPERARY 1655-1924

by

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Contents

	page
Acknowledgements	v
Abbreviations	vi
List of Maps	vii
List of Tables	viii
List of Appendices	x
Introduction	1
Chapter 1	
Quakerism and its evolution in County Tipperary 1655-1719	14
Chapter 2	
Demography and distribution 1655-1924	42
Demography	42
The Fennell and Grubb families - a demographic micro-study	62
Distribution	72
i:1655-1700	72
ii:1701-1756	92
iii:1757-1860	95
iv:1861-1924	102
The marriage contact fields of Tipperary Quakers	105
Chapter 3	
Tipperary Quakers and agriculture 1655-1906	112
i:c.1655-c.1740	112
ii:1740s-c.1815	131
iii:c.1815-1906	137
The Fennells - a case study	148
Chapter 4	
Tipperary Quakers in milling and textiles	169
Quakers: business ethics and values	169

	The impact of the Quakers on the industrial life of Tipperary	184
	Quakers in milling and textiles c.1655-1814	187
	Woollen industry c.1655-1814	188
	Cotton industry 1788-c.1795	194
	Corn milling c. 1772-1814	195
	Quakers in milling and textiles 1815-1846	211
	Corn milling 1815-1846	212
	Cotton industry 1825-1846	218
	Linen industry 1826-c.1830	219
	Quakers in milling and textiles 1847-1913	220
	Corn milling 1847-1913	220
	Cotton industry 1847-1877	225
	The Quaker industrial legacy in Tipperary	225
Chapter 5	Tipperary Quakers: other commercial ventures	230
	Businesses derived from agriculture	231
	The provision trade	238
	Iron and brass foundries	240
	The Suir Steam Navigation Company	242
	Banking	244
	Insurance	247
	Annuity companies	250
	River transport and shipping	253
	Railways	256
	Gas	258
	Other interests	259
	The Quaker family business	261

	The Malcomson family	268
	The Quaker contribution to the commercial life of County Tipperary	272
	Commercial differences among various Quaker communities	273
Chapter 6	Pacifism, public life and philanthropy	279
	The shift to pacifism	279
	Public life	297
	Philanthropy	314
Chapter 7	The Quaker way of life	338
	Introduction	338
	Education	340
	Apprenticeship	350
	Employment	353
	Marriage	355
	Clothes	361
	Houses and furnishing	364
	Birth and family names	370
	Leisure	372
	Leaving home	381
	Burial	382
	A changing world	383
	Some prominent Tipperary female members	385
	Contrasting lifestyles	392

Chapter 8	The fluctuating fortunes of the Tipperary Quaker community 1655-1924	397
Conclusion		424
Bibliography		435

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Abbreviations

<i>Clonmel Advertiser</i>	C.A.
<i>Clonmel Chronicle</i>	C.C.
<i>Clonmel Gazette</i>	C.G.
<i>Clonmel Herald</i>	C.H.
<i>Clonmel Nationalist</i>	C.N.
Friends' Historical Library, Dublin	F.H.L.D.
<i>Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society</i>	J.C.H.A.S.
<i>Journal of the Friend's Historical Society</i>	J.F.H.S.
<i>Journal of the Irish House of Commons</i>	<i>Commons' jn. (Ire.)</i>
National Archives	N.A.
National Library	N.L.I.
Records of the Dublin Meeting	R.D.M.
Records of the Mountmellick Meeting	R.M.M.
Records of the Tipperary Meeting	R.T.M.
Records of the Waterford Meeting	R.W.M.
Registry of Deeds	R.D.
<i>Tipperary Constitution</i>	T.C.
<i>Tipperary Free Press</i>	T.F.P.
<i>Tipperary Historical Journal</i>	T.H.J.

Maps

1:1 Provision of graveyards and meeting houses in County Tipperary, 1661-1866	34
2:1 Distribution of the Quaker community in County Tipperary in 1700	86
3:1 Fennell lands in south Tipperary	151
4:1 Quaker mills in Clonmel and district 1752-1912	198
4:2 Quaker mills in Clogheen and district c.1784-c.1889	203
4:3 Quaker mills in Cahir and district 1772-1876	205
4:4 Quaker mills in Roscrea 1785-early 1800s	208

Tables

1:1	Clonmel meeting house subscription list, 1699	35
1:2	Tipperary town meeting house subscription list, 1708	36
2:1	Identifiable number of births and deaths for Tipperary Quakers and neighbouring meetings, 1650-1925	47
2:2a	Estimated Quaker population in County Tipperary for selected years, 1700-1851	50
2:2b	The recorded Quaker population in Tipperary for selected years, 1861-1922	51
2:3	Identifiable number of County Tipperary Quakers who married	55
2:4	Identifiable number of County Tipperary Quakers who remained unmarried	54
2:5	Identifiable marriage age of Quakers (first marriages)	55
2:6	Average completed family size of identifiable County Tipperary Quakers	57
2:7	Infant mortality (death before age of one)	58
2:8	Identifiable ages of death of County Tipperary Quakers	60
2:9	Births and deaths of Fennells and Grubbs	64
2:10	Number of Fennells and Grubbs who married or remained unmarried	66
2:11	Average marriage ages of Fennells and Grubbs	67
2:12	Average completed family size of Fennells and Grubbs	68
2:13	Infant mortality of Fennells and Grubbs	69
2:14	Ages of death of Fennells and Grubbs	70
2:15	Identifiable origins of County Tipperary Quakers coming directly from England, 1650-1880	77
2:16	Identifiable number of Quaker families coming to County Tipperary from other parts of Ireland, 1660s-1870s	83
2:17	Settlement areas for Irish Quakers families in County Tipperary, 1650-1899	90

2:18	Value of tithes exacted from County Tipperary Quakers and the Irish Quaker community, 1700-1705	92
2:19	Garryroan meeting house subscription list, 1787	98
2:20	Cahir meeting house subscription list, 1833	99
2:21	Identifiable origins of County Tipperary Quaker spouses, 1657-1908	106
3:1	Lands held by Tipperary Quakers according to Griffith valuation c. 1850	143
3:2	Tipperary Quaker landowners, 1878	147
3:3	The Fennell family of County Tipperary - a select male genealogy	149

Appendices

3:1	List of sufferings 1704	163
3:2	List of sufferings 1787	165
3:3	List of sufferings 1788	167

The Quakers of County Tipperary 1655-1924

Introduction

The Quaker connection with County Tipperary lasted from their arrival shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century to the closure of their last meeting houses in Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel in 1924. This thesis examines their history and attempts to evaluate the contribution they made to their adopted county. George Bancroft (1800-89), an American historian, has stated that 'the rise of the people called Quakers is one of the memorable events in the history of man'.¹ However extravagant this claim, Voltaire, to whom religion meant leading a good and useful life, observed of the Quakers 'the doctrines and history of such unusual people were worthy of the curiosity of a reasonable man'.² Although he mocked their quaint speech and comical clothing, he was attracted to their plain lifestyle and to their simple moral and spiritual values.

Previous studies of Irish Quakers have focused on communities that were either exclusively urban or rural. However, the Tipperary Quakers throughout their history always consisted of both farmers and traders. Hence this thesis, which examines that community, marks a new departure in Irish Quaker studies.

There have been many studies of Irish Quaker urban communities, including Harrison's study of 'Dublin Quakers'³ and Lovett's 'Limerick's Quakers'.⁴ Two books, one by Harrison⁵ and the other co-ordinated by O'Keeffe,⁶ deal with the Cork and Mountmellick urban communities respectively. The major work on a rural community is

¹ cited in D. Elton Trueblood, *The people called Quakers* (New York, 1966), p. 1

² Leonard Tancock (trans.) of Francis Voltaire, *Letters on England* (London, 1980), p. 23.

³ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business 1800-1850' unpublished M.Litt. thesis (TCD, 1988).

⁴ M. P. Lovett, 'The Quakers of Limerick 1655-1900', unpublished MA thesis (University of Limerick, 1999).

⁵ Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers: a brief history 1655-1939* (Published privately, 1991).

⁶ Regina O'Keeffe (co-ordinator), *The Quakers of Mountmellick* (Mountmellick, 1994).

a thesis by O'Haire⁷ on the Carlow Quakers. There are also a number of articles on various Quaker communities. These include two by Bennis⁸ on Waterford and Limerick Quakers and a further two by Harrison, one on the Quaker settlement in Charleville, and the other dealing with Bandon and west Cork.⁹ Lunham concentrates on the early Cork Quaker community,¹⁰ Comerford traces the fortunes of the Kilkenny Quakers,¹¹ while Goodbody focuses on the Quakers in Wexford.¹² These articles do little more than trace the Quaker connection with the area in question; no effort is made to assess their contribution to or their impact on their chosen community.

The Quakers differed from other dissenting groups of the Reformation in having no dogma, hierarchy, sacraments or professional clergy. The care of their membership, their egalitarian treatment of women, their maintenance of certain so-called 'testimonies' against tithes, oaths and military service, contributed towards the unique character of Quakerism. Their distinctive way of life, marked by peculiarities of speech and dress, further distinguished them from their contemporaries. They set up a system of meetings for worship and for church affairs based on democratic principles, which offered the widest scope for personal liberty. They were bound together by a rigid code of principles which were, according to the records, rigorously enforced. Failure to comply with these exacting standards would normally incur expulsion. They were seen as a people apart, neither a part of the established church, and were regarded by Catholics as part of the Protestant establishment. Isolated by their sufferings¹³ and excluded from certain areas

⁷ Margaret O'Haire, 'A community in decline: the evolution and demise of Quakerism in the Carlow area', MA thesis, (UCD, 1987).

⁸ Emilie Bennis, 'Waterford's Quaker community' in *Decies*, iv (1977) & *Decies*, v (1977), pp. 20-22; 'The Quakers in Limerick, 1657-1707' in *The Old Limerick Journal*, xxx (1993), pp. 4-6.

⁹ Richard Harrison, 'The Quakers of Charleville' in *J.C.H.A.S.*, dxxxxv, (1990), pp. 55-63; 'The Quakers of Bandon and west Cork' in *Bandon Historical Journal*, x, (1994), pp. 3-9.

¹⁰ T. A. Lunham, 'Early Quakers in Cork' in *J.C.H.A.S.*, x (1904), pp. 103-110.

¹¹ Patrick Comerford, 'The early Society of Friends and their history in Kilkenny' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, xxv, (1972), pp. 68-75.

¹² Olive C. Goodbody, 'Quakers in Wexford' in *Journal of the Old Wexford Society*, iii, (1970), pp. 36-41.

¹³ Their refusal to pay tithes led to the confiscations of goods and property. These 'sufferings', as they were called, were recorded with a view to seeking redress.

of economic life, they formed a distinct and tightly-knit group, fostered by religious, commercial and family links within the wider community.

From tentative beginnings marked by discrimination and persecution, many rose to positions of considerable affluence by virtue of their industry. Gradually, their commercial and philanthropic activities lessened their self-imposed isolation bringing them into a more creative engagement with the world. However, affluence also led to increasing frustration with the Quaker principles of frugality and plainness, while in the middle of the nineteenth century social contacts and the evangelical revival led many into the ranks of Anglicanism. These major developments, which were accompanied by an increasing rate of disownments and resignations, inevitably led to a decline in membership, and helped to bring Quakerism in Tipperary, as in many other parts of Ireland, to an end.

The principal primary source for a study of this religious group is the archival material of the Friends' Historical Library, Dublin. The Quakers were industrious record-keepers. This is illustrated by the wealth and variety of documentation which was integral to Quakerism and their unique lifestyle. A large portion of this material was a direct result of the Society's organisational structures. These include minutes of local, regional and national meetings, records of their sufferings which contain inventories of the goods confiscated, records of disownments and resignation, and registers of births, deaths and marriages. While the documentation in question is extensive it also has certain limitations. The principal weaknesses are chronological gaps and the under-registration of births, deaths and marriages. The problems created by these omissions will be discussed in the course of the thesis.

The library holds a considerable amount of material of Tipperary interest consisting of family memoirs, letters, diaries and genealogies. The largest collection concerns the Grubbs and their extended families. There is also a number of spiritual biographies including those of Sarah Grubb¹⁴ and Mary Dudley.¹⁵ The recollections of

¹⁴ Murray, Lindley (ed.), *Some account of the life and religious labours of Sarah Grubb* (Dublin, 1792).

¹⁵ Elizabeth Dudely (ed.), *Mary Dudley* (London, 1825).

the famous American travelling minister, William Savery¹⁶ are another important resource. A number of pen portraits of deceased members in Mary Leadbeater's *Biographical notices*¹⁷ and various obituaries in the *Annual Monitor*,¹⁸ concern Tipperary Friends. There is a selection of journals, in particular the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* and the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, which contain articles on various aspects of Quaker history. The library also has a number of deeds, wills and various documents relating to organisations in which the Society's members were engaged. These include the Clonmel Lying-in Institution, the Clonmel Charity School, and the operation of the soup kitchens in Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir during the famine era.

The Registry of Deeds and the National Archives are two important repositories for a study of Irish Quakerism. The Registry of Deeds material includes leases, instruments for the purchase, transfer and sale of property, deeds of trust, marriage settlements and wills. These documents indicate the date of the transaction, the names of the principal contracting parties, their place of residence, their occupation or station in life, the extent and location of the holdings, the nature of the tenure and the financial implications of the agreement. They also contain the names of trustees, witnesses or beneficiaries, depending on the nature of the agreement. In the case of leases, these documents also provide a list of lands subject to contract. Sometimes they contain certain stipulations which the grantee was, according to the terms of the contracts, required to fulfil. Consequently, it is possible to determine the date for the erection of a number of corn mills in the county. Deeds also provide evidence of economic interests and can be a valuable source in tracing family fortunes by indicating the acquisition or disposal of various properties. They also a valuable basis for re-constructing the evolving settlement pattern within the county. In some cases the previous ownership of the property is mentioned by reference to earlier agreements. Similarly, marriage agreements and wills act as barometers of wealth, the latter helping to trace the transfer of assets or

¹⁶ W. & T. Evans, *The journal of William Savery* (Philadelphia, 1837).

¹⁷ Mary Leadbeater, *Biographical notices of members of the Society of Friends who were resident in Ireland* (London, 1823).

¹⁸ Society of Friends, *Annual Monitor 1813-1918* (London).

property from one generation to another. They may also be regarded as one of the most reliable sources of genealogical information and, especially in the case of the Quakers, indicate their intricate family linkages. The National Archives houses the records of the Landed Estates Courts and the Land Commission and a number of wills and deeds.

The most important sources in the National Library of Ireland include a significant collection of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century newspapers which provide valuable information about the commercial activities of various Tipperary Quakers. The most important are *Finn's Leinster Journal*, the *Clonmel Gazette* and the *Clonmel Herald*. It also has manuscript material on the Grubb and Malcomson families,¹⁹ in addition to a number of annual reports of the Clonmel Annuity Society, an organisation which was monopolised by Quakers. The activities of certain individuals can be gleaned from various parliamentary reports as diverse as the Devon commission (1845) and reports of the inspectors general of prisons in Ireland 1847-1869 which show their involvement in agriculture and public life. Among the most significant sources are the appendices to the house of commons journals for the period 1773-1796 which provide valuable data on the expansion of the corn industry, giving a list of the mills in operation, their owners, the quantities of corn sent to Dublin and the bounties paid.

A number of local repositories, including the Bolton Library in Cashel, the Tipperary S.R. Museum and the Tipperary County Library, contain private papers, deeds and collections of local newspapers. Tipperary County Library which houses minute books and annual reports of various statutory bodies including various poor law unions and the Clonmel District Asylum, in addition to a number of annual reports of the Clonmel Mechanics' Institute, illustrate the extent of Quaker involvement in these institutions. Indications of the administrative and financial support given by local Quakers to numerous other causes can also be found in local papers. There are also various collections of family papers in private hands, the most important being those of the Clibborn, Going, Grubb, Malcomson and Watson families. The most extensive collection contains almost five hundred letters covering the period 1771-1829.²⁰ The

¹⁹ Notes on the Malcomson family (N.L.I., MS. 8146)

²⁰ Grubb letters in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co.

majority were written by Margaret Grubb of Clogheen to her sister Mary Leadbeater of Ballitore and are of considerable social interest, in addition to giving an insight into the former's involvement in the affairs of the Society.

For glimpses into economic life of Tipperary's Quakers at different periods we are indebted to the observations of such travellers as Pococke,²¹ Young,²² Somerville²³ and others. Lalor Shiel's article 'A glimpse of industrial Clonmel in 1829' in the *Catholic Herald* (Sept. 1919) offers a pen picture of David Malcomson's entrepreneurial acumen. Although there is a paucity of business records, a number of sources provide interesting statistical data which reflect the activities of some Quaker entrepreneurs. The most important are the Gurney papers in Friends' House, London, which catalogue the firm's connections with Tipperary Quaker wool suppliers. The Irish house of commons journals, referred to above, highlight the increasing success of Tipperary Quaker-owned flour mills and the ledger of the Waterford firm, Courtenay and Ridgeway,²⁴ identifies dealings with the Quaker butter merchants of Clonmel. The incongruously named 'Brewery book' in Nicholas Grubb collection, mentioned above, gives an insight into the finances of Grubb milling empire in Clogheen in the mid-nineteenth century. Another manuscript in the possession of Richard Harrison gives details of a complex investment portfolio held by Thomas Cambridge Grubb in Clonmel, as well as providing a list of expenses incurred by his milling operations. Additional commercial information can be found in various commercial directories and local newspapers.

One of the most important primary sources which examine the history of Quakerism in Ireland is the collaborative effort of two eighteenth century Quakers, Thomas Wight and John Ruddy, who traced the fortunes of Irish Quakerism up to

Tipperary.

²¹ G. T. Stokes (ed.), *Pococke's tour in Ireland in 1752* (Dublin, 1891).

²² Arthur Young, *A tour in Ireland with general observations on the present state of the kingdom made in the years 1776, 1777, and 1778 and brought down to the end of 1779* (London, 1892).

²³ D. K. M. Snell (ed.), Alexander Somerville, *Letters from Ireland during the famine of 1847* (Dublin, 1994).

²⁴ Louis Cullen, 'The ledger of Courtenay and Ridgeway' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxxviii, part 2 (1958), pp. 165-178.

1751.²⁵ It is a compendium of facts presented in a chronological manner, but makes no attempt at critical analysis. It outlines the dates and establishment of meetings throughout Ireland; the names and activities of early members with biographical details regarding a few; a brief account of 'sufferings'; the names of English Quakers who came each year from various localities to promote the Quaker cause in Ireland, and gives an outline of Quaker discipline. Tipperary-born Isabel Grubb was the most influential writer on Irish Quakerism towards the end of our period of study. Her contribution rests largely on her pioneering studies on the social and economic aspects of Irish Quakerism. Her M.A. thesis²⁶ was a seminal work which formed the basis for her subsequent work *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1800*.²⁷ The latter deals with various social aspects of the movement and the approach is thematic, focusing on its pioneers, daily-life, itinerant ministry, philanthropy and education. Another of her works, *Quakerism and Industry before 1800*,²⁸ concentrates on the English scene with little of Irish interest. Her articles on the Quaker ministry²⁹ and the sufferings endured by Irish Friends during the Williamite conflict³⁰ contain useful information. Her biography of her grandfather, *Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*,³¹ gives an affectionate portrait of the domestic, public and business life of this eminent Quaker.

The contributions of Wight, Ruty and Grubb have been supplemented by two works by the English Quaker, Braithwaite,³² which trace the history of Quakerism from its beginnings to the opening decades of the eighteenth century. A further two volumes by R. M. Rufus entitled *The later periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921) continue

²⁵ Thomas Wight & John Ruty, *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers in Ireland, 1653-1700* (Dublin, 1751).

²⁶ Isabel Grubb, 'Social conditions in Ireland in the 17th and 18th centuries as illustrated by early Quaker records', unpublished MA thesis (University of London, 1916).

²⁷ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1800* (London, 1927).

²⁸ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and Industry before 1800* (London, 1929).

²⁹ Isabel Grubb, 'Quaker ministry in Ireland' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, dxiii, no. 251(1929), pp. 279-303.

³⁰ Isabel Grubb, 'Irish Friends' experiences of war 1689-92' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (London, 1916), pp. 169-187.

³¹ Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (Dublin, 1928).

³² W. C. Braithwaite, *The beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912) and *The second period of Quakerism* (London, 1919).

Braithwaite's studies and brings the history of Quakerism into the twentieth century. All these contain sections on Irish Quaker history. The principal locally-produced primary work of the early twentieth century is Burke's³³ *History of Clonmel* which contains several references to the town's Quaker community, but the information provided on milling must be treated with caution. A further primary source from that period is Myers³⁴ which includes data on the emigration of Tipperary Quakers to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. Mention should be made of a somewhat earlier work, Rowantree's³⁵ analysis of the crisis facing Quakerism in these islands in the mid-nineteenth century.

There has been a growing interest in Irish Quakerism in recent years, resulting in an increasing number of available secondary sources. Olive Goodbody has done essential work to classify and organise the manuscript material held in the archives of the Friends' Historical Library, Dublin. Her *Guide to Irish Quaker records 1654-1860* (Dublin, 1967) is a standard work for anyone wishing to explore this material. Maurice Wigham's *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992) is the latest work to trace the history of Irish Quakerism as a whole. Although an admirable study in many respects, its value is lessened by the lack of cited sources. Thus a modern scholarly appraisal of the Irish Quaker movement throughout its history remains to be written. A thesis by Dorren Mc Mahon³⁶ provides an in-depth study of Irish Quakerism during the period 1870-1925. A number of modern English Quaker historians also contain references to Irish Quaker history, one of the most significant being John Punshon's, *Portrait in grey: a short history of the Quakers* (London, 1984).

Two modern works which discuss the early phase of Quakerism are Phil Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994) and Richard Greaves, *God's other children. Protestant dissent and non-conformists and the*

³³ William Burke (Rev.), *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907).

³⁴ A. C. Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania: 1682-1750* (Pennsylvania, 1902).

³⁵ John Stephenson Rowantree, *Quakerism past and present: being an inquiry into the causes of its decline in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1859).

³⁶ Dorren Mc Mahon, 'The Irish Quaker community 1870-1925', MA thesis (UCD, 1985).

emergence of denominational churches in Ireland 1660-1700 (Stanford University Press, California, 1997). While the former focuses on the fortunes of the various dissenting groups, the latter analyses how the credal and structural components of Quakerism enabled it to overcome a period of discrimination and persecution. In Quaker studies, there tends to be an over-emphasis on the movement's early days. Works such as Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford, 1970) go some way to rectifying this imbalance.

A. Ruth Fry, *Quaker ways* (Watford, 1933) and D. E. Trueblood, *The people called Quakers* (New York, 1966) explain Quaker beliefs and practices, while the culture underlying Quaker commercial success forms the subject of Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry* (New York, 1950), David Burnes Windsor, *The Quaker enterprise. Friends in business* (London, 1980) and James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and morals* (London, 1997). Quaker education is admirably covered in C. G. Brannigan 'Quaker education in Ireland 1680-1840', M.Ed., thesis (N.U.I. Maynooth, 1982). Pacifism and philanthropy are the subjects of M.E. Hirst, *The Quakers in history and war* (London, 1923) and H. E. Hatton's, *The largest amount of good: Quaker relief in Ireland 1654-1921* (London, 1993) respectively. The great famine, which in many respects could be regarded as an opportunity for the display of Quaker generosity, has been well documented by the Friends themselves in their *Transactions of the central relief committee of the Society of Friends during the famine in Ireland in 1846 and 1847* (Dublin, 1852), and in two contemporary studies by Robin Goodbody, *Quaker relief works in Ireland's great hunger* (Dublin, 1995) and *A suitable channel* (Cumbria, 1995). Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker social history 1669-1738* (London, 1950) is complemented by R. T. Vann, *The social development of English Quakerism 1655-1753* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969). The role of Quaker women forms the subject of E. Potts Brown and S. S. Mosher (eds.), *Witnesses for change: Quaker women over three centuries* (London, 1989). For a demographic study of Quakerism in these islands we are indebted to R. T. Vann and David Eversley, *Friends in life and death. The British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition 1650-1900* (Cambridge, 1992).

In respect of Quakers at a local level, in addition to the studies noted on pp. 1-2, only the Malcomson and Grubb families have, as yet, received detailed attention. The Malcomson studies include D. G. Neill, *Portlaw: A nineteenth century Quaker enterprise based on a model village* (Dublin, 1992) published by the Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, and Phyllis Miller, 'The Malcomsons of Waterford and Portlaw' in *Journal of the Old Waterford Society*, iii (1972). The Malcomson family has been the subject of two theses; Margaret Fogarty 'The Malcomsons in the economic development of the Lower Suir valley', M. Comm. thesis (U.C.C., 1968) and Tom Hunt, 'Portlaw, Co. Waterford. Profile of a model village and its cotton factory' M.A. thesis (N.U.I. Maynooth, 1999). The latest work is an impressive study by Bill Irish of *Shipbuilding in Waterford 1820-1882* (Bray, 2001). Unfortunately, in all the above studies the concentration is on Malcomson activity outside County Tipperary.

Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972) is not a reliable secondary source. Its numerous inaccuracies, the nature of the bibliography and the absence of adequate footnotes leads one to doubt the reliability of its findings and to question the quality of the research. For County Tipperary, T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society in eighteenth century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993), and Seán O'Donnell *Clonmel 1840-1900 :Anatomy of an Irish town* (Dublin, 1999) can be regarded as major works which provide valuable information on the social, economic and political background. To a lesser extent, William Nolan and T. G. McGrath (eds.), *Tipperary: history and society* (Dublin, 1985), P. C. Power, *History of South Tipperary* (Cork, 1989) and the *Tipperary Historical Journal* are also important sources.

The purpose of this thesis, as has been stated, is to trace the history of Quakerism within County Tipperary. It will examine and evaluate the contribution made to their adopted county by this small group of dissenting Christians, whose numbers, at any one time, probably never exceeded four hundred. It will set out to assess the character of Quakerism as a religious movement, taking into account the numerous forces that influenced its development. This analysis of the Quakers will show how, as a dissenting sect, they were marked off from others by a prescribed way of life, rather than by their

theology and philosophy. However, as will be seen, over a period of time, rigid adherence to the strict principles of the Quaker creed ultimately led to a diminution in membership.

The thesis will also examine Tipperary Quakers' involvement in farming and the contribution they made to the improvement of agricultural practices within the county. Others have argued that the same principles that guided their religious lives were reflected in the integrity that regulated their business activities, and were a contributory factor to their success in commerce. This interpretation will also be investigated. This study will also consider the extraordinary extent and diversity of their business activities in the county.

In the public sphere, this thesis will analyse the implications that Quaker pacifism and their attitude to public life had for the Society and its Tipperary membership. Consideration will be given to the view that their charitable activities were an integral part of their religious beliefs, which directed their energies to combat injustice and inequality. The extent and impact of Quaker involvement with the poor and underprivileged throughout the county will be examined. Thus, the extent to which Quaker testimonies regulated every aspect of their lives and the difficulties members had in upholding them, will also be assessed. Overall, the study will trace how a small, beleaguered group of immigrants, mainly composed of small farmers and artisans, evolved into a successful middle class community, a number of whom succeeded in accumulating considerable wealth. In doing so they generated much local business and employment and contributed to the eighteenth century economic growth identified by historians. It will be shown that this change of fortune had significant implications for the geographical distribution of the Quaker community in the county. Furthermore, the demography of Tipperary's Quaker community will be analysed and compared with that of Irish Quakers as a whole. Finally, the combination of factors which weakened the cohesion of the local Quaker community and ultimately brought about its dissolution will be explored.

The opening chapter will trace the evolution of Quakerism in County Tipperary from its introduction in 1655 to 1719, the year in which the Society secured a modicum

of religious toleration. It was a period still marked by the zeal and conviction of the early arrivals and the introduction of an organisational structure which gave the fledgling Society the spiritual and corporate strength which enabled it to survive and prosper. Chapter 2 looks at the distribution and demography of the Quaker community in Tipperary. It will set out to show how the settlement pattern of the Tipperary Quaker community was influenced by the prevailing economic climate. This chapter will compare the findings of Richard T. Vann's and David Eversley's study *Friends in life and death* with the demography of Tipperary Quakers. Chapter 3 discusses the involvement of Tipperary Quakers in agriculture. It sets out to show how they acquired their holdings and the support measures offered by the Society to help its poorer members. It will also examine the factors which influenced the geographical distribution of the farming community in the eighteenth century, and the return to the land, by a number of successful entrepreneurs, in the nineteenth. Chapter 4 traces Tipperary Quaker success in industry and examines the connection between their doctrine and business practices. The chapter details Quaker involvement in the wool and milling industries, where they enjoyed a virtual monopoly in County Tipperary. The chapter also looks at their involvement in the cotton and linen industries. Chapter 5 investigates wider business interests. The areas which occupied Quaker attention included a wide range of essential goods and various infrastructural developments and services. Another concern of this chapter is to trace their changing role from entrepreneurs to rentiers and investors and to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of Quaker-run family businesses. Finally, it will investigate to what degree Tipperary Quaker business interests reflected those of the wider Irish Quaker community.

Chapter 6 proposes to examine the emergence of Quaker pacifist principles. It will also trace the evolving attitude of the Quakers to politics from seeking redress through representation to direct involvement in the political process. Finally, the chapter focuses on their philanthropic pursuits which, as will be shown, were an expression of the concern embodied in their religious tenets for their fellow man. Chapter 7 sets out to demonstrate how Quakerism was as much a way of life as it was a religion; consequently every facet of behaviour was subject to the scrutiny of the Society. The central concern

of this chapter is to identify these ideals and to evaluate to what degree Tipperary Quakers conformed to them. The final chapter will attempt to assess to what degree the decline of Quakerism in Tipperary resulted from the inherent weaknesses in Quakerism itself and its inability to adapt to changing circumstances, and an unwillingness to accept the discipline of the Society.

Chapter 1

Quakerism and its evolution in County Tipperary 1655-1719

The central concern of this chapter is to trace the early history of Quakerism in County Tipperary from its introduction in 1655 to the act of toleration in 1719. These dates could be said to encompass the first phase of Quakerism in Ireland. The chapter will outline the foundation of the movement by George Fox, its guiding principles and its introduction into Ireland. The chapter will also trace the arrival of the first Quakers in Tipperary and the persecutions they suffered under successive governments. It will also show how the organisational structure of the Society evolved and the corresponding development of a formal discipline. It will examine the role of various functionaries such as ministers, clerks, elders and overseers, the erection of meeting houses and the provision of graveyards. Various aspects of the Quaker experience in the county introduced here will be developed and expanded upon in subsequent chapters.

The history of Quakerism in Tipperary could be said to fall into three overlapping phases. The first extends from about 1650 to the arbitrary date of 1719. The second, known as the quietist phase, became more pronounced as the eighteenth century progressed. The beginnings of the evangelical revival or third phase can be traced to the latter decades of the eighteenth century. As has already been stated, this chapter traces the history of Quakerism in County Tipperary from its introduction in 1655 to the act of toleration in 1719. It shows how the missionary fervour of the first generation was gradually replaced by the introspection of the second. Indications of this new development, known as quietism, which characterised eighteenth century Quakerism was, as will be shown, already evident in the early years of the eighteenth century.

The Religious Society of Friends or Quakers was one of the many Protestant sects that emerged in Europe during the Reformation in England. In 1652, 'the year to which Quakers look back as the year of their birth',¹ a Leicestershire weaver called George Fox gathered about him a group of like-minded people who met quietly for worship. Although Fox did not intend to establish a separate religious body, his followers soon began to group together into the semblance of an organisation calling themselves by such names as Children of Light and Friends of Truth. The origin of the term 'Quaker' is less clear. Some claim it was applied because while they were at prayer their bodies would shake and tremble with emotion, while others hold it arose from an appearance by Fox before a Leicestershire court. Fox told the judge he ought to 'tremble at the word of the Lord' and the justice dubbed the preacher and his associates 'Quakers'. The movement had its beginnings in north-west England, and although it made efforts to establish itself on the continent of Europe, 'it never spread beyond the boundaries of English settlement, whether it be in the British Isles, America or Africa'.²

Quakers differed from all other sects, having no formal creed, no hierarchy and no sacraments. As Harrison puts it, 'traditional Protestants put their emphasis on the authority of the written words of scripture, while the Roman Catholics looked for the authoritative teaching and interpretation which a church anchored in history and tradition could claim. But the Quakers looked towards immediate inspiration to illuminate and confirm in their own experience the written word of scripture',³ or as Harrison states elsewhere they 'believed literally in a priesthood of all believers, and sought to be a spirit-led community'.⁴ They held that communion with God could be achieved without the assistance of any human hierarchy, because they relied on the inward authority of the spirit rather than on the mediation of church or priest. This communion or means of communication was called the 'Inner Light', whereby God

¹ Harold Loukes, *The Discovery of Quakerism* (London, 1960), p. 28

² R. T. Vann & David Eversley, *Friends in life and death* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 46.

³ Richard Harrison, 'Irish Quaker records' in James G. Ryan (ed.), *Irish church records* (Dublin, 1992), p. 17.

⁴ Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers* (Published Privately, 1991), p. 1.

manifests Himself in the hearts of people. Their faith was not based on readings or the reported experiences of others, but rather on a first-hand acquaintance with God in the living present. As Brannigan has noted, 'Although they have a high regard for sacred scripture, and stress the importance of the Bible in their every-day lives and in the education of their children, they nevertheless reject its absolute authority. For them, the direct illumination of the Inner Light is far superior to the written revelations of the Bible or the traditions of the Church'.⁵

Since the 'Inner Light' existed in all people, this implied certain ethical imperatives which influenced every facet of the individual's life: inward and outward, sacred and secular, are inseparably related. Jones stated that 'in all the best generations of Quakerism, the ideal aim and the controlling expectation of the wiser members have been to live the simple life' and goes on to argue that 'it begins inside, with the quality of the soul. It is first and foremost the quality of sincerity, which is the opposite of duplicity and sham'.⁶ Quakers carried the forces of this inner spiritual life into the outside world. Quaker testimonies⁷ were witness to a lifestyle consistent with standards of simplicity, integrity and respect for all. As the inner light implies that there is that of God in every person, all people in the world are, therefore, members of one extended family of equals. Equality became one of the corner-stones of Quaker belief, and this fundamental principle was reinforced by various testimonies which emerged over a period of time and regulated all aspects of their daily lives.

Quaker egalitarian principles led them to treat everyone equally, using the universal *thee* and *thou* without respect to rank, station or authority. They considered social divisions to be of little importance. Consequently, they refused to doff their hats to anyone, claiming that this was an honour reserved for God alone. Similarly, Quakers believed that injustice of any kind was contrary to the teachings of Christ and at an early stage refused to go to war or become members of the armed forces or the militia. They

⁵ Cyril Brannigan, 'Quaker education in Ireland 1680-1840', M.A. thesis (N.U.I., Maynooth, 1982), p.4.

⁶ Rufus Jones, *The faith and practice of the Quakers* (London, 1927), p. 90.

⁷ These could be regarded as the Quaker ethical code which were formulated by the advices and epistles handed down by the yearly meetings.

also refused to swear oaths of any kind since, for them, the taking of oaths implied a double standard. Likewise in commercial matters, Quaker merchants refused to bargain, for bargaining implied that truth is flexible. Their concern for plainness and honesty, which will be discussed in a later chapter, was pushed into the most commonplace aspects of life. They issued a series of advices which outlawed everything from 'lace to tombstones'.⁸ They abandoned all forms of vain and superfluous fashion, and emphasised simplicity in dress, manners and speech. Since clothes were a vehicle of pride Friends adopted a simple, unadorned costume. The use of plain language meant using numerals for the days of the weeks and the months. They abandoned what they regarded as the 'superstitious observance' of feast days by continuing to work on holydays, on the premise that all days were holy.⁹ It could be said that Quakerism did not consist of new doctrines; that it was more a way of life than a system of beliefs. In the words of George Fox, the central message of Quakerism is contained in the dictum 'let your life speak'.

The origin of Quakerism in Ireland has been attributed to William Edmundson, a carpenter from Westmoreland and former Cromwellian soldier, who arrived in Ireland in 1652. Having established himself as a trader shortly afterwards he and his wife purchased a house in Antrim. In the following year, during a business trip to England, he attended a Quaker meeting and became 'convinced' of 'the Lord's blessed truth.' In 1654, he moved to Lurgan where, together with his wife, brother and four others, he set up the first Quaker meeting in the country.¹⁰ These meetings for worship, as they were called, consisted of a group of Friends waiting in silence for the guidance of God. Occasionally, the silence was broken when a member felt compelled to pray aloud or minister to the others.

In the absence of professional ministers or preachers, much of the spiritual dynamic in the early days of Quakerism came from those willing to travel voluntarily to

⁸ The subject of tombstones is discussed in chapter 7.

⁹ R.M.M., *Minutes of Mountmellick Men's Meeting*, 1749. Friends in Roscrea made a mutual agreement to refrain from opening shops or selling goods on Sundays (unless necessary). cited in Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and Industry before 1800* (London, 1929), p. 118.

¹⁰ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900* (London, 1927), p.20.

share their faith. 'In harmony with the doctrine of the Inner Light the Quakers felt that a system of formal training for the ministry was no substitute for inward fitness and they believed that the call to this very special work was bestowed irrespective of rank, talent, learning or sex'.¹¹ As Punshon has noted, ministry was the recognition of a gift rather than the granting of an ecclesiastical status.¹² These travelling ministers spoke publicly in the market place or visited Friends' meetings which, before the erection of meeting houses for worship, were held in their homes.¹³ The first English ministers arrived in 1654 and during the first century of the history of the Society, some five hundred and fifty men and women ministers visited Ireland.¹⁴ Although their often highly charged zeal won many converts for the new movement, it often led to fanaticism. Disturbances of the peace were created by those who felt themselves called to interrupt church services and castigate both the congregation and their 'hireling ministry'. One of the most celebrated cases concerned Solomon Eccles who interrupted a Catholic mass being held outside the gates of Galway. Eccles appeared naked, with fire and brimstone burning on his head, and called on priest and people to repent.¹⁵ Commenting on the refusal of an inn-keeper to offer shelter to William Edmundson on the grounds that he was 'a potential cause of trouble', Mac Lysaght suggested that it reflected the growing hostility towards these 'troublesome people'.¹⁶

Through the efforts of Edmundson and others Quakerism spread quickly through the province of Ulster and to other parts of the country with the exception of the far west. The main areas of settlement outside the province of Ulster were the coastal towns of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kinsale and Limerick, and the rich agricultural lands of central Ireland, notably around such towns as Moate, Mountmellick, Clara, Edenderry and Birr. The introduction of Quakerism into Munster

¹¹ Brannigan, 'Quaker education in Ireland', p.5.

¹² Punshon, *A short history of the Quakers* (London, 1984), p. 141.

¹³ Arthur C. Chapman, *History of the Religious Society of Friends in Lurgan* (Lurgan, 1997), p. 17.

¹⁴ A. M. Hodgkin, *Friends in Ireland* (London, 1910), p.10.

¹⁵ J. M. Douglas, 'Early Quakerism in Ireland' in *J.F.H.S.*, iid no. 1 (Spring, 1956), p.11; Edward Mc Lysaght, *Irish life in the seventeenth century*, (Dublin, 1979), p. 297

¹⁶ Edward McLysaght, *Irish life*, p. 251.

has been attributed to a number of travelling ministers, including Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who concentrated on the towns, but there is no evidence that they came to Tipperary. The effect of the Cromwellian upheavals was reflected by Burrough, who wrote, 'Our service lies only in the great towns and cities, for generally the country is without inhabitant'.¹⁷ They directed their missions at Cromwellian soldiers and the newly arrived settlers, making no effort to proselytise the native Irish. They made many converts among Baptists and Independents in the Cromwellian garrisons who were equally disenchanted with the authority of bishops and priests, and were attracted by Quaker egalitarian principles. Barnard maintains that Munster garrisons were notorious for their unorthodoxy and that the progress of Quakerism in the province was not typical of the rest of Ireland where military converts were neither as numerous nor as influential.¹⁸

Meetings were quickly set up at Youghal, Kinsale, Cork and Limerick, and in 1656 the earliest recorded Quaker meeting in Tipperary took place in the house of George Baker in Cashel.¹⁹ The previous year saw the arrival of Edward Tavorner at Ballingarry²⁰ in the north of the county, while in 1659, John Fennell had settled at Kilcommon near Cahir,²¹ indicating how quickly the Quakers had established themselves throughout the county, albeit in an unplanned, haphazard fashion. The early Quaker settlement in County Tipperary consisted of a few adventurers and former Cromwellian soldiers, the vast majority being small farmers and humble artisans. They came either directly from England or indirectly from other parts of Ireland. It is not possible to state how many were converted to Quakerism while living in England or became members after their arrival.

¹⁷ cited in John M. Douglas, 'Early Quakerism in Ireland' in *J.F.H.S.*, iid, no. 1, (Spring, 1956), p. 7.

¹⁸ T. C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 109, 111 & 112.

¹⁹ *Book of Sufferings* 2 vols. 1655-93; 1694-1705 (F.H.L.D., YM G 1).

²⁰ R.M.M. Family lists 1641-1793 (F.H.L.D., MM V M1)

²¹ Joe Walsh, 'The Lord Cahir's cottage at Kilcommon' in *Cahir Heritage Newsletter*, xxxvii (Sept. 1989).

Quakerism was seen to be both subversive and revolutionary, intent on overthrowing the existing religious and social order.²² The refusal to take oaths, to show deference to the gentry and aristocracy, to serve in the militia and to pay tithes meant blasphemy, treason and sacrilege in a seventeenth century world. As Kilroy suggests:

The Quakers were distinct in several ways from the accepted norms observed within all the Reformation churches. Being different from and even dismissive of other traditions, pursuing wealth with success, dressing differently and speaking a language that was singular, aroused anger and perhaps jealousy in society; to many of their critics Quakers were so alien that they were accused of being possessed by dark spirits. In reality their fault lay in being different.²³

Their inner convictions led to their taking a confrontational approach in defence of their principles. Since all men had not seen the Light the compulsion to go into the world to spread the word was very appealing for the early Quakers.

As has been previously stated, many of these early Quakers deliberately caused disturbances once they had been 'moved' by the inner spirit to interrupt a church service or preacher. To stand up and accuse priests of being 'hirelings' and deceivers provoked the hostility of other Christians such as Samuel Ladyman,²⁴ the Presbyterian minister in Clonmel, who viewed Quakers as a destructive and negative force. They were also viewed as a political threat. Henry, son of Oliver Cromwell, stated in 1656, 'I think their principles and practice are not very consistent with civil government much less with the discipline of an army. Some think they have no design but I am not of that opinion. Their counterfeited simplicity renders them to me more dangerous'.²⁵ Subsequent events were to prove him wrong. However, it was hardly surprising that the provocative actions of these early Quakers were met with a repressive response from ecclesiastical and civil authorities alike, offenders being punished by means of fines,

²² Richard Harrison, 'As a garden enclosed: the emergence of Irish Quakers 1650-1750' in Kevin Herlihy, *The Irish dissenting tradition* (Dublin, 1995), p. 82; J. M. Douglas, 'Early Quakerism in Ireland' in *JFHS*, xxxviii, no.1 (Spring, 1956), pp. 11/12.

²³ Phil Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994), pp.146-147.

²⁴ Samuel Ladyman, *The dangerous rule or a sermon preached at Clonmel in the province of Munster in Ireland, 3 August 1657 before the reverend judges of that circuit* (London, 1658).

²⁵ cited in W. C. Braithwaite, *The beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912), p.215.

confiscations and imprisonments. Despite this, they appeared to have received relatively favourable treatment under the protectorate. There are only two recorded incidents relating to County Tipperary Quakers for that period. Both occurred in 1657, when meetings of Friends in the town of Cashel were broken up by soldiers. On the first occasion, the members of the congregation were kicked out of town but on the second occasion, a number of them were imprisoned.²⁶

The restoration of Charles II was marked by a gesture of clemency when all imprisoned Quakers, including those held in Cashel gaol, were released. This policy of tolerance was to be short-lived, as a result of the Fifth Monarchy²⁷ disturbances in London. In the words of Brayshaw:

a new period of persecution set in, Friends and other Nonconformists being now punishable for carrying on worship in their own way. Among other measures that were passed were the Quaker Act of 1662 and the more comprehensive Conventicle Act of 1664 which applied to all dissenters, making it illegal for more than four persons to meet for worship otherwise than in accordance with the practice of the Anglican church.²⁸

Quakers were identified with these subversives and, consequently, were 'exposed to suspicion by reason of their frequent coming together from different parts for their monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, and also by reason of their travelling ministers, the fact of a number from different parts of the country meeting together being taken as clear evidence of a plot'.²⁹ Considering the tense situation much stress was placed upon the oath of allegiance. Trueblood has claimed that the majority of Quakers who were imprisoned during the next twenty-five years were punished more for rejection of the oath than they were for any other reason. He goes on to argue that the magistrates

²⁶ Book of National Sufferings, i, 1655-1693 (F.H.L.D., YM G 1).

²⁷ The Fifth Monarchists were a group of political and religious extremists who throughout the Protectorate had opposed Cromwell. Their study of prophecy led them to believe that they fourth great world monarchy was coming to an end, to be succeeded by the Fifth Monarchy, the rule of Christ and the saints. A few month's experience convinced them that the reign of the saints was not to be found in the court of Charles II. On 6 January 1661 their rebellion broke out in London.

²⁸ A. N. Brayshaw, *The Quakers: their story and message* (York, 1982), p. 140.

²⁹ *ibid*, p. 161.

these 'sufferings', as they were called, at local, regional and national levels and reproduced them in a book entitled *National Sufferings*.³³ The contents of these volumes will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Apart from the confiscation of property, in a number of cases defaulters were jailed for non-compliance. In 1671, both Gershon Boate from near Templemore and James Hutchinson of Knockballymaher in north Tipperary were imprisoned in Clonmel and the records show the latter was still held a year later. Many faced this ordeal with characteristic Quaker fortitude. One such was John Ashton, then resident in the north of the county, who 'was thrown in prison for refusing to pay tithes and spent his time there making laces and garters for the support of his family'.³⁴ The wills of some of the members reveal that they had enough wealth to prevent them from becoming destitute, despite the constant harassment of being fined and imprisoned, but others were less fortunate. Long prison sentences, or a succession of heavy fines, especially if followed by a disaster such as a poor harvest or by deaths in the family, could rapidly affect a household. The concern of the Friends during those first years concentrated upon caring for those in prison, for those who had fallen upon hard times, for orphans, the sick and the widowed. In an effort to help their imprisoned brethren, as well as those in reduced circumstances, the Society took on the responsibility of providing them with material and financial support. In 1659 a central fund was initiated for the care of such members. A crucial ingredient in the Friends' recipe for survival was their care in nurturing one another in spiritual life. This attitude was typified by Francis Howgill's spiritual counsel issued in June 1656 to Friends in Cork who advised Friends to 'Stand armed, having your loynes girded up by the truth .. Watch over one another in love, and beare one anothers burthens ... And take heed now when the power is striving among you, that none run out in Imaginations and act any deceite'.

In order to cope with distress caused by the persecution, a committee known as the meeting for sufferings was set up in 1675. One of its functions was to collect and disburse monies for their imprisoned brethren. In 1680, according to Douglas, 'it was

³³ *Book of National Sufferings*, 2 vol. 1655-1693, 1694-1705 (F.H.L.D., YM G 1, YM G 2).

³⁴ Richard Harrison, *A biographical dictionary*, (Dublin, 1997), p.26.

decided in 1680 that refusal to pay tithe would be a distinguishing mark of Quakerism in Ireland', and 'after that, any Friends known to have allowed anyone to pay tithe for him was publicly condemned and excluded from the men's meeting'.³⁵ As a conscientious objection to tithes, the Society compiled a document known as the Great Book of Tithe, 1680.³⁶ The head of every Quaker household in Ireland was asked to write a personal protest against the imposition of tithes. Of the seven hundred and ninety eight submissions, ten were from Tipperary members.

Quakers adopted various strategies to highlight injustices, bringing them to the notice of the relevant authorities with a view to seeking redress for their grievances. In the opinion of Greaves, 'the Quakers' decision to record their history marked their respect for the past, the importance of their traditions in the shaping of future thought and action, and their maturation as a community resolved to perpetuate its sense of distinctive identity'.³⁷ Using the material gathered in National Sufferings, referred to above, Abraham Fuller and Thomas Holme published *A brief relation of some part of the sufferings of the true Christians, the people of God (in scorn called Quakers) in Ireland in 1672*. This was supplemented, eleven years later, with the publication of William Stockdale's *The great cry of oppression*, containing records for the period 1671-1681. In addition to these tactics, Irish Quakers set up a parliamentary committee in 1698 to monitor any proposed legislation which might affect their interests. They made representations to the king, the lord lieutenant and other top-ranking officials to highlight their grievances, and established the practice of having at least two Quakers at every assize to monitor proceedings and assist fellow believers facing charges. A number of Tipperary Quakers, as will be seen, were involved in this activity which is described in chapter six.

The accession of James II in 1685 had brought a degree of toleration for the Society of Friends when persecution, except for the payment of tithes, had virtually

³⁵ J. M. Douglas, 'Early Quakers in Ireland' in *J.F.H.S.*, xxxviii (1956), p. 31.

³⁶ The Great Book of Tithe (F.H.L.D., YM G 1).

³⁷ Richard Greaves, *God's other children: Protestant non-conformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland 1660-1700* (Stanford University Press, California, 1997), p. 307.

ceased, but the subsequent Williamite war added to the distresses of the Irish Quaker community with war losses of £100,000 being recorded.³⁸ Their property was plundered by the Williamite and Jacobite soldiery, and roving bands of raparees. Hirst said these years were:

a testing time for Irish Friends. They were hated as settlers of English origin by the one side, and suspected by the other for their neutrality and the shelter they gave to fugitives from both parties. In fact, their political interests and sympathies during the war must have been strangely divided. On the one hand they owed to James what liberty of conscience and worship they enjoyed. On the other the security of tenure for land held by most English Protestants in Ireland rested on the Act of Settlement of 1662, which the Catholic Irish naturally wished to repeal.³⁹

Their pacifist stance during the reign of James II, in addition to the fact that they were being viewed as useful and industrious members of society, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, won for them the respect of many. As the Quaker historians, Wight and Ruttly, put it 'Friends came more into esteem than formerly in the minds of many, both Rulers and People through their innocent, wise deportment in the fear of God'.⁴⁰ They went to great lengths to prove themselves law-abiding and loyal citizens. 'They paid their taxes and by frequent 'addresses to the king and parliament asserted their loyalty to the English crown and considered themselves entirely of the English interest'.⁴¹ Such behaviour and their policy of persistent pressure eventually won for them a degree of recognition.

From this time on, Tipperary's Quakers built meeting houses and held meetings freely throughout the county. The only recorded disruption of a meeting was prompted by motives other than religious discrimination. This occurred in 1698 when Thomas Story, a travelling minister from England, held a meeting in Cashel. The bishop of Cashel instructed the mayor to break up the meeting. When asked to explain his conduct the bishop explained:

³⁸ Thomas Wight & John Ruttly, *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers in Ireland 1653-1700* (Dublin, 1751), pp. 166-7.

³⁹ M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in peace and war* (London, 1926), p. 101.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴¹ Isabel Grubb, 'Social conditions in Ireland in the 17th and 18th centuries as illustrated by early Quaker records', M.A. thesis (University of London, 1916), pp. 50-51

that he went that morning to church to perform his office of preaching as usual and when there he had nobody to preach to but the mayor, church-wardens and some of the constables, and the walls, the people being all gone to your meeting which I confess, said the bishop, made me a little angry and I sent the mayor and constables with that message in hope by that means to have a greater auditory though I have no ill-will to you or those of your profession.⁴²

Since the movement's origins, the Friends had held meetings for worship as an inevitable consequence of their beliefs, but as the number of Friends increased the need to provide suitable government and disciplinary structures for the Society became apparent. To give cohesion to his infant society, George Fox came to Ireland in 1669 and, together with William Edmondson, set up a series of administrative meetings for the organisation and business of the Society. As a result of their labours, a series of meetings emerged in an ascending order. The smallest unit was the preparative meeting. A number of these units formed a monthly meeting constituting a wider administrative area. Similarly, provincial or quarterly meetings were set up for Munster, Leinster and Ulster. The final unit of discipline was the national or half yearly meeting which, by the end of the eighteenth century, became known as the yearly meeting. Men and women had their separate administrative meetings until they were amalgamated in 1885.

Originally, Tipperary's Quakers were under the care of three separate monthly meetings. Those in the north of the county were under the care of the Mountmellick meeting, three of its component meetings being situated at Kilconihinmore, Knockballymaher and Roscrea. For a short period, the Quakers around Tipperary town were under the care of the Limerick meeting but records of their births and deaths, for some unknown reason, appear in the records of the Tipperary meeting. Quakers in the rest of the county were under the care of the Tipperary meeting which had component meetings at Kilcommonbeg (outside Cahir), Cashel, Clonmel and Knockgraffon (up to 1702). While the Mountmellick meeting was part of the Leinster province, the Limerick and Tipperary were constituent meetings of the Munster province.

Because travelling in Munster was often hazardous, Quakers in the Tipperary area organised a six-weeks meeting in 1681, the records for which commence in August

⁴² Emily Moore, *Travelling with Thomas Story* (Hertfordshire, 1947), p. 50.

of that year. Originally, it convened at Clonmel, but after 1685 it sometimes met at Kilcommonbeg. The six weeks meeting was usually held between each provincial (or quarterly) meeting, transacting the same business as the latter but subordinate to it. The monthly and six weeks meetings, the latter being discontinued in 1794, sent periodic reports to the provincial meeting. An indication of the concerns addressed in these reports is illustrated by the report sent by the six weeks meeting in Clonmel, dated 4 Sept. 1706, to the Munster provincial meeting which reads as follows:

We hereby acquaint you that our sufferings for this year on account of tyths and priests maintenance are drawn up and herewith sent according to your desire and we do hope that Friends stand pretty clear in bearing their testimony on that account.

Also we acquaint you that the Lord is pleased to preserve us in unity to our great comfort and we hope things are pretty well amongst Friends. Our meetings being kept up by a remnant, altho' some are not so diligent as we could desire for whom our care is continued. With the salutation of our true and brotherly love in the truth we remain on behalf of our meeting. Your loving Friends.

Charles Howell
Stephen Collett

We have not acquired an do not finde any lad here for going apprentice to the wool combing trade.

The monthly meeting was composed of the members of two or more particular congregations, each of which had its own meetings for worship and managed some of its local congregational affairs in a preparative meeting, which also prepared or took the initial stage of business for the monthly meeting. Executive power rested in the monthly meeting which assumed responsibility for matters of administrative and spiritual policy. Administrative functions included the registration of births, deaths and marriages, the welfare of poorer members, visiting their imprisoned brethren. The meeting also concerned itself with education and apprenticeships. They also issued certificates of removal which testified to the character and solvency of those who wished to emigrate or take up residence in another part of the country. In spiritual matters the meeting ensured that members adhered to the Society's rules for marriage, habits of dress, modes of furnishing and other testimonies. Failure to comply with these requirements could lead to expulsion.

Certain members were also assigned specific responsibilities. Two of their number were obliged to attend all weddings to ensure that the marriage rite and the subsequent social proceedings were in accordance with accepted Quaker practice. Others were deputed to take responsibility for wills and for compiling inventories of members' property⁴³ or compiling sufferings for transmission to the provincial meeting.⁴⁴ Women did not have the same executive authority as the men. Their province was chiefly to care for the needs of their own sex, the relief of the poor, widows and orphans; enquiries into the suitability of marriages; and such matters as the observance of moderation in dress and in the furnishings of houses. The men's meeting alone had executive authority, dealing with matters relating to property, including meeting houses and burial grounds, and with negotiations with the state and the established church.⁴⁵

At this stage of the Society's history, meetings were attended only by men and women who were considered to have the necessary qualities of leadership and spirituality. Admission to the meeting was by application.⁴⁶ Consequently, the majority of adult Friends were not involved in business meetings that administered the affairs of the Society.⁴⁷ Apart from giving the Society cohesion, 'these structures curbed the excesses of the more extreme political and religious elements in their ranks into patterns of group discipline and restraint'.⁴⁸

⁴³ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting, 29th day 3 mo. 1719 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1). Charles Howell and Isaac Newbold were deputed to send in the inventory of Elizabeth Lawford's by the next meeting to have it recorded.

⁴⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting, 10th day 5 mo. 1709 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1). Stephen Collett and William Dower were ordered to transcribe the suffering of Friends and account of tithes according to former directions and method and send them to the next provincial meeting.

⁴⁵ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records 1654-1860* (Dublin, 1967), p. 4.

⁴⁶ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting, 16th day 4 mo. 1717 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1). 'Some time since William Winsloe signified that he had a desire to come nearer to Friends by being admitted to be a member of this meeting and Friends having considered thereof made enquiry into his conversation and behaviour which is for what is known as orderly. So by the general consent of the meeting he is called to be admitted to sit with Friends'.

⁴⁷ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business 1800-1850' M. Litt. thesis (T.C.D., 1987), p.14.

⁴⁸ *ibid.* p.9.

Throughout the country larger representative gatherings known as provincial or quarterly meetings were established. Attended by members from the respective monthly meetings they dealt with matters which concerned the members within the area and prepared business for the national meeting to which it sent representatives. The national meeting concerned itself with providing moral leadership and guidance by diffusing epistles and advices through the subordinate meetings. There are frequent references to yearly and provincial meeting papers being read at the local monthly meeting.⁴⁹ Inversely, concerns of individual members found their way through the same arteries for deliberation at the national meeting.

Business meetings, like meetings for worship, were conducted without an authority figure bearing a title such as president or chairman, for Quakers saw the power of God alone as their authority and the Quaker ideal always called for wide personal liberty and a large sphere of individual initiative. Thus the Friend asked to record their decisions was simply termed 'clerk'. The clerk's main function was to ensure that the business of the meeting was settled, without voting, the members having arrived at a consensus. Other members, who were deemed to have the requisite skills and talents, assumed specific responsibilities. Ministers, referred to above, were recognised as those having received the call to minister but had to receive permission from their meeting to travel in the exercise of their gift. Elders were appointed to take care of the spiritual needs of the meeting to which they belonged and to advise and counsel the ministers. Ministers and elders also conducted their own meetings in relation to their own spheres of influence. At the half yearly meeting, 1692, William Edmundson and Joseph Pike urged the appointment of 'overseers'. These officials who were re-appointed periodically were obliged to see that the rules and regulations of the Society were carried out, to warn privately anyone who might be giving cause for offence or scandal and, when necessary, to bring the matter before the meeting.

George Fox realised the value of written records, especially to a Society which had no paid ministers. He emphasised that each meeting should keep true records of

⁴⁹ R.T.M. Minutes of the men's six weeks meeting, 10th day 5 mo. 1709. (F.H.L.D., MM X A2).

transactions, including registers of births, marriages and deaths. After 1860 these records were compiled in a national register. Abstracts were compiled of the early monthly registers, whereby all entries were arranged alphabetically and placed in a rough chronological order. Also the relevant information was presented in a standardised fashion. The centralised mode of registration for births, deaths and marriages for a large geographical area had the added advantage of keeping a family under observation if it moved around the county. Fortunately, the records for the Tipperary meeting can provide a complete run of such records from the introduction of Quakerism to the county in the middle of the seventeenth century to the present. Unfortunately, monthly meeting records for the Mountmellick meeting only go back to 1749.

The Friends' careful preservation of records stemmed in part from their experience as a group that suffered periodic persecution and collected such materials to reinforce its communal identity. The records also served to maintain an accurate account of the members, their fidelity to the community's code of conduct, and the measures the group embraced to regulate its affairs and finance its activities. Quaker records contained the regulations and guidelines for their distinctive way of life, and in that respect they played a crucial role in helping to perpetuate the Friends' existence as an unique people.⁵⁰

As the organisational structure of the Society began to emerge there was a corresponding development of a formal discipline. As O'Haire argues 'this meeting structure on its own could not maintain a uniformity of Quaker practice and beliefs',⁵¹ which consequently led to the introduction of 'the discipline' or code of rules governing the Society. In the words of Punshon, 'the "discipline" was a generic name for the rules of Quaker church order and the religious principles to which Friends were expected to conform'.⁵² According to Rowantree, Quakerism was 'an eminently practical faith embracing within its scope the whole of human life',⁵³ with no distinction between

⁵⁰ Richard Greaves, *God's other children*, p. 315.

⁵¹ O'Haire, 'A community in decline.', p. 196.

⁵² John Punshon, *A short history of the Quakers*, p. 136.

⁵³ J. S. Rowantree, *The Society of Friends - its faith and practice* (London, 1908), p. 30.

religious and secular activities. Therefore the advices and testimonies covering daily living from birth to death were issued by the Society and were published, from time to time, in what was known as the Book of Discipline, thus setting the criterion for the behaviour of all members of the Society.⁵⁴ Guidelines were issued to regulate every aspect of human behaviour. Plain dress was insisted on from the beginning; houses were to be inspected to ensure that furnishings were plain and unostentatious. All business transactions had to be conducted honestly and traders rebuked for malpractice. All marriages had to be validated at the meetings and no Quaker could take up residence in another part of the country without receiving a certificate of removal from the meeting.

Strict procedures were laid down for dealing with errant members. If a member had transgressed, the monthly meeting would be notified of his or her misbehaviour. A number of Friends would be appointed to visit the member in question and a report would be made to the next meeting. Unless there was any flagrant breach of the customary laws of the Society, the visitors would be encouraged to continue their 'care' of the transgressor and report back to a further meeting and so on for a number of months. If the errant member atoned for the misdemeanour in question he or she was forgiven. The Tipperary records contain many instances of members receiving such clemency. In 1692, John Rylans of Clonmel who was married by a priest 'made profession of so doing and of the trouble he brought on his parents' and that he was 'heartily sorry and doe give this condemnation on himself'.⁵⁵ In 1709, Benjamin Fennell wrote a letter from his sick bed confessing 'disorderly walking and keeping bad company'.⁵⁶

Various efforts were made to spread the Quaker message. Parents had the responsibility for transmitting Quaker values. They were also to ensure that their children didn't spend too long at school but, at the earliest opportunity, were placed in apprenticeships with Quaker masters. Children were to be educated in the Quaker tradition. The half-yearly meeting of 1675 proposed setting up Quaker schools and, at

⁵⁴ The first set of advices was published in 1811.

⁵⁵ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting, 25th day 1st mo. 1696 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

⁵⁶ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting, 1709 20th day 9 mo. 1709 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

the Knockgraffon⁵⁷ meeting of 12 August 1701, Clonmel was sanctioned as the location for a school to educate the Quaker youth of the area. Apart from providing denominational education, Quaker schools also had a unifying effect on the Society, allowing young people to get to know each other, to form friendships which could ultimately lead to marriage.⁵⁸

Quaker principles were also inculcated through a series of books and publications. These included many spiritual autobiographies written largely for didactic purposes by various travelling ministers. Two Tipperary members of a later period who wrote accounts of their spiritual development were Sarah Grubb and Mary Dudley, the contents of which are discussed in a subsequent chapter. By the opening of the eighteenth century more than two thousand five hundred Quaker books and pamphlets had been published, an average of one title a week since the foundation of the Society. As Walvin has pointed out, Quakers 'cherished and came to depend upon the written word, both as an authentic account of their own personal and communal struggles, and as a means of regulating and monitoring their private and working lives'.⁵⁹ He went on to note that 'the Quakers' nationwide network formed a ready-made readership and purchasing public for all their books. It ensured that these publications had a guaranteed sale and a relatively swift means of distribution throughout the country, and were thus relatively free from commercial risk'.⁶⁰ These spiritual autobiographies were distributed to all monthly meetings through what might be regarded as a compulsory book club. The method of buying books by monthly meeting subscription reduced the cost of purchase and gave individual members access to a great variety of books. The Tipperary and Mountmellick monthly minutes record subscription lists for such spiritual publications penned by prominent members of the Society.⁶¹ Furthermore, even the

⁵⁷ Knockgraffon is situated between Cahir and Cashel.

⁵⁸ A Ruth Fry, *Quaker ways* (Watford, 1933), p. 194.

⁵⁹ James Walvin, *The Quakers. Men and morals* (London, 1997), p. 46

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 47.

⁶¹ Two examples are John Barcroft, *Dying confessions of William and Thomas Barcroft* (Dublin, 1710) Records of Munster Provincial meeting, 18th day 10 mo. 1710 (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A3); Robert Barclay, *The catechism of Robert Barclay* (Dublin, 1711), 23rd day 2 mo. 1711 (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A3); Quaker printed publications see Richard Greaves, *God's other children etc.*, pp. 299-307

smallest meeting had its own lending library composed of books of a spiritual nature. There are references to libraries in Clonmel and Cahir⁶² from a later period but there is no indication when they were set up.

It appears that before the visit of George Fox in 1669 'Quaker meetings were informal and dependent upon Friends visiting the area and holding meetings as they travelled the country'.⁶³ It has been pointed out that:

as late as 1701 nearly half the meetings in Ireland gathered in private homes. Of Leinster's 24 meetings, fourteen had meeting houses, of which three had been built by 'particular' (local) Friends. Ulster had seven meeting houses, four of them constructed by local Friends, and eleven meetings in private homes, whereas six of Munster's eleven meetings, had their own buildings, none of which were apparently built by local Quakers alone.⁶⁴

The rapid spread of meetings in Ireland in the seventeenth century indicated the early success of the movement. According to Kilroy, 'by 1660, despite opposition, persecution and the informality of their structures, there were thirty established meeting places in Ireland, and fifty-three by 1701'.⁶⁵ At that time, all Quaker meetings in Tipperary were held in private houses. These included the house of John Fennell at Kilcommonbeg⁶⁶ (1660); the house of James Hutchinson at Knockballymaher⁶⁷ (1668); the house of Samuel Cook at Knockgraffon (1692); some years prior to 1699 meetings had been held at the house of George Collett in Clonmel.

By this time the Tipperary Quaker community had grown sufficiently numerous to have a number of purpose-built meeting houses erected (see Map 1:1).

⁶² R. T. M. Minutes of the Tipperary men's monthly meeting, 31st day 1 mo. 1850; 1st day 1 mo. 1852 (F.H.L.D., MM X A7). In 1852, the one in Clonmel contained 330 volumes, in addition to various religious magazines.

⁶³ Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994), p. 90.

⁶⁴ Greaves, *God's other children*, p. 308.

⁶⁵ Phil Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland*, p. 90.

⁶⁶ Kilcommonbeg is situated two miles south of Cahir.

⁶⁷ Knockballymaher is situated about four miles north-east of Roscrea.

Map 1:1

Provision of meeting houses and graveyards in County Tipperary 1661-1866



Graveyards

Kilcommon (1661-1738)
Knockballymaher (1680-1882)
Clonmel (1709-1964)
Woodhouse (1726-1821)
Kilconihimore (1731-c.1848)
Ballybrado (1738-1954)

Meeting Houses

Clonmel (1700-1792) and (1792-1924)
Cashel (1703-1769)
Tipperary (1708-1744)
Kilconihimore (1767-1792)
Knockballymaher (1767-1888)
Garryroan (1787-1834)
Roscrea (1793-1885)
Cahir (1834-1897)
Carrick-on-Suir (1866-1924)

Sources: Records of Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings (FHLD); Thomas Wight and John Ruitly *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers* (Dublin, 1751), pp. 348-350.

In 1699, Stephen and Joseph Collett, sons of George, gave a piece of ground and thirty pounds towards the cost of erecting a meeting house in Clonmel.⁶⁸ The original Clonmel meeting house was situated between Peter Street and the present O'Connell Street. According to Butler, the meeting house was a stone and slated building 46 by 31 ft. with a staircase block 20 by 10ft. It had an upper floor, perhaps a dwelling for some poor Friend, or less likely a loft. Before it to the south was a forecourt 20 ft. broad.⁶⁹ Twenty six Friends raised a sum of £247-11-6 towards its erection which was augmented by a contribution of £79 from the meeting stock.⁷⁰ (see Table 1:1).

Table 1:1.

Clonmel Meeting house subscription list, 1699			
John Fennell	£19 18s.	Thomas Barger	£3 3s.
Peter Cooke	£30 12s.	John Jolly	£1 13s.
George Baker	£25	Thomas Lucas	£4 12s. 6d.
Stephen Collett	£30	Benjamin Fennell	£2 8s.
George Collett	£30	David Hier	£5
John Fennell	£23	Thomas Coborne	£1 1s.
Samuel Barrett	£17 7s.	Richard Baker	£5
Charles Howell	£1 6s.	Elizabeth Lawford	£5
Samuel Cherry	£7 13s.	Elizabeth Godfrey	£3
Isaac Newbold	£7 15s.	Elizabeth Baker	£4
James Russell	£3 2s.	John Weldon	10s. 6d.
John Webber	£2 2s.	Oliver Simmons	1s.
William Weldon	£1 3s.	Thomas Whitton	2s.

Source. The men's six week's meeting held at Knockgraffon, 20th day 6mo. 1699 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1)

The building which was one of substance illustrates both the confidence and the resources of the community at this time. No trace of this meeting house remains to-day.

⁶⁸ Wight & Ratty, *A history of the rise and progress of people called Quakers*, p.349.

⁶⁹ David Butler, *The Quaker meeting houses of Ireland* (a draft); Conveyance of Clonmel Meeting House dated 24 March, 1704 from Stephen and Joseph Collett to Joshua Fennell, Charles Fennell and Isaac Newbold. Document in possession of the author.

⁷⁰ R.T.M. Ministers and elders, folder c (F.H.L.D., MM X C1).

In 1701, George Baker converted an outhouse in Cashel for the use of a meeting house.⁷¹ Two years later, a meeting house was built which the corporation allowed to have erected within the town walls. Although no trace remains, the Munster provincial records described it as 'a small house of lime and stone and slated, walls to be 8 feet, 30 feet long and 18 foot wide'.⁷² It stood in Nicholas Street, off Main Street. In 1708, a third meeting house was erected in Tipperary town on a plot of ground provided by Samuel Cherry.⁷³ Twenty-two names appear on the subscription list (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2.

Tipperary town meeting house subscription list, 1708		
Peter Cooke £4	Isaac Reeves 5s.	Joseph Collett £2 15s.
Joshua Fennell £2	Solomon Watson 12s.	Charles Howell 5s.
Stephen Collett £3	Thomas Barger 15s.	Isaac Barrett 3s.
Samuel Cherry £1	Oliver Simmons 4s.	William Dower 5s.
Samuel Barrett £1	John Weldon 2s. 6d.	Thomas Godwin 10s.
Isaac Newbold £1	Thomas Cobourne 5s.	John Webber 6d.
Thomas Lucas 10s.	Benjamin Fennell 3s.	Deborah Cooke £1
James Russell 5s.		

Source. The men's six weeks meeting held at Kilcommonbeg 6th day 1mo. 1708 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

All that remains to-day is a much altered building in Davis Street, Tipperary, incorporating remnants of the original meeting house. According to Butler, 'little remains to show that it was once a meeting house: it has been extended on to the street. It faces onto a yard (now the yard of the adjoining inn), and on that elevation may still be seen the remains of an arched window and the doorway of the meeting house'.⁷⁴ It was described in 1708 as being 'bounded on the south by Samuel Cherry's garden, on the west by William Hobbs holding; on the north against street leading through the town; on the east with the back of Samuel Cherry's holding. Breadth from East to West

⁷¹ *ibid*, p.349.

⁷² Records of the Munster province meeting 1706-1720, 24th day 4 mo. 1703 (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A2).

⁷³ Note included in Cherry family pedigree compiled by Webb (F.H.L.D.)

⁷⁴ David Butler, *The meeting houses of Ireland* (draft of forthcoming publication).

21 foot; and a length from North to South 34 foot. At present erected a stone house thatched'.⁷⁵ At the time there was a difference of sentiment between the local Friends and those of the Provincial Meeting as to what material should be used. The latter suggested wood, but the Tipperary Friends successfully insisted on stones and mortar.⁷⁶

In 1719 'directions were given to register the meeting houses at Clonmel, Cashel & Tipperary, also the dwelling houses of John Boles (Woodhouse); Joshua Fennell (Kilcommonbeg); James Russell (Coolbane); William Lucas (Pallis) and Thomas Chandler (Glenbane)'.⁷⁷ This was in accordance with the act of toleration of 1719 which granted Quakers and other Protestant dissenters freedom of worship provided they registered their meeting houses. At this stage there were no purpose-built meeting houses in the north of the county. A meeting had been settled at the house of James Hutchinson at Knockballymaher in 1668,⁷⁸ and sometime later John Ashton's house at Kilconihinmore was used for a similar purpose.

Since Quaker principles did not allow members to avail of the services of a clergyman in the local parish graveyard, each meeting was instructed to provide a burying place as 'a testimony against the superstitious idolizing of those places called holy ground'. The earliest Tipperary Quaker graveyard was located at Kilcommon where John Fennell set aside a plot as a burial ground near his dwelling at Cottage. From 1661 to 1736, twenty burials were recorded, eleven of them being members of the Fennell family. All that remains of the cemetery is a circular stone structure on Cottage hill and a nearby grove of yew trees. The most extensive Quaker graveyard in the county is situated in O'Neill Street, a quiet residential area of Clonmel.⁷⁹ It was leased from Clonmel corporation and measures approximately 34 by 30 metres. The year 1709 is carved into the limestone archway at the entrance and the records indicate that the

⁷⁵ Deed Box XVII, F.5, (F.H.L.D.).

⁷⁶ Family Pedigrees (F.H.L.D., Handwritten note in Cherry pedigree).

⁷⁷ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records 1654-1860* (Dublin, 1967), p. 98.

⁷⁸ Wight & Rutt, *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers*, p. 344.

⁷⁹ Lease from Clonmel Corporation to Robert Fennell, Joshua Fennell & Samuel Grubb dated 31 May, 1759. Under the terms the Society of Friends agreed to pay a rent of £2 p. a. and a dozen bottles of claret and a rump of beef on each renewal.

graveyard contains the remains of some 420 members of the Society, including 128 members of the Grubb family. It is also the final resting place of members of the town's leading Quaker families, including the Malcomsons, Hugheses, Jacobs, Greers, Banfields, Fayles, Davises and many others. From 1860, 58 of the 156 burials were those of non-members.

There are three Quaker graveyards in north Tipperary. The small burial ground at Rock Forest cross roads in Knockballymaher which measures 28 by 23 metres was leased in 1674 from the Hutchinson family, whose descendants later walled in another private ground for their own use. Knockballymaher contains nineteen stones but the records suggest that many more Quakers were buried there. The majority of the memorials commemorate members of the Dudley and Walpole families. Members of the Williams and Rhodes families were also buried there. Some of later stones were more elaborate than accepted Quaker practice, and were undoubtedly erected by families who were no longer members of the Society.

The graveyard at Kilconihinmore is situated on a hilltop three miles west of Shinrone. It measures approximately 46 by 30 metres with most of the burials in the southern part. The only records of burial there are those gleaned from the number of deaths recorded by the Tipperary meeting. These included members of the Shepperd, Talbot and Taylor families. The last recorded Quaker burial was that of Anne Talbot, interred in 1848. The only stones in the graveyard are those erected by the Shepperd family when they were no longer Quakers.

Eighteenth century Quakerism was to assume a character quite different from those of its earliest days. As Punshon states:

Eighteenth century Quakerism has come to be called 'quietism' because its beliefs, practices and characteristic mood were later understood to resemble the continental spiritual movement of the same name, associated with the names of Miguel de Molinos, Fénelon and Mme. de Guyon.⁸⁰

He goes on to say that:

⁸⁰ John Punshon, *Portrait in grey* (London, 1984), p. 120.

The quietists reasoned that whatever is ultimately sensory or of the world - logic, reason, conscience, intellect, emotion, personality - is incapable of providing a certain knowledge of God. Indeed, such outward means, tainted as they are by human weakness, ignorance and sin are positive obstacles to a true knowledge of the divine. So we should seek to escape the influence of all symbols by an outward means of expression and communication, and rely instead on achieving a pure passivity or open-ness to God, wherein he will transmit a sense of his presence and a knowledge of his truth.⁸¹

Referring to quietism, Wigham points out that 'besides turning Friends to a more individually devotional attitude, it tended to withdraw them from the world and made them less likely to seek changes in their conservative discipline'.⁸² The second phase of Quakerism, which had begun to assert itself in the opening decades of the eighteenth century, saw the missionary zeal of the earlier period replaced by a leadership determined to enforce a strict moral standard upon its members. Anxious to avoid drawing hostile attention to themselves they withdrew from the world, implementing a strict code of behaviour to uphold and safeguard their cherished testimonies.

After years of persecution during which they had suffered much, there was a natural desire for a more peaceful life. With the death of the Society's founders its missionary age came to an end; their successors abandoned the dream for universal Quakerism, opting for a policy of consolidation rather than an extension of its borders.⁸³ As 'the older generation of inspired leadership was slowly dying out', it was 'replaced by a cautious element of group authority'.⁸⁴ Isabel Grubb wrote that immediately after the Williamite war:

we notice the beginnings of that rigidity of discipline and enforcement of minute regulations which mark Irish Quakerism. "Plainness in speech, behaviour and apparel" was to be the watchword of the inner circle of Friends for one hundred and fifty years after this date; indeed, until that inner circle was almost all that was left.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 121.

⁸² Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992), p. 55.

⁸³ John S. Rowantree, *Quakerism past and present being an enquiry into the causes of its decline in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1859), p. 92.

⁸⁴ Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers*, (published privately, 1991), p.4.

⁸⁵ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900* (London, 1927), p.81.

Eighteenth century Quakerism or the quietist period, as it became known, in the Society's history was characterised by a dogmatic and almost puritanical fanaticism. As will be shown in chapter 8, it was to have serious consequences for Quakerism.

As noted above, the toleration act of 1719 allowed Friends and other Protestant dissenters the privilege of meeting for worship subject to meeting houses being registered.⁸⁶ Although the act gave Quakers freedom of worship many disabilities remained. In 1704 they had to endure a further setback when the so-called 'Test Act' demanded that all who sought public office were required to be in communion with the established church. Their refusal to pay tithes and the disabilities they suffered because of their scruples over taking judicial oaths remained their principal grievances. As Greaves points out, 'the Friends' refusal to take oaths not only rendered them subject to fines and imprisonment but also, when the laws were strictly enforced, precluded them from serving on juries or in the government, suing to recover debts, proving wills, or offering evidence in court, even in cases in which they were the accused'.⁸⁷

Their refusal to swear oaths in a court of law put them at a disadvantage in pressing their rights to recover debts. Such was the case of Charles Howell of Clonmel who had a quantity of leather stolen from him. When the case came before the Cork assizes his refusal to give evidence under oath resulted in the defendant being released.⁸⁸ Quaker scruples over the taking of oaths were finally overcome after a series of toleration acts culminating in the repeal of the sacramental test in 1780.⁸⁹ Henceforth they were only required to make an affirmation. The tithe question was not fully resolved until the disestablishment act of 1869.⁹⁰

Quakers overcame discrimination and persecution. Their sturdy independence and industrious habits enabled them to make an impact on the economic life of the county, while a number of them had become prosperous. As will be seen in later

⁸⁶ 6 Geo. I c. 5.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 364.

⁸⁸ Records of the Munster provincial meeting 1706-1720, 13th day 4 mo. 1715 (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A1).

⁸⁹ 19 & 20 Geo. III, c.6. The sacramental test had been introduced in 1704 (2 Anne, c.6).

⁹⁰ 32 & 33 Vict., c. 42.

chapters 'It was this combination of personal convictions lived out in a closed group, coupled with a strong social and business sense which first enabled the Quakers to survive and then to thrive as a small, coherent and cohesive community in Ireland'.⁹¹

To summarise, the origins of Quakerism in County Tipperary can be traced to 1655. Most of the early members came from England, while others were recruited from the Cromwellian presence in Ireland. Quakerism advocated a simple life-style stressing moral behaviour and the equal treatment of all. The first phase of Quakerism was largely one of persecution for Quakerism in Ireland, but it had also been one of consolidation. Stable worshipping groups with their own administrative structures had been established. Disciplinary procedures encouraged a high standard of moral and ethical behaviour. Persecution gave the movement vigour, and Quaker forthrightness proved to be a great weapon in fighting for their liberties and rights. Their survival, to a large extent, was a result of an efficient organisational and administrative structure. The support given by the Society to their weaker and poorer members was matched by their willingness to use every means at their disposal in seeking redress for their grievances through publicity, by exercising vigilance on the legal process and by lobbying those in authority. By the turn of the century, the evangelical enthusiasm of the earlier years was gradually replaced by an unwillingness to engage with the outside world. This quietist policy was to lead to rigorous implementation of the discipline and resulted in increasing disownments. Quakers had endured hardship and suffering but their fortitude and industry had helped many to prosper. By 1719, the Quaker community had won freedom of worship which was an important step in guaranteeing their survival.

⁹¹ Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland*, p.30.

Chapter 2

Demography and Distribution 1655-1924

This chapter examines the demography and distribution of Tipperary's Quakers. From a demographic point of view, the chapter looks at marriage ages, family size, infant mortality, celibacy and longevity. The chapter also includes demographic micro-studies of the Fennells and Grubbs, two of Tipperary's prominent Quaker families. In terms of distribution it sets out to analyse the ethnic, social, political, vocational and geographical origins of the first arrivals in the county. It looks at the changing patterns of settlement, indicating the religious and economic factors which affected location and migration, and how the social and economic network influenced their marriage contact fields.

Demography

The most important primary sources are the birth, death and marriage records of the Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings, to whose care Tipperary's Quakers were entrusted. After 1859, such records were collated at national level and entered in a book known as the National Register. Also included among the monthly meeting records is a limited number of family lists, which are available for both the Mountmellick and Tipperary meetings. However, it should be borne in mind, while there is a complete run of birth, death and marriage records for the Tipperary meeting, the corresponding records for the Mountmellick meeting date only from 1811. Consequently, it is not possible to provide a full demographic profile of the Quakers living in north Tipperary.

Before attempting to examine the demography of Tipperary Quakers it is important to consider the limitations of the available sources. Harrison notes that 'whilst the student of Quaker history in Ireland is blessed with a plethora of records from the beginning of the Society it has to be admitted that the earliest material does not enable any sustained analysis regarding the numbers of Quakers to be made'.¹ Up to 1861, estimates of the total Quaker population vary considerably. In the latter part of the

¹ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business 1800-1850' M. Litt (T.C.D., 1987), p. 20.

seventeenth century when Quaker numbers peaked, Isabel Grubb claimed that there were about six or seven hundred families of Friends in Ireland, placing the population between three and five thousand, probably nearer the latter.² However, she gives no indication as to how she arrived at this figure.

From 1861³ onwards, the year in which the Religious Society of Friends of Ireland conducted the first official census of the Society to ascertain the number of persons in profession with it, statistics are issued on a regular basis. Prior to 1861 there are no precise figures available for the Quaker population of County Tipperary, apart from the surveys conducted in 1755 for the Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings respectively. However, these only supply a list of the male adult members of the meetings in question. In addition to these there is a document in the Grubb collection in the Friends' Historical Library, Dublin giving the population for the Tipperary meeting in 1851. Unfortunately there are no returns of population forthcoming from other sources. The commission of public instruction survey of 1835 was not carried out for the county and the 1861 census, while giving figures for Presbyterians and Methodists, does not do likewise for the Quakers.

Two of the most important sources are the births, marriages and deaths registers, and family lists. The family lists record the marriage of a couple, the children born to them, and usually which of those children died in childhood or, if they survived, to whom they were married.⁴ When these two sources are compared they reveal certain anomalies and discrepancies,⁵ which suggests that Friends were sometimes guilty of laxity in registration procedures. A scrutiny of the monthly meeting records indicates that not all marriages were recorded in the marriage register. This can best be seen when the certificates of 'clearness' for marriage⁶ as recorded in the minute books are compared

² Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p. 89.

³ Coincidentally, 1861 was also the year when the first official census recorded religion. However, it did not supply figures for the Quaker population of Ireland.

⁴ R.M.M. Family lists 1641-1797 (F.H.L.D., MM V M1); R.T.M. Family records 1626-1860 (F.H.L.D., MM X A9).

⁵ David Eversley, 'The demography of the Irish Quakers', p. 60.

⁶ 'Clearness' was given when the meeting considered there was no impediment to the couple getting married.

with the marriage registers.⁷ Since every proposed marriage taking place among Friends had to have the prior approval of the monthly meeting, it was duly inserted in the minutes. There are instances where marriages were not recorded, even though the recorded births of children to the couple show that it did take place.

There is also evidence of under-registration in relation to births and burials. On more than one occasion the Mountmellick monthly meeting commented on the fact that the 'recording of births and burials is too much neglected'.⁸ A comparison between the death registers and the entries in the family lists show that a number of neo-natal deaths were unrecorded. In addition to this, in the early days of the Society many of those who were not invited to participate in meetings for discipline, as will be shown below, may not have felt they were obliged to report such events as births, marriages and deaths. Furthermore, such records do not take cognisance of children born prior to the family's arrival in the county, or those born when the family had passed to the care of another meeting. As has been stated, it is not always possible to reconcile some entries in the registers with those in the family lists. It is possible that some of the information supplied in the latter may have been supplied from memory and was consequently inaccurate.

Information gleaned from these sources can sometimes be augmented by an examination of the records of other meetings, helping to provide a broader picture of the origins, marriage patterns and family size of many Tipperary Quaker families. Dates for births, marriages and deaths are sometimes omitted. Regrettably, the records are also lacking in other demographic details. They rarely indicate the family's place of origin or father's occupation. Furthermore, frequent disownment or voluntary resignations connected with the application of church discipline, and, in the eighteenth century a high propensity to emigrate meant that certain individuals and families were lost to the records system altogether.

Harrison points out the limitations of the registers of births, marriages and deaths in reflecting an accurate demographic picture when he states that they:

⁷ Quaker marriage procedures are discussed in Chapter 7.

⁸ R.M.M. Minutes of mens' monthly meeting 20th day 5th mo. 1764 (F.H.L.D., MM V A2).

cannot be considered as providing a total picture of the Quaker demographic structure. Much depends on the type of question we may wish to ask. The records were designed for practical purposes related to the care of the Quaker community. One reason for the caution in reviewing available material is that those who were the most active in the affairs of the church tended to have their names recorded most frequently.⁹

Other demographic sources for a study of this nature are sadly defective. The great book of tithes, 1680, referred to above, is the only document giving any idea of the number of Quakers living in Ireland while the first generation was still living, and is the oldest list of Friends in Ireland. Ten names¹⁰ were submitted by the Tipperary meeting. However, this figure does not correspond with the entries in the registers of births for this period. Furthermore, the returns from the Mountmellick meeting do not include the name of a single Quaker then resident in north Tipperary.

Similarly, the book of National Sufferings, as stated earlier, has some glaring omissions. Greaves points out that the records of sufferings are suspect as a historical source. He states that 'of these the most serious is the likelihood of their incompleteness, given the meetings' recurring admonitions to people who had not submitted the required accounts. Most of these individuals presumably experienced no losses and may have been reluctant to produce statements because they paid tithes or rates'.¹¹

Another difficulty facing the demographer is the question of membership. The Society made no effort at defining membership until 1737, when membership was determined on the basis of heredity. Up to this, attendance at meetings was regarded as a badge of membership, but participation in the monthly meeting for discipline was not open to all members.¹² It was restricted to those who were thought to have an

⁹ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business', p. 20.

¹⁰ These were George Baker (Cashel), John Fennell Sr. (Kilcommonbeg), George Collett (Clonmel), Robert Bird (Clonmel), Joshua Fennell (Kilcommonbeg), William Bradford (Clonmel), Philip Godfrey (Ballyboy), Robert Mayo? (Tipperary), Thomas Weilly (Tipperary) and William Fennell (Kilcommonbeg).

¹¹ Richard Greaves, *God's other children. Protestant dissent and non-conformists and the emergence of denominational church in Ireland 1660-1700* (Stanford University Press, California), p. 357.

¹² In 1737 Joseph Grubb applied for membership of the Tipperary meeting. He was 27 years of age at the time and the Grubb family had been attending meetings since their arrival in the county in 1719. R.T.M. Minutes of Tipperary six week's meeting, 26th day 12 mo. 1737 (F.H.L.D., MM X A2).

acceptable level of spiritual zeal. Consequently, 'the names of the wider group of adherents does not generally emerge since they were not members of the elite men's meeting and hence had little part in the administrative proceedings, except when in need, or otherwise objects of the discipline'.¹³

This exclusiveness had implications for another possible source that might be used to determine Quaker numbers, that is the use of subscription lists. Harrison is, up to a point, dismissive of their value on the grounds that 'earlier subscription lists, except on special occasions are probably to be identified with that of the central core of "cadres"'.¹⁴ Greaves, on the other hand, adopted a more positive approach when he pointed out that these contributions were less voluntary than the term suggests, since national, provincial, and monthly meetings periodically assessed constituent members for specified sums and normally expected to receive payment.¹⁵ It could be argued, given the nature of the undertaking, that every effort was made to get the widest possible backing and that it would, in turn, have been seen as a cause worthy of support. Subscription lists assumed a greater validity with the redefinition of membership in 1737 which came to include the total attendance at meetings. But as Harrison has pointed out, 'there is no evidence that the change occurred quite so suddenly by administrative "diktat" in Ireland, or even at the same time'.¹⁶ The redefinition of membership had not been accepted by the Tipperary meeting by 1755 as the membership list for that year, referred to below, indicates.

Various aspects of the demography of Tipperary Quakers will be appraised. Firstly, an attempt will be made to examine population fluctuations within the constraints of the sources available. Secondly, the patterns of birth, marriage and death of Tipperary's Quakers will be compared with the findings of Richard Vann and David Eversley in *Friends in life and death*. Finally, a demographic comparison will be made between two of the county's most important Quaker families, the Grubbs and the Fennells.

¹³ Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business', p. 20.

¹⁴ *ibid*, p. 27.

¹⁵ Greaves, *God's other children*, p. 311.

¹⁶ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business', p. 26.

From what has been stated any attempts to arrive at precise population trends or total numbers for Tipperary Quakers up to 1861 is purely speculative. An examination of the identifiable number of births and deaths for Tipperary Quakers (see Table 2:1) gives some indication of population trends for the entire period.

Table 2:1

Identifiable number of births and deaths for Tipperary Quakers and neighbouring meetings, 1650-1925					
Births, 1650-1900					
Period	Tipperary	Carlow	Cork	Limerick	Waterford
1650-1675	72 (22)	98	109	29	52
1676-1700	189 (38)	274	241	88	68
1701-1725	230 (46)	259	345	125	121
1726-1750	127 (18)	201	315	119	107
1751-1775	150 (21)	242	285	103	103
1776-1800	239 (7)	189	357	108	237
1801-1825	309 (39)	111	197	81	223
1826-1850	178 (5)	100	162	104	145
1851-1875	68 (0)				
1876-1900	19 (0)				
Deaths, 1650-1925					
Period	Tipperary	Carlow	Cork	Limerick	Waterford
1650-1675	14 (2)	26	28	29	18
1676-1700	82 (9)	75	270	76	34
1701-1725	87 (5)	68	282	105	54
1726-1750	85 (1)	83	251	140	107
1751-1775	57 (1)	107	337	102	157
1776-1800	120 (3)	103	342	115	138
1801-1825	163 (7)	62	355	84	151
1826-1850	194 (7)	100	362	106	201
1851-1875	117 (3)				
1876-1900	86 (2)				
1901-1925	13 (0)				

Note: Figures in brackets refer to numbers of Tipperary Quakers under the care of the Mountmellick meeting, e.g. there were 14 deaths recorded for the entire county of Tipperary in the period 1650-1675, of whom 2 were recorded by Mountmellick. The Mountmellick returns are incomplete due to gaps in the records of the meeting.

Sources: Carlow figures from Margaret O'Haire, 'A community in decline: the evolution and demise of Quakerism in the Carlow area', M.A. thesis (U.C.D., 1987), p. 50. Others are taken from the registers of births and deaths for the appropriate meetings, in addition to family lists of Mountmellick meeting for Tipperary figures.

From 1650 to 1725, Tipperary's Quaker community experienced a period of steady growth. This was followed by a dramatic fall in the number of births from 1726-1750. They fell from 230 for the period 1701-1725 to 127 for the period 1726-1750, indicating a fall in Quaker numbers within the county, which was reflected by a decrease in the Quaker population in the country as a whole.¹⁷ This reversal can be largely explained by adverse agricultural conditions which prevailed during the period and which will be discussed in chapter 3. This was followed by a period of sustained increase from 1751 to 1841 (see Table 2:2). This growth can be attributed to the influx of new members as a result of the economic opportunities presented by a buoyant corn industry. The Tipperary births recorded for the period 1826-1850 show the first signs of a decline in numbers, dropping from a record high of 309 in 1801-1825 to 178 in 1826-1850. This pattern was also reflected by the number of deaths which in the period 1826-1850 exceeded the number of births for the first time in Tipperary Quaker history. As the century progressed this imbalance became more pronounced with a mere 19 births being recorded in the last quarter of the century, and 86 deaths being recorded for the same period.

The birth patterns in the neighbouring meetings of Carlow, Cork, Limerick and Carlow are consistent with the Tipperary experience up to 1750. All experienced a continual increase in births for the first three quarters of a century followed by a decrease for the remaining quarter. After that date, none of the other meetings replicate the birth pattern of County Tipperary Quakers. Of the five meetings, Tipperary was the only meeting to experience a growth in birth numbers during from 1801 to 1825 compared with the previous twenty-five years. This occurred at a time when the corn industry, an industry in which the Quakers were heavily engaged as will be shown in chapter 4, was still relatively prosperous. However, from 1826-1850 there are indications of decline in all five meetings. With the exception of Limerick, the number of births had fallen from the previous twenty-five years, and were exceeded by the number of deaths.

¹⁷ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in Business 1800-50', p. 25.

By the end of the study period in question Quaker numbers in Ireland as well as the centres mentioned above were severely depleted. The rate of decline in Tipperary and Carlow was far greater than in large urban areas like Cork, Limerick and Waterford. The reasons for the reversal are not entirely clear though it can be assumed that demographic considerations and an increase in disownments and resignations were common to all the areas in question. However, it could be argued that variations in the rate of decline were a matter of geographical location. The geographical profile of these five meetings shows that Cork, Limerick and Waterford communities were urban-based, Carlow was exclusively rural, with Tipperary being a mixture of the two. The Quaker economy in the maritime ports of Cork, Limerick and Waterford was centred on their role as successful import merchants, many of whom had shipping interests. Their inland colleagues in Carlow were primarily farmers, while Tipperary Quakers were involved in milling and a variety of family-run businesses. Chapters 4 and 5 will show that as the nineteenth century advanced these areas of endeavour were no longer capable of supporting them.

As has been stated, in 1861 the first official census was conducted by the Society of Friends for the country as a whole. Up to that date, any estimate of the Quaker population of County Tipperary can be no more than tentative. In attempting to arrive at an assessment of the Tipperary Quaker population the registers of births and deaths, family lists, the national book of sufferings and various subscription lists are the principal sources.

Table 2:2a

Estimated Quaker population of County Tipperary for selected years, 1700-1851			
Year	Tipperary meeting	Mountmellick meeting	Total
1700	136	87	223
1755	87	17 adult males	
1787	142		
1801	190		
1811	244		
1821	303		
1831	341		
1841	343		
1851	281		

Sources: The register of the Tipperary meeting, and the family lists of the Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings. (F.H.L.D., MM X A9, MM V M2). The 1851 figures are taken from the Grubb collection S. 96 (F.H.L.D.).

Such sources indicate that, in 1700, there were approximately 42 Quaker families in County Tipperary and an estimated population of 223. This consisted of 27 families giving a total of 136 under the care of the Tipperary meeting, and 15 families giving a total of 87 under the care of the Mountmellick meeting in the north of the county. In 1755, the Tipperary meeting lists the names of 27 adult male members. With the addition of wives and children the total membership comes to 87.¹⁸ A similar list for the Mountmellick meeting the same year shows 17 adult members living in Tipperary; seven in Knockballymaher, six in Kilconihinmore and four in Roscrea.¹⁹ Lack of records prevents one from calculating the numbers of dependants. However, a comparison between these figures and those of 1700 suggests a fall in numbers. The contribution list for Garryroan meeting house in 1787 (see Table 2:21), combined with the birth and death records for the Tipperary meeting, suggest a total of 103 members for Clonmel and 29 for Cahir. These figures indicate an increase in numbers for those under the care of the Tipperary meeting compared with the 1755 figure. This increase, as can be seen from the above, continued into the next century (see Table 2:2a). It is not possible to

¹⁸ R.T.M. Minutes of the men's six weeks meeting 1724-1760 (F.H.L.D., MM X A2).

¹⁹ R.M.M. Minutes of the men's monthly meeting 1749-1758 (F.H.L.D., MM V A1).

provide comparable estimates of those under the care of the Mountmellick meeting for this period.

Table 2:2b

The recorded Quaker population of County Tipperary for selected years, 1861-1922						
	Tipperary meeting			Mountmellick meeting		
Year	Clonmel	Cahir	Carrick	Knockballymaher	Roscrea	Total
1861	177	44	12	44	19	296
1873	84	38	15	6	21	45
1898	34	0	28	0	0	62
1916	13	0	7	0	0	20
1922	5	0	4	0	0	9

Sources: The 1861 figures are taken from the R.T.M. Minutes of the men's monthly meeting 1849-1878, pp. 123-25 (F.H.L.D., MM X A7) and R.M.M. Minutes of the men's monthly meeting 1856-76, pp. 58-61 (F.H.L.D., MM V A11). The remainder are taken from various printed membership lists of Ireland's Quaker community (F.H.L.D.).

The census conducted by the Society of Friends in 1861 provides the first accurate total for the Quaker community in County Tipperary. The census indicates the presence of 306 Quakers in the entire county.²⁰ If we accept that the fall in numbers from 281 in 1851 to 233 in 1861 for those under the care of the Tipperary meeting typified the trend in the county as a whole, it would suggest that the decline had already set in. As has been stated, this was reflected by the fact that during the period 1826-50 the number of deaths of Tipperary Quakers exceeded the number of births for the first time (see Table 2:1 above), a trend that was destined to continue. By 1873, a process of rapid and irreversible decline was already evident. The decline of the Quaker population in Tipperary proved to be more dramatic than the decrease in the country as a whole. In 1845 the Society had 3,066 members; in 1876, 2,933 members and 2,308 in 1920.²¹ While the fall in numbers for the Irish Quaker population fell by 4 percent from 1845 to

²⁰ This includes the number of Tipperary Quakers under the care of the Tipperary, and Mountmellick meetings.

²¹ Richard Harrison, 'Irish Quaker records' in James G. Ryan *Irish church records* (Dublin, 1992), pp.19.20

1876, that of County Tipperary fell by 44 per cent from 1851 to 1873; while the Irish Quaker population experienced a further decline of 25 percent from 1876 to 1920, the Tipperary population numbers collapsed between 1873 and 1920, experiencing a drop of 93 per cent. This issue will be revisited in chapter 8 below.

The most valuable demographic study of Quakerism in Ireland and Britain completed to date is *Friends in life and death. The British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition 1650-1900* (Cambridge, 1992) by Richard Vann and David Eversley. This is supplemented by an earlier article, based on the same research, by David Eversley entitled 'The demography of Irish Quakers' in J. M. Goldstrom and L. A. Clarkson (eds.), *Irish population, economy, and society*. Richard Vann and David Eversley, who collaborated to analyse 'the experiences of more than 8,000 Quaker families (in Britain and Ireland), involving over 30,000 individuals, to produce an unparalleled study of patterns of child-bearing, marriage, and death among a major religious grouping.' This statement occurs in the opening page of *Friends in life and death*, (Cambridge, 1992) a work in which the authors claim that 'the spiritual, social and economic history of the Society of Friends in England, Scotland and Ireland is mirrored in the demographic history of Quaker families'.²² As part of their study the authors compiled 143 family reconstitution forms based on the records of the Tipperary meeting, and 733 based on the records of the Mountmellick meeting. Out of the Mountmellick forms, 26 refer to Quakers domiciled in Tipperary, giving a total of 169 family reconstitution forms for Quakers living in Tipperary. Some years prior to the publication of *Friends in life and death* David Eversley published an article entitled 'The demography of the Irish Quakers, 1650-1850'. The contents were based on the earliest parts of the research which formed the basis of the subsequent joint work, and Eversley's findings were confined mainly to a comparison of the fertility of the English and the Irish Quakers. It should be pointed out that this study does not provide estimates of the Irish Quaker population, nor figures for Tipperary Quakers. For the present study demographic trends as indicated by the records of Tipperary's Quakers have, in so far as

²² Richard Vann & David Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 255.

it is possible, been compared with the findings of Vann and Eversley for their British and Irish counterparts.

The marriage pattern had a considerable impact on the demography of the Tipperary Quaker community. Although it is difficult to make any specific deduction from the percentage of Tipperary Quakers who married throughout the entire period, an examination of the number of marriages contracted is very revealing. A most telling statistic is that the number of marriages fell from one hundred and sixteen for the first half of the nineteenth century to fifty nine for the latter half (see Table 2:3), a fact that highlighted the growing crisis in the Society within the county.

Table 2:3

Identifiable number of Tipperary Quakers who married				
Period	Men	%	Women	%
1650-99	15	68.3	5	57.4
1700-49	45	94.9	35	76.1
1750-99	35	77.8	46	61.4
1800-49	66	69.1	51	43.3
1850-99	32	85.5	27	67.5

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

It is also noteworthy that during the period 1800-1850 when the county's Quaker population was at its highest, 30.9% of the men and 56.7% of the women remained unmarried, another factor which was to have a considerable impact on Quaker numbers in the latter half of the nineteenth century (see Table 2:4).

Table 2:4

Identifiable number of Tipperary Quakers who remained unmarried				
Period	Men	%	Women	%
1650-59	7	31.7	7	42.6
1700-49	8	15.1	11	23.9
1750-99	10	22.2	29	38.6
1800-49	34	30.9	67	56.7
1850-99	5	13.5	13	32.5

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

There was a dramatic increase in the numbers of females remaining unmarried, reaching a peak during the period 1800-1850. It would appear that some who refused to breach the Quaker marriage discipline were prepared to accept a life of celibacy; while others just left the Society.

From Vann and Eversley's examination of the average marriage ages of Irish and English Quakers two similarities are immediately apparent.²³ The first is that, in the seventeenth century, ages at first marriage for both men and women were lower than they were at the end of the nineteenth century, and the second is that the ages increased more or less steadily throughout the period. The present study indicates that the same can be said of Tipperary's Quakers (see Table 2:5).

²³ *ibid*, p. 87.

Quakers married later than the general population,²⁴ while Wrigley and Schofield state that their studies of the English population as a whole 'provide strong evidence of a major fall in marriage age between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries'.²⁵ The Quakers, being a relatively small and predominantly middle class community, could hardly be regarded as representative of the population in these islands.

Vann & Eversley claimed that Irish Quakers married earlier than their English counterparts, with Irish men marrying eighteen months younger on average, and Irish Quakeresses marrying four years younger. Eversley claimed that between 1650 and 1850 under 2% of Irish Quaker men and 20% of Irish Quaker women married before they were twenty.²⁶ An examination of the birth and death registers show that these figures compare well with the practice of Tipperary's Quakers, which indicate percentages of 3.5% and 19.1% respectively for the same period.

The figures for Tipperary's Quakers also bear out Vann and Eversley's thesis that 'in both Britain and Ireland Quakers experienced a strong rise in fertility in the last half of the eighteenth century that did not play itself out until well into the nineteenth century'.²⁷ As can be seen below (see Table 2:6), the average completed family size which had been 5.4 for the period 1700-49 rose to an average of 6.9 for the remainder of the century, an average which was maintained up to 1829. From 1850 there was a dramatic fall in the average completed family size, dropping from 3.2 to 2 over a thirty year period.

²⁴ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford, 1970), p. 167

²⁵ E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The population history of England 1541-1871* (London, 1981), p. 256

²⁶ David Eversley, 'The demography of the Irish Quakers, 1650-1850', p. 66.

²⁷ Vann & Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 140

Table 2:6

Average completed family size of identifiable County Tipperary Quakers					
Period	Average	Period	Average	Period	Average
1650s	6.8	1780s	5	1650-99	5.4
1660s	NA	1790s	7.5	1700-49	4.7
1670s	4.8	1800s	6.9	1750-99	6
1680s	8.8	1810s	6.1	1800-49	6.3
1690s	6.8	1820s	7.6	1850-99	3.5
1700s	6.5	1830s	4.9		
1710s	5.3	1840s	6		
1720s	7.4	1850s	3.2		
1730s	3.8	1860s	4.7		
1740s	4	1870s	4.2		
1750s	7.4	1880s	2		
1760s	8.3	1890s	NA		
1770s	6.3				

Note: Figures refer to first marriages only.

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family list for Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

According to Eversley not only did Irish Quakers marry earlier than their English counterparts but 'their morality forbade pre-marital intercourse, and no illegitimacy is recorded'.²⁸ Such was not necessarily the case with Tipperary Quakers. The records indicate that in 1711 Mary Barger was 'got with child' and that Mary Collett had a child 'in the absence of her husband',²⁹ and in 1849 Mary Whitten 'became the mother of an illegitimate child'.³⁰ Marrying earlier meant a longer child-bearing life for Irish Quakers and consequently they displayed a greater fertility rate than their English brethren.³¹

Eversley claims that infant mortality in the Quaker universe was low. He claims it was relatively high up to 1725, after which it fell drastically for the remainder of the century and still further into the nineteenth century.³² The figures for the Tipperary meeting reflect a similar trend (see Table 2:7).

²⁸ Eversley, 'The demography of Irish Quakers', p. 63.

²⁹ R.T.M. Copies of removal certificates 1692-1714 (F.H.L.D., MM X K1).

³⁰ R.T.M. Disownments and resignations 1825-1895 (F.H.L.D., MM X O2).

³¹ Vann & Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 137.

³² Eversley, 'The demography of Irish Quakers', p. 79.

Table 2:7

Infant mortality (death before the age of one percentage of total births)		
Tipperary Quakers		
Period	Male	Female
1650-99	16.5%	13%
1700-49	20%	9%
1750-99	11.2%	12%
1800-49	8.1%	6.6%
1850-99	6.8%	9.8%

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists in Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

Infant mortality (death before the age of one percentage of total births)		
Irish Quakers		
Period	Male	Female
1650-99	12.1%	9.5%
1700-49	13.2%	10.2%
1750-99	12.1%	9.5%
1800-49	5.9%	3.9%

Source: David Eversley, 'The demography of Irish Quakers 1650-1850' in J.M. Goldstrom & L.A. Clarkson, *Irish population, economy and society* (Oxford, 1981), p. 65.

Although the improved infant mortality rates for Tipperary Quakers replicate the trend for the country as a whole, it would also appear that Tipperary infant mortality figures in most periods were higher than of Irish Quakers. This can be explained by the small base of 166 indentifiable infant deaths for the entire period which were used to calculate the Tipperary returns.

It is generally accepted that mortality rates are the best indicators of standards of living in general and the reasons for the greater health of Quaker infants are related to their position in the social structure as a whole. Vann and Eversley make the point that 'when systematic comparisons became possible in the 1830s, the Quakers enjoyed better health than the general population',³³ and that Irish Quakers had lower infant, child and adult mortality than English Friends, possibly because they were more predominantly middle class than their British counterparts.

Quakers also enjoyed a high life-expectancy rate. Eversley states, 'Quakers, once they got over the perils of childhood, could expect to live to a ripe old age'.³⁴ Vann and Eversley found that the general tendency of adult mortality, like that of infant and child mortality, was downward, although the improvement was irregular.³⁵ As has been shown, the infant mortality rate of Tipperary's Quakers, although higher than the Irish average, shows both a constant and dramatic improvement. Statistics for those who died in the under-20 age group comprised roughly 50% of the recorded deaths during the first hundred years of the Society's history. A century later this figure was halved, and there was a further drop of 7% in latter half of the nineteenth century.

According to Isichei, the high life-expectancy of English Friends reflected their predominantly middle-class composition and in the 1850s, the average age of death among Friends was over fifty-three - nearly double that of the general population.³⁶ The life expectancy of Tipperary's Quakers experienced significant improvement during the period 1650-1899 (see Table 2:8).

³³ Vann & Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 237.

³⁴ Eversley, 'The demography of Irish Quakers', p. 84.

³⁵ Vann and Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 231.

³⁶ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 168.

Table 2:8

Identifiable ages at death of County Tipperary Quakers									
1650-1699					1800-1849				
Age	Male	Female	Total	0%	Age	Male	Female	Total	0%
0-1	33	30	63	24	0-1	18	12	30	7.1
1-20	15	18	33	26.4	1-20	65	40	105	18
20-29	5	4	9	7.2	20-29	12	11	23	5.5
30-39	6	2	8	6.4	30-39	24	9	33	7.9
40-49	7	3	10	8	40-49	22	16	38	9
50-59	3	2	5	4	50-59	25	14	39	9.1
60-69	7	4	11	8.8	60-69	35	36	71	17
70-79	10	1	11	8.8	70-79	37	34	71	17
80 plus	4	4	8	6.4	80 plus	15	24	39	9.4
Totals:	75	50	125		Totals:	235	184	419	
1700-1749					1850-1899				
Age	Male	Female	Total	0%	Age	Male	Female	Total	0%
0-1	28	12	40	24	0-1	2	1	3	4.4
1-20	36	20	56	26.4	1-20	3	7	10	14.5
20-29	6	6	12	6.2	20-29	5	NA	5	7.3
30-39	6	5	11	5.6	30-39	4	NA	4	5.8
40-49	7	4	11	5.6	40-49	9	1	10	14.5
50-59	8	6	14	7.1	50-59	5	10	15	21.7
60-69	17	5	22	11.3	60-69	8	2	10	14.5
70-79	14	8	22	11.3	70-79	3	4	7	10
80 plus	2	5	7	3.6	80 plus	1	4	5	7.3
Totals:	124	71	195		Totals:	40	29	69	
1750-1799									
Age	Male	Female	Total	0%					
0-1	20	24	44	14					
1-20	30	30	60	19					
20-29	9	9	18	5.7					
30-39	6	10	16	5.1					
40-49	13	17	30	9.5					
50-59	23	11	34	10.8					
60-69	22	22	44	14					
70-79	27	23	50	15.9					
80 plus	8	11	19	6					
Totals:	158	157	315						

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists in Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

The progressive rise in the life expectancy of Friends reflected their predominantly middle-class composition. In the period 1650-99 only 28% of Tipperary Quakers reached the age of fifty, a figure which progressively improved, reaching 55.5% for the period 1850-99. This compares favourably with English Quakers. In England 'in the 1850s, the average age at death among Friends was over fifty-three - nearly double that of the general population'.³⁷ The improvement in the life expectancy of women throughout the entire period exceeded that of men. In the period 1650-99, only 22% of Tipperary female Quakers lived beyond the age of fifty, whereas by the latter part of the nineteenth century 62% of them did so. By contrast the figures for men, in the same period rose from 32% to 42%. Smaller family size and improved maternity procedures may account for the improvement in the life expectancy of women over the period.

Vann and Eversley also advance the argument that Quakers, 'especially the men, probably also benefited - though to an indeterminate degree - from religious values directed to minimising stress and risk-taking behaviour, and enjoying moderation of the appetites..... Friends thus enjoyed the advantages of a comfortable subsistence without suffering some of the anxieties and intemperance that often accompany wealth'.³⁸

While demographic statistics profile the growth and development of Quakerism, they also highlight its changing fortunes and chart the course of its eventual decline. It would appear that some sort of fertility peak occurred in the 1820s when, as has been pointed out, the number of births recorded for Tipperary Quakers peaked. Any demographic advantage that accrued from this, allied to a greater life expectancy and improved infant mortality was eroded by other factors. These positives were counterbalanced by an increasing number of deaths, a decline in fertility, an increasing rate of celibacy, a rise in the marriage age, factors which were never reversed, and by the end of the century the Quaker population within the county had collapsed. Apart from demographic considerations there were other forces at work which affected the local Quaker community. Economic factors which influenced the migratory pattern of

³⁷ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford, 1970), p. 168.

³⁸ Vann & Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 236.

Tipperary Quakers are dealt with below, while religious and social influences form the focus of chapter 8.

In general, the demographic patterns of County Tipperary Quakers are, as has been shown, consistent with the findings of Vann and Eversley for Irish Quakers, but they also show certain differences. The most striking difference was the pattern of births. During the period 1751-1825 the increase in Tipperary Quaker numbers was linked to favourable economic circumstances. Other deviations could be attributed to the small number of samples used rather than to any regional anomaly. In conclusion, Eversley makes the point that although English and Irish Friends were members of the same 'genetic pool' and resembled each other in their socio-economic composition and lifestyle, their demographic differences are striking. Irish Friends, including their Tipperary brethren, married earlier, had higher fertility rates and lower infant and adult mortality rates. As Eversley stated 'they remain a singular phenomenon on the demographic map of Europe' for which there is no plausible explanation.³⁹

The Fennell and Grubb families - a demographic micro-study

The selection of the Grubb and Fennell families for a micro-study of demographic patterns of Tipperary Quakers has been influenced by many factors. Both had a long association with the Quaker movement in the county. John Fennell arrived around 1658 and John Grubb in 1719, connections that were to continue up to the opening decades of the twentieth century. Both families were very prolific and there is a wealth of demographic detail available, more so than for any other Tipperary Quaker families. Finally, their way of life reflects both sides of the Quaker economic experience. The Fennells were rural-based and primarily farmers, and despite a brief incursion into milling in the towns of Cahir and Clogheen remained so. The Grubbs, on the other hand, from their unsuccessful attempts to eke out an existence from the land, quickly moved into woollens and milling, as well as becoming shop-keepers of one kind or another. Although a number of them purchased country estates during the nineteenth century,

³⁹ Eversley, 'Demography of Irish Quakers', pp. 86-88.

their principal source of income was still derived from their urban-based commercial activities.

There is a striking similarity between the pattern of births and deaths in the two families (see Table 2:9).

Table 2:9

Births and deaths				
	Fennell Family		Grubb Family	
Period	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths
1650s	5	0	NA	NA
1660s	2	7	NA	NA
1670s	1	0	NA	NA
1680s	5	2	NA	NA
1690s	6	4	NA	NA
1700s	5	1	1	0
1710s	1	2	5	2
1720s	13	5	4	0
1730s	13	5	3	2
1740s	3	5	6	0
1750s	0	5	7	1
1760s	6	6	11	2
1770s	12	6	9	5
1780s	4	1	20	7
1790s	2	3	6	5
1800s	7	6	7	6
1810s	20	3	21	12
1820s	10	4	19	13
1830s	2	4	8	7
1840s	5	10	14	19
1850s	5	6	9	10
1860s	4	7	7	20
1870s	3	4	6	16
1880s	0	7	2	16
1890s	0	9	1	9
1900s	0	8	0	42
Breakdown on half-century basis				
	Fennell Family		Grubb Family	
Period	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths
1650-99	19	13	NA	NA
1700-49	35	18	19	4
1750-99	24	21	53	20
1800-49	44	27	69	57
1850-99	12	33	25	71
1900-72			8	42

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary meeting.

The majority of the births in both families were recorded between 1740 and 1840, while from 1830 onwards the number of deaths recorded for both families exceeded the numbers of births. This pattern replicates that of the Tipperary Quaker community.

The marriage pattern of both families differ in certain respects (see Table 2:10).

Table 2:10

Fennells and Grubbs				
Number of Fennells who married				
Period	Male	%	Female	%
1650-99	9	90	2	50
1700-49	5	62.5	3	50
1750-99	7	77.7	6	54.5
1800-49	8	53.3	9	42.8
1850-99	2	66.7	1	33.3
Number of Grubbs who married				
Period	Male	%	Female	%
1700-49	7	100	4	100
1750-99	16	84	10	55.5
1800-49	23	56	24	65
1850-99	10	76.9	9	64.3
1900 -	2	66.7	1	33.3
Number of Fennells who remained unmarried				
Period	Male	%	Female	%
1650-99	1	10	2	50
1700-49	3	37.5	3	50
1750-99	2	32.3	5	55.5
1800-49	7	56.7	12	57.2
1850-99	1	33.3	2	66.7
Number of Grubbs who remained unmarried				
Period	Male	%	Female	%
1700-49	0	0	0	0
1750-00	3	16	8	54.4
1800-49	18	44	13	35
1850-99	3	23.1	5	35.7

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary meeting.

Over the entire period, a greater percentage of Fennells remained unmarried. The difference is most noticeable during the nineteenth century when almost two-thirds of the Fennells remained unmarried compared with one-third of the Grubbs. A possible explanation may be that the Grubbs were more active in attending quarterly and yearly meetings, and had a greater diversity of business interests, activities which afforded them greater opportunity for social contacts. With the exception of Grubb women, the average percentage in both families who married was lower than the average for that of Tipperary Quakers.

The average marriage ages reveal further differences between the families (see Table 2:11).

Table 2:11

Average marriage ages of Fennells and Grubbs				
Period	Fennell Family		Grubb Family	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1650-99	25.3 (3)	0	NA	NA
1700-49	27.4 (7)	26.5 (2)	22.5 (2)	24 (2)
1750-99	31 (3)	26.7 (3)	32.5 (6)	23.5 (4)
1800-49	31.6 (5)	33.3 (4)	29.5 (20)	25.6 (11)
1850-99	39 (2)	33 (6)	29.5 (4)	26.2 (5)

Note: Age at first marriage only (figure in brackets denotes number in cohort)

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary meeting.

The age at first marriage for the Fennells was, in general, slightly higher than that for the Grubbs. The average age at first marriage of both families shows that they replicate the experience of the wider Quaker community in that they married later in life at the end of the period in question than they did in the beginning.

The most striking difference between the two families was the average completed family size (see Table 2:12).

Table 2:12

Average completed family size				
Period	Fennells		Grubbs	
	Families	Children	Families	Children
1640s	1	8	NA	NA
1680s	1	16	NA	NA
1700s	0	0	1	10
1710s	1	13	0	0
1720s	2	7	0	0
1730s	1	3	1	12
1740s	0	0	1	5
1750s	0	0	1	10
1760s	2	23	1	4
1770s	0	0	4	30
1780s	0	0	1	0
1790s	1	14	0	0
1800s	0	0	6	31
1810s	4	25	7	46
1820s	0	0	0	0
1830s	0	0	4	26
1840s	1	11	2	6
1850s	0	0	1	2
1860s	1	6	0	0
1870s	0	0	2	5
Totals	15	126	32	187

Note: Average completed Fennell family size 8.4; Grubb family size 5.8

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary meeting.

The average completed family size for the Fennells was 8.4 compared to 5.7 for the Grubbs. Both figures are higher than the average of 5.3 children for Tipperary Quakers. The fact that 9 Grubb women married under the age of 20, while none of the Fennells did so, and that 10 Grubb women married between the ages of 20 and 24 compared to 8 Fennells makes these averages the more remarkable.

The narrow base does not allow any valid conclusions to be drawn from the infant mortality statistics of both families (see Table 2:13).

Table 2:13

Infant mortality (death before the age of one percentage of total births)				
Fennells			Grubbs	
Period	Male	Female	Male	Female
1650-99	8.3%	28.5%	NA	NA
1700-49	19%	7.1%	NA	NA
1750-99	10%	0%	0%	4%
1800-49	NA	8%	8.7%	8.1%
1850-99	25%	0%	0%	0%

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary meeting.

An examination of the register of births for the Tipperary meeting indicates that there was little difference between the infant mortality of the two families i.e. 5% of the Fennell children died before reaching the age of one compared to 6% of the Grubbs

The longevity tables reveal another marked difference between the two families (see Table 2:14) and the broader Tipperary Quaker community.

Table 2:14

Identifiable ages of death for Fennells and Grubbs

Fennells 1650-1699				
Age	Male	Female	Total	%
0-1	1	2	3	14.4
1-20	1	4	5	23.8
20-29	0	1	1	4.8
30-39	2	0	2	9.4
40-49	1	0	1	4.8
50-59	0	1	1	4.8
60-69	3	0	3	14.4
70-79	3	1	4	18.8
80 plus	1	0	1	4.8
Total	12	9	21	

Fennells 1700-1749				
Age	Male	Female	Total	%
0-1	2	2	4	12.1
1-20	8	2	10	30.3
20-29	2	1	3	9.1
30-39	1	1	2	6.1
40-49	3	0	3	9.1
50-59	0	0	0	0
60-69	5	1	6	18.1
70-79	2	1	3	9.1
80 plus	0	2	2	6.1
Total	23	10	33	

Grubbs 1700-1749				
Age	Male	Female	Total	%
0-1	0	1	1	6.7
1-20	2	1	3	20
20-29	0	1	1	6.7
30-39	0	0	0	0
40-49	0	1	1	6.7
50-59	2	0	2	13.3
60-69	3	0	3	20
70-79	3	1	4	26.6
80 plus	0	0	0	0
Total	10	5	15	

Fennells 1750-1799				
Age	Male	Female	Total	%
0-1	1	1	2	8
1-20	0	3	3	12
20-29	0	1	1	4
30-39	2	2	4	16
40-49	1	1	2	8
50-59	1	0	1	4
60-69	3	2	5	20
70-79	2	3	5	20
80 plus	0	2	2	8
Total	10	15	25	

Grubbs 1750-1799				
Age	Male	Female	Total	%
0-1	0	0	0	0
1-20	5	4	9	21.4
20-29	2	2	4	9.5
30-39	0	4	4	9.5
40-49	0	2	2	4.8
50-59	2	2	4	9.5
60-69	1	7	8	19.1
70-79	7	1	8	19.1
80 plus	2	1	3	7.1
Total	19	23	42	

(Table 2:14 continued on next page.)

(Table 2: 14 continued from previous page.)

Identifiable ages of death for Fennells and Grubbs (contd.)									
Fennells 1800-1849					Grubbs 1800-1849				
Age	Male	Female	Total	%	Age	Male	Female	Total	%
0-1	0	1	1	3	0-1	7	3	10	9.2
1-20	4	1	5	15.2	1-20	4	7	11	10
20-29	2	2	4	12.1	20-29	4	4	8	7.3
30-39	0	0	0	0	30-39	7	3	10	9.2
40-49	3	4	7	21.2	40-49	8	2	10	9.2
50-59	1	0	1	3	50-59	10	4	14	12.9
60-69	7	2	9	27.3	60-69	8	8	16	14.7
70-79	1	1	2	6.1	70-79	12	8	20	18.3
80 plus	1	3	4	12.1	80 plus	5	5	10	9.2
Total	19	14	33		Total	65	44	109	
Fennells 1850-1899					Grubbs 1850-1899				
Age	Male	Female	Total	%	Age	Male	Female	Total	%
0-1	0	0	0	0	0-1	0	0	0	0
1-20	0	0	0	0	1-20	2	1	3	15.8
20-29	0	0	0	0	20-29	1	0	1	5.3
30-39	0	0	0	0	30-39	0	0	0	0
40-49	1	1	2	33.3	40-49	1	1	2	10.5
50-59	0	0	0	0	50-59	0	0	0	0
60-69	1	1	2	33.3	60-69	2	4	6	31.6
70-79	0	2	2	33.3	70-79	3	1	4	21
80 plus	0	0	0	0	80 plus	0	3	3	15.8
Total	2	4	6		Total	9	10	19	

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists in Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

During the period 1700-1899, 50.1% of the Fennells survived beyond the age of fifty compared to 59.4% of the Grubbs. These percentages were far greater than the comparable figure of 41.4% for the Tipperary Quakers. It is likely that the relative affluence of both families was a contributory factor.

This profile shows that both families share certain demographic characteristics of the larger Tipperary Quaker community. They both share similar birth and death patterns, while the average marriage age of both men and women got progressively higher throughout the entire period. On the other hand, the percentage marriage rate was

lower than that for Tipperary Quakers, while their average family size was smaller. Their affluence was reflected in a superior life expectancy. The families differed from one another in that a greater percentage of the Grubbs married, and also enjoyed a greater life expectancy. Although the Fennells married later in life they had larger families.

Distribution

When we look at the distribution patterns of Quakerism within the county we are presented with four distinct phrases, each clearly marked by defined shifts in population and settlement areas.

I: 1655-1700

As a result of the Cromwellian conquest, immigration generated by government sponsorship included adventurers who had lent money for the reduction of the Irish, and ex-soldiers who received lands in lieu of pay. In addition to this, the authorities in England were advertising for people ready to go to Ireland as 'planters'. As Cullen has said, 'much of the early immigration was sponsored by government or private landowners: land confiscation and its redistribution to new owners with the obligation of bringing in immigrant tenants is witness to this', but as time went by, sponsored migration gave way to spontaneous migration.⁴⁰ The availability of cheap land and the demand for skilled tradesmen in half-empty towns, led to a wave of voluntary immigration consisting of farmers and craftsmen.⁴¹ Many of them probably occupied land originally given to the adventurers or soldiers and sold by them, while others settled on lands then unoccupied. It was from these disparate elements that the recruits to Quakerism were largely drawn. Many who arrived were Quakers already,⁴² while others were converted by travelling ministers.

Various writers have attempted to identify the sources of Quaker converts. T. C. Barnard is of the opinion that, 'it was in Munster and Ulster, the areas in which a

⁴⁰ Louis Cullen, 'The social and cultural modernisation of rural Ireland, 1600-1900' in L. M. Cullen & F. Furet (eds.) *Ireland and France 17th-20th centuries: towards a comparative study of rural history* (Paris, 1980), p. 197.

⁴¹ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records 1654-1860* (Dublin, 1967), p. 9.

⁴² Isabel Grubb, 'Irish Friends' experiences in war' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (London, 1916), p. 171.

Protestant society of artisans and craftsmen, smallholders and shop-keepers had existed in 1641, that they made the most converts'.⁴³ On the other hand, John Douglas, while conceding that Quaker records were far from complete, asserts that:

among the first generation of Quakers in Ireland we find two or three from the adventurers' lists; rather more ex-soldier landowners; perhaps a score of names found in Ireland before 1641; and a considerable number of planters, for this word continued in long use after the Restoration of 1660. Such were the folk among whom Howgill, Burrough, and their comrades preached, argued, and made convincements (conversions) in the towns of Leinster and Munster 1655 to 1659.⁴⁴

Isabel Grubb was of a similar opinion when she suggested that 'although a minority of those who became Quakers had been in Ireland prior to the Cromwellian invasion, the Quaker movement in Ireland may be almost called an outcome of the Cromwellian settlement. Very few of its members have been of the Celtic race, and most of its early adherents came over from England between 1650 and 1680'.⁴⁵ She further claimed that 'at least four-fifths of the earliest members in Ireland were of English birth, and the majority of the remainder were probably of English parentage'.⁴⁶ Their English origins are borne out by an analysis of the names that occur in the *Great book of tithe 1680*,⁴⁷ a document which had its genesis in a decision taken by the Society in the same year, that refusal to pay tithes would be a distinguishing mark of Quakerism in Ireland. The head of every Quaker household in the country was requested to send in a brief testimony of their conscientious objection to paying tithe, and have them all copied in this book. Based on an analysis of these entries, John Douglas has claimed that 'the five hundred distinct surnames are predominantly English. A quick glance through the list reveals four that may be Irish, one Anglo-Irish, and two dozen Scots, mainly lowland names'.⁴⁸

⁴³ T. C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland* (Oxford, 1975), p. 112.

⁴⁴ John M. Douglas 'Early Quakerism in Ireland' in *J.F.H.S.*, xxxviii, no. 1 (Spring, 1956), p. 8.

⁴⁵ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900*, pp. 16-17; Richard Vann & David Eversley, *Friends in life and death* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 46.

⁴⁶ Isabel Grubb, 'Social conditions in Ireland in the 17th and 18th centuries as illustrated by early Quaker records', M.A. thesis (University of London, 1916), p. 33.

⁴⁷ MS. The great book of tithes 1680 (F.H.L.D., YM R G4. pp. 229-231).

⁴⁸ John Douglas 'Early Quakerism in Ireland' in *J.F.H.S.*, xxxviii, no. 1 (Spring, 1956), p. 31.

There was at least one Tipperary Quaker family whose Irish origins pre-date Cromwell's arrival. The Cooks had been in Ireland previous to the reign of Elizabeth I, and obtained considerable grants of land from James I. Peter Cook was resident in County Cork long before the outbreak of the rising of 1641. Peter's two older sons, Thomas and Robert, became officers in the Commonwealth army, while his third son, Edward, advanced money to the expeditionary forces to Ireland.⁴⁹ His youngest son, also called Peter, secured land at Knockgraffon, north of Cahir, and became one of the leading Quakers in the area.

A number of Tipperary's earliest Quakers owed their presence in the county to the Cromwellian settlement. Among them were the sons of two Cromwellian adventurers. One was Gershon Boate, whose father 'did not live to take his own share of the plunder, but his widow and her son (Gershon) were granted a tract of land on the Devil's Bit Mountain in Tipperary'.⁵⁰ The other was John Boles who settled at Woodhouse, north of Fethard. He was the son of Richard Boles, who received a grant of land in Ballymalty, County Cork.⁵¹

Kenneth Carroll has remarked that, 'one of the more surprising facts about the rise and early development of Quakerism in Ireland is that it was in the Cromwellian Army that the "First Publishers of Truth" found their greatest response'.⁵² Two English travelling ministers, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, concentrated on winning converts among the Cromwellian soldiers stationed in Munster, but there is no indication as to what impact they made on the Clonmel garrison. The converts were mainly drawn from the Baptists and Independents in the ranks who were attracted by the democratic principles of Quakerism and the absence of a religious hierarchy. The names of captains and colonels were to occur frequently as supporters or hosts of the itinerant preachers of

⁴⁹ Sir Bernard Burke, *Dictionary of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4th ed. (London, 1863), p. 282.

⁵⁰ Isabel Grubb. *Quakers in Ireland*, p. 42; J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement* (London, 1865), p. 399.

⁵¹ Fifteenth report of commission of public records Ireland (1825) H.C., (Name of Richard Boles occurs in the index of adventurers: see app., p.406).

⁵² Kenneth Carroll, 'Quakerism and the Cromwellian army in Ireland' in *J.F.H.S.*, div, no. 3 (1978), p. 135.

the infant Society.⁵³ According to Carroll, the army's importance as a source of converts slowly diminished. This was due to the decrease in army numbers, the opposition to Friends by a number of senior officers and, most significantly, the emergence of the peace testimony which 'brought about the disappearance of Quakerism in the Cromwellian army in Ireland even before the end of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate'.⁵⁴

One former Cromwellian officer who took up residence in the county was Captain James Hutchinson, securing land at Knockballymaher, near Roscrea in 1653.⁵⁵ Another, Thomas Phelps, who joined in the 1645 revolution, and served under Cromwell, received considerable estates in Counties Tipperary, Kerry and Down, chiefly in the first-named county around the Keeper mountain. He converted to Quakerism and married Susan Fennell, the reputed 'daughter of a brother officer with estates at Cahir, County Tipperary'.⁵⁶ This is a reference to John Fennell, who took up residence at Kilcommon, near Cahir. While Susan Fennell may have been sister to John Fennell, genealogical evidence suggests that she was certainly not his daughter. Furthermore, this is the only mention of Fennell being a member of Cromwell's forces. Another who had links with the army of Oliver Cromwell was James Shepperd, who settled in Kilconihinmore in north Tipperary. James was the nephew of Thomas Shepperd, former Cromwellian governor of New Ross, who received a grant of some 1,439 acres at Castlejohn in the parish of Grangemockler in south Tipperary.⁵⁷ Subsequently, James took up residence in north Tipperary, some four miles north of Roscrea where his descendants still reside. Apart from those already mentioned, it is difficult to estimate the number of ex-soldiers who arrived as settlers to seek their fortunes. According to Webb, other families identified with the parliamentary forces were the Clibborns, Roberts,

⁵³ Richard Harrison, 'The emergence of Irish Quakers' in K. Herlihy (ed.) *The Irish Dissenting Tradition* (Dublin, 1995), p. 82; Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Quakerism and the Cromwellian army', p. 138.

⁵⁴ Kenneth Carroll, 'Quakerism in the Cromwellian army', p. 138.

⁵⁵ Burke's, *Irish family records*, p. 281.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 956

⁵⁷ Shepperd family papers in the possession of Henry Kenny, Clyduffe House, Roscrea, County Tipperary; Thomas Laffan, *Tipperary families: being the hearth money records for 1665-6-7* (Dublin, 1911), p. 36.

Thompsons and Williams. Their descendants, in the course of time, were to make Tipperary their home.⁵⁸ He could also have included the Grubbs and the Watsons. There may well have been others with former military connections who cannot be identified.

The evidence suggests that very few Tipperary Quakers were of native Irish stock. There are only three identifiable instances of conversions, all of which are discussed below.⁵⁹ A number of identifiable Irish names, such as Dowd, Doyle, Murray and Murphy appear later in the records, by which stage it is not possible to determine when their links with Quakerism were first established. Many reasons have been advanced for the lack of converts among the native population; one being that Quakers made little efforts at proselytism, while the Irish saw them as part of the colonial settlement.⁶⁰ Their feeling towards the country and its people was identical with that of other settlers. Their common attitude was the same as that attributed to William Penn, one of the most influential Quakers of his day. Penn had apparently no sympathy with the Irish owners so unjustly dispossessed. He 'failed to realise the injustice done to the people of Ireland; he looked on it as a country to be colonised and settled by the English'.⁶¹ It is impossible to determine the number of Quakers who arrived in Tipperary during the seventeenth century, or, in many cases to establish their place of origin. In 1700, as has been previously stated, there were at least forty-two families resident in the country. From the arrival of the first Quakers in 1655 up to that date, additional names occur in monthly meeting records and documents such as the book of National Sufferings and the Great book of Tithes. While some of these were married and had families, the marital status of others cannot be determined. All of them remained for a short time before moving elsewhere.

Isabel Grubb compiled a list, from an examination of Irish registers, of 474 English Quaker immigrants who arrived in Ireland prior to 1700. More than 50% (245) of them came from Cumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Northumberland,

⁵⁸ Thomas Henry Webb, 'Irish Quaker records' in *J.F.H.S.*, iii (1906), p. 11.

⁵⁹ There is nothing to indicate their previous religious persuasion.

⁶⁰ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business 1800-1850', M. Litt. (T.C.D., 1987), pp. 50, 51.

⁶¹ William Penn, *My Irish Journal 1669-1670*, ed. Isabel Grubb (London, 1952), p. 15.

Westmorland and Durham.⁶² Greaves too has claimed that the Quakers in southern Ireland came primarily from northern England, with most of the rest migrating from south-western England.⁶³ This assumption was not true of Tipperary's Quakers. At least twenty three of the forty-two families that can be identified as being resident in Tipperary in 1700 had English origins. Eighteen came directly from England, while a further six were children of parents who had settled here. However, only three of the above mentioned eighteen hailed from the cradle of Quakerism (see Table 2:15).

Table 2:15

Identifiable origins of County Tipperary Quaker families coming directly from England, 1650-1880									
	1650	1660	1670	1680	1690	1710	1730	1770	1880
Berkshire					1				
Buckinghamshire								1	
Cheshire		1							
Cornwall			1						
Cumberland	1								
Gloucestershire				1					
Hertfordshire	1								
Lancashire		1							
Lincolnshire	1								
Middlesex			2		1				
Northamptonshire				1		1			
Somersetshire				1	2			1	
Sussex									1
Westmorland	1						1		
Wiltshire	2								
Totals	6	2	3	3	4	1	1	2	1

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

These were the Jolly family from Lancashire, the Hutchinsons from Cumberland and Edward Pimlett from Cheshire. The others came from central and southern England. These included the Fennells and Colletts from Wiltshire, the Cherrys from

⁶² Isabel Grubb, 'Social conditions', appendix d.

⁶³ Richard Greaves, *God's other children: Protestant dissent and non-conformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland 1660-1700* (Stanford University Press, California, 1997), p. 270.

Northamptonshire, the Cobornes from Berkshire, the Bargers, Moores and Weldons from Somerset, the Boates, Goslings and Simpsons from Middlesex, the Tavorers from Lincolnshire, Godfreys from Cornwall, Bakers from Hertfordshire, and Weillys from Gloucestershire. One can assume that the shortest shipping routes available played a significant part in determining their destination.⁶⁴

Since the majority of Irish Friends came from England, we can assume that their social origins were similar to those of English Friends. Cole has claimed, 'Friends were mainly drawn from the urban and rural petite bourgeoisie'.⁶⁵ According to Harrison, Irish Quakerism from the beginning could be described almost as a middle class movement with the notable absence of members from the upper and labouring classes.⁶⁶ Vann and Eversley were of a similar opinion when stating that few were common labourers or persons of substantial wealth.⁶⁷ Perkin claims that Quakers, like other dissenters, were 'confined to the 'middle ranks', the yeoman farmers and the more independent craftsmen of the countryside, and the traders and master manufacturers of the towns'. In justifying this claim he argues that:

Dissent flourished in precisely those groups which both wished and could afford to be somewhat independent of the paternal hierarchy. Only those groups who were not dependent on the landlord elite for employment, tenancies, or patronage in the form of preferment, government contracts, or the purchases of the plu-part of their wares and services, could afford the luxury of dissent from their landlord's religion; and only those who did not wish or could not hope for admission to the fringes of county society wished to do so.⁶⁸

In attempting to assess the vocational inclinations of early Irish Quakers, Vann and Eversley pointed out that one of the defects of the Irish family lists was that they lacked occupational information, so that a proper quantitative analysis is not possible.⁶⁹ Cole, speaking of English Quakers, declared 'that although a substantial proportion of

⁶⁴ R. T. Vann & D. Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p.51.

⁶⁵ Alan Cole, 'The social origin of the early Friends' in *J.F.H.S.*, xxxviii, no 3 (Spring, 1957), p. 116.

⁶⁶ Richard Harrison, 'As a garden enclosed: The emergence of Irish Quakerism 1650-1750' in Kevin Herlihy (ed.) *The Irish dissenting tradition* (Dublin, 1995), p. 83.

⁶⁷ Richard Vann and David Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, pp. 36, 47-48, 59-60, 63.

⁶⁸ Harold Perkin, *Origins of modern English society* (London and New York), pp. 34, 35.

⁶⁹ Vann and Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 48.

Friends in the rural area were engaged in agriculture, they were heavily outnumbered by those in trades and handicrafts'.⁷⁰ No such investigation has been made of their Irish contemporaries. Eversley, in his profile of Irish Quakers, stated:

Irish Quakers emerge from the records as a peculiar group. Many of them initially were 'in humble circumstances' but by the end of the period studied (1850) they appear as middle to upper middle class, affluent, travelling a great deal but not haphazardly, making money and reinvesting it rather than spending it too ostentatiously, marrying probably as much for business as for romantic reasons. The registers make it clear that we have practically no labourers and, at least after 1700, no gentry. William Penn, perhaps the most celebrated Quaker with Irish associations, was an altogether exceptional case. Some of the early converts were humble artisans, others were army officers. Later the two outer ends of the social spectrum disappear.⁷¹

Vann and Eversley suggested that it may be assumed 'from the fact that so few are identified by occupational names that most of them were farmers'.⁷² The employment patterns of Irish Quakers at the time exhibit certain regional differences. Richard Vann and David Eversley indicated that the Quakers in the north of Ireland engaged largely in commerce and industry rather than agriculture, lived for the most part in townlands amid a rural environment, and were relatively prosperous.⁷³ They also claim that 'most individuals, especially in the south, would still have some land even if their main income was derived from trading, craft type production etc.'⁷⁴ Cullen, commenting on the Quaker settlement of this period, has said that they were typically farmers or artisans, who set up predominantly in Wexford, Carlow, and the midland counties of Kildare, Queen's and King's,⁷⁵ while the Quakers in Mountmellick, outside of the urban areas, settled mostly on farms combining farming with skilled trades.⁷⁶

However, the demands for tithes which were recorded in the book of National Sufferings 1656-1705 indicates that most Tipperary Quakers had agricultural interests of

⁷⁰ Alan Cole, 'The social origin', p. 116.

⁷¹ D. E. Eversley 'The demography of the Irish Quakers 1650-1850' in J. M. Goldstrom & L. A. Clarkson (eds.) *Irish population, economy and society* (Oxford, 1981), p. 59.

⁷² Vann and Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 50.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 63.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷⁵ L. M. Cullen 'The social and cultural modernisation of rural Ireland, 1600-1900' in L. M. Cullen and F. Furet (eds.) *Ireland and France 17th -20th centuries: towards a comparative study of rural history* (Paris, 1980), p.198.

⁷⁶ Regina O'Keeffe (ed.), *The Quakers of Mountmellick*, (Mountmellick, 1994), p. 15.

one degree of another. This is borne out by their largely rural distribution pattern in the county, indicating that most of them earned their living through farming. Many former soldiers prior to enlisting had been farmers and craftsmen, a way of life they later resumed. Even the identifiable craftsmen such as George Collett, who was described as a glover,⁷⁷ Isaac Barton a cutler,⁷⁸ Samuel Cherry a tallow chandler,⁷⁹ and William Taylor a saddletree-maker⁸⁰ all devoted some of their time to agriculture, as did shopkeepers John Webber and Samuel Cook of Clonmel, and Richard Baker of Cashel. The fact that they could freely practise their trades would suggest that recognition of their worth encouraged local communities to seek ways of accommodating them. Prior to the Williamite war, Cork Quakers had been accepted into the trade guilds 'and the toleration money that they might well have been asked for as people who would not accept the judicial oaths of entry was frequently waived'.⁸¹ As Walvin put it, 'local officials and other freemen came to realise the value of energy and initiative in business, and could ill-afford to exclude Quakers from economic life owing to the formalities of oath-taking'.⁸²

While Harrison claims that many Irish Quakers had the necessary capital to purchase land or set up in business,⁸³ Webb was of the opinion that 'they were not, in many cases, possessed with large resources'.⁸⁴ Cullen has stated, 'immigration in and after the 1650s was clearly self-financed to a greater degree than preceding immigration; for that end and other reasons non-conformists were disproportionately numerous in its overall total'.⁸⁵ In the case of Tipperary's Quakers, John Fennell had sufficient capital to establish himself on the rich lands of Kilcommon near Cahir and withstand the constant demands for tithes and depredations of the Williamite war.⁸⁶ In the north of the county

⁷⁷ William Burke (Rev.), *History of Clonmel*, p. 296.

⁷⁸ A. C. Myres, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania 1682-1750* (Pennsylvania, 1902; reprint Maryland, 1998), p. 288.

⁷⁹ Deeds and other legal documents, deed box xvii, (F.H.L.D.).

⁸⁰ Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers etc.*, p.290.

⁸¹ Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers 1655-1939* (published privately, 1991), p. 16.

⁸² James Walvin, *The Quakers. Money and morals* (London, 1997), p. 32.

⁸³ Richard Harrison, 'As a garden enclosed', p. 83.

⁸⁴ Thomas Henry Webb, 'Irish Quaker records' in *J.F.H.S.*, iii (1906), p. 12.

⁸⁵ Louis Cullen, 'The social and cultural modernisation of rural Ireland 1600-1900' L. Cullen & F. Furet (eds.) *Towards a comparative study of rural Ireland* (Paris, 1980), p. 198.

⁸⁶ National sufferings 1656-1705 (F.H.L.D., YM G I, YM G 2); Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in*

James Hutchinson, for similar reasons, would appear to have been equally prosperous. At the other end of the economic spectrum, the Tipperary six weeks' meeting leased six acres of lands for two of their members, Thomas Coborne and Isaac Newbold.⁸⁷ Similarly, the minutes of the period show that a number of Friends were in receipt of assistance from the meeting.

It is difficult to estimate the level of prosperity enjoyed by the early Quakers in Tipperary. The hearth rolls of 1665 included the names of four Quakers who had the means to build residences of quality. Francis Cherry was being taxed on a house with two hearths, George Collett and John Fennell for houses with three, while James Hutchinson could afford a house with four.⁸⁸ The entries in *National Sufferings 1655-1705*⁸⁹ would suggest that the vast majority were capable of making an independent living for themselves. Mac Lysaght claims that, at this stage, Irish Quakers were already coming into prominence in the commercial life of the country.⁹⁰ In the opinion of Wight and Rutty it was evident from as early as 1700 that the Quakers were noted for the commercial success which has continued to be common among them to the present day.⁹¹

Isabel Grubb claimed that most of the early adherents arrived in the period 1650-1680. The Tipperary experience indicated that seventeen of the above mentioned forty-two families arrived in the last decade of the seventeenth century (see Table 2:17). This may have been affected by the geographical location of the county, which meant that although it had some early arrivals, its popularity as a place of settlement was slow to develop. Looking at the distribution pattern of early Irish Quakers Vann and Eversley stated that they:

were not evenly dispersed throughout the country, but rather were thickly settled in a few areas. The initial concentrations can be described as falling into four

Ireland 1654-1900 (London, 1926), pp.65,66.

⁸⁷ R.T.M. Minute of six week's meeting 25th day 4 mo. 1699 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

⁸⁸ Thomas Laffan, *Tipperary families: being the hearth role records for 1665-6-7* (Dublin, 1911), *passim*.

⁸⁹ *National sufferings*, 2 vols. 1655-1693, 1694-1705 (F.H.L.D., YM G 1)

⁹⁰ Edward Mac Lysaght, *Irish life in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 1979), p. 296.

⁹¹ Wight & Rutty, *The rise and progress*, p. 199.

distinct groups: the early Ulster Monthly Meetings of Grange, Ballyhagen (later called Richhill), Lurgan, and Lisburn; the richer agricultural areas of central Leinster (Mountmellick with its important centres at Edenderry, Newgarden, and Moate, some of which became separate monthly meetings); the isolated small urban centres like Wicklow and Carlow; and the major coastal trading cities of Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Limerick.⁹²

It appears that Tipperary's early Quakers did not come from any particular area. Of the above mentioned forty-two families, only in the case of nine of them can their former place of residence in Ireland be identified (see Table 2:16).

⁹² Richard Greaves, *God's other children*, p. 270; Vann and Eversely, *Friends in Life and death*, p. 47.

Table 2:16

Identifiable origins of Quaker families coming to County Tipperary from other parts of Ireland, 1660s-1770s									
	1660s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1720s	1730s	1750s	1760s	1770s
Antrim									
Armagh		2							
Carlow			1	1				1	
Clare				1					
Cork			1						
Down						1			
Dublin									
Kilkenny									
King's County			1				1		
Limerick									1
Queen's County					1		3		
Waterford		3		1			1		
Wexford	1		2						
Wicklow			1						
Totals	1	5	6	3	1	1	5	1	1

Identifiable origins of Quaker families coming to County Tipperary from other parts of Ireland, 1780s-1870s									
	1780s	1790s	1800s	1810s	1820s	1830s	1840s	1850s	1870s
Antrim			1		1				
Armagh									
Carlow									
Clare									
Cork		3		1		1	1	1	
Down	1	1	1	1		1	1		
Dublin		1							
Kilkenny									1
King's County				1					
Limerick							1		
Queen's County	3	3	1	1	1	1	1		
Waterford	1	1		1					
Wexford			1						
Wicklow									
Totals	5	9	4	5	2	3	4	1	1

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

Their movements were typical of the fluid nature of early Quaker settlement in Ireland.⁹³ For many of these new arrivals, Tipperary was not their first choice, rather it was part of a secondary pattern of diffusion. Cullen argues that 'as time went on, internal migration replaced immigration as the sustaining force behind settlement' but this led to a less concentrated form of independent settlement.⁹⁴ As happened elsewhere,⁹⁵ there was no discernible migratory path, with immigrants coming from places as far apart as Cork, Waterford, Wexford, Cappoquin, Mountrath, Carlow and Armagh, each of them recognised Quaker settlements.

Similar to other Quaker communities at the time, many settled only for a short period before re-locating, leading to many of the early Quaker surnames disappearing within a generation.⁹⁶ The birthplaces of their children clearly indicate that they lived, albeit for very short periods, in various parts of the country before coming to the county. James Hutchinson was a typical example - his three children being born in Wexford, Killaloe and Ballanagh, County Wicklow respectively. Settlement patterns were also marked by internal migration, with families moving from place to place within the county itself. George Baker transferred from Cashel to Roscrea, while Edward Tavorner, formerly of Lincolnshire, who had settled in Ballingarry by 1655, was in Terryglass seven years later, and in Clonakenny the following year. In 1664, he was in Killoran, and by 1667 had moved once more to Modernay. There were also two cases where brothers settled in different parts of the county, Peter Cook went to Knockgraffon, halfway between Cahir and Cashel, while his brother, Samuel, took up residence in Clonmel; William Russell made his home in Coolbawn, near Tipperary town, while Benjamin Russell, established himself at Clongowna in north Tipperary.

⁹³ See Regina O'Keeffe (ed.), *Quakers of Mountmellick*, p.18; Richard Harrison, 'The Quakers of Charleville 1661-1742' *J.C.H.A.S.*, cvc (1990), p.55 and A. C. Chapman, *History of the religious Society of Friends in Lurgan* (Belfast, 1997), p.26.

⁹⁴ Louis Cullen, 'The social and cultural modernisation of rural Ireland 1600-1900', pp. 196, 198

⁹⁵ Richard Harrison, 'The Quakers of Charleville 1661-1742', p.53.

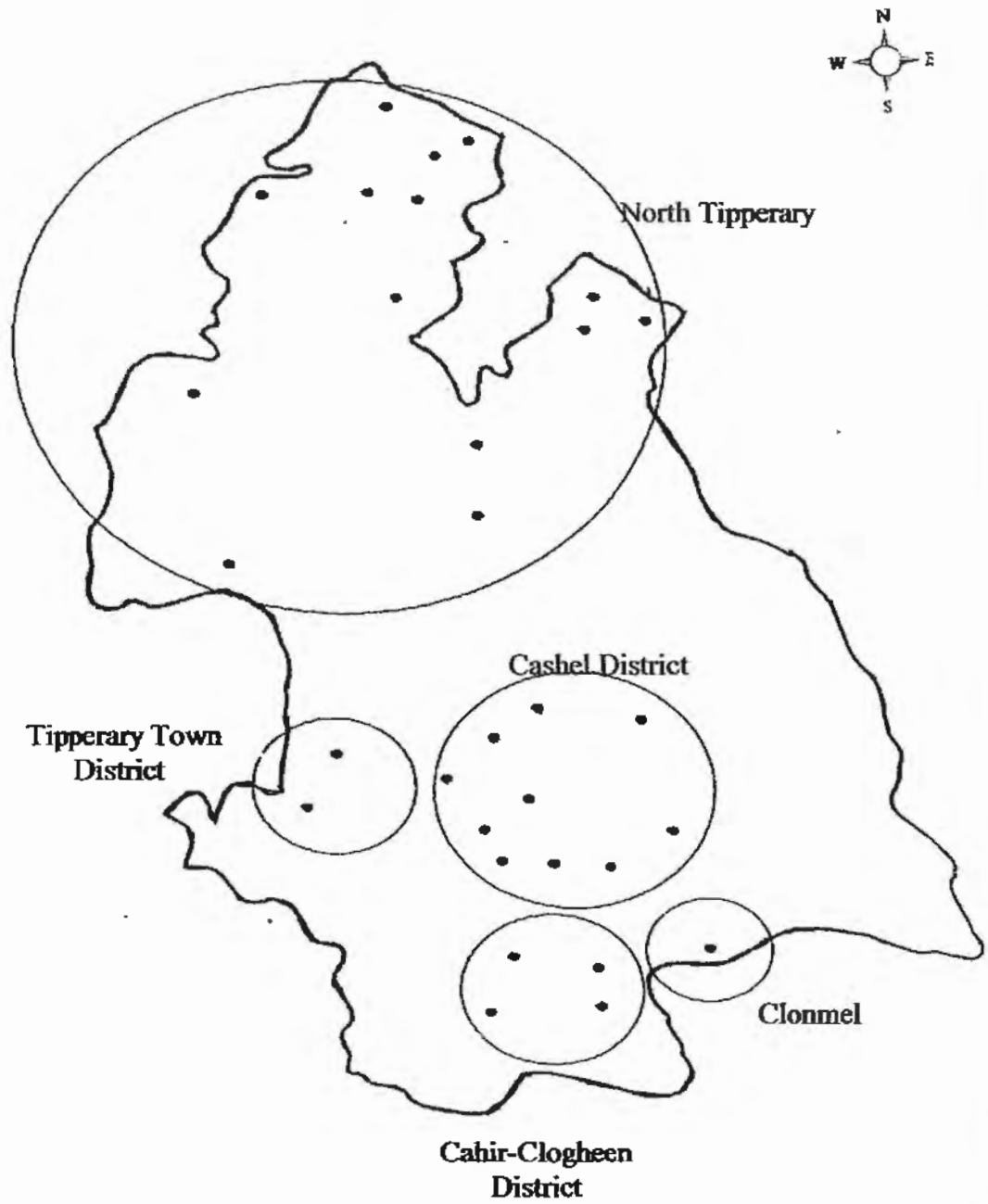
⁹⁶ Regina O'Keeffe, *The Quakers of Mountmellick* (Mountmellick, 1994), p. 13; Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers* (Printed privately, 1991), p. 19.

Cullen speaks of the novelty of 'the pattern of Quaker settlement in the 1650s and 1660s springing up in rural areas remote from established towns'.⁹⁷ The original settlement pattern in Tipperary was haphazard and unplanned, this being reflected in the dispersed nature of the settlement throughout the county. Apart from the small number who settled in the towns of Clonmel, Cashel, Tipperary and Roscrea, the remainder of the early Quaker settlers in Tipperary settled in the countryside. Five distinct settlement areas can be identified: north Tipperary, in and around Tipperary town, Cashel and the surrounding area, in the area surrounding the towns of Clogheen and Cahir, and Clonmel town (see Map 2:1).

⁹⁷ Louis Cullen, 'Population trends in 17th century Ireland' in *Economic and Social Review*, vi (1974-75), p. 154.

Map 2:1

Distribution of the Quaker community in County Tipperary in 1700



Note: Each dot represents the location of one or more families.
Source: Records of the Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings (FHL D)

In the extreme north of Tipperary the main concentration was in the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, Arra and Ikerrin. This was a small settlement, never exceeding more than fifteen families. As has been previously stated, the Quakers in this area were under the care of the Mountmellick meeting. The remaining twenty seven identifiable families came under the care of the Tipperary meeting. A few families came to live in and around Tipperary town but the majority of the new arrivals made their homes in the fertile lower Suir valley, in the baronies of Middlethird and Iffa and Offa, encompassing an area from just north of Cashel southwards to Clogheen and from there eastwards to Clonmel. This area can be sub-divided into three sub-regions, the first focusing on the town of Cashel, stretching east to Woodhouse, north of Fethard; secondly, the district between the towns of Cahir and Clogheen; and finally, the town of Clonmel itself.

Cullen states that north-west Tipperary was one of the main centres of immigration during this period.⁹⁸ Seven of the fifteen recorded Quaker families for this area arrived in the last decade of the seventeenth century. With the exception of the above mentioned George Baker, who took up residence in Roscrea around 1673, the settlement was exclusively rural. While, on one hand, the new arrivals were scattered over a wide area, a number of families clustered in two particular locations. These included the Annerley, Boate, Jellico and Tavorner families who, albeit for short periods, lived at Clonakenny, while the Hutchinson, Pimlett, Simpson, Bonit and Williams families settled in the vicinity of Knockballymaher. It is not possible to determine the factors which enticed these pioneers to Tipperary. We do know, as has been stated, that Gershon Boate and James Hutchinson owe their presence to the Cromwellian settlement. James Shepperd, who settled at Cliften, near Shinrone was the nephew of another Cromwellian settler, Captain Thomas Shepperd who received extensive lands in Castlejohn in south Tipperary. It is also difficult to trace the origins of all these families. It would appear that John Ashton and Edward Pimlett came directly from Cheshire, and

⁹⁸ Louis Cullen, 'The social and cultural modernisation of rural Ireland 1600-1900' in L. M. Cullen & F. Furet, *Ireland and France 17th-20th centuries. Towards a comparative survey of rural history* (Paris, 1980), p. 196.

decade of the century, and seven of the nine had left within a generation. It was also predominantly rural, with the exception of George Baker, who resided in Cashel. A number of the new arrivals came directly from England, with George Baker coming from Herefordshire and James Moore, John Barger and John Weldon, all having roots in Somerset. Others transferred from different parts of Ireland, while there was one example of internal migration, the family of Thomas Coborne moving here from the Cahir district.

In 1700, the Clogheen-Cahir district was a small rural settlement with no more than six families. The most notable arrival was John Fennell from Wiltshire, whose descendants were to become one of the most successful and influential Quaker families in Tipperary and, second only in number to the Grubbs. Clonmel, unlike all other settlements, was exclusively urban. Of the eleven families in town the occupations of only four can be identified. As has been stated, these consisted of a glover (George Collett), a cutler (Isaac Barton), in addition to two shop-keepers (Samuel Cook and John Webber). It also has been pointed out that the commercial interests of all four were combined with their involvement in farming, at a time when little or no distinction was made between such callings. Even at this stage the position of Clonmel as the most populous Quaker settlement within the county was noticeable, a position it was to retain throughout the history of the movement within the county (see Table 2:17).

Table 2:17

Settlement areas for identifiable Quaker families in County Tipperary, 1650-1899						
	Cahir-Clogheen	Carrick	Cashel	Clonmel	N. Tipp.	Tipp. Town
1650s	2		1	1	2	
1660s					1	
1670s	2			2	3	
1680s			1		3	3
1690s	1		4	7	5	1
1700s	1		4	3	1	
1710s	1		5	2		1
1720s			2	3		1
1730s			2	2	1	1
1740s				1	2	
1750s	1		2	3		
1760s			2	1		
1770s				6	1	
1780s	2			11	1	
1790s	2			13		
1800s	2			5	1	
1810s	2			6	2	
1820s	2			4	1	
1830s				2		
1840s	1	1		3	1	
1850s		1		1	1	
1860s				1		
1870s		2		1		
1880s		3				
1890s		1				
Totals	19	8	23	78	26	7

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

Although these early Quakers were constantly challenged by migration, emigration and the persecution of church and state, they still managed to establish themselves in most parts of the county with the notable exception of mid-Tipperary. The haphazard, fragmented and dispersed nature of the settlement created its own problems. This was obviously the experience elsewhere. O'Haire has claimed that development of the Society in the Carlow area was hampered by the isolated location of its meeting

places.¹⁰¹ The yearly meeting in 1691, realising the difficulties for members being cut off from their brethren, urged all Friends 'to settle as near together as they can for the ease and benefit of meetings, educating their children in the way of truth which many had suffered loss and found the great inconvenience of by living remote from Friends'. Despite these difficulties Webb has claimed 'that these new soldiers and settlers were able to remain in peace in the country, to cultivate the land they had taken from others, and to become industrious, thrifty, and respected, speaks well perhaps for both the forbearance of the natives and their own good qualities.'¹⁰² By the end of the seventeenth century, the Quakers in Tipperary had managed to establish small but vibrant communities, and a growing number of them had achieved a degree of prosperity. Perhaps the most striking example of upward economic mobility was that of George Collett whose assessment for tithes in 1703 was the highest in the town of Clonmel.¹⁰³

Entries in the book of national sufferings¹⁰⁴ give some indication of the status of the Tipperary community in relation to the country as a whole. The following (see Table 2:18) gives an account of suns paid and the percentage contributed by the Tipperary community:

¹⁰¹ Margaret O' Haire, 'Quakerism in the Carlow/Kildare area 1650-1850' in *Journal of Kildare Archaeological Society*, xvii (1991), p. 106.

¹⁰² Thomas Henry Webb, 'Irish Quaker records', p. 12.

¹⁰³ A minister's money account for Clonmel, 1703 in W. P. Burke (Rev.) papers, Mount Mellary, County Waterford.

¹⁰⁴ National Sufferings, ii, 1694-1705 (F.H.L.D., YM G 2).

Table 2:18

Value of tithes exacted from County Tipperary Quakers and the Irish Quaker community, 1700-1705			
Year	Tipperary	Ireland	%
1700	£231-17-6	£2,008-2-9½	11.5
1701	£200-14-8	£1,581-6-11	12.0
1702	£106-17-2	£1,190-0-6	8.9
1703	£151- 3-4	£1,212-15-2½	12.5
1704	£140- 6-0	£1,151-5-7	12.1
1705	£132- 8-0	£1,104-8-5¾	11.9

Source: Book of national sufferings, ii 1694-1705 (F.H.L.D., YM G 2).

Of the sixteen counties which sent returns in 1704 the sum exacted from Tipperary's Quakers was the highest in the country. Of the 558 Quakers nationwide the value of the average tithe extracted was £2-1-0, whereas the average for the 29 Tipperary Quakers was £4-16-9. The level of the exactions and their ability to endure such losses would suggest that, on the whole, Tipperary Quakers were reasonably prosperous. However, it should be borne in mind that some counties, including Cork, Limerick or Waterford, all of whom had established Quaker communities, did not submit accounts of property confiscated in that year.

The contribution list drawn up in 1700 to support the building of the Clonmel meeting house (see Table 1:1 above) provides a useful indication as to the comparative levels of wealth of the contributors. It is obvious that the Fennells, Cooks and Colletts were families of means, whereas the contributions from John Jolly, William Weldon and John Rylans show the gulf that existed between them and their more affluent colleagues.

II:1701-1755

During this period the migratory flow began to slacken with the recorded arrival of twenty-one families compared with forty-five for the previous period. The same fluid pattern as heretofore prevailed with thirteen of them leaving within a generation. The period was to mark the beginning of dramatic changes in the distribution pattern of

Tipperary's Quaker community with the emphasis on increasing urbanisation, which was to become more pronounced in the latter half of the century.

In north Tipperary the Hutchinsons, Shepperds and Ashtons were still the most prominent families. The book of sufferings for the Mountmellick meeting covering the period 1729-1754¹⁰⁵ contains seventeen different names, with an annual average entry of between five and six names. There is nothing to indicate their place of residence. Not all of them were contemporaneous and it would appear that more than half of them only resided in the area for a short period.

This period saw the Quaker presence in the Tipperary town area come to an end. The meeting house in Tipperary town had been closed in 1744,¹⁰⁶ and it was said that the meeting had been kept up until about 1745 when Rachel Robinson of Garryowen, near Limerick, and daughter of Samuel Cherry, was married to John Unthank of Limerick. She was one of the last Friends who lived there.¹⁰⁷ In contrast, the Cashel community expanded, which will be discussed in chapter 3, during the opening decades of the century. The community was obviously sufficiently numerous to warrant the provision of a graveyard. By his will dated 14 September, 1731, John Boles bequeathed a piece of ground at Woodhouse for a Friends' burial place. Faced by a limestone wall, the plot contains no stones. Although only fourteen burials have been recorded,¹⁰⁸ the burial register of the Tipperary meeting suggests that there could have been up to fifty interments. The last burial was that of Elizabeth Godwin in 1821. While these developments were taking place at Woodhouse, there were corresponding signs of increasing urbanisation in the same area. Solomon Newsom (1708), Samuel Cherry

¹⁰⁵ R.M.M. Sufferings 1726-53 (F.H.L.D., MM V G3). In this period the entries for Tipperary members were recorded separately. This practice was discontinued in 1771 as can be seen from sufferings 1762-1831 (F.H.L.D., MM V G4).

¹⁰⁶ Wight and Ratty, *A history of the rise and progress of people called Quakers*, p. 349.

¹⁰⁷ J. R. Gough, *Annals of Limerick from the first convincement of Friends in 1655* (n.d., unpublished), unpaginated.

¹⁰⁸ Grubb collection. Ms. box 54, folder v, no. 31 (F.H.L.D.) The burials listed are John Boles (1726), John Boles Sr. (1731), Thomas and Sarah Godwin (1734), Elizabeth Baker, John Quin and James Watson (1735), Elizabeth Godwin (1736), John Boles (1748), Elizabeth Watson (1750), Mary Fennell (1757), Solomon Watson (1758), Mary Shaw (1814) and Elizabeth Godwin (1821).

(1728), William Weldon (1731) and Sarah Chandlee (1735),¹⁰⁹ for one reason or another, decided to abandon life in the countryside and rent property in the town of Cashel.

Although the number of families in the Cahir/Clogheen area remained unchanged, the extended Fennell families led to an increase in numbers. In 1738 a new burial ground was opened at Ballybrado, in the vicinity of the original one at Cottage. The ground was bequeathed to the Society by Joshua Fennell, presumably to meet the needs of a growing meeting. The graveyard was surrounded by a high limestone wall, and has the customary yew trees and a scattering of plain limestone headstones of uniform design.¹¹⁰ To-day there are just 37 headstones, but records indicate that there were over 160 burials. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, many of the Quakers, both in Cahir and Clonmel, who became converts to the Church of Ireland, maintained one vestige of their Quaker heritage - the right to interment in the Friends' Burial Ground. Between 1890 and the last burial in 1954, 13 of the 22 interments were of non-members.¹¹¹

Likewise, there did not appear to be any significant change in the numbers of the Clonmel community. Families who arrived during this period, including the Banfields, Boles, Grubbs, Sparrows and Taylors, were to play a prominent role in the affairs of the Society, while the latter four, through their milling ventures, became leading figures in Clonmel's economic awakening. At the same time, a number left to take up residence in larger urban areas with established Quaker communities. These included the Lucases who went to live in Limerick, the Cherrys and Moores to Waterford, and the Russells and Howells to Cork. It was during this time that the Colletts, for reasons unknown, relinquished their ties with the Society.

Some members were also attracted to the newly created colony in Pennsylvania. This settlement was the initiative of William Penn (1644-1718), a convert to Quakerism, who was deeply affected by the imprisonment and persecution of his fellow Friends. He was the son of Sir William Penn who received a grant of a large tract of land in America

¹⁰⁹ R.D., 48 137 28028, 60 521 42265, 67 525 47036, 82 314 57955.

¹¹⁰ The Quaker policy on tomb-stones is discussed in Chapter 7.

¹¹¹ D. J. Butler (ed.), *Cahir. A Guide to heritage town and district* (Cahir, 1999), p.34.

in return for a loan of £16,000 to the monarchy. This tract of land, by the king's desire, was named Pennsylvania in honour of Sir William. When the land passed to William, the latter decided to set up a state on Quaker principles. He proceeded to draw up a constitution for the new territory which guaranteed complete religious freedom, freedom from oaths and tithes, and equality before the law. It has been estimated that, during the period 1682-1750, up to 2,000 Irish Friends emigrated to Pennsylvania. Between 1682 and 1727, twelve adults and their families, which included the Ashtons, Bangers, Bartons, Birds, Cobornes and Penncocks, left Tipperary for America.¹¹²

As has been previously stated, a list of adult male members belonging to the Tipperary men's meeting in 1755 shows 27 members distributed as follows: fifteen in Clonmel, eight in the Cahir/Clogheen area and four in the Cashel area.¹¹³ The membership list of the Mountmellick meeting for 1756 shows 17 adult members living in Tipperary: seven in Knockballymaher, six in Kilconihinmore and four in Roscrea.¹¹⁴

III: 1756-1860

Quakerism in Tipperary from 1756 to 1840 entered its golden age, during which time it became predominantly urban-based, consisting mainly of middle class traders, a number of whom amassed considerable fortunes. As will be noted in chapter 4, the catalyst for this transformation was the prosperity engendered by their participation in woollens and corn milling, two industries which flourished in the lower Suir valley. The main beneficiaries of this new-found affluence were the Clonmel Quakers and their co-religionists in Cahir and Clogheen.

The Quaker population in the north of the county was concentrated on the Tipperary/Offaly border and, throughout the history of Quakerism in this area membership lists of the Mountmellick meeting show that an unquantifiable number were resident in Offaly. Up to 1767, it would appear that all meetings of Tipperary Quakers in the north of the county were held in private houses. One of these was held at the Hutchinson residence in Knockballymaher, while the meeting at Kilconihinmore first met

¹¹² Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers etc.*, pp. 280, 288, 290, 303, 307.

¹¹³ R.T.M. Ministers and elders (F.H.L.D., MM X C1).

¹¹⁴ R.M.M., minutes of men's monthly meeting (F.H.L.D., MM V A1).

in the house of John Ashton in 1710,¹¹⁵ but there is no information available indicating where the meetings at Roscrea were held. In 1767, the following minute occurs in the records of the Mountmellick meeting: 'account is returned to this meeting that Friends in Kilconihinmore have begun to build their meeting house. Also that Friends of Knockballymaher intend shortly to begin theirs and it is desired that Friends of Roscrea will be mindful, as soon as possible with conveniency to set about erecting their meeting house'.¹¹⁶ The Roscrea meeting house was built in 1773 on 'a plot of ground in Abbey Street, known as Old Tenter, at the angle of Castle pleasure garden, leased to Tobias Pim of Fancroft (King's County), John Pim and Joseph Robinson of Roscrea by John Damer of Dorsetshire'.¹¹⁷ The rural meeting house at Kilconihinmore, which adjoined the Quaker cemetery there did not last long, closing in 1792.¹¹⁸ Nothing of the meeting house remains, despite evidence of former foundations.

Increased urbanisation was reflected, as has been previously stated, in the opening of a new meeting house at Roscrea and the discontinuance of the one at Kilconihinmore. Up to the end of the century, the Hutchinsons had remained the most influential Quaker family in the district until, as will be discussed in chapter 6, James Hutchinson was disowned in 1797, bringing the family's connection with the Society of Friends to an end. Their place was taken by the Dudleys, who arrived around the middle of the century from neighbouring Queen's County. They built a house called Mount Dudley, in what was then the outskirts of Roscrea, while another branch of the family established themselves in Tinderry, south of Roscrea. They supported themselves, as has been shown in chapter 1, through a combination of farming and trade. Due to the inadequacy of the Mountmellick meeting records for this period, it is not possible to determine numbers. Available sources indicate that families such as the Rhodes, Whittens and Neales had established themselves as shop-keepers in Roscrea.

¹¹⁵ Wight & Ratty, *History of the rise and progress of people called Quakers etc.*, pp. 348/49.

¹¹⁶ R.M.M. Minutes of Mountmellick monthly meeting, 26th day of 4 mo. 1767 (F.H.L.D., MM V A2). Both Kilconihinmore and Knockballymaher meeting houses were completed in 1767 (London yearly meeting, 1768).

¹¹⁷ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records* (Dublin, 1967), p. 160.

¹¹⁸ *ibid*, p. 39.

By the closing decades of the eighteenth century, the Cashel community had dramatically collapsed. For some time declining numbers had been reflected in the poor attendance at meetings. Leading families such as the Boles and Godfreys were no longer members, while the Sparrows, Simmons, Otways, Powers, Reeves and Watsons found the economic attractions of Clonmel too compelling. The closure of the meeting house in 1769 was to signal the end of Quakerism in the Cashel area.

On the other hand, the Quaker community in the Cahir-Clogheen area experienced a dramatic increase in numbers with the arrival of a further six families, all of whom became involved in milling. This wave of new migrants was led by Joseph Jackson from Queen's County. Other arrivals, as has been previously mentioned, included Thomas Lucas, Charles Going, John Walpole, John Jellico and Nicholas Chaytor. In response to this influx of members, Cahir's Quakers transferred their meetings from the Fennell residence at Kilcommon to Garryroan, north of Cahir. William Fennell in his will dated 8 June, 1774 bequeathed an acre of land for the purpose of erecting a meeting house thereon. In 1787, twenty seven Tipperary Friends contributed the sum of £96-12-8 (see Table 2:19) towards its erection.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Grubb collection, MS., box 56, S 185 (F.H.L.D.).

Table 2:19

Garryroan meeting house subscription list, 1787.			
Benjamin Grubb	£7 16s.	Robert Dudley	£7 16s.
Simmons Sparrow	£7 16s.	Samuel Grubb	£7 16s.
George Fennell	£7 16s.	Solomon Watson	£7 16s.
Joseph Grubb	£7 16s.	Robert Grubb	£5 4s.
Thomas Grubb	<i>(Illegible)</i>	James Malone	£3 8s. 3d.
Peter Banfield	£3 8s. 3d.	Samuel Grubb	£4 6s.
Samuel Davis	£1 2s. 9d.	Thomas Taylor	£3 9s. 4d.
Jn. & Jos. Grubb	£3 9s. 4d.	Sarah Grubb	£7 16s.
Thomas Chaytor	£1 14s. 8d.	James Keys	<i>(Illegible)</i>
William Taylor	£1 2s. 9d.	John Taylor	£1 14s. 8d.
Josiah Wood	£1 14s. 8d.	Joseph Wood	£1 14s. 8d.
John Malcomson	£1 14s. 8d.	William Stockdale	£1 14s. 8d.
Nathan Beeby	£1 14s. 8d.	Richard Shaw	<i>(Illegible)</i>
Godfrey Power	<i>(Illegible)</i>		

Source: Grubb collection, MS. box 56, S 185 (F.H.L.D.).

A meeting house was built in 1788.¹²⁰ The Cahir community continued to prosper and in 1834, a new meeting house was built a cost of £828 3s. 9d. (see Table 2:20).

¹²⁰ London yearly meeting, 1789.

Table 2:20

Cahir meeting house subscription list, 1833.			
Subs: £628 3s. 9d. & Wm. Connor legacy £200			
Clonmel Friends (31) £		Cahir Friends (13) £	
Thomas Hughes	25	Richard Grubb	200
Thomas S. Grubb	20	William Going	50
Jos. Grubb Benj.	20	Thomas Going	50
Thomas Jackson	20	William Fennell	15
Abraham Grubb	15	Sarah Fennell	15
Thomas Taylor	10	Samuel Jellico	10
Thomas Greer	10	Jane Fennell	5
Rebecca Grubb	10	Samuel Grubb	5
Thomas Murphy	10	Mary Abbey	5
Thomas Grubb	10	Martha Jellico	5
John B. Clibborn	10	S. & R. Wilson	3
Joseph Malcomson	10	Robert Proctor	3
Joshua Malcomson	10	Richard H. Baker	3
Mary C. Strangman	10		
Samuel Fayle	6	Total Cahir:	369
Joseph Grubb	5		
William Wade	5		
Four female Friends	5 13s. 9d.	Clonmel	£259 3s. 9d.
Joseph Jacob	3	Cahir	£369
William White	3	Total	£628 3s. 9d.
Thomas Murray	3		
John Hughes	3		
Francis Grubb	3		
Robert Davis	3		
Ann Grubb	2		
Thomas G. Power	1 10s.		
William S. Jacob	1		
Total Clonmel: £259 3s. 9d.			

Source: R.T.M., folder c (F.H.L.D., MM X C1)

The Cahir meeting house was situated at Abbey Street on a plot of ground which formed part of Cahir Abbey which was secured from the executors and representatives of Joshua Fennell. The lease which was signed by Richard Grubb on 11 May 1832 read as follows:

On behalf of the Society of Friends we propose to take from the representatives of the late Joshua Fennell of Cahir Abbey, that part of land of Upper Cahir Abbey

situate on the west side of the Tipperary road, for a Meeting House, containing about a hundred feet in front, at the rate of Twenty Pounds per annum.

Signed: Richard Grubb, May 11, 1832.

The meeting house was described 'as a building commensurate with the meetings' wealthy membership, but nevertheless entirely traditional in form, strictly "plain and substantial" of particular interest is the arrangement for managing the carriages of Friends: the whole building is set within a carriage drive, so that after the occupants had been set down at the meeting house porch, the succession of carriages was driven on round the building and back to the road. There was as well a stable at the back of the site'.¹²¹

It was the Clonmel Quaker community that experienced the most spectacular growth of new members during this period. In 1778, James Jenkins estimated that the Clonmel meeting consisted of about fifteen families,¹²² and in the same year the travelling minister, James Gough, mentions visiting nineteen Friends' houses¹²³ in the town. The influx of Cashel Friends was augmented by other families, many of whom were drawn from the Mountmellick and Waterford meetings, while others came from the Wexford, Carlow and Wicklow meetings and from as far away as the north of Ireland and Somerset. Of the forty-eight families mentioned in the records of births and deaths as having arrived during the period, thirty three came between 1780 and 1820 when the corn industry was at its most profitable. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century Clonmel continued to attract new families, albeit on a much smaller scale. These included the Shannons from Mountmellick and the Murrays from Belfast, both of whom became mill owners. They were joined by John Proctor, an ironmonger from Waterford, and George Chapman, a grocer from Cork.

Due to a significant increase in the Quaker population, Clonmel Friends decided to erect a new and bigger meeting house. In 1792, a part of the old barracks in Market Street, Clonmel was leased from John Bagwell to Solomon Watson, Benjamin Grubb,

¹²¹ David Butler, *The Quaker meeting houses of Ireland* (forthcoming publication).

¹²² William J. Frost (ed.), *The records and recollections of James Jenkins* (New York, 1984), p. 87.

¹²³ James Gough, *Memoirs of the life, religious experiences and labour on the gospel of James Gough* (Dublin, mdccclxxxii), p. 61.

Samuel Rigge and Richard Sparrow for 999 years at the yearly rent of £12 per annum.¹²⁴ 'The new building was of impressive proportions. It measured '90 feet wide and 105 feet long, excluding side buildings and out-offices. Internally, it was divided into a small hall 40'4" x 24'10", with a seating capacity for 180 persons, and a great hall 55' x 40'7", with a seating capacity for 400 persons. Thus, the combined area could accommodate almost 600 persons. The total frontage onto Market (Meeting) Street was 180 feet'.¹²⁵

This increase was checked by the perennial factors of migration, emigration and loss of membership. Thirty four left within a generation. The families of Peter Taylor, Joshua Waring and George Shaw were attracted to the northern provinces of Canada. The family of John Grubb, husband of the famed minister, Sarah Lynes, returned to England, while his relative John Chaytor Grubb set sail for New Zealand. However, many of the families who immigrated to Clonmel during the period became extremely wealthy and were destined to be numbered among the town's leading entrepreneurs. These included the Clibborns, Davises, Fayles, Greers, Hughes, Jacobs, Malcomsons and Murphys.

The effects of this new-found affluence in the nineteenth century have been noted by Vann, resulted in the county's community being concentrated 'within a smaller geographical and social range'.¹²⁶ He went on to state that beside the growing concentration of Friends in the towns, an increasing number were drawn from the ranks of traders and artisans, while the old gentry and landed families and also the very poor had almost ceased to be represented.¹²⁷ This polarisation was endorsed by Rowantree who remarked that 'the contrast between modern and ancient Quakerism is striking; of late times the Friends had increasingly congregated in some few trades and professions; in the greater earlier period they were found occupying every position in society, from

¹²⁴ R.D., 446/392/29037.

¹²⁵ Deed box xvii (F.H.L.D., f. 10).

¹²⁶ R. T. Vann, *The social development of English Quakerism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 154.

¹²⁷ *ibid*, p. 164.

the trade of an innkeeper to the more exalted position of colonial governor'.¹²⁸ Punshon was of a similar opinion when he stated that 'the characteristic figures of the yeoman farmer and small businessman of the first Quaker century gave away to the well-to-do merchant of the second'.¹²⁹ These social and economic changes were also experienced by Tipperary Quakers, particularly in the town of Clonmel which had, by far and away, the largest Quaker community in the county.

IV: 1861-1924

From 1861 (see Table 2:1 above) onwards, Quaker numbers in Tipperary dwindled rapidly until, by the end of the period, only a handful were left. This was in keeping with the fortunes of the Society in the country as a whole. Estimated at 3,066 in 1845, by 1900 there were 2,609 Friends in Ireland.¹³⁰ Families died out, re-located or ceased to have any connection with the Society. Families such as the Davises, Malones, Moores, Proctors and Wilsons died out in Tipperary, while the Chapmans, Shannons, Shaws left for Waterford, and the Beales moved to Dublin. One branch of the White family died out, another departed for Cork, while members of the third left the Society.

The disappearance of the Jacobs from the list of members resulted from the reactionary spirit which led to the emergence of a group dubbed the White Quakers, so-called because of the un-dyed clothes they wore. Their leader was Clonmel-born Joshua Jacob (1801-77) who felt a growing uneasiness at what some perceived to be the laxity and worldliness of many members. His fundamentalist views won converts, chiefly in Clonmel, Waterford and Mountmellick. His followers included three of his brothers and one sister, his widowed sister-in-law and her six children. They considered themselves the only true Friends and advocated a distinctly puritan lifestyle. They abandoned all manifestations of the modern world, including clocks, and mirrors, and they abstained from eating meat. Having lasted some fifteen years, the movement ended, failing as a consequence of the extreme and eccentric behaviour of its leader.¹³¹ This splinter group

¹²⁸ Rowantree, *Quakers past and present: being an inquiry into the causes of its decline in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1859), pp. 124/25.

¹²⁹ John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: a short history of the Quakers* (London, 1984), p. 105.

¹³⁰ Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 90, 110.

¹³¹ P. S. Large, *Irish eccentrics* (London, 1975) pp. 111-113; Maurice Wigham, *The Irish*

had no discernible effect on the movement as a whole, other than on the families of those involved.

Even the Grubb family, who for so long had been the standard bearers of Quakerism within the county, did not remain unscathed. From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards members of the Clogheen and Cahir branch began to join the Church of Ireland in increasing numbers. A second branch, as will be seen in the chapter 5, who were largely engaged in the drapery trade in Clonmel had died out by the early 1860s. By 1912, the third branch severed its links with commercial life of Clonmel with the retirement of Joseph Ernest Grubb. Prior to this he had taken up residence in Carrick-on-Suir, while other members of his family had moved to Waterford. Other families who, either partially or fully, had transferred their allegiance to the Church of Ireland included the Banfields, Clibborns, Fayles, Greers, Malcomsons, Murphys, Otways and Whittens.

In the Cahir/Clogheen district there was no fresh influx. Existing families either died out, left the county, resigned or were disowned. The second generation of Goings became members of the Church of Ireland, as did the Jellicos, Grubbs and Chaytors. They were joined by an ever increasing number of Fennells so that by 1916 Hannah Jane Fennell was the only family member listed. Richard Harris Baker and his family moved to Cork. In 1862, their youngest son, Richard, married Ann Marie Davis of Clonmel. He subsequently became manager of the Davis hardware firm in the town, and raised a family there. All of their children were to eventually leave the county. In Roscrea the Neales and Talbots died out; the Whittens left the Society as did the Dudleys and the Rhodes family, while the Roberts family went to live in Cork.

While Quaker numbers were dwindling elsewhere in the county a meeting house was opened in Carrick-on-Suir in 1866. However, the records would indicate a Quaker connection with that town from a much earlier date. In 1721, Thomas Leather of Carrick

Quakers, pp. 80-82; I. Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, pp. 127-130; Richard Harrison, *A biographical dictionary of Quakers*, p.65; Tony Butler, 'The White Quakers' in *South Tipp Today*, 19 July 1995; W. J. Jacob, 'The Dublin family of Jacob' in *Dublin Historical Record*, ii (1939-40), pp. 134-140. Lena Boylan, 'Joshua Jacob, 1801-1877' in *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*, vi, no. 4 (1983-84), pp. 348-354.

married Hannah Cherry. The only other mention of Carrick concerns James West and his wife, Anne, the latter who died in 1798. The meeting house of 1866 was built on a portion of the castle grounds, at Ashpark, Carrick-on-Suir.¹³² The impetus for this development could be attributed to the presence of two prominent Quaker families. In 1842, John Grubb and his family took up residence in the town, and some time later William Malcomson built a house on the outskirts. They were shortly joined by a number of other families who settled there. The meeting house was built at a cost of £459 2s. 2d. and was leased to John Grubb, George Howell and Joseph Ernest Grubb as trustees.¹³³ The congregation was never a large one and, in 1889, the members numbered about 20.¹³⁴

The Carrick-on-Suir meeting was always small, and it is doubtful if it ever exceeded thirty members. In 1873, it numbered fifteen, rising to twenty-eight in 1898, but had fallen to seven by 1916. The Grubb and Malcomson families formed the backbone of the meeting. In 1842, John Grubb came from Clonmel and commenced business in Carrick, where he was succeeded by his son Joseph Ernest Grubb. Similarly, William Malcomson of Milfort, five miles on the Waterford side of Carrick, made Carrick his place of worship. Other families included the Annerleys who came from Waterford, Thomas George Howell, an ironmonger from Sussex and Henry Hill from Kilkenny. What attracted them is a mystery, as none of them appear to have had any connection with other established families in the area. Notwithstanding the emergence of the Carrick community, the Society within the county was in a state of rapid decline, as by 1922 there were only eight members left.¹³⁵ The decline in Quaker numbers will be dealt with further in chapter 8.

¹³² The first reference to a Quaker presence in Carrick dates to 1724, in which year Thomas Leather of Carrick married Hannah Cherry. Register of Marriages, Tipperary meeting.

¹³³ Grubb Collection. MS. box 56, s. 97 (F.H.L.D.).

¹³⁴ *Bassett's Directory 1889*, p.191.

¹³⁵ Printed lists of the members and attenders of the Munster quarterly meeting 1922 (F.H.L.D.).

The marriage contact fields of Tipperary Quakers

Quaker marriages throughout the whole period depended on religious, social and commercial contacts. According to Walvin, Irish Quakers, like their English counterparts:

kept in regular contact with each other, not only at the local meeting house. The society of friends was structured around the travels of Quakers back and forth from the local meetings to the national annual gatherings in London, but they also wrote to each other, exchanged and discussed publications, and used each other houses as staging posts on their various social and commercial wanderings across the country. Any travel, by horse or carriage, was arduous; accommodation was sparse and to Quakers uncongenial. But Friends felt safer than most, for they knew they could rely on a national network of others in distant parts to welcome them and provide hospitality.¹³⁶

Of the 242 identifiable Tipperary Quaker families during the entire study period 75 found partners within the compass of the monthly meeting, while a further eighty four were members of the Munster Quarterly meeting (see Table 2:21).

¹³⁶ James Walvin, *The Quakers. Money and morals* (London, 1997), p. 81.

Table 2:21

County	Number
Antrim	4
Armagh	3
Carlow	7
Cork	39
Down	7
Dublin	12
England	15
Kildare	7
Kilkenny	1
King's County	13
Limerick	21
Queen's County	7
Tipperary	75
Waterford	24
Westmeath	4
Wexford	3
Total	242

Sources: Registers of births and deaths, and family lists for Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings.

These unions account for two thirds of the two hundred and forty two identifiable marriages and the fact that they showed a marked consistency, more or less, throughout the entire period, suggests that contact through participation in the Society's meetings was a major factor in promoting marriage. O'Haire claims that marriages tended to be arranged at the provincial and national meetings. As many young Quakers lived a sheltered existence, these gatherings gave them a chance to meet.¹³⁷ Marriages of this nature were not just confined to a regional basis. Robert Grubb who later married Sarah Tuke of York first met her through his attendance at the yearly meeting in London.

Religious gatherings also had a secular dimension. Walvin makes the point that travelling to meetings 'became a key element in the conduct of their trade and business. Quaker homes could be a forum for discussing mutual commercial interests, where

¹³⁷ Margaret O'Haire, 'A community in decline: the evolution and demise of Quakerism in the Carlow area' M.A. thesis (U.C.D., 1987), p. 116.

business advice was proffered and accepted, where deals were struck and opportunities pursued'.¹³⁸ Walvin goes on to point out that 'wealthy Quaker dynasties utilised the Quaker networks to secure their personal and business interests by carefully arranged marriages of sons and daughters into other appropriate families'.¹³⁹ A local illustration of common commercial ties is illustrated by the family of Joseph Grubb (1710-1782). In 1735, Joseph had married Sarah Greer of Ballinakill, King's County, bringing together two families who were heavily involved in the woollen industry. Their eldest son was Thomas Grubb, whose interest in the trade took him to Waterford where he married Hannah Allen. His brother Joseph married Sarah Ridgeway, while his sister Rebecca married Joseph Strangman, forming alliances with two Waterford families engaged in the export of wool. Another son, John, married Sarah Pim of London, daughter of one of the country's major wool dealers. Marriages were 'frequently prudently dynastic and contracted in search of business capital'.¹⁴⁰ This was certainly the case in the union of James Nicholas Richardson who, in 1810, developed his father's business, increasing his wealth through marriage to Anne, daughter of John Grubb of Clonmel.¹⁴¹ These alliances often resulted in partners being drawn from a more distant area of the country.

These dynastic mergers were often reflected in the lengthy marriage agreements drawn up to protect the interests of both partners. Such was the case of Joshua Grubb, who married his cousin Anna Clibborn in 1839.¹⁴² This and other marriage agreements are referred to in chapter 7. Walvin, commenting on the benefits that accrued from planned endogamous marriages, has stated:

inheritance patterns ensured that wealth and assets were rarely passed on to a single son or daughter, but were divided among the next generation, usually on carefully devised grounds. This ensured that no one person could destroy the family well-being in a single generation strict insistence on intermarriage secured that inheritance by diversifying family fortunes. It was a self-generating process of Quaker discipline and renewal.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Walvin, *The Quakers. Money and morals*, p. 82.

¹³⁹ Walvin, *ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁴⁰ R. T. Vann & David Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 55.

¹⁴¹ A. P. Williamson, *Enterprise, industrial development and social planning: Quakers and the emergence of the textile industry in Ireland* (Coleraine, 1992), p. 312

¹⁴² Grubb papers (Tipperary S.R. County Museum, 1991.613).

¹⁴³ Walvin, *Quakers. Money and morals*, p. 89.

Such trusts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not exclusively Quaker but common in landed and middle class families.

As has been stated above, throughout the entire history of Quakerism in Tipperary, local Friends found marriage partners from within the compass of the local monthly meeting or within the Waterford, Cork, Limerick axis which encompassed the administrative area of the Munster provincial meeting. However, there was a gradual extension of marriage links outside the local and provincial contact zone. In charting the geographical broadening of marriage contact fields, three phases can be detected.

During the first century there was little extension of the kinship system beyond the religious and social ties fostered through contact at the monthly meeting and, to a lesser extent, the provincial meeting. Rarely were marriage partners found outside this area. This is illustrated by the number who married within a small geographical area, a fact which is evident from the marriage registers of the period. This could be attributed to the religious persecution and political upheavals of the early days which made travel perilous, the dispersed nature of Quaker settlement and the difficulties and time involved in embarking on extended journeys. For a largely rural-based community, there would have been the added difficulty in abandoning their farming activities.

The next century was to see a dramatic spatial expansion of the marital links of Tipperary's Quakers. Their expanding economic activities compelled many of them to travel extensively. It is noticeable that in the case of the most successful families such as the Clibborns, Grubbs, Malcomsons and Murphys their marriage partners were drawn from almost all parts of Ireland, hailing, in particular, from various parts of Leinster and Ulster. On the other hand, Clonmel and, to a lesser extent Cahir and Clogheen during the milling boom attracted many Quakers from various parts of the county. These included the Greers, Malcomsons, Murrays and Murphys from Ulster, while others such as the Jacksons, Walpoles and Jellicos came from the midlands. Many of them and their children found Quaker partners in their adopted communities. While Quakers in the southern half of the county tended to forge marriage links with their brethren in the port towns of Waterford and Cork because of their trading interests, those in the north of the county tended to look to Limerick and to King and Queen's Counties, all having strong

Quaker communities. Strangely, within Tipperary itself there is no record of a marriage between Quakers from opposite ends of the county.

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, there was a further development in the marriage patterns of Tipperary Quakers. Within the ranks of the more affluent families there was an increasing tendency to seek partners in England. This was certainly the case of the Grubbs, Fennells and Malcomsons. We can only speculate as to what led to the geographical broadening of the marriage distance. While declining numbers within their own meeting saw a corresponding decrease in the availability of suitable marriage partners, this does not explain the English dimension. A factor which may have cultivated closer contacts between Tipperary and English Quakers was the presence of Tipperary Quaker children in English schools, and attendance by the elders at the yearly meeting of the Society. Commercial activities may have necessitated more frequent travel, although there is no clear evidence to support this. Five out of the last nine weddings contracted by members of the Grubb family between 1873 and 1919 were to English Quakers. They were drawn from places as far apart as Bournemouth, Darlington, Handsworth and two from Birmingham. These were the last marriages listed in the records of the Tipperary meeting.

In conclusion, the sources for a demographic study of Tipperary Quakers are limited in certain respects. Findings were compared with those of Vann and Eversley for Irish and English Quakers. Tipperary Quakers, like other Irish Quakers, married earlier and had larger families than English Quakers. They also enjoyed a lower mortality rate and a greater life expectancy. However, the nineteenth century saw a decrease in the number of marriages, smaller families and increasing celibacy which meant that the Society was incapable of regenerating itself or compensating for the reduction in numbers, leading, in the absence of converts, to the inevitable disappearance of Quakerism in Tipperary.

A case study of the two most numerous Tipperary Quaker families, the Fennells and Grubbs, shows how typical they were of the demographic trends in Irish Quakerism, while at the same time illustrating their own unique demographic characteristics.

The distribution patterns for Tipperary Quakers show that the Quaker settlement in the county had its origins in the Cromwellian era, with its first adherents consisting of planters and ex-Cromwellian soldiers. The majority were small farmers and artisans who arrived from England, attracted by the prospects of available land and making a better life. Although there were subsequently some with identifiable Irish names among their ranks, there is no mention of a native conversion in the records. Of those whose place of origin in England can be identified, the majority came from the southern counties, the available shipping routes presumably being a factor in determining their destination. Fluidity of movement was one of the striking features of this early immigration, with many of these families coming to Tipperary from different parts of Ireland. Furthermore, many were only to stay in the county a short time, their names disappearing from the records within a generation. All of these settlers engaged in agriculture to one degree or another, while many combined this with the practice of some trade or craft. A number of them appeared to have had sufficient capital to establish themselves on good farming land and were in a position to withstand the constant demand for tithes and depredations of the Williamite war, while others were dependent on the charity of their fellow-Quakers. The majority, it would appear, were capable of making an independent living for themselves.

The Quaker settlement, in geographical and economic terms, can be divided into four periods. Up to the close of the seventeenth century, the settlement was largely rural with numbers concentrated in five main areas, the most dispersed being in north Tipperary. Other groups converged on the towns of Tipperary, Cashel, Cahir and Clonmel. The second phase of settlement 1701-1756 in many ways was a transitory one, with the settlement gradually taking on an urban dimension. The rural settlement in the north of the county had contracted dramatically, with those who remained concentrated in or within the vicinity of Roscrea. By 1745, the meeting house in Tipperary town had closed. While the Cahir community remained static, the Cashel one was taking on an urban bias, and the Quakers in Clonmel were slowly increasing in number. During the third phase, 1756-1839, Quakerism in Tipperary had become predominantly urban-based. Numerically, there appears to have been little change in the north of the county.

The leading members there were initially involved in woollens and milling, and by the nineteenth century a number had become shop-keepers in the town of Roscrea. The leading role played by the Quakers in the industrial development of Clonmel during this period attracted many Quakers from other Quaker centres throughout Ireland to settle in Tipperary. Among the new arrivals were several families from the Cashel area, a movement which brought Quakerism in the Cashel area to an end. The boom in milling resulted in the Cahir community experiencing an increase in numbers, albeit on a lesser scale than Clonmel. A similar development took place in Clogheen, as a result of the Grubbs expanding their milling empire. The final phase, 1861-1924, saw the dramatic decline of Quakerism within the county, despite the emergence of another community in Carrick-on-Suir, a small meeting which was established in 1866 but never numbered much more than two dozen families. During this period Tipperary's Quaker families, for the most part, either re-located in some other part of the country, joined the Church of Ireland, or died out.

The marriage contact zone for Tipperary's Quakers was extended by social contacts through meetings of the Society, and was promoted by mutual business interests. Throughout the history of Quakerism in Tipperary, the majority of the members found partners within the compass of the monthly and provincial meetings. There was also a corresponding extension of the geographical marriage field, as an increasing number found partners in distant parts of Ireland and subsequently, in England.

Chapter 3

Tipperary Quakers and Agriculture

This chapter proposes to examine the participation of Tipperary Quakers in agriculture, and the degree to which their farming activities reflected the trends and developments in Irish agriculture. Their participation in farming can be divided into three periods. The first from the arrival of the Quakers to the 1740s concentrates on the challenges posed by persecution, war and famine and the various measures adopted by the Society to provide assistance to its members. The second period, from the 1740s to the end of the Napoleonic wars, was to prove a prosperous time for Irish agriculture and, as will be shown, Tipperary Quaker farmers were in a strong position to exploit such opportunities. The most striking feature of the period from 1815 to 1906 was the investment by urban Quakers in landed estates and their rapid disengagement from agriculture by the closing decades of the century. The study concludes with a profile of the Fennell family who, by 1660, had commenced farming at Kilcommon outside Cahir, which was to continue over seven generations for the next two hundred and fifty years.

I: c.1655-c.1740

The period from the conclusion of the confederate wars in the early 1650s to the middle of the 1740s was a troubled one for Irish agriculture. According to Cullen, 'the early 1650s was a period of crisis - war, plague, famine'.¹ The cattle act of 1667² created difficulties in marketing livestock, while the woollen act of 1699³ prohibited the export of woollens to any country other than England. Any short-term recoveries were punctuated by the economic crisis which resulted from repeated harvest failures in the later half of the 1720s and the famine conditions that prevailed in 1741. Writing of the period 1690-1730 Daly states that 'those years and the epidemic-torn early 1730s represent an historic trough, a time when both Ulster and the grassland economy of the

¹ L. M. Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1972), p. 10.

² 18 Chas II, c. 2.

³ 11 & 12 Will.III, c. 10.

south were profoundly depressed, when population was probably falling, and when the lot of the lowland poor was visibly deteriorating'.⁴

The Cromwellian campaign brought an end to eleven years of warfare. The ruin and desolation was such that 'the country was almost a blank sheet on which the English Commonwealth could write what it wished'.⁵ Prendergast described Ireland as 'void as a wilderness where the population had been decimated by war, plague and famine', and went on to state that 'such was the depopulation that the great part of it, it was believed, must lie waste for many years'.⁶ In Liam de Paor's view 'in the course of the fighting enormous destruction had been done. By the end of the war, tillage had greatly diminished and livestock numbers had been severely depleted'.⁷ Sir William Petty, surveyor of the confiscated estates, estimated that during the course of the war half the population had perished. In 1655, Francis Howgill, a Quaker travelling minister, describing a journey westward from Dublin wrote:

into the heart of the nation, about 50 miles from Dublin, through deserts, woods, and bogs, and the desolatest places that ever any did I think behold, without any inhabitant except a few Irish cabins here and there, who are robbers and murderers that lives in holes and bogs where none can pass.⁸

His comrade, Edward Burrough, who travelled southwards was of a similar opinion, 'our service lies only in great towns and cities, for generally the country is without inhabitant'.⁹

Post-Cromwellian Ireland was a devastated country, under-populated and ripe for settlement, especially for those who had the means and energy to do so. The Quakers were one such group prepared to take up the challenge. A few of them received land as a direct consequence of the Cromwellian settlement or as former officers in the

⁴ Mary E. Daly, *Social and economic history of Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 1981), p. 115.

⁵ Patrick Corish, 'The Cromwellian regime 1650-60' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.) *New History of Ireland*, iii, (Oxford, 1976), p. 357.

⁶ John Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland*, third ed., (Dublin, 1922), pp. 307, 308.

⁷ Liam de Paor, *The peoples of Ireland* (London, 1986), p. 156.

⁸ Thomas Holmes & Anthony Fuller, *A compendious view of some of the extraordinary sufferings of the people called Quakers* (Dublin, 1731), p. 53.

⁹ *ibid.*

Cromwellian army. Only one Tipperary Friend can be found in the lists of Adventurers who obtained land in Ireland for sums advanced in 1642 for the reduction of the Irish. This was Thomas Phelps, who joined in the 1645 revolution, and served under Cromwell, by whom 'he was granted considerable estates in Counties Tipperary, Kerry and Down, and chiefly in the first named county, around the Keeper Mountain, near the Limerick border'.¹⁰ Another who was granted lands was Gershon Boate. Isabel Grubb states that he 'did not live to take up his share of the plunder' but that it was transferred to his widow and son, who received 847 acres 3 roods 20 perches (Irish) under the Cromwellian settlement on the Devil's Bit mountain, near Templemore.¹¹ Isabel Grubb went on to say that 'it was this son, Gershon, who, himself a Quaker, was later of great service to Friends in their dealings with the government'.¹²

Captain James Hutchinson from Westmorland, a former officer in Cromwell's army, received two parcels of land in north Tipperary. Around 1660, he received over 4,000 acres, including bogs and mountains.¹³ He also acquired a permanent title to some of the most fertile land in Tipperary near Timoney and Knockballymaher from the duke of Ormond on or before 1696.¹⁴ Apparently these lands were in exchange for land held by the Hutchinsons in Kilkenny.¹⁵ In the south of the county around 1659, John Fennell, who was also been reputed to have been a Cromwellian officer, received lands at Kilcommon, outside Cahir.

Another early settler was the youngest son of Peter Cooke, named after his father. During the Confederate war, Peter senior raised a troop of horse and 1,500 foot for the Cromwellian cause. In 1687, his son Peter purchased the castle and burgery lands of Knockgraffon in Tipperary from Sir Fenton Aylmer, the patentee. Peter also acquired the iron mines and lands of Araglin, on the Cork-Tipperary border. He was appointed a commissioner for assessing the proportion of £120,000 land tax, to be paid by each

¹⁰ Hugh Montgomery Massingberd (ed.), *Burke's Irish family records* (London, 1976), p. 956.

¹¹ Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement*, p. 209.

¹² Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900* (London, 1926), p. 42.

¹³ Jim Ryan, *History and traditions of Knock and Timoney* (Roscrea, 1980), p. 13.

¹⁴ Dermot Gleeson, *Roscrea* (Dublin, 1947), p. 105.

¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 94.

inhabitant of the County Tipperary.¹⁶ In 1702, he leased 237 acres 2 roods in the barony of Clanwilliam from the duke of Ormond at a rent of £31 13s. 4d.¹⁷ At some stage he became a staunch Quaker and his house at Knockgraffon was used for meetings of the Society. James Shepperd, who settled at Kilconihinbeg in north Tipperary towards the end of the century, was the nephew of Thomas Shepperd, Cromwellian governor of New Ross, who had been granted 1,439 acres in Castle John in south Tipperary.¹⁸

However, the majority of the settlers who arrived in Tipperary during this period were attracted by the prospects of a better living. Among them were a number of Quaker families, and others who were to become Quakers shortly after their arrival. It would appear that all the early Friends were either farmers or had agriculturally-related skills. As Vann and Eversley argued 'most individuals, especially in the south would still have had some land even if their main income was derived from trading, craft-type production'.¹⁹ It will be seen from entries in the books of National Sufferings, discussed below, that all of them were involved in agriculture, to one degree or another. As Cole has stated, 'In agriculture, it is clear that Friends were almost exclusively drawn from the class of small independent producers, while the specifically proletarian element was insignificant'.²⁰

The source materials for seventeenth century land tenure are sparse. The books of survey and distribution of the period show the proprietors of land in 1641 and those who received it by the act of settlement of 1666 but do not list the sub-lettings. In the absence of leases it is impossible to determine how or when the vast majority of the early Quakers secured land holdings. Cullen, in discussing these new immigrants pointed out that:

¹⁶ Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, fourth ed., (London, 1863), p. 282.

¹⁷ Appendix to the sixth report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland (N.L.I.), p. 78.

¹⁸ Family papers in the possession of Henry Kelly, Clyduff House, Roscrea, County Tipperary, a genealogy of the Shepperd family, Thomas Laffan, *Tipperary families being the hearth money records for 1665-6-7* (Dublin, 1911), p. 36.

¹⁹ Richard Vann & David Eversley, *Friends in life and death* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 56.

²⁰ Alan Cole, 'The social origins of the early Friends' in *J.F.H.S.*, xxxviii, no. 2 (Spring, 1957), p. 104.

Immigration in and after the 1650s was clearly self-financed to a greater degree than preceding immigration; for that and other reasons non-conformists were disproportionately numerous in its overall total. The Quakers, typically farmers or artisans, set up predominantly in Wexford, Carlow, and the midland counties of Kildare, Queen's and King's.²¹

To that list he might have added Tipperary, where the influx of Quakers for the period rivalled, if not exceeded, those of Carlow and Wexford. Apart from a small colony around Tipperary town, they settled in two main areas. These included the extreme north of the county and the general vicinity of the Suir valley from Cashel to Clonmel.

There were marked differences between these two areas. As Smyth has pointed out:

In the south-eastern baronies of the county, well over 20 per cent of the total number of townlands had populations in excess of 100. Here is the best and historically the most secure land in the county, with a good communications network by road and river to Waterford port, a dense network of substantial market towns and a compact 'manorialised' property structure were dominated in 1641 by individual landowners of Anglo-Norman descent. These lorded over a zone of commercialised mixed farming specialising in wheat, barley and sheep production. The bigger townland populations in this region were, therefore, strongly related to an arable-intensive economy where labourers, artisans, and other service classes underpinned a complex settlement hierarchy.²²

This was in strict contrast to north Tipperary:

At the other end of Tipperary, in the upper and midland baronies of Owey and Arra, and the two Ormonds, a weak nucleated settlement pattern is evident in this region long dominated by Gaelic lords. This mosaic of lowland, bogland, woodland and hills was on the margins of a commercialised economy in the seventeenth - as in the nineteenth - century. Remoteness, the lack of an urban hierarchy, the fragmentation of landownership patterns in a more Gaelic world, the dominance of a pastoral economy in what is often 'small oats and cow country', and the scattering of a wide range of institutional foci (churches, castles and mills) in different townlands and parishes - all had combined to produce a more dispersed, less stratified and less populous settlement pattern. Under ten per cent of these denominations held populations in excess of 100. The dispersal of population here often involved the scattering of communities within and between townlands in small clusters of two, three or four houses.²³

²¹ Louis Cullen, 'The social and cultural modernisation of rural Ireland, 1600-1900' in Louis M. Cullen & F. Furet (eds.), *Ireland and France 17th-20th centuries: towards a comparative study of rural history* (Paris, 1980), p. 198.

²² William J. Smyth, 'Society and settlement in seventeenth century Ireland: the evidence of the '1659 census'' in W. J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Common ground* (Cork, 1988), p. 65.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 67.

These differences help to explain why the Quaker farmers in the south of the county found it easier to establish themselves and, over a period of time, were able to expand their holdings, and why the Quaker community contracted in north Tipperary.

As already stated, the lack of leases makes it difficult to show how the vast majority of Quakers secured their lands. Some probably occupied lands originally given to the adventurers or soldiers but sold by them. O'Haire is of the opinion that they occupied vacant lands or those previously uncultivated.²⁴ This possibility is supported by Smyth's observation that 'there is little doubt but that much of the mountain land was not settled at this time',²⁵ one such area being the under-populated region of north west Tipperary. In the Carlow area O'Haire distinguishes between two stages of Quaker settlement. During the first period 1660-1675 the infant colony failed to make significant progress. She suggests that this may have been as a result of previous unsatisfactory agricultural practice or a result of Quaker religious scruples, which may have forced them to settle on the periphery of cultivated lands. Consequently, 'they may not have been able to make a satisfactory livelihood for themselves or their families'.²⁶ This also appears to have been the situation in the marginal lands of north Tipperary where most of the early settlers, with the exception of families like the Hutchinsons who held substantial holdings, disappeared within a generation.

O' Haire goes on to argue that 1675-1700 saw the greatest period of Quaker expansion. She claims that during this period 'they probably settled on farms that were bigger and more conducive to productive farming' and that they secured 'more satisfactory settlement terms'. She supports this argument by stating that this development was reflected by the birth-rate which was the highest ever recorded for the Carlow area.²⁷ This period also saw a similar influx of settlers into Tipperary

²⁴ Margaret O' Haire, 'Quakers in the Carlow area: the evolution and decline in the Carlow area' M.A. thesis (U.C.D., 1987), p. 22.

²⁵ William J. Smyth, 'Land values, landownership and population patterns in Co. Tipperary for 1641-1660 and 1841-1850: some comparisons' in L. M. Cullen & F. Furet (eds.), *Ireland and France 17th-20th centuries. Towards a comparative study of Irish history* (Paris, 1980), p.64.

²⁶ O'Haire, 'Quakers in the Carlow area', p. 25.

²⁷ *ibid*, p. 27.

accompanied by a significant rise in the birth-rate. While the Quaker population increased in the county as a whole, once again the settlement in north Tipperary exhibited the same fluidity as it did in the earlier period. It might be said that there were certain similarities between the development of the Carlow and Tipperary Quaker farming communities up to 1700, but after that date, the Carlow settlement retained its rural origins, while their Tipperary brethren were to become increasingly urbanised.

One of the greatest problems facing the infant Quaker community was the question of tithes. As has been stated in chapter 1, tithes were levied on the entire population. However, unlike others, Quakers, on a matter of principle, refused to pay them. Their punitive nature is stressed in a document cited by Isabel Grubb:

Tithe proctors and those employed by them to gather tithes have taken away sometimes the eighth, sixth, fifth part instead of a tenth; and in our fields have pickt and chosen the best corn and hay without any order of tithing, and if they be but tithing men abuse us at will and pleasure as tho' there were no remedy to be had for us; shearing our sheep, taking away wooll, and driving away our hogs in pretence of tithe pigs, and other church duties; taking away our working tools, and other household goods, for reparation of the church, so called, and in some places for clerks wages; also breaking our orchard hedges and taking away apples at will and pleasure and bees, and fatted veal calves. Some of our Friends for sixpence called offering moneys have been sued in the bishop's court and a definitive sentence given against them, one cast into prison; and commonly the worst of men employed to gather tythes, who come upon us sometimes ten or twelve in company with arms, cutting and breaking down our gates and fences, cutting our hayricks, and throwing our cornstacks to the ground, which were made up and thatched in our stackyards, leading away many car-loads of corn and hay, leaving the rest to spoil in great disorder, several sorts of corn and thatch mixed together to great loss; abusing us with scurrilous reproachful words, knocking down some of our servants and sons with pitchforks, wounding them grievously in their heads and sore bruises on their bodies to the endangering of their lives, and then swearing that we made rescue, and bind us over to the quarter sessions, and to good behaviour; so make us the offenders who are the sufferers, and sometimes the clergymen and tithe gatherers leave some part of our tithes untaken, for which they sue us in the bishop's court and excommunicate us, and get definitive sentences against us and cast our bodies into prisons nay we have had our kettles, pots and pans taken from us by the priests' servants ... and moreover many are made poor and needy by tithes and offerings; the priests setting them at a rackrent who will give the most, and many times the takers are the refuse of the worst sort, that love not to labour, but live upon the labours of others and so rack and grind the faces of poor people digging their very potato gardens, and taking a tenth if not

more, which is the relief of many poor families to supply their hunger, and being taken from them are forced to begging.²⁸

The statement ends with a quaintly expressed contrast between what the clergy ought to do, in watching over the people for the good of their souls, and what they did, in watching when every item of stock was fit to be taken.

At the provincial meeting of 1703 held in Clonmel a special minute on tithes was read which indicates the vulnerability of Quaker farmers:

it now being the summer season of corn and harvest when ye ravaging priests and their train of tithers are making havoc on Friends for their unrighteous gains - it is thought fit to precaution Friends and remind them that they should stand clear and faithful in their testimony against that oppressive custom²⁹

Additional legislation in 1727 concerning tithes made further abuses possible.

This point is made by Isabel Grubb who wrote that after 1727:

If a poor woman were to dig potatoes or pull some peas, beans or such like it might be counted subtraction of tithe, or if in these hard times the farmer pays his reapers and binders in sheaves and if he uses a little for his family - corn or garden stuff, selling lambs early, or sheep a little before sheerday - the same might be said.

This act³⁰ permitted prosecution for tithe in a secular court, which often compelled a poor man who had 'no time to walk or horse to ride' to go to a distant court, consequently it increased the custom of 'canting' tithes to the highest bidder.³¹ Since the produce of Quaker farmers could be seen in the fields or stored in the barns this made them easy prey for the tithe proctors. The treatment of James Hutchinson and Sarah Davis illustrate the inequity of the system. When James Hutchinson was imprisoned in Clonmel for non-payment of tithes, the tithe-proctors took from his farm 'fifteen lambs, sixteen cwt. of hay, two barrels and twelve stooks of barley, ten stooks of wheat, and two barrels of oats and peas',³² while 'Sarah Davis, a poor widow, having but two lambs

²⁸ Copy among private papers in Dublin. This document which was written in the summer of 1687 is an answer of the Quakers to a petition of the clergy to the lord justice of assizes of the Leinster circuit. cited by Isabel Grubb, 'Social conditions in Ireland in the 17th & 18th centuries as illustrated by early Quaker records' M.A. thesis (University of London, 1916), pp. 129-132.

²⁹ Munster provincial meeting records, 28th day 4 mo. 1703 (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A2).

³⁰ 1 Geo 2, c.9.

³¹ Parliamentary committee. Reasons against 'Tyth Bill', Parliamentary committee 1725 (F.H.L.D., YM N 1).

³² Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland etc.*, pp. 32/33; William Stockdale, *The great cry of*

had one of them taken from her for tithe'.³³ Apart from the oppression of tithes and the payment of regular rents, they were subject to the extra dues which were continuously exacted by landlords and middlemen. They included such exactions as a day's work in harvest time or gifts of hens, capons, or even sheep on other occasions.³⁴

As noted in chapter 1, a record of these confiscations or 'sufferings', as the Quakers called them, was compiled annually by the monthly meeting and later collated into two manuscript volumes called the books of National Sufferings which cover the years 1656 to 1705. Tabulated on a county basis they give a valuable insight into the farming activities of the county's Quakers. The following list of sufferings of Tipperary's Quakers for 1704 (Appendix 3:1) is one of the most comprehensive for the period 1656 to 1705.³⁵ Whether or not this coincided with the introduction of the sacramental test in 1704 is a matter of conjecture. The produce listed indicates an economy based on pasture and tillage. This was reflective of Irish agriculture which according to Daly, 'always remained a mix of cereal cultivation and animal husbandry' and citing Cullen she says 'there was much greater substitution within livestock production and tillage respectively than between them'.³⁶

While the range of crops would appear to have been extensive, the frequent references to sheep and wool were indications of how well-placed the Quakers were to participate in the resurgence of the wool industry in the eighteenth century, which is described in chapter 4. The seizure of a bridle from Charles Howell is the only reference to farm equipment being taken. Presumably, it was much easier for the tithe proctors to dispose of farm produce. The list of sufferings for 1704 contains only one reference to any Quaker being engaged in trade, indicated by 'shop-box money' being taken from Deborah Cook. The value of the tithes taken gives some indication of relative wealth. Deborah Cooke, John Fennell and Samuel Barrett are numbered amongst the most

oppression (Dublin, 1683), p. 22.

³³ Joseph Besse, *Collection of sufferings of the people called Quakers*, ii (London, 1753), p. 480; Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992), p. 33.

³⁴ Munster provincial meeting records, Feb. 1696 (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A2).

³⁵ National sufferings (F.H.L.D., YM G 1; YM G 2).

³⁶ Mary E. Daly, *Social and economic history of Ireland etc.*, p. 125.

The within account is the nearest that I can charge for the losses I have sustained since my last as witness my hand in the year '91. John Fennell.⁴¹

Another difficulty facing the rural Quaker community in Tipperary was its dispersed character. This was more evident in the scattered distribution of the Quaker community in the north of the county, and may explain the short-lived nature of the settlement in this area. The dispersed settlement patterns was obviously a problem Quakers experienced elsewhere for, in 1691, the national half year meeting held in Dublin in 1691 urged that:

all Friends that go and settle on farms in the country .. to settle as near together as they can for the ease and benefit of meetings, educating their children in the way of truth which many suffered loss and found the great inconveniences of living remote from Friends.⁴²

As the eighteenth century progressed the scattered nature of the earlier settlement gave way to one of geographical clustering with families living in close proximity to one another. The disturbed political state of the country in the 1690s helped to encourage this concentration for 'when peace was restored by the Treaty of Limerick, a number of those who had fled from their homes did not return, but settled in less isolated places. The result of this was fewer but larger groups of Friends'.⁴³

Despite persecution, war and financial exactions, by the end of the seventeenth century an increasing number of Quakers had established themselves as successful and prosperous farmers. In 1697, it was reported that in counties Tipperary and Waterford Quakers were beginning to farm on a large scale at this time.⁴⁴ The evidence, however, would suggest that only a minority had achieved this degree of success. One of the most successful would appear to have been James Hutchinson. As has been stated, he held extensive lands in Knockballymaher and Timoney in the Roscrea area, and the amount of tithes, referred to above, demanded of him during the period would indicate that he was one of the wealthiest Quakers in the county. His will, dated 1689, gives an inventory of property held by him.⁴⁵ His household furnishings which were valued at £92 2s. 2d are

⁴¹ cited in Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p.66.

⁴² Minutes of National half-yearly meeting 1691 (F.H.L.D., ½ YM A 2).

⁴³ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p.81.

⁴⁴ Munster provincial meeting records, Feb. 1697 (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A2).

⁴⁵ Records of the Mountmellick meeting. Men's meeting minutes 1667-1729, 6th day 9

detailed in chapter 7. His agricultural assets consisted of 6 plough irons (£6), 4 milch cows and 6 calves (£6), 3 dry cows (£2), 1 heifer (12s.), 1 bull (12s.), 7 two year old bullocks (£2 2s.), 5 yearlings (15s.), 7 horses, mares and colts (£5), 83 sheep and lambs (£5), 1 rick of corn (£8), 23 barrels of malt (£11 10s.), 10 stone of wool (£3), 10 barrels of oats (£2), tub of butter (£1 5s.), 3 hundred (sic) of cheese (£3). This came to a total of £56 16s. However, as Vann and Eversley observed, wills can tell us 'the general level of affluence (or otherwise) prevailing in the Quaker population' but 'wills tell us nothing about how well off Friends were in comparison with the rest of the Irish middle class population'.⁴⁶

The poorer members were sustained by the advices issued by the Society to monthly meetings and the support of their more successful colleagues. Those who had large estates were advised to be considerate to the tenantry and not to oppress them.⁴⁷ A variety of practical measures were adopted by the meeting to help those in need. In 1699, the Tipperary meeting bought land and let it to tenants to occupy and improve. At this time Isaac Newbold and Thomas Coborne received a lease of six acres of lands at Killshinane, outside Cashel.⁴⁸ This practice of farming in common was not an isolated occurrence. The records show that a similar scheme was being operated by Dennis Doyle and Samuel Dennis, in 1700, who farmed at Clonpet, near Tipperary town.⁴⁹ Cullen has described how this practice was also practised by Quakers in Timahoe.⁵⁰ The tenants in question shared the rent, and arrangements were made as to how much stock each might graze and the proportion of crops to which each was entitled. He quoted an unidentified lease dated 1704 which stated that:

the Quakers of that area farmed land in common at first and then divided the lands into a number of units, one for each family. Each family then contributed their share of the rent according to the size of their holding and one of them, probably

mo. 1689 (F.H.L.D., MM V A1), pp. 30, 31.

⁴⁶ Richard Vann & David Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p. 56.

⁴⁷ National Meeting, 1699 (F.H.L.D., A.12).

⁴⁸ R.T.M. Minutes of mens' six weeks meeting, 25th day 4 mo. 1699 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

⁴⁹ National Sufferings, ii (F.H.L.D., YM G 2).

⁵⁰ Seamus Cullen, 'The history of the Quakers of Timahoe'. Talk given to St. Mochua Historical Society on 4 April, 2001.

John Wyley, collected the rent from his fellow Quakers and passed it on to the landlord.

It should be stated that this practice was not exclusively Quaker, and this tradition, from evidence offered to the Devon commission, was still in operation in nineteenth century Tipperary. Other practical methods were employed by the monthly meeting to help those in need of assistance. In 1717, Benjamin Mason received a loan of the meeting house cow, entitling him to 'have the milk and calf of her'.⁵¹ In 1727, the Tipperary meeting bought a house and some stock for John Gibbs of Kiltinan, near Fethard.⁵²

The Society also advocated that wealthy Quakers should share their estates with their poorer co-religionists.⁵³ One who committed himself to this principle was John Boles, who was responsible for settling a number of Quaker families around Woodhouse, north of Fethard. John Boles, born in 1661, was the son of Richard Boles, a Cromwellian planter who received lands in Ballymalty, Co. Cork. In 1682, he married Sarah Baker of Cashel. In 1687, he is listed as living in Camus, near Cashel. Shortly afterwards he moved to Killoshkohanin, outside Roscrea. In 1697, he is listed as having a farm in County Tipperary.⁵⁴ Sometime later he took up residence in Carlow, returning to Woodhouse, near Cashel around 1699, where, it would appear, he secured extensive lands. Unfortunately, there is no indication of the size of his holdings or his conditions of tenure. These lands, it would appear, once formed part of the Butler estate,⁵⁵ and around this time were sold by the first duke of Ormond who was in financial difficulties.⁵⁶ Later in the century, Young paid tribute to the quality of the land in this area. Journeying from Cashel to Clonmel, he found 'loamy soil all the way'. 'I examined,' he said, 'the soil in several fields and found it to be of an extraordinary fertility. A great wheat area this especially towards Clonmel'.⁵⁷

⁵¹ R.T.M. Minutes of mens' six weeks meeting, 6th day 4 mo. 1717 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ National Meeting, 1699 (F.H.L.D., A 12).

⁵⁴ Records of the Munster Quarterly meeting. Minutes of six weeks' meeting (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A2).

⁵⁵ Robert C. Simington, *The civil survey a.d. 1654-56 County of Tipperary, eastern and southern baronies*, i (Dublin, 1931), pp. 197-99.

⁵⁶ Thomas Power, *Land, politics and society*, p. 132.

⁵⁷ Arthur Young, *Tour in Ireland*, i, p. 394.

The expansion of Quaker interests in the Woodhouse area was primarily owing to Boles's policy of sub-letting various properties to other Quakers, some of them coming from outside the county. In 1719, he leased a farm to John Grubb of Wexford, thus establishing links with a family that would subsequently play a significant role in the economic life of the county.⁵⁸ The Grubb connection with the Woodhouse area was of short duration, lasting little more than five years.⁵⁹ Other leases signed in 1730 included one to Thomas Godwin of Newtown,⁶⁰ who received a lease of 350 acres at a yearly rent of £125 10s., and John Godfrey of Kilgrogy, Burncourt, Co. Tipperary, who received a lease of 130 acres at a yearly rent of £60⁶¹ for three lives renewable forever. In John Boles' will dated 1731, the name of another Quaker tenant, William Winsloe occurs.

In 1707, eight years after the arrival of John Boles in Woodhouse, Solomon Watson, like Boles, came from Carlow to the area. In that year, Watson leased land at Clonbrogan, a few miles east of Woodhouse, from Colonel James Dawson, and married Abigail, daughter of John Boles. In 1731, under the terms of John Boles' will Watson received the 'right, title and interest in the lands of Magorban, Garrystockadoney (Silverfort), Saucetown, Clonbrogan, Foulktown, Bofannah and part of Curragh-Scarteen'. Between 1741 and 1747, John, son of Solomon Watson, leased three further parcels of land in the area, totalling 315 acres.⁶² At least two other Quaker families, the Weldons and Powers, settled in the Woodhouse area during this period. Both had Carlow connections, and it is probable that their introduction to the area can be attributed to their connections with either the Boles or Watson families.

For most of the eighteenth century the tenurial system seems to have favoured the tenant rather than the landowner. The troubled conditions of the 1690s led to low

⁵⁸ Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972), p. 42.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁰ R.D., 73/449/51896.

⁶¹ R.D., 88/9/61363.

⁶² Papers of Colonel Sidney Watson, Ballingarrane, Clonmel. Short family history.

rents being set for relatively long leases. This tendency had been encouraged by the desire of landlords to acquire good solvent tenants.⁶³ As Power has stated:

The context out of which land tenure in the eighteenth century evolved was established in the 1690s by the impoverishment of estates, scarcity of tenants, and depressed land values, and the landlord response to the situation. That response took the form of the granting of long leases at low or moderate rents for large holdings.⁶⁴

In an effort to attract suitable tenants, landlords were obliged to offer long leases, which were renewable, and also to give other concessionary terms. These leases were, in effect, perpetuities, giving the tenant a greater degree of security not available to other leaseholders. Power notes that the granting of long leases was complemented by the fact that units of tenure were large, consisting of townland or multi-townland units.⁶⁵

Reay states that 'Quakers, because of their remarkable industry and reliability, were favoured by landlords as tenants in Ireland'.⁶⁶ This assertion is supported by a contemporary source. Holme writing from Ireland in the period 1724-27 said:

Many very considerable men in this country that have great quantities of land to set, do very much covet to have Friends for their tenants; for many of our Friends have been so diligent and industrious, and have made such fine improvements upon the farms they have taken, and have also been so punctual in paying their rents, that they are much respected by their landlords.⁶⁷

Members of the Fennell family, as will be seen below, were among those who were successful in securing favourable long-term leases.⁶⁸ It seems reasonable to assume that the generous leases and land portions given by John Boles were largely responsible for establishing the community at Woodhouse, whereas in the north of the county their

⁶³ L. J. Proudfoot, 'Property, society and improvement c.1700 to c.1900' in B. J. Graham & L. J. Proudfoot (eds.) *An historical geography of Ireland* (London, 1993), p. 230; T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society*, pp. 119-173.

⁶⁴ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society*, p. 327.

⁶⁵ *ibid*, p. 129.

⁶⁶ cited in Audrey Lockhart, 'The Quakers and emigration from Ireland to the north American colonies' in *The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, dxxvii, no 2 (Fall, 1988), pp. 89,90.

⁶⁷ Benjamin Holme, *A collection of the epistles and works of Benjamin Holme* (London, 1753), p. 45.

⁶⁸ R.D., 77/502/54481, 115/399/80945, 111/100/75729, 346/252/231775; N.A., 99/62/21.

brethren either failed to secure similar concessions or found themselves unable to eke out an existence on marginal lands. Similarly, in the south of the county in the beginning of the eighteenth century, a number of rural Quaker families felt compelled to leave Tipperary. As Cullen states, 'as early as the 1720s, a decade of difficulties, many rural Quakers moved to more favourable locations or emigrated to America'.⁶⁹

The founding of Pennsylvania in 1681 by William Penn proved an attractive alternative for many Friends. In return for an advance by Admiral Penn of sixteen thousand pounds and services rendered to James, while duke of York, Charles II granted a large tract of land in America to the admiral's son, William Penn. This land, by the king's desire, was named Pennsylvania in honour of Admiral Penn. William Penn decided to set up a state there, founded on Quaker principles. He proceeded to draw up a constitution for the new territory which guaranteed complete religious freedom, freedom from oaths and tithes and equality before the law.

In profiling the Quakers who left for America during this period Vann and Eversley claimed that:

whatever Friends were, they were not impoverished peasants. We have found none who were subject to eviction or rack-renting or the other evils of the landlord system so familiar in mainstream Irish history. When Friends emigrated to America, as many did, it was sometimes as a result of a decay of trade, but they did not emigrate as paupers, and their motive was to find a better living, not to escape persecution or intolerable hardships in Ireland. Much emigration was probably related to family size and relative economic growth rates; if there were too many children to make a reasonable living on the family farm, or in the family business. Then those who could not find alternative land or exercise a profitable local trade would emigrate. The difficulty is to know what individuals might regard as 'reasonable.' Friends' land holdings, where we know anything about them, were not so small as to preclude sub-division *per se* (assuming that were legally possible) but such a process might well leave them with too meagre a standard of living.⁷⁰

It has been estimated that during the period 1682-1750 up to 2,000 Irish Friends emigrated to Pennsylvania. Between 1682 and 1727, fourteen adults and their families which included the Ashtons, Bargers, Bartons, Birds, Cobornes, Taylors and Weldons

⁶⁹ Louis Cullen, 'The social and cultural modernisation of rural Ireland, 1600-1900' in L. Cullen & F. Furet (eds.), *Towards a comparative study of rural history* (Paris, 1980), p. 198.

⁷⁰ R. T. Vann & David Eversley, *Friends in life and death etc.*, pp. 56, 57.

left Tipperary for America.⁷¹ Again, it is not possible to determine what motivated them to emigrate. In examining these emigrants in the light of Vann and Eversley's comments, the evidence from the book of National Sufferings would suggest that while none of them could be regarded as wealthy; neither were they, with the possible exception of the Weldons, impoverished. Family size may have been a factor in the case of the Barger and Coborne families who had eleven and seven children respectively. The Birds had five children, and the Bartons three, while no such detail is available for the Ashtons and Taylors. According to Myers, all of them emigrated between 1714 and 1717, preceding the harvest disasters of the 1720s.

In examining the migratory patterns of Tipperary rural Quakers during this period it appears that not all of those who moved left Ireland. During the first half of the eighteenth century at least six families moved to urban areas for reasons unknown. We may assume that they were prompted by a desire to seek a better living for themselves and their families. However, this fluidity of movement of Tipperary Quakers occurred throughout the entire history of Quakerism in the county, as has been shown in chapter 2, and was not peculiar to any particular period.

In the opening half of the eighteenth century, Irish farmers had to contend with a series of natural disasters. In the 1720s, they were plagued by a series of bad harvests. Kelly claims that by 1729 in Munster 'the hard winter had so weakened the cattle that farmers had considerably difficulty in completing the spring ploughing'. In addition to this, cattle and horses succumbed to disease and there was a scarcity of seed corn and potatoes. The combined effects of heavy grain exports and frosts 'imposed an unwelcome burden on the urban poor of Cork, Clonmel and other Munster towns'.⁷² A far more serious threat was posed by the famine of 1739-40. The level of distress in the winter of 1740-41 resulted in the implementation of relief projects. These, involving regular

⁷¹ A. C. Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania 1682-1750* (Pennsylvania, 1902; reprint Maryland, 1998), pp. 280, 288, 290, 303, 304 and statistical table n.p.

⁷² James Kelly, 'Harvests and hardship: Famine and scarcity in Ireland in the late 1720s' in *Studia Hibernica*, xxvi (1991), pp. 87-89.

distributions of food, operated at various towns including Cashel and Clonmel.⁷³ In May 1741, as many as 800 men, women and children were being fed what was described as 'a wholesome mess' in Clonmel⁷⁴ and, in Cashel, a further 1,000 were availing of the soup kitchen there.⁷⁵ A pamphlet written by a country gentleman under the name 'Publica' in describing the state of the poor in rural Tipperary, stated that:

the great frost last season destroyed all their Plantations of Potatoes which had so long been the Principal, if not only Subsistence of the poor of this Province; Multitudes have perished and are daily perishing under hedges and ditches, some by fevers, some by fluxes and some through cruel Want, in the utmost agonies of despair.⁷⁶

Such was the panic engendered by the crisis that in Clonmel:

people banded themselves together to prevent the corn in the country, such as it was, being exported. This led to widespread unrest. Boats were stopped at Carrick and the military escort of horse and foot brought to quell the riot fired on the crowd. Five were killed, eighteen wounded, and a proclamation was issued by the Lords Justices offering a large reward for the apprehension of those who escaped.⁷⁷

According to Cullen, the famine of the 1740s 'was less a national disaster than a social and regional one' and in the midlands and the south the effects of the famine were confined to the labouring population and were never general in the rural community.⁷⁸

There is nothing in the records of the Society to suggest that the mortality rate of Tipperary's Quaker community was affected by the bad harvests of the seventeen twenties or the famine conditions described above. We may assume that they either had sufficient means to guarantee them immunity or that assistance was forthcoming from the Society to help poorer members. On the other hand, this period witnessed a number of Tipperary's Quaker farming families leaving the countryside to take up residence in towns, an indication that commercial opportunities were proving more attractive than life on the land. This trend was very much in evidence in the Cashel area, where the Quaker

⁷³ David Dickson, *Arctic Ireland* (Dublin, 1997), p. 38.

⁷⁴ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, no. 1555, 5-8 May, 1741, p. 2.

⁷⁵ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, no. 1559, 19-23 May, 1741, p. 2.

⁷⁶ 'Publicola', A letter from a country gentleman in the Province of Munster to his grace, the Lord Primate of All Ireland (Cashel, 1741).

⁷⁷ William Burke, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), p. 126.

⁷⁸ Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland*, p. 131, 132.

community in Cashel town increased noticeably, as has been shown in chapter 2. It has also been shown that, later in the century, practically all the remaining Quaker families in the Woodhouse area took up residence in Clonmel, where they found employment with their co-religionists, who were engaged in the corn trade. Furthermore, a growing system of apprenticeships and the connections Friends had in small market towns led many of the youths of the Society away from the land and into shop-keeping or into trades connected with their former occupations.⁷⁹ As has been stated, those engaged in farming bore the brunt of the persecution for tithes which was an added incentive to abandon the land.

During the same period, rural Quakers in other parts of the county were experiencing mixed fortunes. The closure of the meeting house in Tipperary town in 1744 brought to end the Quaker presence in west Tipperary. In north Tipperary most of the first generation of Quakers had left the county. The poor quality of land in this area, referred to above, may have been a contributory factor in this development. The Hutchinsons continued to be the leading farming family followed by the Shepperds. From the names listed in the sufferings compiled for the Mountmellick meeting for the period 1729-1740⁸⁰ it would appear that the Quaker farming community in north Tipperary consisted of no more than seven families at any given time.

The record of sufferings referred to above indicates that, from the beginning, Quaker farmers engaged in a mixture of pasture and tillage. This is further borne out by the inventory of John Boles's property following his death in 1731, one of the county's most prominent Quaker farmers. It included cattle, 9 cows at £1 17s. each, one bull calf, two yearling calves, horses, mares, a filly, a blind mule, and a valuation of corn, hay and pigs.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry* (New York, 1950), p.54.

⁸⁰ R.M.M. Sufferings 1729-54 (F.H.L.D., MM V G3). For some years no list of sufferings were compiled.

⁸¹ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records 1654-1860* (Dublin, 1967), p. 138.

II: 1740s-c.1815

According to Cullen 'the 1740s was the prelude to the general long term improvement in pastoral products'.⁸² Tipperary Quakers were well placed to take advantage of this upturn in fortune, as by this time they had succeeded in establishing themselves on some of the best agricultural land in the county. They had secured favourable leases, as will be shown below, and as the prices rose in the latter half of the century 'the rigidity of the lease was very much to the tenant's benefit'.⁸³ Tipperary formed part of the rich and extensive hinterland of the ports of south Munster,⁸⁴ with the river Suir forming the main artery of trade for the town of Clonmel and the surrounding area with the port of Waterford. The presence of fairs in Cashel, Clonmel and Cahir,⁸⁵ in addition to providing a ready market for agricultural produce, were also an index of the integration of the county into the larger economy.⁸⁶

From the Restoration to the 1770s sheep-farming was the dominant activity in Tipperary both within agriculture as a whole and within the grazing sector itself. Sheep declined in importance in the period 1780-1815 due to the emergence of arable farming as a profitable enterprise, but their significance in the local economy was renewed after 1815.⁸⁷ As will be seen in chapter 4, the Quakers exploited the opportunities offered by the woollen industry before devoting their resources and energies, equally successfully, to the corn industry.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century Irish farmers successfully exploited the provision trade. According to Cullen, in peacetime the focus of this market was transatlantic, which was at its peak in the 1760s and 1770s. Towards the end of the century there was a greater dependence on the England market and the war years 1793-1815 were a boom period for Irish farmers.⁸⁸ As will be seen in chapter 5, Clonmel

⁸² Cullen, *An economic history*, p. 52.

⁸³ Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland*, p. 70.

⁸⁴ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society in eighteenth century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993), p. 10.

⁸⁵ Patrick Logan, *Fair day: the story of Irish fairs and markets* (Belfast, 1986), pp. 24, 32 and 49.

⁸⁶ Power, *Land, politics and society*, p. 12.

⁸⁷ Power, *Land, politics and society*, pp. 22, 23.

⁸⁸ Cullen, *An economic history*, pp. 58, 59.

became an important dispatching town for such commodities as butter and bacon produce, in addition to developing such industries as brewing, tanning, chandling and soap boiling, all of which had heavy Quaker involvement.

While the first half of the eighteenth century was distinguished by an adverse economic environment, the latter half was one of agricultural prosperity.⁸⁹ Quaker farmers were in a position to take advantage of the prevailing economic climate, and were gradually integrated into an expanding market economy. The catalyst was the development of the woollen industry. As Cullen has pointed out 'industry was to a large extent carried on in the countryside ... the woollen industry in its most commercialized branches was town based'.⁹⁰ The prominence of sheep rearing among Quaker farmers has already been noted and, as will be seen in chapter 4, Quakers became actively engaged in the expanding wool market. Later, they were to become involved in the corn trade. Although many Quaker families began to devote their energies to commerce, they did not completely sever their links with agriculture. Such was the case of Joseph Grubb, founder of the Grubb milling empire. In 1791, the executors of Joseph Grubb's estate of Anner mills announced the intended sale of a stock of dairy cows, several head of young cattle, bullocks and some horses bred by himself.⁹¹ Similarly, Abraham Grubb had a farm of some seventeen acres outside of Clonmel, in addition to his extensive commercial interests in the town.⁹² William Savery, the American travelling minister, on a visit to Clonmel in 1798, states that Robert Dudley, in addition to his mill, had an estate of some 140 acres of fine Irish land. Vann and Eversley claimed that in the nineteenth century 'most individuals, especially in the south, would still have some land even if their main income was derived from trading, craft-type production, financial dealings, or in the later period 'professional avocations'.⁹³ This was certainly true of the Tipperary Quakers.

While the *Directory of Richard Lucas 1787* for Clonmel shows the Quakers firmly established themselves in the commercial life of the town, their brethren in the

⁸⁹ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society*, pp. 86-87.

⁹⁰ Louis Cullen, *Life in Ireland* (London, 1968), p. 93.

⁹¹ *C.G.*, 9-13 April, 1791.

⁹² *Clonmel Advertiser*, 20 Dec. 1817.

⁹³ Richard Vann & David Eversely, *Friends in life and death*, p. 56.

Cahir and Clogheen districts were exclusively involved in milling and agriculture. The record of sufferings for the Tipperary meeting for 1787 (see Appendix 3:2) and 1788 (see Appendix 3:3) clearly indicates that the majority of the Quakers under the care of the Tipperary meeting were urban-based, while an undetermined number retained farming interests. Notwithstanding this numerical imbalance, the farming community bore the brunt of tithes taken. In 1787, they paid £205-17-9 (86%) and £86-13-4½ (77.4%) for the following year. This pattern was to continue until the abolition of tithes in 1869, notwithstanding the fact that a number of Quakers had amassed considerable wealth from their milling and commercial interests.

As has been already stated, the Quaker agricultural community in the north of the county was small in number. In 1772, the records of sufferings indicates the presence of eight families, five of whom were either Hutchinsons or Shepperds. By the end of the century there is no evidence of a Quaker presence in farming in north Tipperary. This can be explained to a large extent by the fact that, by this time, the Hutchinsons and Shepperds were no longer Quakers, while, it would appear that the Dudleys had turned their attentions exclusively to commerce.

During the eighteenth century, the departure of prominent families from the Society, by change of denomination, migration and economic failure were to have important consequences for the Quaker farming community. By the third quarter of the century, as has been shown in chapter 2, the Boles and Godfrey families of Woodhouse had left the Society, while the Godwins had gone to Waterford and the Winsloes to Limerick. As had been stated above, both the Hutchinsons and Shepperds in the north of the county had left the Quaker fold. The small rural meetings at Kilconihinmore, Tipperary and Woodhouse had ceased to exist. Towards the end of the century, Richard Sparrow, a Clonmel Quaker miller, acquired lands in the Woodhouse area. These properties were disposed of when Sparrow died a bankrupt in 1810.⁹⁴

Meanwhile, the Watson family which had established themselves in the Clonbrogan area were extending their farming interests. By 1763, they had started

⁹⁴ Papers of the Watson family held by Colonel Sidney Watson, Ballingarrane, Clonmel. Short family history.

acquiring land in the vicinity of Clonmel. In that year, John Watson (1711-1783) took over 52 acres at Ballingarrane, outside Clonmel, which his brother Solomon had leased some years previously. John Watson's youngest son further extended the family's Clonmel holdings. On 30 January 1788, he bought Michael White's interest in the lands of Ballingarrane and Monkstown, comprising 374 acres 1 rood, for £2,300. On 1 March 1797 he purchased from Michael White's brother-in-law, Ambrose Lane, and his son John Lane, the adjoining lands of Glenconnor, Ballyvehene, otherwise part of Ballingarrane, together with the lands of Garryroe and Kitegan for the sum of £2,000.⁹⁵ In 1800 Solomon went into the banking business, which will be described in chapter 5. When the business failed in 1809, the Watson lands in Clonbrogan had to be sold to pay his creditors. With the death of Solomon six years later, the family's connection with Quakerism came to an end.

By this time the Fennells of Cahir had become the county's leading Quaker farming family. They continued to acquire property, as will be seen below, in the vicinity of their base at Kilcommon and in the neighbouring baronies, to provide for their extended family. Among the other Quaker families who moved into the surrounding areas during this period three of them were to make an important contribution to the economy of the area. The first arrival was Joseph Jackson who set up home at Tincurry, some seven miles west of Cahir. In 1756, he married Mary Fennell of Cahir, and subsequently became a successful woollen producer and corn miller. By the end of the century, Samuel Grubb of Clonmel, in an attempt to extend his family's milling interests, acquired property in Clogheen, while Charles Going from Cork had commenced milling in the northern environs of Cahir. Initially, attracted by the prospects offered by the milling industry, all three, as will be seen below, became successful farmers.

The pattern of mixed farming was continually reflected throughout the eighteenth century by inventories and periodic advertisements. Smyth speaking of the Cahir/Clogheen district, states that by 1775 when the landscape was transformed by the demand for grain, the spread of a tillage economy took place in what still remained a

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

mixed farming zone.⁹⁶ This pastoral dimension is evident from an examination of the activities of leading Quaker farmers at the time. In 1790, Solomon Watson, Summerville, Clonmel advertised for sale 20 hoggerel rams and 50 three year-old ewes,⁹⁷ while on another occasion he advertised the sale of 70 ewes and offered the services of a bull.⁹⁸ Likewise, Joshua Fennell of Cahir Abbey had 20 choice rams for sale,⁹⁹ while Richard Sparrow wished to dispose of 80 tons of hay.¹⁰⁰

Quaker farmers showed the same entrepreneurial flair as their urban colleagues by their ability to develop additional sources of income. The planting of an orchard sought to provide a long-term resource from which the tenant could benefit. For the grower this involved a considerable expenditure of money and energy over a long cropping period.¹⁰¹ County Tipperary was one of the locations where Young had observed the presence of orchards and cider-making, and according to Leister, one of the places where orchards and cider-making crept in was the neighbourhood of Cahir.¹⁰² In 1802, Thomas Jackson of Millgrove, outside Cahir placed an advertisement in the *Clonmel Gazette* offering 20 hogsheads of cider for sale at a price of five guineas each.¹⁰³ It is not possible to determine the extent of Jackson's orchard but Leister makes the point that 'young trees of 12 to 20 years brought the highest produce which averaged six hogsheads per acre but could go as high as ten or fifteen hogsheads'.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, he points out that it was 'only on a fairly well-sized farm could land be spared for an orchard and only on such a farm was labour employed all the year round'.¹⁰⁵ Remnants of Jackson's orchard can still be seen to-day at the entrance to Millgrove House.

⁹⁶ W. J. Smyth, 'Estate records and the making of the Irish landscape: an example from County Tipperary' in *Irish Geography*, ix (1976), p. 39.

⁹⁷ *C.G.*, 25-29 Sept. 1790.

⁹⁸ *C.G.*, 4-7 Aug. 1802.

⁹⁹ *C.G.*, 24-28 Sept. 1791.

¹⁰⁰ *C.G.*, 26-30 April 1794.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Walsh, 'Characteristics of some Irish orchard soils in relation to apple tree growth' in *Journal of Department of Agriculture*, xxx, no. 2 (Dublin, 1941), p. 61.

¹⁰² Ingleborg Leister, 'Orchards in Tipperary' in *Irish Geography*, iv (1962), p. 293.

¹⁰³ *C.G.*, 13-16 April, 1802.

¹⁰⁴ Leister, 'Orchards in Tipperary etc.', p. 293.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 296.

The state recognised that timber was also a valuable resource and between 1698 and 1791 there were seventeen parliamentary acts relating to tree planting in Ireland. Until mid-eighteenth century tenants had little incentive to engage in planting trees, since they were traditionally reserved by the landlord in leases.¹⁰⁶ However, an act of 1765 (5 Geo. III, c.7) made provision whereby the tenant became entitled to all trees planted or their value on the expiry of the lease provided he lodged an affidavit of planting with the clerk of the peace for the county within a year of planting. The registration of trees planted was recorded at the quarter sessions and published in the Dublin Castle *Gazette* and this information was entered in ledgers, one or more for each county.¹⁰⁷ A certificate of trees planted on lands of Boherl? (sic) by Wm. Fennell of Clogheen, merchant in 1820 is to be found among the Fennell papers.¹⁰⁸ A more complete record of planting is contained in the following declaration:

I Charles Going do affirm that, I have planted or caused to be planted within twelve calendar months last past on the lands of Barnora in the parish of Cahir held by me from Michael Brett the following trees viz.
800 beech, 200 sycamore, 50 oak, 250 poplar, 50 alder 250 spruce, 350 larch 50 mountain ash, 1000 scotch fir and 300 timber shallows, and that I have given notice to the person or person under whom I immediately serve of my intention to register said trees twenty days previous to this day. And that I have also given notice of the same in writing to agent of the head landlord or owner of said ground twenty days previous to the day hereof. 5th month (May) 3rd, 1813. Charles Going.¹⁰⁹

Occasional advertisements appeared in local papers offering timber for sale:

Abraham Jackson has for sale at Tincurry, near Cahir, a large collection of oaks, ash, elms of different kinds, beech common and variegated, sycamore, lyme and larch, and horsechestnut trees from 2-15 ft. high; several thousand seedling and 4 years old scotch fir, Weyworth and cluster pines, cypress and American black spruce fir, a few cherry trees, fit for walls or standards etc.

n.b. His Scotch firs are remarkably well grown.

Tincurry.¹¹⁰

Similarly, Joseph Grubb offered trees for sale from his two extensive tree nurseries, one consisting of 27 acres at Kilganey, east of Clonmel¹¹¹ and the other at Grenane, west of

¹⁰⁶ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society*, p. 170.

¹⁰⁷ Eileen Mc Cracken, 'A register of trees, King's County 1793-1913' in *Kildare Archaeological Journal*, xv (1971-76), p. 310.

¹⁰⁸ Fennell papers, no. 3 in possession of William Fennell, Burton House, Co. Leix.

¹⁰⁹ Going papers in possession of Tom Shanahan, The Bell, Cahir.

¹¹⁰ *C.G.*, 14-17 Oct. 1789.

Clonmel.¹¹² Likewise, Abraham Jackson offered Scotch firs, whitethorn and wilding quicks for sale¹¹³

Quaker farmers appear to have been untouched by the agrarian unrest which afflicted the county in the seventeen seventies, the only recorded exception being the destruction of John Watson's deerpark at Clonbrogan.

III: c.1815-1906

The economic boom was halted with the termination of hostilities in 1815. Prices fell and 'the early 1820s were the grimmest years for a long time'.¹¹⁴ One group affected by this reversal, as will be seen below, were middlemen who could not secure their rents.¹¹⁵ By the 1830s grain and livestock prices had recovered and the worst of the depression was over. The period from the 1850s to the mid-1870s was one of growing prosperity for Irish farmers. It saw an increase in pasture with the expansion of the livestock market and a decline in tillage which signalled the collapse of the milling industry, so long a Quaker domain. However, by this time declining Quaker numbers were reflected in their diminishing presence in farming.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the only Quaker farmers in Tipperary were to be found in the hinterlands of Clonmel, Cahir and Clogheen. In addition to this the Fennells, as will be shown below, also held lands in the baronies of Middlethird and Slieveardagh. Writing in 1832, Lewis stated that the plain from Carrick to Tipperary was the foremost agricultural district in the county, an area which encompassed all the Quaker-held land. He praised:

the superior quality of the soil of which, and its contiguity to Clonmel, the great mart for export, have caused it to be occupied by the most wealthy class of landowners, in farms averaging about 50 or 60 acres, though sometimes considerably more; here the lands under tillage exceed the quantity of pasture in the proportion of five to three.¹¹⁶

More recently, Jones Hughes has noted that south Tipperary:

¹¹¹ *C.A.*, 9 Nov. 1811; 13 Jan. 1821.

¹¹² *C.A.*, 24 Feb. 1813.

¹¹³ *C.G.*, 26-29 Sept. 1792.

¹¹⁴ Cullen, *ibid*, p. 104.

¹¹⁵ Daly, *Social and economic history of Ireland*, p. 13.

¹¹⁶ Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, ii (London, 1837), p. 630.

was part of a long-established belt of high farming, associated with refined parish and townland networks, which extended from Waterford harbour to the head of the Shannon estuary, and which incorporated most of east and north Munster.¹¹⁷

He went on to state that major farmers in the nineteenth century were recognised not so much by their acreage as by the valuation of their lands. One such group were those whose holdings were valued at £50 or more:

In the mixed tillage and livestock counties of southern Ireland it has been noted that such farms formed essential components of the estate system of land management in its more mature form. In Tipperary it was the ubiquitous presence of farmers of this standing which served to distinguish the county from its neighbours to the north and west, where small-scale subsistence farming dominated.¹¹⁸

Hughes also suggested that half the total of the farm units in this category in the county were located in the three southern baronies of Middlelird, Clanwilliam and Iffa and Offa East. Under the Griffith valuation, these areas encompassed all the Quaker-held farms, and practically all of them, which were either owned or leased, had valuations of £50 or more.

As Ó Gráda states, 'by and large, communities of large farms were found where the land and access to markets were good'.¹¹⁹ In Cahir eight fairs were held annually, pig markets monthly, and general markets once a week, while in the market of Clogheen Lewis noted that 'a large trade in agricultural produce is carried on chiefly for exportation'.¹²⁰ Clonmel acted as a collection centre for both towns before channelling the produce down the Suir to Waterford. In addition to this, Clonmel with its brewery, extensive butter, tanning and bacon trades, all monopolised by Quakers as will be seen in chapter 5, was a processing centre for the agricultural produce of the surrounding area.

As has been pointed out the Quaker held lands in Tipperary were of the finest quality and contiguous to thriving market towns. The type of husbandry practised was a

¹¹⁷ *ibid*, p. 347.

¹¹⁸ T. Jones Hughes, 'Landholding and settlement in county Tipperary in the nineteenth century' in W. Nolan and T. G. McGrath (eds.) *Tipperary: history and society* (Dublin, 1985), pp.346,47.

¹¹⁹ Cormac O'Grada, *Ireland. A new economic history 1780-1939* (Oxford, 1994), p. 39.

¹²⁰ Lewis, *Topographical dictionary of Ireland*, i, p. 341.

mixed one. Lewis stated that 'the lands under tillage exceed the quantity of pasture in the proportion of five to three'.¹²¹ Jones Hughes claims that wheat and barley occupied thirty per cent of the acreage under tillage in these areas.¹²² The earl of Glengall, in describing his Cahir estate to the Devon Commission said that generally it 'is remarkably good wheat land. A limestone soil, very dry. No draining expenses necessary; excellent roads; turf plenty on the mountains of the estate, free of charge; on which mountains all tenants have the privilege of grazing cattle and sheep free of charge'.¹²³

For information about the farming activities of individual Quaker farmers we have to rely on newspaper advertisements. In 1827, Abraham Jackson had 13 brace of deer for sale, in addition to 30 tons of upland hay and a quantity of cider.¹²⁴ In the following year, Joseph Clibborn advertised a select herd of 24 milch cows at Redmondstown farm.¹²⁵

Occasionally, auctions took place when individual Quakers decided to abandon farming or when executors had been empowered to sell off the properties of deceased members or in cases of bankruptcy. In 1846, the livestock and produce of William Fennell's farm at Rehill were put up for sale.¹²⁶ They consisted of a flock of pure-bred Leicester sheep which included 120 ewe lambs, 130 wedder lambs, 140 ewe hoggets, 40 wedder hoggets, 15 two-year old wedders, 230 two and three-year old breeding ewes, 10 two-year old Southdown ewes and wedders and one prize winning 4 years old Leicester ram. In addition to the above there were two Durham cows in calf, 2 pure bred Devons in calf, 2 half bred Durhams and one two year old pure bred Durham bull. He also had 24 large field stacks of prime wheat, 28 large field stacks of oats, 15 cocks of upland hay and 4 heaps of manure sufficient for 12 acres of land.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, ii, p. 630.

¹²² T. Jones Hughes, 'Society and settlement in nineteenth-century Ireland' in *Irish Geography*, v (1964-68), pp. 88, 89.

¹²³ *Digest of evidence taken before her majesty's commissioners of enquiry into the state of the law and practice in respect of the occupation of land in Ireland*, part 1. (606) H.C. 1845, xix, pp. 437, 438.

¹²⁴ *C.A.*, 21 April 1827.

¹²⁵ *C.C.*, 24 Feb. 1872.

¹²⁶ *T.F.P.*, 5 Sept. 1846.

Similarly, in 1871, when Thomas Going indicated that he was giving up farming he was offering for sale 7 well bred horses, 2 milch cows, 40 tons of prime hay, 50 tons of turnips, 80 barrels of seed potatoes, milling requisites, farm implements, scales, carts and sacks.¹²⁷ In the same year, another advertisement offered the stock, crops and farm implements of Thomas Fennell (deceased) for sale. They comprised three mares, a colt, two fillies, a donkey, cow, bull and 12 pigs. The crops consisted of about three and a half acres of swede turnips and about 36 acres of upland hay. The implements included a 2-horse power threshing machine, a winnowing machine, seven ploughs, a grubber, two harrows, three rollers, three water barrels, two drays, two box carts, a donkey cart, an outside car and gig cart; a plough and driving harness; a cider press, cider mill and vessels; oat bins; two gentleman's saddles, scales and weights; stone and metal troughs; a number of Aylesbury and Rouen ducks, and American turkeys.¹²⁸ In 1877, in the year when the Malcomson firm went bankrupt, Robert Malcomson was offering for sale, 190 head of cattle and 600 sheep, and a herd of deer on his Kilcommon farm, near Cahir.¹²⁹

The evidence presented to the Devon commission also gives an insight into farming from the perspective of a number of local Quaker landlords and highlights the complexities of the land question. William Joshua Fennell of Carrigatoher, near Cahir, declared that he held about 300 Irish acres of land under lease in Carrigatoher and in the barony of Middlethird.¹³⁰ He condemned the sub-division of land, a practice engaged in by some of his relatives, admitting that it led to evictions and agrarian outrages. He went on to state that he would be obliged to eject one or two of his tenants, whom he described as 'incorrigible,' but felt it would be difficult to find alternative tenants with sufficient courage to replace them.¹³¹ In other respects he appears to have been a sympathetic landlord. He allowed a reduction in arrears of rent to a tenant of his who had a good purchaser for his interest in the farm, to allow him to go to America. He also comes across as someone who had the welfare of his tenants at heart. When one of his

¹²⁷ *C.C.*, 15 March 1871.

¹²⁸ *C.C.*, 7 Oct. 1871.

¹²⁹ *C.C.* 23 June 1877.

¹³⁰ *ibid*, p. 235.

¹³¹ *ibid*, p. 237

tenants, who had a good deal of capital, approached Fennell to recommend him to a gentleman who had some land to let, Fennell advised him as follows 'I recommended you because you desired it, but I recommend you at the same time to hesitate, for I think you will not be allowed to hold it'. Fennell was proved right when the man was threatened with murder. His former tenant again approached Fennell to solicit the landlord to give him back his money and Fennell did so.¹³²

There is no evidence to suggest that Quakers could be classified as rack-renting landlords or that they themselves were subject to eviction. Richard Shackleton of Ballitore desired 'that Friends that are Land Lords may be tender for the honour of Truth and their inward Good for the sake of the poorer men their tenants, nor to set their Lands and Tenements at a Rack Rent to the Oppressing and grinding the face of the poor and bringing Reproach upon ye Gracious Truth'.¹³³ However, a number of the Fennells, as will be shown below, assumed the role of middlemen by engaging in sub-division against their landlord's wishes.¹³⁴ Ironically, some of their own tenants did likewise.¹³⁵

Power states that 'after 1760 with a new generation and the profits of flour milling, Quakers were propelled into the landed class'.¹³⁶ However, this development in the case of Tipperary's Quakers was not noticeably evident until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The motives for this departure were varied. For some it was a means of investing surplus capital. In Harrison's opinion, investing in land was the best option for Quakers at the time.¹³⁷ As has been stated above, many Quakers who became involved in industry and other commercial pursuits did not completely divorce themselves from their agricultural interests. Another fact which helped strengthen this affinity with the land was education. A significant part of the curriculum in the Quaker-run schools at Mountmellick, Ballitore and Newtown helped prepare students for life on the farm. Boys would be expected to work part-time on the school farm, helping with the

¹³² *ibid.*

¹³³ Papers of Richard Shackleton of Ballitore (N.L.I., MS. 94).

¹³⁴ *Digest of evidence* etc., p. 440.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*

¹³⁶ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society*, p. 115.

¹³⁷ Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers: A brief history 1655-1939* (Printed privately, 1991), p. 18.

crops, providing vegetables for the school and looking after the farm animals. It was thought by this means that the school would be self-supporting in food, and at the same time provide the boys with practical training in agriculture and farm management. It also taught them about the rotation of crops and land improvement methods. Similarly girls would work in the dairy, churning and butter-making.

It should also be stated that some of the more worldly and wealthy Quakers may have viewed the prospect of the country estate as a badge of social acceptance. Proudfoot's analysis of the changing character of land ownership in the period c.1700 to c.1900 reflects the Quaker experience in Tipperary when he speaks of successful merchants, industrialists and tenant farmers seeking to enhance their social status through land purchase.¹³⁸ In time, families like the Grubbs of Clogheen were to become willing participants in the social activities of the local landed society.¹³⁹

The Grubbs, moving out from their base in Clonmel, were the first, and one of the most successful, of this new wave of landowners. Around the turn of the century Clonmel miller Samuel Grubb leased lands in Clogheen from the Lismore¹⁴⁰ estate and in 1830, a further 106 acres at Castlegrace, east of Clogheen from the Cahir estate.¹⁴¹ In the same year, Richard Grubb purchased Cahir Abbey estate, consisting of 750 acres, from the Fennell family.¹⁴² Another Quaker to establish himself in the Cahir area was Cork merchant, Charles Going, who, in 1803, leased land in the townland of Barnora.

By the middle of the nineteenth century a number of Tipperary Quakers held land in the county (see Table 3:1).

¹³⁸ L. J. Proudfoot 'Property, society and improvement, c.1700 to c.1900', p. 226.

¹³⁹ Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 110.

¹⁴⁰ Lismore papers, 1985.170; 1985.171; 1985.237 (Tipperary S.R. County Museum).

¹⁴¹ R.D., 885/312/586312; 885/312/586313; 885/312/586314; LEC, Index to conveyances, xxiv (National Archives).

¹⁴² Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 149.

Table 3:1

Lands held by Tipperary Quakers according to the Griffith valuation, c.1850.		
Family	Lessors	Lessees
	acres	acres
Banfields	194	
Banfield, Chaytor & Whelan	247	
Clibborns	112	82
Fennells	1,374	1,209
Goings	68	
Grubbs		235
Jellico		31
Malcomson, Pike & Fennell	1,093	
Walpoles	203	254
Totals in acres.	2,850	1,811

Sources: General valuation of rateable property in Ireland. County Tipperary S.R. Barony of Iffa and Offa west; Unions of Clogheen and Clonmel: Iffa and Offa east; Unions of Carrick-on-Suir, Clogheen and Clonmel.

The Banfield property consisting of 194 acres was in the townland of Roosca, near Cahir. Lands held in conjunction with Chaytor and the non-Quaker Hickey consisted of the townlands of Lawlesstown and Rathnasliggeen in the parish of Kiltegan, near Clonmel. The Clibborn property was situated in Kilgrant and the neighbouring townland of Twomilebridge, east of Clonmel. These lands were part of the Anner mills complex established by the Grubbs, but acquired by the Clibborns through marriage. Samuel Jellico was a Cahir grocer whose property was situated in the townland of Farranlahas, outside Cahir. The consortium of Malcomson, Pike and Fennell held property in Crohane Lower in the barony of Slieveardagh. As will be shown below, these lands had been in the possession of the Fennells from the middle of the eighteenth century. The Malcomson interest resulted from the marriage of Mary Fennell, daughter of Joshua Fennell (1736-1802) to David Malcomson in 1795, while the Pike interest arose from the marriage of Mary Fennell's younger sister, Lydia to Joseph Pike in 1805. In 1844, William Walpole leased the former Jackson property. He was the son of John and Mary Walpole. Mary Walpole was the daughter of Joseph Jackson of Tincurry, who first leased the lands

around 1754. The Griffith valuation for the northern Tipperary baronies indicate that no member of the small Quaker community were engaged in farming.

While surplus capital provided the main impetus for investment, bankrupt estates ensured a plentiful supply of desirable land. Proudfoot makes the point that just as the duke of Ormond had to shed land in the eighteenth century in an attempt to solve chronic indebtedness,¹⁴³ Lord Cahir had to do likewise in the nineteenth. Just as John Boles gained in the former case, the Grubbs, Malcomsons and Fennells were the principal beneficiaries in the latter. Proudfoot goes on to state that 'indebtedness periodically forced the owners of estates of all sizes to shed land The latter process reached its apotheosis in the enforced post-Famine sales of bankrupt landed property in the Encumbered Estates Court¹⁴⁴ and Landed Estates Court.¹⁴⁵ As a consequence of this, during the period 1853-1875 several local Quakers purchased considerable properties. The bankruptcy of Lord Cahir's estate in 1853, as has been stated above, provided an ideal opportunity for the Grubbs¹⁴⁶ and Fennells, but the principal beneficiary was Robert Malcomson. In 1858, Malcomson purchased four lots of the above mentioned Sadleir estate, outside Cahir.¹⁴⁷ Eight years later, he purchased a further 309 acres in the neighbouring townlands of Cranno and Staigue for £6,350 and 334 acres in Ballybrado, Ruscoe and Old Ruscagh for £7,350.¹⁴⁸ According to Isabel Grubb, 'the Grubbs, Goings, Malcomsons and Fennells either owned or leased practically the whole of Lord Cahir's estate'.¹⁴⁹ While these families held substantial tracts of the Cahir estate, it was, however, a gross exaggeration to state that they controlled most of it.

The Grubbs, financed by the profits acquired from their milling interests, were the leading investors in land. The principal purchaser was Robert Davis Grubb who

¹⁴³ David Dickson, *New foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin, 2000), p. 117.

¹⁴⁴ The Encumbered Estates Court was set up by act of parliament in 1848 (11 & 12 Vict., c. 48) to facilitate the sale of encumbered estates. In the following year it was superseded by a further act (12 & 13 Vict., c. 77). An act of 1858 (21 & 22 Vict., c. 72) altered the title of the court to Landed Estates Court.

¹⁴⁵ L. J. Proudfoot, 'Property, society and improvement, c. 1700 to c. 1900', p. 226.

¹⁴⁶ R.D., 1858/8/282; 1858/2/169; 1858/5/261; 1858/5/261; 1859/3/84.

¹⁴⁷ R.D., 1858/9/191; *T.F.P.*, 18 Feb. 1859.

¹⁴⁸ R.D., 1875/32/6.

¹⁴⁹ Grubb collection. MS. box 53, Folder 7, letter 26 (F.H.L.D.).

expended £3,250 on 180 acres of the former Cahir estate. He had also acquired, six years previously, over 6,000 acres for an outlay of £3,443¹⁵⁰ through the Encumbered Estates court. Two years later, in 1854, through the same agency he purchased a further 106 acres for an outlay of £4,000.¹⁵¹ Other members of the family also acquired properties. Frederick Grubb expended almost £6,000 on over 5,000 acres.¹⁵² Henry Strangman Grubb spent £7,000 on the purchase of some 13,000 acres,¹⁵³ while Richard Grubb Jr. spent £4,060 pounds on acquiring nearly 200 acres.¹⁵⁴ Other Quakers who acquired properties around this time were Samuel Fayle, Benjamin Grubb, Thomas Hughes, Anne Grubb, Joshua Grubb and John Pim,¹⁵⁵ all in the neighbourhood of Clonmel.

Many of this new Quaker landed-gentry took a keen interest in promoting agriculture through their involvement in various farming societies, and by striving for excellence in the quality of their produce and livestock. The first reference to Quaker participation in a farming societies dates to 1803, when the name of William Fennell appears as a member of the committee of the Farming Society of County Tipperary.¹⁵⁶ In 1846, Thomas Fennell became secretary of the South Tipperary Agricultural Society, while William Jr. and Joshua Fennell were among the committee members.¹⁵⁷ In 1859, at a meeting held in the courthouse at Cahir, William Fennell was elected joint honorary secretary of the newly-formed Clogheen Union Farming Society, while John Chaytor, Samuel Jellico, William Walpole, P. R. Banfield, Thomas, Joshua Robert, and Llewellyn Fennell appear as members of the committee.¹⁵⁸ Llewellyn Fennell had the honour of being elected first chairman of the Clonmel Agricultural Society.¹⁵⁹ Among the

¹⁵⁰ R.D., 1852/2/169.

¹⁵¹ R.D., 1854/7/149.

¹⁵² R.D., 1860/21/86; 1878/80/2.

¹⁵³ R.D., 1858/8/282.

¹⁵⁴ R.D., 1859/3/84.

¹⁵⁵ R.D., 1858/5/62; 1858/30/120; 1859/33/238; 1859/39/231; 1859/33/65; 1862/27/158; 1864/27/158; 1862/28/81; 1863/15/149; 1864/31/55; 1868/36/249.

¹⁵⁶ C.G., 2-6 April 1803.

¹⁵⁷ T.F.P., 21 Jan. 1846.

¹⁵⁸ T.F.P., 20 Sept. 1859.

¹⁵⁹ C.C., 6 Nov. 1872.

subscribers to the Society were William Murphy, Edward Beale, Abraham Murray, Benjamin Fayle and Samuel Davis & Co.

The Quaker pursuit of excellence was reflected in the pedigree quality of their livestock, as can be seen from some of the above advertisements. Samuel Jellico had the services of top quality stallions on offer for breeding purposes, while Robert Malcomson possessed a herd of pedigree cattle serviced by his well-bred bull.¹⁶⁰ They also sponsored events in local agricultural shows, in addition to being successful exhibitors. In 1873, Murphy's brewery in Clonmel offered a prize for the best quality wheat and malting barley at the Clonmel show, which was duly won by another Quaker, Samuel Jellico. On the same occasion, the company of John Grubb and Sons won the prize for mangels, while Benjamin Murphy of Clonmel won the prize for garden vegetables.¹⁶¹

The only indication of the extent of Quaker-held land in County Tipperary towards the end of the nineteenth century is to be found in De Burgh's work *The landowners of Ireland*. However, as will be shown below, these findings must be treated with caution (see Table 3:2).

¹⁶⁰ *T.F.P.*, 22 March 1859.

¹⁶¹ *C.C.*, 1 Nov. 1873.

Table 3:2

Tipperary Quaker landowners in 1878		
Family	Acreage	Valuation
Banfield (reps)	978	£963- 5-0
Clibborn	20	£43- 5-0
Fennells	1,683	£1,187- 5-0
Going	313	£367-15-0
Greer	16	£61- 5-0
Grubb	4,681	£3,509-10-0
Malcomson	2,644	£2,600- 0-0

Source: U. H. Hussey de Burgh, *The landowners of Ireland* (Dublin, 1878), pp. 158-172.

It would appear that some of de Burgh's information, cited above, is misleading. Other sources show that by 1878 some of these lands were no longer in the possession of the families mentioned. In 1875, when the Going estate was sold by public auction by the Landed Estates Court it included 315 acres of the lands of Killemlly and Keylong, outside Cahir.¹⁶² In the same year, the land of William Greer¹⁶³ was also sold. In 1877, Robert Malcomson¹⁶⁴ was forced to sell his property when the Malcomson empire went into liquidation. As early as 1869, the property of John Chaytor had been sold in the same manner.¹⁶⁵ In the 1880s, the Grubb property in Cahir was sold off by the Chancery Court. The figure given for the Fennells includes lands held by the family outside County Tipperary. This was a result of the marriage of James Fennell to Jemima Wakefield of Lurgan in 1865.

Notwithstanding these anomalies, during the period 1850-1878 it could be said that some Tipperary Quaker families became increasingly involved in farming. They

¹⁶² C.C., 27 March 1875.

¹⁶³ C.C., 27 Nov. 1875.

¹⁶⁴ C.C., 30 June 1877; R.D., 1878/4/15.

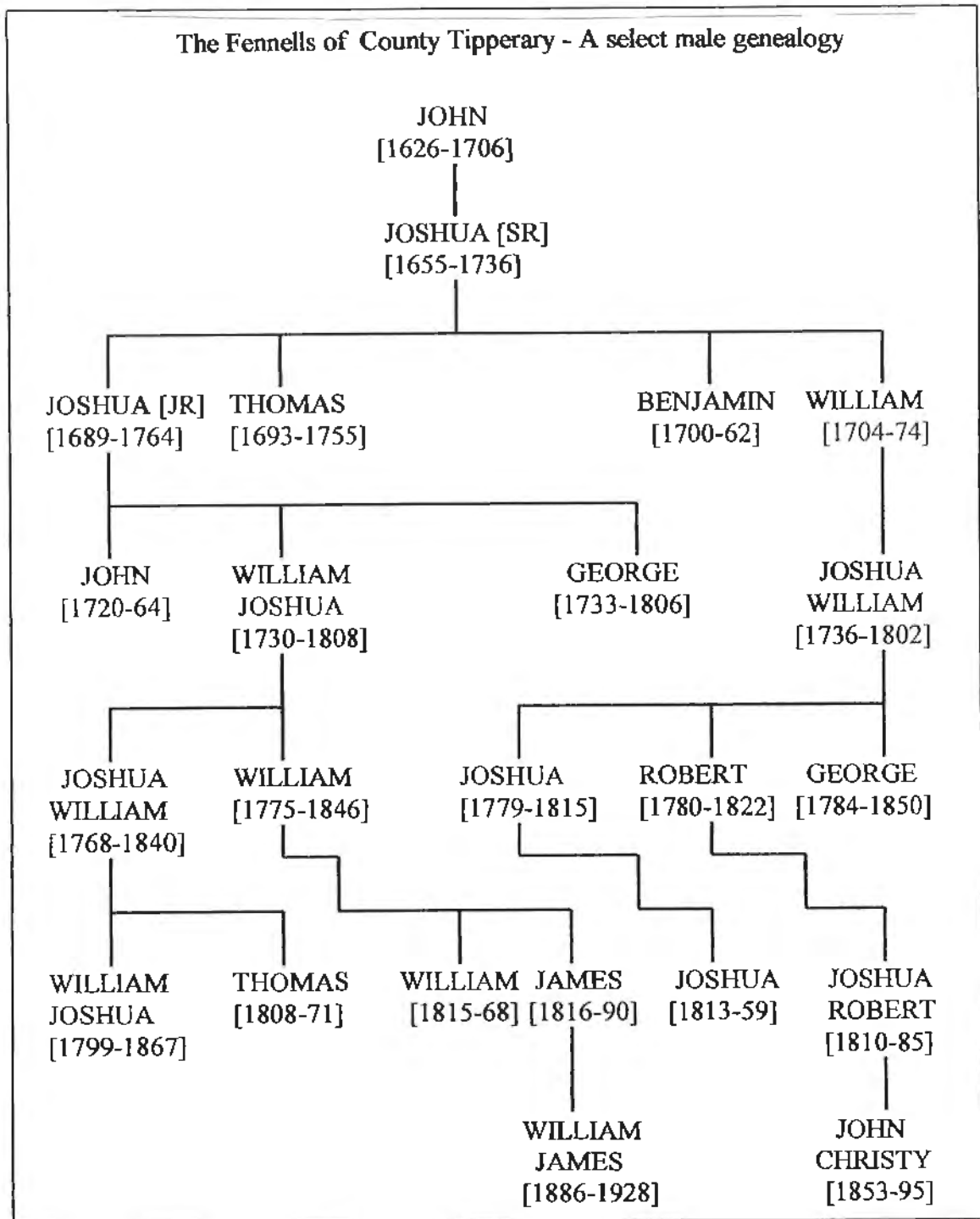
¹⁶⁵ C.C., 14 Dec. 1869.

acquired considerable holdings which they farmed in a progressive manner, while at the same time encouraging better standards of husbandry through their involvement in various agricultural societies. Ironically, it was during the same period, as has been shown in chapter 2, that by 1873 Quakerism in county Tipperary was in rapid decline. By that year most of the above mentioned families were either no longer Quaker or else were in the process of severing their links with the Society. Since many did not go through the formal process of resigning, it is difficult to determine their religious allegiance at this time. As will be seen below the Fennells of County Tipperary were the last Quaker landholders in the county, until they were bought out in 1906 by the Land Commission.

The Fennells - a case study

The Fennells were the most important farming family in the history of Quakerism in Tipperary. Their connection with the county can be traced back to 1660, making them one of the first Quaker families in the county. Their connection with farming was to last from that date to 1906 when, as has been mentioned above, their lands were disposed of by the Land Commission.

Table 3:3



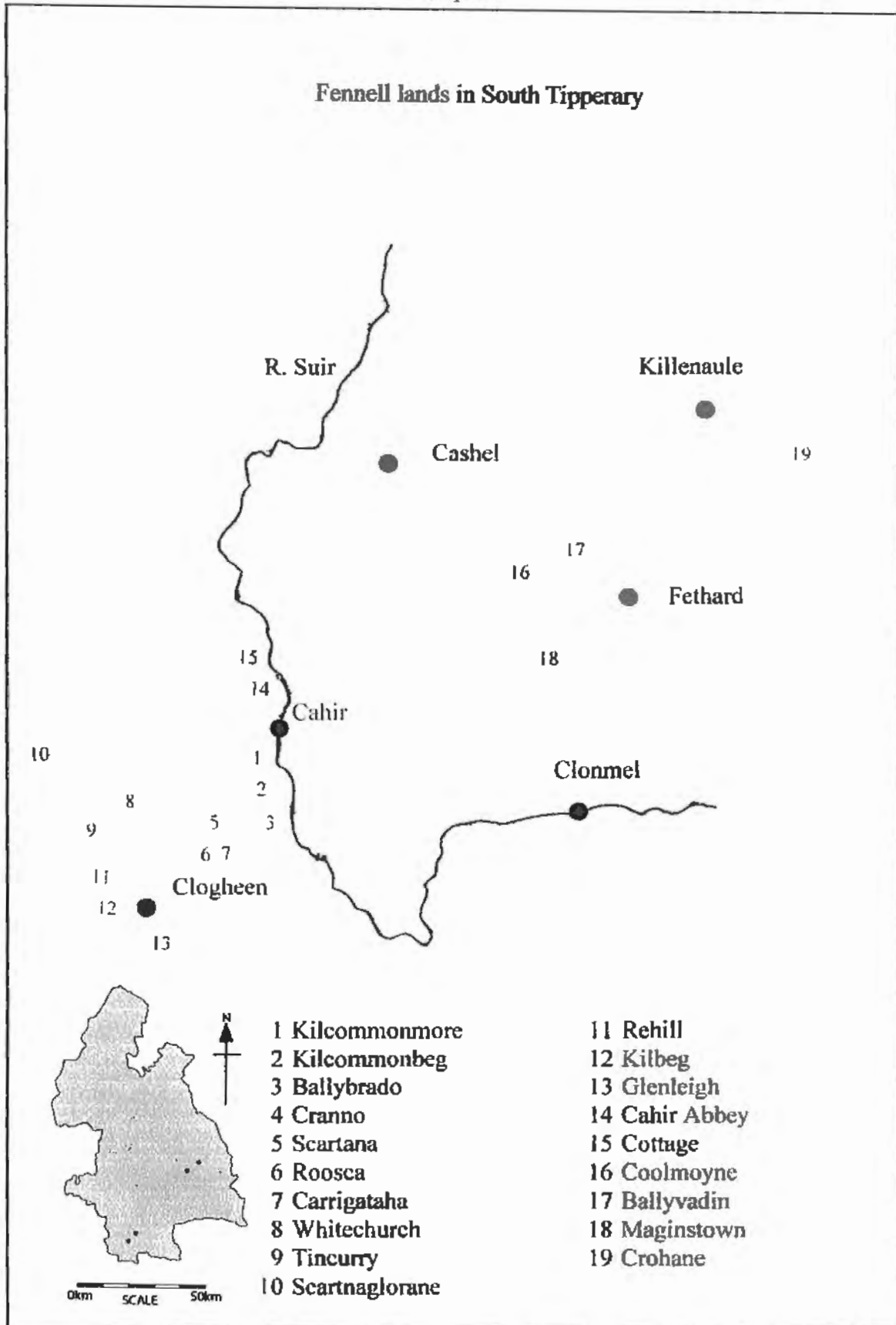
Source: The Fennell Genealogy in Webb's family lists (F.H.L.D.).

The Fennells, like many early Irish Quakers, came directly from England. John Fennell (1626-1706), son of Robert and Mary, was born in Steepleashton, Wiltshire in 1626. He was reputed to have been a captain or colonel in Cromwell's army. In 1649, he married Mary Davies from Cardiff where the first six of their nine children were born. Around 1659, they settled in the townland of Kilcommonbeg, outside the town of Cahir. For the next two and a half centuries the Fennells were one of the leading Quaker families in Tipperary. Throughout that period they were associated with the towns of Cahir and Clogheen and the surrounding areas. John Fennell appears to have had sufficient capital to acquire or build a house of some substance. In the Hearth roll records, his residence at Kilcommonbeg was spacious enough to include four hearths.¹⁶⁶

Whereas most Quakers eventually abandoned farming and became successful traders, merchants and industrialists, for seven generations the Fennells, apart from a few who became woollen merchants and corn millers, remained exclusively in agriculture. The succeeding centuries saw an extension of the Fennell holdings in Kilcommonbeg into the neighbouring townlands, all in the barony of Iffa and Offa west (see Map 3:1).

¹⁶⁶ Thomas Laffan, *Tipperary families: being the hearth money records for 1665-6-7* (Dublin, 1911), p. 26.

Map 3:1



Sources: Various deeds in the Registry of Deeds and National Archives

In addition to these properties the Fennells leased lands, some of which were subsequently purchased, in the townlands of Ballyvadin, Coolmoynes and Maginstown, situated in the adjoining barony of Middlethird, as well as lands in Crohane Lower in the barony of Slieveardagh. In some cases it is not possible to say which of the Fennells acquired these properties or in what year the transaction took place.

We have no knowledge of John Fennell's original holding in Kilcommonbeg. There is no information concerning its extent, the identity of the lessor or the conditions of the lease. It seems reasonable to assume from its location that it was formerly part of the Butler estate, which was confiscated during the Cromwellian settlement. The earliest lease concerning Fennell lands refers to Joshua Fennell Sr. (1655-1736), son of John Fennell. In 1706, Joshua Sr. succeeded to his father's property in Kilcommonbeg and twelve years later he leased 374 acres in the neighbouring townland of Kilcommonmore (Map 3:1). Subsequently, Joshua Sr. transferred this property to his son, Joshua Jr. (1689-1764).¹⁶⁷ Fennell family numbers were increasing rapidly at this time. Joshua Sr. had sixteen children, while four of his sons, Joshua Jr., Thomas, Benjamin and William, between them, produced a further thirty. Additional lands had to be leased to provide for their sons, while existing properties were entailed to ensure jointures for their daughters.

The expansion of the family's holdings in the eighteenth century can be attributed largely to Joshua Fennell Jr., and his brothers, Benjamin (1700-1762) and William (1705-1774). In 1723, Joshua Jr., in addition to the lands he received in Kilcommonmore, leased 197 acres in Ballybrado, 42 acres in Ruscoe and 93 acres in Rouscagh and Cranagh¹⁶⁸ for three lives renewable forever. In 1734, he received additional lands from Lord Cahir in Kilcommonmore and Scartlagh for a period of three lives.¹⁶⁹ In 1744, he secured a lease of the lands of Kilcommonbeg from Lough to the Quaker graveyard for a period of 31 years at an annual rent of 6s. 6d.¹⁷⁰ Benjamin Fennell secured a lease of Cahir Castle in 1738.¹⁷¹ In 1772, William Fennell of Shurebank purchased Cahir Abbey

¹⁶⁷ N.A., Fennell papers, 99/62/21.

¹⁶⁸ Deed in the possession of John Kelly, Ballybrado, Cahir, no. 24765

¹⁶⁹ R.D., 77/502/54481

¹⁷⁰ R.D., 115/399/80945

¹⁷¹ R.D., 111/100/75778

from William Austen. Four years previously, William leased 104 acres in Garryroan, 94 in Scart and Scartana, and 148 in Scartnaglorane and part of Whitechurch townland.

In 1757, John Fennell (1720-1764) leased lands in Coolmoyne and Ardsallagh. Around this time the family also acquired holdings in the townlands of Maginstown and Ballyvadin which were also in the barony of Middlethird.¹⁷² We can assume that leasing such lands, some distance from the family's base in Cahir, meant that there was no suitable property to be leased locally. In 1742, William (1705-1774), mentioned above, had gone further afield by leasing land in Crohane in the barony of Slieveardagh. In 1778, his two sons, Robert (1734-1801) and Joshua (1736-1802), purchased these lands for £2,100.¹⁷³ In 1780, William Joshua (1730-1808), Joshua Jr.'s sixth son, secured a lease of the prime lands of Rehill, north of Clogheen.¹⁷⁴ The property was the family seat of Lord Butler of Cahir and consisted of 371 Irish acres which Fennell received at a rent of one guinea per acre for a period of four lives.

In the first half of the nineteenth century some members of the Fennell family continued to lease additional lands. In 1803, John Fennell (1774-1825) of Cottage leased 176 acres 2 roods and 18 perches in the townland of Knockagh from Richard, Lord Baron of Cahir.¹⁷⁵ In 1808, Joshua William (1768-1840), son of William Joshua (1799-1867), purchased lands in Ballybrado and Old Rouscagh by public auction for £1,500.¹⁷⁶ He also acquired 300 acres at Carrigataha, and some property in the Barony of Middlethird.¹⁷⁷ In 1848, William Fennell's (1775-1846) sons, William (1815-1868) and James Fennell (1816-1890) leased Mount Anglesby and Glenleigh house from Lord Lismore. In 1884, Joshua Robert (1818-1885) purchased the former Jackson lands at Tincurry, including a mill, in trust for John Christy Fennell of Garryroan for £1100.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, however, other members of the Fennell family were beginning to dispose of their interests. In 1852, the lands of

¹⁷² R.D., 261/547/172735; 271/151/175412.

¹⁷³ R.D., 315/493/215765.

¹⁷⁴ R.D., 346/252/231775.

¹⁷⁵ R.D., 561/328/377365.

¹⁷⁶ R.D., 288/271/190521.

¹⁷⁷ *Digest of evidence etc.*, p. 235.

estate¹⁸⁰ stated that he had recourse to legal proceedings to get William 'to repair the walls, which he was bound to do'. Fennell threatened to sub-let the place and cover it with paupers, unless Glengall renewed the lease. Glengall also claimed that one hundred acres have been 'sublet twenty-five years ago, and are in a wretched state'.

William Fennell was not the only member of the family to engage in sub-letting. The Griffith valuation indicates that Joshua Robert who held some 357 acres from Lord Waterpark in the townland of Scartnaglorane, west of Cahir, had in turn sub-let sixteen smaller portions of land, the largest not exceeding seventeen acres. Joshua Fennell Joseph, who held lands in Cahir Abbey did likewise. This practice appears to have been widespread on the Cahir estate. The earl of Glengall told the Devon commission in the 1840s that between the years 1780 and 1787, his own predecessor, James, Lord Cahir, let large tracts of lands for a period of sixty one years to single individuals. The earl went on to state that 'in the high times during the war (Napoleonic war), those lessees sublet their lands *ad infinitum*, and became middlemen.¹⁸¹

Another member of the Fennell family who got into difficulties was William's elder brother, Joshua William (1768-1840), who was disowned by the Society because of undue conformity with the world.¹⁸² Circumstances would suggest that this was because of his indebtedness. By 1820, his financial affairs were described as being in a 'a dismal way'.¹⁸³ In 1806, George Fennell (Joshua William's uncle) bequeathed the rental income on the lands of Maginstown, Ballyvadin and Coolmoyne to Joshua William. Unfortunately, a number of tenants were in rent arrears. To complicate matters Joshua William's brother, William, who had an interest in these properties, was demanding that steps be taken to recover these arrears. In pursuing his claim the matter was raised at the Tipperary men's monthly meeting. William told the meeting that:

I believe it right for me to take the necessary steps to receive the same with arrears, either by having tenants made over to me or have a receiver appointed under a court of equity of which I informed my brother and endeavoured to prevail

¹⁸⁰ N.A., Acc. 976/6/5.

¹⁸¹ *Digest of evidence*, pp. 276-77.

¹⁸² *Cahir Historical Newsletter*, Aug. 1993.

¹⁸³ Grubb letters in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 5, no. 4, Margaret Grubb to Mary Leadbeater, 7 June, 1820.

on him to make over the tenants but without the desired effect and therefore request you will set me at liberty with as little delay as may be, to have the said receiver appointed.¹⁸⁴

As can be seen from the above, William requested the meeting for permission to initiate legal proceedings against his brother. Although it was contrary to Quaker principles to take legal action against any of their fellow members, William persisted and made a further application to a subsequent meeting to allow him to take court proceedings for the recovery of the debts due to him.¹⁸⁵ There is no indication as to the outcome of this request. Six months earlier, Margaret Grubb stated that Joshua William stated that he was contemplating selling his property at Ballybrado because of debt,¹⁸⁶ confiding in her that 'these are trying times for farmers, a great depression in the produce of farms'.

An indenture dated 1823 stated that Joshua William, due to the 'present depreciated state of all agricultural produce', was unable to honour his debts.¹⁸⁷ Although he was in possession of considerable property, totalling 1,141 acres, he had managed to incur debts in excess of £18,000. His lands included Ballybrado (197 acres), Cranno (192 acres), Ballyvadin (172 acres), Maginstown (291 acres) and Coolmoynes (289 acres). These lands were subject to head rents amounting to £693-6-10 and annuities totalling £723-11-6. His creditors were owed a staggering £18,395-3-4½. These included loans of £9,152 from Riall's bank in Clonmel, and loans of £4,100 and £1,400 from Quaker colleagues Richard Grubb and Charles Going. Fennell was obliged to surrender the management of his estate to named trustees, including fellow Quakers, William and Nicholas Chaytor, and to enter an agreement to discharge his debts out of rents and profits accruing from his properties.

¹⁸⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of mens' monthly meeting, 29th day, 4 mo. 1819 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6). The reason this matter was raised at the monthly meeting was that Quakers disapproved of initiating legal proceedings against their fellow Quakers. The records do not show what decision was made.

¹⁸⁵ R.T.M. Minutes of the mens' monthly meeting, 3rd day 10th mo. 1822 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

¹⁸⁶ *ibid*, Collection 5, no. 12, Margaret Grubb to Mary Leadbeater, 1 April, 1822.

¹⁸⁷ N.A., Fennell papers, D 17167.

It would appear that the financial affairs of William Fennell, Joshua William's brother, were equally precarious. Under the terms of his will William Fennell (1775-1846) left his interest in Rehill and Mooneloughra and £400 rent due from Maginstown, Coolbawn and Ballyvadin to Richard Grubb, Clogheen and Joseph Grubb Benjamin, Clonmel, a merchant, in trust to pay his debts. He also left £100 to his wife Susanna Fennell, to whom he confirmed a jointure of £200. His freehold estate was to be sold or mortgaged, if his personal estate was not sufficient to pay his debts on the legacy.¹⁸⁸

Joshua William and William were not the only members of the family to find themselves in financial difficulties. In 1819, George Fennell (1784-1822) was declared insolvent and disowned by the Society of Friends for the non-payment of debts.¹⁸⁹ It will be seen that George's financial problems lay in his inability to secure rents due to him. In the same year he was obliged to offer his lands in Garryroan for sale.¹⁹⁰

These difficulties occurred in the post-1815 period which witnessed a slump in cereal prices and undermined the solvency of middlemen.¹⁹¹ The Earl of Glengall stated that 'when the peace came prices fell, and the middlemen became totally ruined'.¹⁹² Dickson points out that, 'in districts where grain cultivation expanded after the 1750s or where subtenants' own cattle herds had grown, the chief tenantry released more and more land to smallholders until eventually they themselves became dependent on rent rather than agricultural sales for the greater part of their income'.¹⁹³ As Donnelly suggests, 'when tenants defaulted in their payments, sometimes in spite of large abatements, the middleman's profit rent sharply contracted or disappeared altogether, and he himself often fell into serious arrears in discharging the head rent owed to the proprietor'.¹⁹⁴ A contributory factor in Joshua William's case is that he may have over-

¹⁸⁸ Fennell papers, no. 4. in possession of James Fennell, Burton House, Athy, Co. Kildare.

¹⁸⁹ R.T.M. Minutes of mens' monthly meeting, 4th day 3rd mo. 1819 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6

¹⁹⁰ C.A., 27 Jan. 1819.

¹⁹¹ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society*, p. 158.

¹⁹² *Digest of evidence*, pp. 276-77.

¹⁹³ David Dickson, *New foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin, 2000), p. 123.

¹⁹⁴ James S. Donnelly, 'Landlords and tenants' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new History of Ireland*, v (Oxford, 1989), p. 333.

extended himself by acquiring additional properties. As has been stated above, he expended £15,000 in purchasing the lands of Ballybrado. However, despite his difficulties, Joshua William's will shows that he retained his lands and was able to provide for his children.¹⁹⁵

Proudfoot suggests that 'inherited jointures and other financial obligations might limit the income available for discretionary spending'.¹⁹⁶ Power makes a similar point when he says that 'providing for younger sons and daughters put a considerable charge on estates depending on the numbers to be provided for and this had to be borne by a succeeding generation, sometimes the original provision taking little account of its ability to bear it'.¹⁹⁷ Marnane agrees with this assessment:

These family charges were the price paid by the land-owning class for primogeniture. An essential part of a marriage was the marriage settlement, by which a whole range of charges were made on the estate for the future. The wife, in the event of the widowhood, had to be provided for, so had the offspring. These family charges took no account of the many expenses contracted through the peccadilloes of individual landlords.¹⁹⁸

In some cases marriage settlements involved considerable sums, such as the jointure of £1,500 David Malcomson of Clonmel received when, in 1795, he married Mary Fennell.¹⁹⁹ In 1803, Mary's sister, Lydia, had a jointure of £1,000 settled on her when she married Joseph Pike of Cork.²⁰⁰ In 1792, when Mary Fennell, daughter of William Fennell Joshua of Rehill, married Reuben Harvey Jr. her marriage portion was to be based on a yearly rent charge of £30 out of the lands of Ballybrado.²⁰¹ It is not what degree of financial strain these arrangements placed on Quaker estates. In the deed of conveyance involving Joshua William Fennell, referred to above, it is noticeable that the annual annuities payable on his lands exceeded the headrents due to his landlord. Daly

¹⁹⁵ N.A., Fennell papers, T 7098.

¹⁹⁶ L. J. Proudfoot, 'Property, society and improvement, c. 1700 to c.1900' in B. J. Graham & L. J. Proudfoot, *An historical geography of Ireland* (London, 1993), p.227.

¹⁹⁷ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society etc.*, p. 94.

¹⁹⁸ Denis G. Marnane, 'Land and violence in 19th-century in Tipperary' in *T.H.J.*, i (1998), p. 58.

¹⁹⁹ R.D., 497/97/317966.

²⁰⁰ N.A., D 17173.

²⁰¹ R. D., 498/422/320341.

makes the point that 'most estates were saddled with marriage settlements on sisters, annuities for widowed mothers and maiden aunts etc.'²⁰²

On the other hand, the wife's marriage portion was of the utmost importance in providing the capital necessary either to meet existing debts or to maintain and develop the estate. As Power notes 'it was through heiresses that estates were extended'.²⁰³ Such arrangements were not exclusive to the Fennells, as can be seen from the marriage agreement made in 1746 between Solomon Watson and Susanna Saltmarsh,²⁰⁴ and that made in 1790 between Edward Dudley and Mary Eves,²⁰⁵ and many others. The large progeny that often resulted from such marriages, notably in such families as the Grubbs and Fennells, necessitated the purchase of additional land and invariably led to a considerable outlay of funds.²⁰⁶

Attempting to provide for all their children often led to complex legal agreements and holdings being held by a consortium of family members. It would appear to have been customary practice, on the decease of the parents, to divide the family holdings among their surviving children. If the owner in question was not married, his brothers and sisters became his legal heirs. John Fennell (1720-1764) in his will 'bequeathed all his freehold interests and leases to his brothers and sisters equally divided'.²⁰⁷ Subsequently, one of the heirs (George) bought out the others.²⁰⁸ Similarly, when John Fennell died in 1802, his property was divided between his twelve surviving children.²⁰⁹ It is not possible to say how widespread this practice was but it placed a further burden on those who wished to remain in farming because the expenditure involved in buying out their siblings reduced the capital available to develop their agricultural undertakings.

²⁰² Mary E. Daly, *Social and economic history of Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 1998), p. 7

²⁰³ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society*, p. 106.

²⁰⁴ R.D., 124/24/83637.

²⁰⁵ N.A., Box 3941.

²⁰⁶ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society*, p. 95.

²⁰⁷ R.D., 236/518/155344.

²⁰⁸ R.D., 261/548/172736; 261/550/172737; 261/547/172735; 271/151/175412; 279/675/185804.

²⁰⁹ R.D., 559/18/371474.

As the nineteenth century progressed Fennell numbers began to dwindle. This can be attributed to smaller family units, lack of male heirs, increasing celibacy, and emigration. Joshua Fennell (1779-1815) had only two children. His son died unmarried and his daughter moved to Kilmallock. Robert Fennell (1780-1822) had five children. His three daughters married and went to live elsewhere. One son died unmarried, leaving his other son, Joshua Robert (1818-1885) to manage the family farms. He, in turn, had eleven children. Two died young, five remained unmarried and the remaining four emigrated. George Fennell (1784-1850) had a family of thirteen, of whom three died young, one remained unmarried, while the remainder took up residence elsewhere or emigrated. Out of fourteen children fathered by Joshua William Fennell between 1798-1820, two died young, ten remained unmarried, and one daughter married in Cork. His sole male heir, William Joshua, left to pursue a career in England as a fisheries expert. Similarly, six of William Fennell's (1775-1846) seven children died unmarried. His son, James (1816-1890) who became heir to most of the Fennell properties following his marriage to Jemima Wakefield of Lurgan, left Tipperary to take up residence in the north of Ireland. Subsequently, his children sold the remaining Fennell lands to the Land Commission.²¹⁰

In conclusion, the Cromwellian re-conquest provided opportunities for those wishing to farm the land. One group willing to accept the challenge were the early Quakers. Among them were a number of adventurers and ex-soldiers, who received grants of land, but the majority were farmers who came from England seeking their fortunes. By the end of the seventeenth century, in the face of war and persecution, a growing number of Tipperary's Quakers had established themselves as successful farmers. The Society devised various methods to help the less fortunate by providing housing, stock, and, in some cases, land. Details of tithes extracted indicate a mixed farming economy of pasture and tillage. In the opening four decades of the eighteenth century the farming community had to contend with uncertain harvests, periodic famine conditions and unfavourable market conditions. The most notable development during

²¹⁰ Land Commission records, no. 2712, box 1145; no. 4022, box 3947.

this period was the emergence of a Quaker settlement in the Cashel area, which can be attributed to the initiative of John Boles and, to a lesser extent, Solomon Watson.

The middle of the eighteenth century to the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 was a time of prosperity for the farming community. Those fortunate in being able to secure favourable leases took the opportunity to extend their holdings. As will be seen in chapter 4 prosperity beckoned for those Quakers who became involved in the woollen and corn industries. These developments resulted in increased urbanisation and a geographical realignment of the Quaker farming population within the county. By the end of the century, the Cashel community had ceased to exist, as had the small settlement in the Tipperary town area, while the one in the north of the county had become centred on the town of Roscrea. While Tipperary's Quakers continued their tradition of mixed farming, a number of them began to explore additional means of supplementing their income by cider-making and tree planting.

The nineteenth century saw the continued concentration of Quaker farming interests in the lower Suir valley. Their numbers were augmented by urban colleagues, who had accumulated sufficient wealth to invest in the purchase of landed estates. This development was facilitated by the increasing number of encumbered estates which came on the market in the decade following the great famine. Many were to play an active part in promoting agriculture and in producing livestock and quality produce through their participation in agricultural societies and in developing pedigree herds. The 1870s marked the beginning of a sharp decline for many Quaker farmers, after which date practically all of them left the Society. Many of their holdings were eventually disposed of by the Landed Estates Court or were purchased in 1906 by the Land Commission.

The Fennells were the most prominent Quaker family to engage in agriculture. They commenced farming in the townland of Kilcommon, near Cahir, around 1660. In the subsequent centuries, they gradually extended their interests by leasing and purchasing lands in the adjoining townlands, and in the neighbouring baronies of Middlethird and Slieveardagh. This was necessitated by the demands of providing for growing family numbers. Not all proved themselves model farmers and a number found themselves in financial difficulties. Whether this resulted from jointure demands, bad

husbandry or over-ambitious investment in property acquisition, is a matter of conjecture. As the nineteenth century advanced, a number of families died out and their lands were sold off, while others continued to acquire various properties. In 1906, the purchase of the remaining Fennell land by the Land Commission brought their involvement in Tipperary agriculture to an end.

Appendix 3:1

List of sufferings of Tipperary Quakers, 1704

Name	Produce	Value
John Fennell	3 lambs, 26 cocks of hay, 205 sheaves of oats, 106 sheaves of wheat and 8 barrels of apples.	£5 2s. 6d.
Joshua Fennell	31 fleeces, 9 lambs, 7 cocks of hay, 311 sheaves of barley, 46 sheaves of wheat and 409 sheaves of oats.	£15 5s. 9d.
Steven Collett	12 fleeces, 4 lambs, 1 cock of hay and a half barrel of apples.	£2 17s. 6d.
Benjamin Mason	17 sheaves of barley, 20 sheaves of beans, 1 sheaf of flax, 20 sheaves of wheat and 2 barrels of potatoes.	6s. 2d.
Samuel Barrett	50 fleeces of wool, 28 lambs, 40 fleeces of wool, 16 whole car loads of hay, 6 whole car loads of oats, 20 fleeces of wool and 10 whole car loads of barley.	£16 5s. 0d.
Jacob Barrett	34 fleeces of wool, 16 lambs, 2 whole car loads of oats and 4 whole car loads of hay.	£3 6s. 6d.
Benjamin Fennell	10 cocks of hay.	8s. 4d.
Elizabeth Godfrey	13 cocks of hay and 112 sheaves of barley.	13s 0d.
Peter Cook	95 fleeces of wool, 29 lambs and 47 fleeces of wool.	£10 18s. 4d.
Deborah Cook	75 fleeces of wool, 150 fleeces of wool, 43 lambs, 2,197 sheaves of barley and 23 cocks of hay.	£25 12s 0d.
James Russell	11 fleeces of wool, 5 lambs, 23 cocks of hay, 400 sheaves of barley, 289 sheaves of oats, 45 sheaves of wheat and a half barrel of apples.	£12 9s. 9d.
Isaac Reeves	3 fleeces of wool and 1 lamb.	4s. 0d.
Thomas Lucas	40 fleeces of wool, 12 lambs, 7 cocks of hay, 325 sheaves of oats, 322 sheaves of barley, 111 sheaves wheat, 5 sheaves of beans, 9 sheaves of peas and 42 barrels of potatoes.	£5 16s. 0d.
Samuel Cherry	94 fleeces of wool, 30 lambs, 358 sheaves of barley, 96 sheaves of oats, 20 sheaves of peas, 30 sheaves of wheat, 15 cocks of hay.	£8 12s 4d.
Dennis Doyle	18 lambs and 25 fleeces of wool.	£3 18s. 0d.
John Welden	26 sheaves of barley, 79 sheaves of wheat, 112 sheaves of oats and 14 sheaves of peas.	10s. 0d.
Oliver Simmons	15 fleeces of wool, 5 lambs, 13 sheaves of barley, 80 sheaves of oats, 146 sheaves of barley and 160 sheaves of oats.	£1 18s. 0d.
John Boles	139 wool fleeces.	£6 0s. 0d.
Stephen & Joseph Collett	6 stone and 6 pounds of long wool.	£2 13s. 3d.
Deborah Cook	1 whole car of hay and 11s. from her shop-box.	13s. 6d.
Charles Howell	new bridle, 1 whole car load of hay.	6s. 0d.

John Sawyer	6 car loads of hay, 105 sheaves of wheat, 127 sheaves of barley, 399 sheaves of oats and 2 barrels of potatoes.	£2. 4s. 0d.
Thomas Godwin	5 lambs, 17 fleeces of wool, 180 sheaves of wheat, 250 sheaves of small barley, 280 sheaves of oats, 46 sheaves of peas and beans.	£4 5s. 9d.
Benjamin Russell	22 loads of hay, 190 sheaves of baro, 165 sheaves of barley, 157 sheaves of oats, 143 sheaves of wheat, 35 sheaves of peas and 24 sheaves of baro.	£2 16s. 0d.
John Winsloe	200 sheaves of baro, 150 sheaves of wheat, 146 sheaves of barley, 136 sheaves of oats, 20 sheaves of 6 fleeces of wool, 2 lambs, 2 loads of hay and 1 goose.	£2 0s. 0d.
John Ashton	7 car loads of hay, 340 sheaves of wheat, 160 sheaves of barley, 300 sheaves of oats, 170 sheaves of peas, 34 sheaves of baro, one goose and some potatoes.	£2 10s 10d.
James Shepperd	26 sheaves of baro, 8 sheaves of wheat, 140 sheaves of oats, 28 sheaves of barley 30 sheaves of peas and 2 car loads of hay.	15s. 9d.
James Hutchinson	55 fleeces of wool and 16 lambs.	£4 2s. 0d.

Source. National Sufferings, ii 1694-1705 (FHL D YM G 2).

Appendix 3:2

List of Sufferings of Tipperary Quakers, 1787

Seized by Justices' warrant - goods taken in kind:

Robert Dudley	9 st. flour, 12 st. wheat	£4 5s. 9d.
Thomas Grubb	bags of flour	£1 16s.0d.
James Keys	6 loads of hay	£3 0s. 0d.
Solomon Watson	10 fleeces of wool, 6 ridges of potatoes, 6 cocks of hay, 750 sheaves of wheat, 320sheaves of oats, 6 sheep.	£16 9s. 0d.
George Fennell	37 lambs, 71 fleeces, 3,160 sheaves of wheat, 2,103 sheaves of oats, 2,000 sheaves of barley, 4 loads of hay.	£58 12s. 6d.
Samuel Reeves	2 sacks of wheat, 2 sacksof barley, 1 sack of oats.	£8 0s. 0d.
William Fennell	1,325 sheaves of wheat, 600 sheaves of oats, 2 fleeces, parcel of hay.	£18 1s. 6d.
Joseph J. Fennell	11 fleeces, 8 lambs, 3 cocks of hay, 5,075 sheaves of wheat, 1,980 sheaves of barley, 2,549 sheaves of oats.	£41 3s. 3d.
Robert Fennell	36 fleeces, 18 lambs, 3,100 sheaves of wheat, 500 sheaves of oats, 22 cocks of hay, one hoggrel.	£38 15s. 0d.
Joshua Fennell	750 sheaves of oats, 13 cocks of hay, 21 fleeces, 13 lambs, 9 st. wheat.	£22 4s. 9d.

Seized in lieu of Priests' wages (i.e. Minister's money):

Robert Dudley	12 st. wheat, 4 large pewter plates	£2 3s. 5d.
Dudley and Mason	2 brass candlesticks, carpenter's hammer.	13s. 1d.
Thomas Chaytor	13 pewter plates and dish.	9s. 8d.
John Newbold	3 pewter plates.	3s. 3d.
Thomas Hughes	mug and jug.	1s. 8d.
John & Joseph Grubb	174 lb. lump sugar.	16s. 8d.
Simmons Sparrow	33 stones of wheat.	£1 14s. 1½d.
William Wade	1 pair tongs.	2s. 0d.
Stockdale & Malcomson	27 lbs. lump sugar.	2s. 5d.
Josiah Wood	1 pair of bellows 12 st. 1 lb. of wheat, a pair of hinges and 7 deal boards.	£1 13s. 5d.
Hannah Boardman	4 hankerchiefs.	11s. 0d.
Samuel Davis	20½ skeins of yarn.	6s. 0d.
Grubb & Beeby	43 skeins of yarn.	12s. 5d.
Nathan Beeby	4 skeins of yarn.	1s. 2d.

Samuel Rigg	3 curried calf skins and small piece of tanner's leather.	£1 7s. 5d.
Thomas Taylor	18 st. 3lbs. of wheat.	18s. 2½d.
Thomas Grubb	30 st. 5 lb. of wheat.	£1 15s. 2d.
Thomas & Samuel Grubb	31½ st. of wheat.	£1 12s. 1½d.
George Grubb	4 skeins of yarn.	1s. 1d.
Joseph Taylor	9¾ lbs. sugar.	9s. 9d.
William Taylor	2 hankerchiefs.	2s. 2d.
Joseph Grubb	young bullock, 33½ skeins of yarn.	£2 17s. 6d.
James Daniel, Jr.	9 st. of oats.	5s. 5d.
George Fennell	6 sheep	£6 15s. 0d.
Samuel Reeves	4 sheep	£4 0s. 0d.
James Malone	1 hankerchief	1s. 6d.
Robert Fennell	1 hoggrell	15s. 0d.

Justices' warrant and tithes in kind. £205 17s. 9d.

Priests' wages. £30 4s. 7½d.

Total: £236 2s. 4½d.

Source. Sufferings for tithes 1783-1798 (FHL D, MM G 1).

Appendix 3:3

List of Sufferings of Tipperary Quakers, 1788

Seized by justices' warrant:

James Malone	4 silk hankerchiefs.	£1 0s. 0d.
Thomas Grubb	58 stones of wheat.	£3 8s. 3d.
Joseph Grubb	9 balls worsted.	£1 9s. 3d.
Sarah Grubb	1 sack of flour.	£1 6s. 0d.
Joseph Wood	3 grid irons and 2 horse collars.	18s. 0d.
Robert Dudley	5 cwt. flour and 73 bags.	£4 0s. 0d.
Samuel Davis	54 sacks worsted.	10s. 0d.
Joseph Jackson	7 stone of wool.	£6 0s. 0d.
Joshua Fennell	163 stone of wheat.	£9 18s. 2d.

Taken in kind:

Hannah Boardman	2 cocks of hay.	8s. 0d.
James Keys	5 cartloads of hay.	£3 19s. 7½d.
Samuel Rigge	4 cartloads of hay	£1 10s. 0d.
Peter Banfield	1 stack of wheat	£1 0s. 0d.
Joseph Jackson	11 fleeces of wool and 5 lambs.	£4 0s. 0d.
George Fennell	3,673 sheaves of wheat, 1,012 sheaves of oats, 49 fleeces of wool, 11 lambs and 2 loads of hay.	£40 5s. 2d.
Joshua Fennell	21 fleeces of wool 7 lambs and 10 cocks of hay.	£13 16s. 0d.

Priests' wages (Minister's money):

Benjamin Grubb	24lb. lump sugar.	£1 1s. 0d.
Thomas Grubb	12½ stones of flour.	£1 5s. 3½d.
Samuel Rigge	1 side of saddler's leather and 2 calf skins.	£1 6s. 0d.
Samuel Grubb & Nathan Beeby	59 skeins of yarn.	15s. 8½d.
Peter & William Taylor	Ball of worsted	2s. 9d.
Stockdale & Malcomson	1 lb. of tea.	6s. 6d.
Robert Dudley	1 copper kettle, 1 pair of candlesticks 1 cwt of flour and seed flour.	£3 10s. 8d.
Samuel Grubb	50 stone of oats and 2 new bags.	£1 5s. 0d.
John Taylor	9¼ lbs. of lump sugar.	9s. 4d.
Thomas Chaytor	pewter.	16s. 3d.
James Daniel Jr.	12 st. 10 lb. of oats.	5s. 6d.
William Taylor	10 lb. of so-called gunpowder.	3s. 3d.
Godfrey Power	4 knives and forks.	3s. 3d.
Josiah Wood	1 grid iron.	3s. 0d.
James Malone	2 yards of thickset and 1½ yards of linen.	10s. 0d.
Joseph Wood	10 deal boards.	10s. 0d.
John Wilson	1 pair of foals.	1s. 4d.

George Grubb Samuel & Richard Sparrow	3 skeins of worsted. flour.	10d. £1 9s. 2d.
George Fennell	4 sheep.	£3 16s. 0d.
Joseph Jackson	1 empty hogshead and 1 ball of wool.	13s. 0d.
Michael Walshe	¼ ream of paper.	3s. 9½d.
Thomas Taylor	44 stone of oats.	18s 6d.
Samuel Davis	45 skeins of worsted.	12s. 2d.
Joseph Grubb	40 skeins of worsted.	11s. 8d.
Hannah Boardman	5 balls and 9 Ozs. worsted.	14s. 7d.
Thomas Grubb	empty sack.	2s. 0d.

Totals:

Justices' Warrant	£28 14s. 7d.
Ditto taken in kind	£57 18s. 9½d.
Priests' wages and church rates	£24 10s. 3½d.

Total: £111 3s. 8d.

Source. Sufferings for tithes 1783-1798 (FHL D, MM G 1).

Chapter 4

Quakers in Milling and Textiles c.1655-1913

This chapter will examine the nature of the commercial success of Tipperary Quakers. It will consider to what degree this was due to their adherence to Quaker principles or how the egalitarian structure of their meetings which facilitated their involvement in the affairs of the Society, helped in turn to foster entrepreneurial skills. It will demonstrate how their favourable geographical location enabled them to exploit favourable economic opportunities. This chapter will also show how Tipperary's Quaker community first came to commercial prominence through its successful involvement in the woollen trade and subsequently exploited the possibilities of an expanding corn industry. It will also trace their involvement in the cotton and linen industries. In conclusion, the chapter will trace the gradual collapse of the corn milling industry in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the impact Quaker industry had on the local community.

Quakers: business ethics and values

One of the most remarkable achievements of this persecuted minority, consisting of farmers, tradesmen and small business people, was the manner in which they triumphed over adversity and, in the course of time, became successful and prosperous members of the middle class. Participation in the affairs of their own Society provided a sound training which enabled members to cope with the business procedures of the secular world.¹ Although the administrative meetings of the Society generally related to religious concerns, a large proportion of their activities was strictly practical in content and created an environment which cultivated business and administrative expertise. This is reflected in the comprehensive nature of the records of the Society which are as complete an account of the affairs of a single group as it is possible to find. Monthly meetings dealt with such practical matters as the selection of officers, the collection of subscriptions and the disbursements of funds to provide assistance for poorer and

¹ Society of Friends, *Rules of discipline*, p.107.

imprisoned members. They also supervised education and apprenticeships, recorded births, marriages and deaths, and collected information about distraints for tithes. They corresponded with other meetings concerning certificates of removal and presentations of marriage. In addition to this, the democratic nature of Quakerism allowed its members to share in the administration and decision-making process.² Those who enjoyed such advantages became conversant with such skills as record keeping, decision making, keeping accounts and the conduct of correspondence, all of which could be usefully employed in the world of business.

All members were expected to live exemplary lives and give no cause for scandal. A high moral tone and sense of propriety was to be observed at all times, and a high degree of integrity exercised in the conduct of their affairs. The meeting insisted that if difficulties arose between members, it was expected that they should resolve them without recourse to the law. Hannah and Anna Grubb of Clonmel apologised to the meeting 'regretting having to recourse to law with Abraham Murray as a means of saving their property'.³

The meeting also made efforts to get the members to keep their affairs in order. They urged them to make wills to avoid trouble for surviving relatives and children, 'that if the Lord shall call any out of this world on a sudden, they may not leave their affairs or business in disorder or confusion'.⁴ As Olive Goodbody stated, 'Friends evolved their own system of watching that equity and justice were done to the children and to the widow of a man who may have died' and 'visits paid to people to see they were making wills and providing just allotment was made for the future lives of their families'.⁵ A preface to a book of wills belonging to the Dublin men's meeting stated that a book for recording the last words of deceased Friends was maintained to ensure that their wishes in respect to their estates be implemented, especially bequests 'to the children in their

² Up to the introduction of hereditary membership in 1737 business meetings of the Society, for both men and women, were restricted to a select number of members. As will be discussed in chapter 8, after this date all members could attend.

³ R. T. M. Minutes of men's monthly meeting 1849-1878, 29th day 8 mo. 1860 (F.H.L.D., MM X A7).

⁴ Society of Friends, *Rules of discipline*, Advice of yearly meeting 1699, p. 256.

⁵ Olive Goodbody, 'Quaker inventories' in *Irish Ancestor*, x, no. 1, (1975), p. 52.

minority that such estates will be looked into preserved from loss or waste, that such children, orphans etc. be not wronged'.⁶

As has been illustrated in chapter 3, on the death of John Boles of Woodhouse in 1731 an inventory of his property was made by Ann Boles, daughter, and his executor, Samuel Watson. Mary Leadbeater commended her late brother-in-law, Samuel Grubb (1750-1815) because 'he settled his outward affairs wisely and gave orders concerning his funeral in such a manner as to avoid hurry and bustle'.⁷ However, not all Tipperary Quakers were as diligent. In 1699, the Tipperary meeting appointed Samuel Cherry 'to make inspection into the recording of wills'.⁸ In 1709, the meeting rebuked Charles Howell and Isaac Newbold for not having sent in the inventory of the late Elizabeth Lawford's property, and desired them 'to send it in by next meeting so that it may be recorded'.⁹ This would appear to have been an ongoing problem for, at a meeting held in 1767, it was recorded that certain Clonmel Friends seemed behind in regards to their wills and it was desired 'that they make an appointment amongst themselves and endeavour to get it done before next meeting'.¹⁰ The meeting was also at pains to protect the interests of widows and children. In 1737, when Ann Collett complained about her uncle, Joseph, for misusing her legacy, the meeting acted promptly and took the matter out of his hands.¹¹

Attendance at local, provincial and national meetings promoted a high degree of social intercourse and helped to establish contacts outside their immediate communities. Often staying overnight, the occasion would be useful for an exchange of ideas and information on trade. These visits created opportunities, enabled Quakers to conduct

⁶ R.D.M. Minutes of Dublin men's meeting, 1684-1691, 25th day 6th mo. 1684. (F.H.L.D., MM 2 A2).

⁷ Mary Leadbeater, *The Leadbeater papers*, i, (London, 1867), p. 352.

⁸ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting 1724-1760, 21st day of 12th month, 1725 (F.H.L.D., MM X A2).

⁹ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting 1694-1724, 29th day 3 mo. 1709 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1)

¹⁰ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting 1761-1787, 11th day 12th month, 1767. (F.H.L.D., MM X A3).

¹¹ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six week's meeting 1724-1760, 10th day 7th month, 1737 (F.H.L.D., MM X A2).

their business more efficiently, and alerted them to untrustworthy traders. It has been stated that 'Quakerism itself did not, of course, guarantee success, but among those who did prosper, their commercial well-being was invariably cemented by access to such a network'.¹²

Given the closed nature of the Society, it was inevitable that the Quakers' choice of partner should be restricted within a small group with similar religious and business interests. Their extensive inter-marriage and large family networks were to have a considerable influence on their chosen areas of business. Access to capital and business was accelerated by 'shared marriage and commercial ties'.¹³ The generous marriage portions which, no doubt, accrued from these unions played a significant part in assisting to establish them in business and provided a basis for mortgages and investments. A number of such marriages contracted by members of Tipperary Quaker community will be discussed in chapter 7, while the possible commercial advantages accruing from such alliances is dealt with in chapter 5.

Their system of education provided a sound training for business and ensured a steady flow of well-trained men into Quaker business. 'Education was valued as a true preparation for life in all its aspects.'¹⁴ Quaker schools, as will be seen in chapter 7, in addition to providing a sound moral training contained a strong utilitarian element with a view to providing vocational preparation for specific occupations. Their intellectual energies found an outlet 'into the new and developing area of the applied sciences, the practical applications of which were fodder for the new Quaker businesses'.¹⁵ The importance of providing a suitable education for their children had always been one of the main concerns of Irish Quakers.¹⁶ Financial assistance was available to any family

¹² James Walvin, *The Quakers - money and morals* (London, 1997), p. 85.

¹³ Richard Harrison, 'As a garden enclosed. The emergence of Irish Quakers 1650-1750' in K. Herlihy (ed.), *The Irish dissenting tradition 1650-1750* (Dublin, 1995), p.89.

¹⁴ Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry*, p.33.

¹⁵ Windsor, *The Quaker enterprise*, p.169.

¹⁶ *Rules of discipline*, pp. 183-203.

who could not afford the costs involved,¹⁷ as was the case of James, son of Elizabeth Grubb of Clonmel which will also be discussed in the chapter 7.

As Greaves has observed, the number of Quaker writings in circulation from the beginning of the Society was considerable. As has been shown in the opening chapter, Tipperary Quakers were exhorted through their monthly meeting to purchase selected volumes,¹⁸ and every meeting house had its own library. As Greaves states:

The Quakers seized every opportunity to spread their message through the written word, an aspect of their work to which their meetings, especially at national and provincial levels, accorded diligent attention. This element of their work involved handwritten epistles as well as printed books and tracts.¹⁹

The net effect of the Quaker concern for education was that 'the whole Society was literate, in striking contrast to the condition of the working classes generally of the period'.²⁰ There is no way of testing the validity of this assertion for Tipperary Quakers but it could be argued that Irish Quakers possessed a high degree of literacy.²¹

Friends held clear views on the dignity of labour and on the inculcation of industrious habits. Campbell Stuart has claimed that:

no task was degrading since the Light was available to any man who wished for peace and power. When this principle is interpreted in the historical setting in which Friends began it will be seen as an adaptation to the narrowed field of activity open to them, as a corrective to the worldly powers which by their own choice and by external opposition Friends were denied, as a negation of the luxuries of aristocratic ranking The belief of Friends valued what each man did and tried to cut across the conceptions of certain types of work 'suitable' for certain ranks of society. So work in trade and craftsmanship and agriculture, the hand and brain that were in amongst things and vouching the just price, these were the badges of humility, daily assurances of usefulness to and triumph over 'the world' ... Practical work whether it be household duties, the fetching of supplies, the mending of linen and clothes, the care of the land, or other such simple duty, has always been recommended in Quaker schools.²²

¹⁷ Richard L. Greaves, *God's other children. Protestant nonconformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland* (California, 1997), pp.349-352

¹⁸ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six week's meeting, 6th day 7th month, 1730, (F.H.L.D., MM X A3).

¹⁹ Richard L. Greaves, *God's other children*, pp. 300-307.

²⁰ Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry*, p.33.

²¹ The yearly meeting 1672 began setting quotas for books, This meant that each monthly meeting was obliged to purchase a certain number of publications by Quaker authors.

²² W. A. Campbell Stuart, *Quakers in education* (London, 1953), p. 30.

The yearly meeting of 1697 advised that '... your children may not only be instructed in the languages and sciences, in the way of Truth, but likewise in some profitable and commendable labour of industrious exercises.' On completion of their education, Quaker parents set about finding apprenticeships for their children. If none were readily available, their local meeting made contact with fellow Quakers in other parts of the country with a view to securing suitable employment for the one in question. Tipperary Quakers, as will be discussed in chapter 7, were anxious to seek out suitable apprenticeships, which would both provide suitable training and safeguard the physical and moral interests of their children. Even wealthy Quakers like David Malcomson, as will be shown below, insisted that his children were obliged to learn their trade through engaging in manual labour in his corn mill.

Since Quakers held that religion permeated all aspects of life there was, for them, no division between the religious and secular life. It has been argued that Quakers 'are practical people whose beliefs are locked into the real, day-to-day world as much as the world hereafter',²³ and that 'the unification of life among Quakers, their refusal to separate business activities from the principles and disciplines which regulated their religious life, gave them a stability and soundness that was unusual in their day'.²⁴ As Wigham and Rynne state:

The Society's rigidly enforced ethic of honesty and integrity in business was the cornerstone of the success of Quaker industry and commerce in Ireland, and what began as a self-defence mechanism against its persecutors soon established sound, regulated business principles for Quakers taking advantage of improving economic conditions in the eighteenth century.²⁵

George Fox and many eminent Quakers, including William Penn and John Woolman, put forward practical suggestions for remedying what they considered to be the injustices in contemporary business practice. They wanted 'life to be lived better,

²³ D. B. Windsor, *The Quaker enterprise* (London, 1980), p. 22.

²⁴ Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry* (New York, 1950), p. 46.

²⁵ Billy Wigham and Colin Rynne, *A life of usefulness: Abraham Beale and the Monard Ironworks* (Blarney, 2000), pp. 7 & 8.

more honestly; they wanted to end the haggling and swindling of the market, by insisting that their yea was their yea and their nay nay'.²⁶

These aspirations were reflected by the clear guidelines laid down by the yearly meetings of the Society which formed the basis of a strict code of conduct governing business practice among other aspects of life. Regular epistles and advices were issued by the Society on business morality and these were later enshrined in the rules of discipline which were collated and published.²⁷ As early as 1675, members were admonished not to trade beyond their ability and keep their words in their dealings.²⁸ A century later, they were exhorted to keep their business undertakings within manageable proportions and encouraged to seek advice of each other before embarking on big ventures.²⁹

Members were frequently reminded to be upright and honest in their dealings. They were expected to give fair weights and measures and to sell at fair prices. Neither could they gloss over any defects in items for sale, and bargaining was to be avoided as it encouraged insincerity and dishonesty. Swearing no oath and signing no contracts, their word was their bond. They were also warned that 'the payment of just debts be not delayed', and also to be careful of not 'contracting extravagant debts' themselves'.³⁰ They should avoid the snare of accumulating wealth and speculating with a view to easy gain.³¹ This freed Quaker merchants and industrialists from profit accumulation, and made it easier for them to re-invest much of their returns into improving or developing their business concerns. They achieved a reputation for being honest and trustworthy traders as well as becoming respected and valued members of the community. 'In a world that was unstable, where speculation was rife and where business morals were generally lax, the stability, honesty, and independence of the Quaker attracted business to him'.³²

²⁶ William C. Braithwaite, *The beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912), pp. 218-219.

²⁷ Society of Friends, *Rules of discipline and advices of the yearly meetings of Friends in Ireland* (Dublin, 1841), p. 263.

²⁸ *ibid.*, Advice of yearly meeting 1675, p. 255.

²⁹ *ibid.*, Advice of yearly meeting 1808, p. 258.

³⁰ Society of Friends, *Rules of discipline*, Advice of yearly meeting 1692, p. 255.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 263.

³² Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry*, p. 48.

Local meetings also kept a keen eye on the business affairs of their members. As Walvin points out:

In commerce, as in private life, their behaviour was subject to the critical scrutiny of local meetings or the nominated officers. the implementation of Quaker policies was in their hands. Thus a complex but efficient bureaucracy was put to work to ensure that even the humblest of Friends accorded with Quaker standards.³³

The meeting provided assistance to help individual members start in business³⁴ and would also help them to overcome any current financial crisis. As Isichei has remarked 'even for those who lacked the advantage of inherited wealth a start in business, and opportunities to borrow capital, came fairly easily'.³⁵ It became corporate responsibility to ensure the solvency and honest dealing of its members and to make sure that their ventures were sound. Once a year, a committee would be appointed to visit all Friends and ensure that correct and careful accounts were kept.³⁶ However, we have no way of knowing to what degree this was implemented. If on the other hand a member found himself in difficulty, a number of experienced members were selected to visit him and inspect his business records. The minutes of the monthly meetings supply numerous examples of their adherence to this practice. If irregularities were discovered, such as debts unpaid or credit being over-extended, they would advise the member in question as to the best course of action.³⁷

Discipline was strict, and stringent measures could be taken against those who failed in business, or admitted inability to meet financial and other obligations. For Quakers such laxity was considered a moral fault and could incur banishment or disownment from the Society. The records of the Tipperary meeting indicate the Society's response to such defaulters, their expulsion being recorded in an uncompromising and forthright manner. Among those who were disowned were Nathan Beeby who 'failed in the payment of his debt' (1790), Anne Beeby who 'hath given way

³³ James Walvin, *The Quakers: money and morals* (London, 1997), p.33.

³⁴ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers and industry before 1800* (London, 1929), p. 77.

³⁵ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, (Oxford, 1970), p. 185.

³⁶ National Meeting Minutes, 1702 (FHLD); *Rules of discipline of the yearly meeting of Friends in Ireland* (Dublin, 1841), p. 260.

³⁷ Society of Friends, *Rules of discipline*, Advice of yearly meeting, 1819, p. 260.

to covetous disposition and concealed goods which were the property of her husband's creditors' (1799); James Shaw who 'swindled his partner in business and refused to pay his debts' (1809), William Reeves who 'stole from his master' (1813), Joseph Walpole who 'defrauded his employers' (no date given) and Thomas Greer who 'contracted debts to a considerable amount in the payment of which he failed' (1850).³⁸ Such actions incurred the stern disapproval of other members. Elizabeth Clibborn commenting on two Clonmel Friends who had got themselves into financial difficulties wrote, 'Charles Dudley has failed shamefully' or 'John Taylor has failed disgracefully'.³⁹

However, before such drastic action was taken every effort was made to give the offender an opportunity to make amends. The treatment of Clonmel Quaker, George Grubb, who, in 1819, who found himself in financial difficulties was typical of the procedure adopted by the meeting. As a result of a visit from members of the meeting to examine his affairs, he agreed to give up his property for the benefit of his creditors.⁴⁰ It should be stated that 'such an examination would be thorough and usually spread over sufficient time to enable the Friend in question to take advantage of any advice given'.⁴¹ However, the accounts produced by Grubb were in a very confused state and debts were greater than first imagined. Furthermore, he had indulged in the practice of raising funds on fictitious credit. After another visit he agree to pay his creditors 4/- in the £, but he did not appear to be able to account satisfactorily for the great deficiency in his property.⁴² On a further visit the impropriety of his conduct was pointed out to him. He then informed the members that he had placed his affairs in the hands of the commissioners of bankruptcy. Consequently, the meeting felt that he had 'nothing further to offer' and did 'not appear to be concerned for his conduct,' and it then proceeded to

³⁸ R.T.M. Testimonies of disunion (F.H.L.D., MM X O1, MM X O2).

³⁹ Elizabeth Clibborn's diary 1807-1813 (F.H.L.D.), pp. 2, 20.

⁴⁰ R.T.M. Minutes of men's monthly meeting, 29th day 4 mo. 1819 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

⁴¹ Billy Wigham and Colin Rynne, *A life of usefulness. Abraham Beale and the Monard ironworks*, p. 2.

⁴² R.T.M. Minutes of men's monthly meeting, 20th day 7 mo. 1819 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

draw up a testimony of disunion.⁴³ When it was read to him he offered no objection, and his membership of the Society was terminated.⁴⁴

On the other hand, if members in difficulty atoned for their indiscretion and were willing to meet their obligations the meeting made every effort to help them. Such was the case of John Murphy & John White of Clonmel who told the meeting that 'they were making efforts to sort themselves out'.⁴⁵ At a further meeting they submitted letters of condemnation as a gesture of contrition.⁴⁶ If the offending member was disowned and wished to have membership of the Society restored to him, he first had to pay back every penny he owed, even if this meant selling all his possessions to accommodate his creditors.

Another case which had a happier outcome was that of John Grubb (1816-1870), a relative of the above-mentioned George. In 1838, John Grubb, assisted by a provision of £1,000 from his father, set up in business. He went into partnership with his cousin, Henry Jacob, operating an iron and brass foundry on New Quay in Clonmel, where they manufactured steam engines, pumps, cranes, castings, boilers, mill brasses etc.⁴⁷ Details of the firm's activities are described in chapter 5. The firm got into financial difficulties and the partnership was dissolved on 17 August 1843. John Grubb surrendered all interest in the firm, in addition to paying £250 out of his private estate to meet debts incurred in the course of trading.⁴⁸ Grubb's degree of culpability for the bankruptcy is not clear. According to Isabel Grubb, the Quaker historian, her grandfather had no real responsibility for the finances of the firm.⁴⁹ Yet on the other hand, the list of disownments for the Tipperary meeting of the Society of Friends stated that he was

⁴³ *ibid.*, 30th day 9 mo. 1819.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 4th day 11 mo. 1819.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 7th day 8 mo. 1820.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 4th day 7 mo. 1822.

⁴⁷ *Shearman's Directory* 1839, p. 29; *Triennial Directory* 1840-42; Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992), p. 79.

⁴⁸ Indenture between Henry Jacob and John Grubb and John Sparrow, Wilson Kennedy and John Thacker Pim, 17 Aug. 1843 (N.A., D 16460).

⁴⁹ Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (Dublin, 1928), p. 11.

guilty of issuing a false audit.⁵⁰ While the firm continued under the management of Jacob, John Grubb was left to honour his obligations as best he could.

The Society took immediate action and John Grubb's membership of the Tipperary meeting was revoked. In December 1843, the year that he went bankrupt, John Grubb and his young family moved to Carrick-on-Suir where he opened an iron and coal business, presumably with assistance from other members of the family. However, the shame of disownment for such an ardent Quaker struck deep and he did everything in his power to redeem himself. He sold off his wedding presents,⁵¹ and auctioned off his household furniture from his home in Anglesea Street.⁵² He paid off ten shillings in the pound at the time, and fifteen years later, when he paid off his creditors in full, membership of the Society of Friends was restored to him.⁵³ Such disciplinary procedures not only helped to build up public trust in the business rectitude of the Quakers, but they also ensured high standards of caution and avoidance of risk-taking by the members themselves.

While they attained enormous power as individuals, it seems clear that at least some chose to use that power for the benefit of their employees, their local community and their industry. The proof of this lies in the achievements of Quakers in activities where the only motive could have been the common good. Similarly, Quakers were conscious of the need for progressive reform to improve the quality of life for their workers.⁵⁴ The equality and brotherhood of all men was a fundamental belief of the Quakers and ensured a close relationship between employer and employee, and their principles enjoined them to care for the dignity and rights of their workers.

This attitude towards those in their employment was in keeping with the Quaker philosophy on business morality. Such employers acted on the principle that George Fox expressed when he said that merchandise and trade were occupations 'in which ye may be

⁵⁰ R.T.M. Minutes of men's monthly meetings 1818-49 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

⁵¹ Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, p. 11.

⁵² *T.C.*, 4 Sept. 1843.

⁵³ Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, p. 11; Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, p. 59.

⁵⁴ D. W. Windsor, *The Quaker enterprise* (London, 1980), p.65.

serviceable unto God and to the creatures in your generation and a blessing both to God and man'. As Isabel Grubb has stated:

Since the making of money was not an end in itself, but a means of helping the community, business activities were to be pursued in moderation. A man was not to become absorbed in the pursuit of riches, but to keep atop of the world and its commerce. In this way he would not only have time to seek the real end of life, which is 'to know that life that never ends,' but loving others as well as himself he would not gain so much of this world's riches that were injured in consequence. In the same spirit he would recognise the claims of those in his employment and would treat them with justice, awaking in them love rather than fear.⁵⁵

In 1864, writing on the employment of women and girls in the family business in Clara, County Offaly, Lydia Goodbody recorded in her diary 'we desire that this business may prove a blessing to them, helping to gain an honest livelihood, and save them from some of the temptation of extreme poverty, as well as give good moral training'.⁵⁶

As employers, Quakers were also conscious of their obligations to their workers. The Malcomsons, in their Clonmel cotton factory which was set up in the 1820s, insisted on the personal cleanliness of the girls, while the facilities they provided for the workforce in their model industrial village at Portlaw included the services of a doctor, provision for education, subsidised housing and encouragement of thrift and temperance. A typical gesture of appreciation of their workforce appears to have been the organisation of annual outings. This was common practice for such firms as the Malcomsons, Murphy's brewery in Clonmel and Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir, a man who enjoyed a reputation as a conscientious and compassionate employer. At the conclusion of one such excursion in 1882, Joseph Ernest was presented with the following address from his employees:

As an employer you have dealt liberally and fairly towards us in the matter of wages, and you have also taken a deep and practical interest in our welfare and that of our families, always showing yourself solicitous for our advancement morally and socially, as well as pecuniarily.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and industry before 1800* (London, 1929), pp. 45, 46.

⁵⁶ Margaret Stewart, *The Goodbody's of Clara* (Dublin, 1965), p.5.

⁵⁷ Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, pp. 49,50.

A similar tribute occurred in his obituary notice which said that 'he and his family had intimate personal knowledge of the workers, visited their homes when they were ill and were unceasing in their zeal for their comfort and welfare.'⁵⁸

David Malcomson passed a similar comment on the girls employed in his Clonmel cotton factory when he declared, 'in order to save these little girls from the wretched fate to which their poverty had doomed them, I have snatched them out of garrets and of cellars, and placed them here'.⁵⁹ The Malcomsons provided employment for a number of girls from the Clonmel workhouse and other unions. In a report by the master of the Clonmel workhouse we are told that the girls were given accommodation which was clean and well ventilated and that several of the girls proved sufficiently competent to be awarded money premiums.⁶⁰

It should be stated that the provision of welfare and social institutions by the Malcomsons for the workers in their cotton factory at Portlaw was not strictly altruistic, but had utilitarian overtones. As Tom Hunt has remarked in a recent study, 'the elaborate social structure constructed by the family was not only desirable in itself but was also good for business', and the education provided 'was not designed to lead to upwards mobility or future prosperity but to produce a more efficient operative.' He goes on to quote William Malcomson who, in 1871, remarked 'that man that can both work and think was able to produce more in any employment than the uneducated worker. If they had not an educated class of labourers they could not get a fair day's work from the machinery'.⁶¹

It is well to bear in mind that many Quaker employers were self-made men, who achieved success through dint of hard work, and expected no less of their employees. Hours were invariably long and pay was generally low. This assertion is borne out from the working conditions in the Malcomson cotton factory in Clonmel, described below. A

⁵⁸ *C.N.*, 12 Oct. 1927.

⁵⁹ Richard Lalor Shiel, 'A glimpse of industrial Clonmel' in *Catholic Record* (Sept. 1918), p. 116.

⁶⁰ Eamonn Lonergan, *St. Joseph's hospital, Clonmel* (Clonmel, 2000), pp. 43-46.

⁶¹ Tom Hunt, *Portlaw, County Waterford 1825-1876. Portrait of an industrial village and its cotton industry* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 70, 71.

traveller passing through Tipperary in the 1840s was informed that 'The Quakers are very hard upon us here, ma'am; giving us work but a little time, and if a poor Irishman is to be a little comfortable, they say "he's been robbing us"'.⁶² It should also be pointed out, that for the time, the culture of long hours for low pay was not exceptional. Furthermore, many Quakers themselves engaged in domestic, industrial or commercial work, or were employed by others. Feeling responsible for the moral welfare of their employees they felt obliged to regulate even their leisure time. As Isabel Grubb stated, 'the life of the Quaker maid in domestic service was hardly an enviable one, for the recommendation to the master to see that the servant made a profitable use of his or her leisure time was sometimes translated into a restriction of that time'. Sarah Lynes Grubb, during her employment in the service of Sarah Grubb at Anner mills, was one who felt that the 'drudgery of domestic service deprived her of the full liberty to exercise her gift as a preacher'.⁶³

Other commentators have suggested that discrimination forced Quakers to seek alternative avenues of advancement by compelling them to channel their energies into the fields of industry and commerce. At a time when they were barred from university and the public service, they were forced to find alternative outlets to earn a living. Another view is offered by the following observation: 'Suffering persecution and constantly having their possessions taken from them, they went in for trade and manufacturing, where stocks could be replaced, and a business could be restarted overnight'.⁶⁴ It could also be argued that the 'effect of persecution was the spur to make them strive to demonstrate to the world their real integrity and trustworthiness'.⁶⁵

Furthermore, their insistence on simplicity of living, frugality, and their distrust of worldly amusements such as music, theatre and other idle diversions, helped to focus their attentions on business. As Isichei has noted, 'In the heyday of Quaker puritanism, both Friends and outsiders often remarked on the fact that Friends' rejection of many of

⁶² Asenath Nicholson, *Ireland's welcome to the stranger or excursions through Ireland in 1844 & 1845* (London, 1847), p. 98.

⁶³ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and industry before 1800* (London, 1929), p. 167.

⁶⁴ David Windsor, *The Quaker enterprise*, p.1.

⁶⁵ Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry*, p. 44.

the pleasures of their society allowed them to direct their energies more single-mindedly to the pursuit of wealth'.⁶⁶ Citing the words of Mr. George Cadbury, founder of the famous chocolate firm, who attributed his success in business to iron parsimony in his early years, she says, 'the training of Friends gave them the qualities most likely to lead to success in business. They were taught self-denial, rigid abstinence from all luxury and self-indulgence'.⁶⁷

As David Windsor has remarked 'they adopted the typical Protestant ethic: wealth for its own sake was a sin, work for its own sake was a virtue. Simplicity and economy was to become their trade mark'.⁶⁸ In the 1770s, Arthur Young commented favourably on their success and their refusal to accept the contempt for trade which prevailed among the gentry of Ireland. He added that 'many Quakers, who are (taking them all in all) the most sensible class of people in that kingdom, are exceptions to this folly'.⁶⁹ On the whole, towards the end of the eighteenth century, Irish Quakers were looked upon by their contemporaries as wealthy and successful traders'.⁷⁰

In the opinion of Maxwell 'wherever there were Quaker settlements there was always considerable prosperity'.⁷¹ It would appear that Clonmel Quakers had won for themselves such a reputation, for it was their ability to succeed in business which prompted the corporation of Kilkenny, in 1775, to send a letter to the Friends of Clonmel, inviting members of the Society to come and reside in their city. The corporation offered to build a meeting house, to provide ground for a graveyard and, not being acquainted with Quaker practice, made an allowance for a preacher's salary. The letter began by stating that where Quakers settled prosperity followed.⁷² There is no indication that the offer was accepted.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 183.

⁶⁷ *ibid*, p. 183

⁶⁸ David Windsor, *The Quaker enterprise*, p. 17.

⁶⁹ Arthur Young, *A tour of Ireland*, ii, (London, 1892), p.248.

⁷⁰ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and industry*, p.18.

⁷¹ Constantia Maxwell, *Country and town in Ireland under the Georges* (London, 1940), p. 245.

⁷² J. William Frost (ed.), *The records and recollections of James Jenkins* (New York, 1984), p.89.

Although it has been stated that 'the nature of Quakerism contributed significantly to the Friends' successful business endeavours',⁷³ it is impossible to quantify the extent of this influence. However, Tipperary Quakers were favourably positioned to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the development of the woollen and corn industries, two industries which underpinned Irish economic growth in the eighteenth century. In the opinion of Kelly, the position of Irish Quakers during this period reflected their Tipperary brethren when he wrote that they:

were articulate, literate, disciplined and well organised. A web of contacts based on religious and family links bound them together and their enterprising spirit ensured that they were well placed to take advantage of opportunities as the Irish economy embarked on one of its most sustained periods of growth.⁷⁴

The impact of the Quakers on the industrial life of County Tipperary

The rapid rise to prominence of the Quakers in the industrial life of Clonmel can be attributed to a combination of factors. Their entry into business occurred at a time when the town was on the threshold of economic expansion. Mid-eighteenth century Clonmel was described as being 'as somnolent as a backwood settlement'.⁷⁵ Trade was mainly of a local nature, and apart from a few scattered houses in the suburbs, the town scarcely extended beyond its medieval dimensions. By 1787, dramatic changes were taking place. The ancient town walls were being demolished on the quays to accommodate the town's growing urban fabric and expanding river trade:

Clonmel had acquired a new quay in 1788 and a new jail in the 1790s to add to the existing range of buildings which included a tholstel and a courthouse; in 1748 a shambles with twenty-seven stall for butchers were erected and by 1813 John Bagwell had built a new shambles rented from him by the town's forty-one butchers.⁷⁶

The quay became the focal point of the town's economic activity, and became the site for many large houses and other commercial buildings, which as the Griffith valuation was to

⁷³ Helen E. Hatton, *The largest amount of good. Quaker relief in Ireland 1654-1921* (Montreal, 1993), p.21.

⁷⁴ James Kelly, 'From splendour to famine' in Sean Duffy (ed.) *Atlas of Irish history* (Dublin, 1977), p. 73.

⁷⁵ W. P. Burke, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907; reprint Kilkenny, 1983), p.127.

⁷⁶ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society in eighteenth century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993), p.57

subsequently show, were predominantly in Quaker hands. Before the end of the eighteenth century the catalyst for the town's economic transformation was the corn trade, an industry which was monopolised by the Quakers, and which was the cornerstone of Clonmel's prosperity for almost one hundred years. One contemporary commentator stated that:

Many of the wealthy inhabitants of Clonmel send great quantities of flour, corn and potatoes down the river in large boats to Waterford, and get back coal, iron, and other necessary articles in return. The Quakers are the principal actors in the trade, and have expended many thousands of pounds in extensive buildings of various kinds and in other useful improvements in Clonmel. They give employment to a great number of poor people, and have created a general spirit of industry which, in a great measure, destroys the licentious spirit the poor are prone to when unemployed.⁷⁷

In 1812, Wakefield observed that 'the greater part of the goods imported into Waterford are only unloaded on the quays and sent forward to Clonmel, which has more internal commerce than any town in Ireland'.⁷⁸ Pigot described the Clonmel corn market of the 1820s 'as being as extensive as any in the kingdom, and the merchants and traders evince a more enterprising spirit, and transact more business, than those of any town of equal size in Ireland'.⁷⁹ Visitors to the town during the 1830s and 1840s were impressed by its prosperous air and progressive appearance.⁸⁰ The profits of industry financed the erection of many impressive town and country houses,⁸¹ and the new prosperity was also reflected by a dramatic growth in population. In 1799, Clonmel had a total population of 9,212⁸² which continued to rise steadily throughout the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Three documents, which form part of the archives of the parish of St. Mary's Protestant church, furnish the details of the valuations of new houses erected in the parish, made in the years 1820, 1828 and 1839, during which period 686 houses

⁷⁷ 'Clonmel 1760' in *C.C.*, 20 Dec. 1930.

⁷⁸ Edward Wakefield, *An account of Ireland statistical and political*, ii, (London, 1812), p.22.

⁷⁹ *Pigot's Directory 1824*, p. 236.

⁸⁰ H. D. Inglis, *Journey throughout Ireland 1834*, i, (London, 1835), p130; Mr. & Mrs. S. C. Hall, *Ireland its scenery, character*, i, (London, 1842), p.66.

⁸¹ 'Clonmel: 1820-1840' in *C.N.*, 18 March 1950.

⁸² Grubb collection, Ms box 44, SGA 33 (F.H.L.D.).

were built.⁸³ By 1841, its population of 13,505 made it the second most populous inland urban centre in Ireland, second only to Kilkenny, and the eleventh most populous of the thirty-three parliamentary boroughs.⁸⁴ The following description indicates the prosperity and importance of Clonmel on the eve of the famine:

Though it had lost its woollen industry, road and river transport met here and its warehouses were filled with grain, butter and bacon to be carried by road or river to Waterford for shipping to Liverpool and Manchester. Bacon-curing, flour-milling, and cotton weaving (the last under the care of the Malcomson family who had built the factory at Portlaw) were all successful. Clonmel was an assize town for the South Riding of Tipperary and had a garrison. There too the headquarters of the Bianconi car services were established in 1815 and for thirty years before the railways covered Ireland, they were extremely successful.⁸⁵

The impact of Quaker involvement in the economic development of the small market town of Clogheen was no less dramatic. The hearth money records for the mid-seventeenth century show that the parish of Shanrahan, which now incorporates the present town of Clogheen, contained a mere eight households. By 1750, Clogheen could be described as a neat market town, much improved of late by its landlord Cornelius O'Callaghan, who had encouraged artificers, particularly manufacturers of friezes and ratteens, to settle there.⁸⁶ By the 1840s Clogheen had a population of 2,049 and contained 320 houses. The workforce consisted of 107 families employed chiefly in agriculture, 210 in manufacture and 48 in other pursuits.⁸⁷ Apart from the presence of a small brewery, it is obvious that the majority of those engaged in manufacture were employed in the milling industry. The significance of the Quaker involvement in milling is underlined by Smyth's observations: although the establishment of a garrison and the selection of the small town as an administrative centre for the Shanbally estate both contributed to its growth it was the corn boom that made the greatest changes in Clogheen town.⁸⁸ He went on to say that:

⁸³ 'Clonmel 1820-1840' in *C.N.*, 18 March 1950.

⁸⁴ Sean O'Donnell, 'Clonmel Corporation 1842-98: A municipal survey', unpublished Ph. D. thesis (Maynooth, 1996), p.33.

⁸⁵ T. W. Freeman 'Irish towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' in R. A. Butlin (ed.), *The development of the Irish town* (New Jersey, 1977), p. 126.

⁸⁶ 'Tipperary 1750' in *C.N.*, 19 April, 1924.

⁸⁷ *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, i (Dublin, 1844), p. 416.

⁸⁸ W. J. Smyth, 'Clogheen-Burncourt, A social geography of a rural parish in south

friezes and other coarse woollens for the local market. Irish producers were forced to concentrate on providing bay yarn for the home market and exporting it to England. In 1739, the British government, in order to create a greater supply of wool for their own industry, repealed most of the import duties on Irish wool and woollen yarn. From the late 1740s, much of the wool was converted into yarn for the English market, while at the same time the Suir valley became one of the major wool-combing areas in the country.⁹³ While Carrick became famous for the production of ratteens, Clonmel produced camlets, serges and yarn.⁹⁴ Clonmel, with its navigable links with the port of Waterford, was ideally placed to exploit this lucrative opportunity. The town became a focal point in the Suir valley region as a wool centre and a purchasing centre for the English market.

Woollen Industry c. 1655-1814

Dickson has claimed that the 1699 legislation had undermined 'in particular the economy of Church of Ireland (and Quaker) urban communities in the south'.⁹⁵ This was contrary to the Quaker experience in Tipperary. From the beginning, textiles were central to Quaker commercial activities and 'it was on the basis of industries and activities related to the distribution and use of textiles that many Irish Quakers were able to build up their wealth'.⁹⁶ As has been stated, Tipperary's early Quakers were primarily engaged in agriculture. Many of them were involved in sheep raising, from the extensive herds of the Fennells to the more modest ones of smaller farmers. In seventeenth century Tipperary, the large sheep population provided the raw material for the woollen manufacturing of Clonmel⁹⁷ and Carrick-on-Suir.⁹⁸ Much of the weaving that was widespread in the Suir valley was organised by the Quakers. 'The poor Catholicicks in the

⁹³ Louis Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1972), p.66.

⁹⁴ G. T. Stokes (ed.), *Pococke's tour in Ireland in 1752* (Dublin & London, 1891), pp. 125-26.

⁹⁵ David Dickson, *New foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin, 2000), p. 52.

⁹⁶ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin city Quakers', p.379; Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry*, pp. 69-82.

⁹⁷ J. M. Goldstrom and L. A. Clarkson (eds.) *Irish population, economy and society* (Oxford, 1981), p.24.

⁹⁸ L. A. Clarkson, 'The Carrick-on-Suir woollen industry' in *Irish Economic and Social History Journal*, xvi (1989), pp. 23-41.

South of Ireland spin wool very generally but the purchasers of their labour and the whole worsted trade is in the hands of the Quakers of Clonmel, Carrick etc.⁹⁹ Raw wool purchased at the fairs of Ballinasloe and Mullingar, was moved to the combing and spinning districts of the south and east. One of those to attend such fairs was Samuel Grubb who distributed the raw wool to local spinners and combers.¹⁰⁰ Clonmel also acted as a purchasing centre,¹⁰¹ from where the wool was conveyed to Waterford and exported to Bristol or Norwich. Young declared that where 'after paying freight, landing duties and the rest' there was 'a handsome profit' to be made'.¹⁰² At the time when there was a substantial export market in bay yarn, the Quakers dominated the industry to such an extent that the wool trade was considered a Quaker preserve. Cullen has claimed that Irish Quakers 'controlled virtually the whole of the worsted and yarn trade'.¹⁰³

Various members of Clonmel's Quaker community were involved in the woollen industry. These included Hannah Boardman and Peter Taylor, who were described as woollen manufacturers at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Others mentioned were James Moore, Samuel Jacob and Samuel Davis.¹⁰⁵ However, it would appear that much of this trade was in the hands of various members of the Grubb family. In assessing the importance of the Grubbs in the wool business, Roy Foster states 'that powerful Quaker interests connected with the worsted wool trade, like the Grubbs of Clonmel, set up contacts with their fellow Quakers, particularly in Liverpool and Bristol'.¹⁰⁶ Cullen makes the point that location played a significant part in Grubb fortunes when he wrote:

In the worsted yarn trade the Irish master-combers were too numerous and in many cases were too far inland to make direct contact between them and the Norwich yarn wholesalers practicable. The Grubbs of Clonmel, however, who had the advantage of being near the port of Waterford, sometimes shipped their yarns

⁹⁹ Arthur Young, *Tour of Ireland*, ii, p.65.

¹⁰⁰ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 1 no. 6. Richard Shackleton to Samuel Grubb, 10th day 7 mo. 1777.

¹⁰¹ *F.L.J.*, 7-11 Aug. 1773.

¹⁰² Arthur Young, *Tour of Ireland*, i, p.299.

¹⁰³ Louis Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade 1660-1800* (Manchester, 1968), p.93.

¹⁰⁴ W. Burke, *History of Clonmel*, p.471.

¹⁰⁵ R.T.M. Sufferings 1800-1868 (FHL, MM X G2).

¹⁰⁶ R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p.201.

direct to England, on other occasions sold them to Waterford or Cork merchants.¹⁰⁷

Although there is no direct evidence of Joseph Grubb's involvement in the woollen industry, his marriage to Sarah Greer from Ballinakill, County Leix, whose family were involved in the wool business, and that of his daughter, Rebecca, to Joseph Strangman, a member of a Waterford family heavily engaged in the export of woollens, suggest a compatibility of interests. Joseph's son, John, married Sarah Pim, whose father controlled one third of the total bay yarn from the port of Dublin.¹⁰⁸ Two contemporary documents enable us to trace the development of John Grubb's wool business. In 1766 he was operating as an independent trader concentrating on the Exeter, Poole and Bristol area. In that same year, he exported wool to the value of £300,¹⁰⁹ while six years later, according to a London banker he 'could send about £1,000 or £1,500 worth (of yarn in a year).¹¹⁰

In 1766, when John Grubb travelled to London to attend the Society's Yearly Meeting, he also availed of the opportunity to secure wool orders.¹¹¹ Entries taken from a diary of his travels show that he had contact with the Gurneys of Norwich and, more than likely, that either he or his father, Joseph, acted as an agent for the Gurneys, who were the largest wool merchants in England in the early 1770s. Entries in the Gurney papers for the years 1770-72 indicate that Simmons Sparrow and Richard Davis of Clonmel, William Fennell and Joseph Jackson of Cahir, and Eleazor Dudley of Roscrea were among their Irish wool suppliers.¹¹² The Gurney firm was also considering the appointment of Thomas Hughes of Clonmel as agent, of whom it was said he 'made the greatest improvement of any in the Clonmel yarn, particularly the Grubbs, with whom he

¹⁰⁷ Louis Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade 1660-1800* (Manchester, 1968), p. 112.

¹⁰⁸ R. Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business', p.384

¹⁰⁹ Grubb collection. MS. box 44, SGB no. 2 (F.H.L.D.).

¹¹⁰ Gurney MSS. Letter of Robert Bell to John and Richard Gurney of Norwich 27 Feb., 1772. (Friends' House, London, section 1).

¹¹¹ Grubb Collection. MS. box 44, SGB/2/1 (F.H.L.D.).

¹¹² Gurney MSS. John Gurney Jr. to Richard Gurney, yarn account 30 ix 1770 (Friends' House, London; Gurney MSS. Thomas Bland to John Gurney, Jr. Leinster makers, 24 i 1771 (Friends' House, London, section, 1).

long laboured'.¹¹³ The average consignment from Clonmel was about 150 packs at a valuation of about £400.¹¹⁴

Joseph Grubb's eldest son, Thomas, was listed among the Waterford merchants who were part of the lucrative wool trade with Minehead in Somerset during the period 1766-1775.¹¹⁵ Commenting of the Grubb wool operation Cullen has stated that they 'had the advantage of being near the port of Waterford, sometimes shipped their yarn direct to England, on other occasions sold them to Waterford or Cork merchants'.¹¹⁶ From the early to the mid-1770s, two Quaker firms controlled the export of yarn through the port of Waterford. The firm of Jacob, Watson and Strangman supplied over 73%, while Thomas Grubb shipped the remainder.¹¹⁷ In 1773, there is mention of him exporting 170 bales of bay yarn from Waterford to Minehead.¹¹⁸ Another family member, George Grubb, a first cousin of John, was described as a weaver and wool comber.¹¹⁹

The importance of the woollen industry to Clonmel's economy is obvious from the following:

In the early part of the 19th century woollen manufacturers in Clonmel gave employment to 300 wool combers, whose average weekly wages amounted to £250. These in turn gave constant employment to 20 spinners each. The woollen industry thus gave employment to 6,000, the wages of whom, at an average of 5s. each, amounted to the sum of £1,500 per week. The woollen trade, in addition, gave employment to a great number of sorters and washers. Two hundred looms were constantly at work, each of which averaged a receipt of from 10s. to 16s. per week. All these employees, together with dyers, pressers and finishers, caused at the lowest calculation a local expenditure of £2,000 per week and set afloat an annual sum of £100,000 in a circle of five miles radius around Clonmel.¹²⁰

¹¹³ Gurney Mss. Jacob, Watson & Strangman to R. & J. Gurney, sale of yarn, 27 ii 1772 (Friends' House, London, section 1).

¹¹⁴ Gurney MSS. Letter of T. Bland to Gurney Bros. 17 June, 1769 (Friends' House, London, section 1. no. 345).

¹¹⁵ P. C. Power, *History of Waterford city and county* (Cork, 1990), p.386.

¹¹⁶ Louis Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade 1660-1800* (Manchester, 1968), p. 112.

¹¹⁷ John Mannion, 'The Waterford merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland provisions trade, 1770-1820' in Louis Cullen and P. Butel (eds). *Negoce et industrie En France et en Irlande aux XVIII and XIX siecles* (Bordeaux, 1980), p.37.

¹¹⁸ *F.L.J.*, 7-11 Nov. 1773.

¹¹⁹ Indenture between James Mason and George Grubb, 1782. (F.H.L.D., D IIB 65).

¹²⁰ J. F. McCarthy. 'Clonmel in the early nineteenth century' in *High School Annual, Clonmel* (Clonmel, 1948), p. 14. Unfortunately, the writer cites no sources. It would appear that the information given refers to the 1770s when the woollen industry in the town was at its peak, rather than the early nineteenth century when it was in decline.

In addition to Clonmel, the woollen industry was established in other locations which had established Quaker communities. Around 1750, the O'Callaghan estate in Clogheen had 'encouraged artificers, particularly manufacturers of friezes and ratteens, to settle there'.¹²¹ Of the two wool-combing establishments subsequently set up in the village, at least one of them was Quaker operated. The earliest reference to Quaker involvement in woollen manufacture in this location dates to 1764, when their presence incurred the wrath of rival producers. It was stated that persons unknown had 'posted up threatening papers etc. in Clogheen to prevent William Fennell and some other Quakers, or people for spinning for their carrying on the woollen manufactory'.¹²² In 1772, a Quaker manufacturer in Clogheen received 115 stone of wool from the O'Callaghan estate at Shanrahan.¹²³ This may have been a further reference to the same William Fennell of Shurebank, Cahir who, two years previously, had extended his operations by renting Cahir Castle from Lord Cahir, where he kept a number of wool combers employed.¹²⁴ In north Tipperary, the woollen industry was considered to be 'the principal trade'¹²⁵ in the town of Roscrea. The Dudley family, the principal Quaker family in the town at the end of the eighteenth century, was involved in the trade, while in the eighteen twenties, fellow-Quaker William Rhodes of Main Street was listed as a woollen manufacturer.¹²⁶ Only one description of a Tipperary Quaker woollen factory survives. Run by the Jackson family at Brookfield, outside Cahir, it was described as a 'five storey building, sixty foot long and thirty foot wide'.¹²⁷ It was probably built by Joseph Jackson towards the end of the eighteenth century and was later run by his eldest son, Thomas.

¹²¹ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society in eighteenth century Tipperary*, p.40; MS. 24 (Royal Irish Academy, G. 9. 278)

¹²² William Burke, *History of Clonmel*, p.365.

¹²³ W. J. Smyth, 'Estate records and the making of the Irish landscape: An example from County Tipperary' in *Irish Geography* (1976), p.36.

¹²⁴ Louis Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade*, p. 100.

¹²⁵ R.D., 33/467/20936, 33/303/20395, 35/133/21447, 123/190/84151; Cahir Ms 772 (N.L.I., (4), 35).

¹²⁶ *Pigot's Directory 1824*, p.307

¹²⁷ *C.A.*, 11 Dec. 1824.

The wool combing districts had reached or even passed their peak of employment by the 1780s.¹²⁸ An increase in cereal cultivation led to a contraction of grazing lands, resulting in higher wool prices which in some cases encouraged fraudulent practices. In 1772, a letter addressed to the Gurneys of Norwich by the firm of Jacob, Watson and Strangman of Waterford voiced concerns about the quality of yarn being produced in Clonmel.¹²⁹ Difficulties were compounded by the introduction of cheap imports, and a decrease in demand for home produced woollens was followed by redundancies. The decline, in Tipperary at any rate, appears to have been related to cheaper English imports and the new emphasis on cattle-fattening and tillage. Proudfoot claims that 'the higher urban-labour production costs ultimately helped to lessen its competitiveness in the face of growing English competition in the closing decades of the eighteenth century.'¹³⁰ In 1783, the worsted weavers of Roscrea petitioned parliament for the imposition of protective duties to mitigate their distress from rising imports.¹³¹ In 1786, for instance, the master combers of Clonmel had to lay off eighty journeymen combers, because the rise in wool prices made it impossible for them to sell the finished product at a profit, leaving thousands of pounds of unsold worsted on their hands.¹³²

In 1808, regret was expressed at the decline of what was described as Clonmel's 'staple trade', and it was hoped that steps would be taken to revive the industry.¹³³ In 1814, it would appear that the Jackson factory at Brookfield, between Cahir and Mitchelstown, had closed. Offered for sale were 'a complete set of machines for the manufacture of woollen goods' which included one scribbling machine, one carding engine, one wool breaker, one billy, four jennies and eight broad looms with dyeing apparatus.¹³⁴ Ten years later, the factory building itself was advertised for sale, including

¹²⁸ Louis Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland since 1660*, p. 99.

¹²⁹ Gurney Mss. Jacob, Watson & Strangman to Gurney Bros., 27th day 2 mo. 1772 (Friend's House, London, II 458 1772).

¹³⁰ L. J. Proudfoot, 'Religious change and social protest, c. 1700 to c.1900' in B. J. Graham & L. J. Proudfoot (eds.), *An historical geography of Ireland* (London, 1993), p.188

¹³¹ Commons' jn. (Ir.), 1781-1784, xi pt. 1, p. 145.

¹³² *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 12-16 Aug. 1786.

¹³³ *C.H.*, 20 Jan.1808.

¹³⁴ *C.A.*, 31 July 1814.

a number of looms, carding engine and other machinery on the premises. The advertisement also stated that many thousands of pounds had been expended on the factory and that the building 'may be adapted either for the original purpose, or for cotton or flour manufacture or a distillery' and that it was served by water with a forty-foot fall.¹³⁵

In 1836, John Grubb, writing from England to his brother, Joseph, said 'I know that the Woollen Trade has very much left the South - We can remember when the Wool combing Trade was almost the staple Manufacture in Clonmel & now quite gone. I believe our brother I hear was the last who followed that business in Clonmel; we hear nothing now of going to the great wool fair at Ballinasloe, or to the spinning house in county Waterford every fortnight, nothing of the Carrick Rattens or Kilkenny blankets'.¹³⁶

Cotton Industry 1788-c.1795

In the face of the decline of the bay yarn industry and the demand for the cheaper cotton goods which were coming on the market, some Quakers were tempted to experiment with the transfer of their resources and expertise to cotton production.¹³⁷ As Rodgers notes, cotton, in particular, attracted attention in the 1780s as the solution to the problems of Ireland's textile industry and developed under heavy protection ... it was also seen as an answer to rural poverty ... its introduction was hailed as an example of an 'improving' and thus patriotic venture.¹³⁸ Dickson argues that government financial incentives may have been a compelling factor.¹³⁹

The first Quaker venture into the cotton industry was a Grubb initiative, but it was to prove short-lived. Encouraged by bounties from the Dublin Society for the production of home produced cotton, a factory was opened in Clonmel in 1788, and was

¹³⁵ C.A., 11 Dec. 1824.

¹³⁶ J. F. Carroll and O. Goodbody (eds.), *Extracts of letters from John Grubb to Joseph Grubb 1768-1844* (Dublin, 1966), p.100. The deceased 'brother' refers to James Malone, who died in 1825.

¹³⁷ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business', p.386.

¹³⁸ Nini Rodgers, 'Ireland and the black Atlantic in the eighteenth century' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxii, no. 126 (Nov. 2000), p. 183.

¹³⁹ David Dickson, *New foundations Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin, 2000), p. 85.

operated by the Grubbs in partnership with two Dublin businessmen.¹⁴⁰ An advertisement of the time gives some indication of the range of produce for sale. This consisted of muslins, dimities, printed, dyed and white calicoes, shawls and hankerchiefs, thicksets, corduroys, janes, fustians etc., together with a great variety of linens, lawns, cambricks, diapers, and tablecloths; broad stuffs and trimmings.¹⁴¹ It would appear that the enterprise proved unsuccessful, and a lease dated 31 December 1795¹⁴² indicates that by that date the factory had closed. There is nothing to indicate the cause of its closure, other than Power's comment on the fate of the industry in the province as a whole, 'Though initially successful, after 1800, the cotton industry declined in line with the experience throughout Munster.'¹⁴³

Corn Milling c.1772-1814

The industry with which the Quakers became synonymous was milling. From 1758, stimulated by bounties from central government on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin, there was a marked increase in cereal production.¹⁴⁴ By the beginning of the 1770s, Tipperary had emerged as the third most important Irish county in the corn trade, and in the period 1786-1790 nineteen of the county's forty-seven existing mills were opened.¹⁴⁵ It seems that the wave of mill construction in Tipperary reached its peak during the years of high prosperity associated with the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.¹⁴⁶ The Quakers were involved in the milling industry from an early date, constituting even in the 1780s an identifiable and influential group in the trade.¹⁴⁷

The opportunity for Tipperary's Quakers occurred at a time when many of them had accumulated the necessary capital from their involvement in the woollen industry to avail of the favourable market forces that existed for investment, particularly in the corn industry:

¹⁴⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 28 Feb. 1788; *F.L.J.*, 12-16 July, 1788; *C.G.*, 12-16 Sept. 1789.

¹⁴¹ *C.G.*, 1-4 Aug. 1792.

¹⁴² *R.D.*, 503/155/322073.

¹⁴³ Power, *Land, politics*, p.46.

¹⁴⁴ Power, *Land, politics*, p.48; Cullen, 'Eighteenth century flour milling in Ireland', p.21.

¹⁴⁵ Louis Cullen, 'Milling in the eighteenth century etc.', pp.14-15.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 15.

¹⁴⁷ *Irish Parliamentary Register*, II, 347.

in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century the opportunities for investment widened, both because of the new technical possibilities of water-power and the stronger domestic market for certain industrial and processed goods. This resulted in a number of merchants sinking considerable sums in industrial plant, and in some cases merchants shed their direct involvement in trade to devote themselves to industrial production.¹⁴⁸

Among those who made the successful transfer from the woollen industry to milling, were the above mentioned Clonmel Quakers, Joseph Grubb and Thomas Hughes.¹⁴⁹

Access to working capital was necessary since the millers had to pay cash for the large quantities of grain purchased from local farmers. The grain was then brought to the mill where it was ground and stored in large quantities, before transportation to the distant markets in Dublin. This involved the erection of multi-storeyed mills, in which the freshly harvested grain was conveyed to the top storeys where it was dried and stored. It was shelled, ground and bolted on the intermediate floors and the machinery for the milling process was installed at ground level. Hoists and elevators were used to transport the grain from one part of the building to the other. The acquisition of suitable sites, the cost of buildings and machinery, in addition to the provision of mill-races to power the water wheel, involved considerable expenditure. Some indication of the money involved can be seen from the insurance policies taken out by Sarah Grubb of Anner Mills. In 1788, she insured the mills, warehouses and kiln for £1,700 and the goods in trade for £3,500.¹⁵⁰ A mill built in 1769 by non-Quaker Stephen Moore at Marlfield, three kilometres west of Clonmel, gives some idea of the cost of mill construction. Described by Cullen as the second biggest mill in Ireland, it was erected at a cost of £15,000.¹⁵¹ The profits gained by Quaker families such as the Grubbs from their involvement in the woollen trade, gave them access to the substantial working capital necessary to erect large mill structures, and the decline in yarn spinning which took place at this time provided the incentive to transfer their resources into corn milling.

¹⁴⁸ David Dickson, *New foundations Ireland 1660-1800*, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 2000), p. 49.

¹⁴⁹ Gurney Mss. Gurney Bros. to Jacob, Watson, Strangman, Waterford, 27th day 2 mo. 1772 (Friend's House, London, II 458 1772).

¹⁵⁰ Cullen, 'Eighteenth century flour milling in Ireland', p.18.

¹⁵¹ Cullen. *ibid*, p.17; Burke, *History of Clonmel*, p.130.

Furthermore, the centres of Quaker population in Clonmel, Cahir, Clogheen and Roscrea were perfect locations for the development of the corn industry. Their hinterlands were ideally suited to the cultivation of wheat, while the river Suir and its tributaries in the south and the Bunnow in Roscrea supplied the necessary motive power. Clonmel had the additional advantage of having a direct link to the port of Waterford, which helped to make it one of the greatest milling centres in Ireland. The greater portion of the corn grown in County Tipperary, including that of Clogheen and Cahir, was sent overland to Clonmel, from where it was dispatched down the Suir in flat-bottomed barges, up the Barrow, and from there by canal to Dublin.

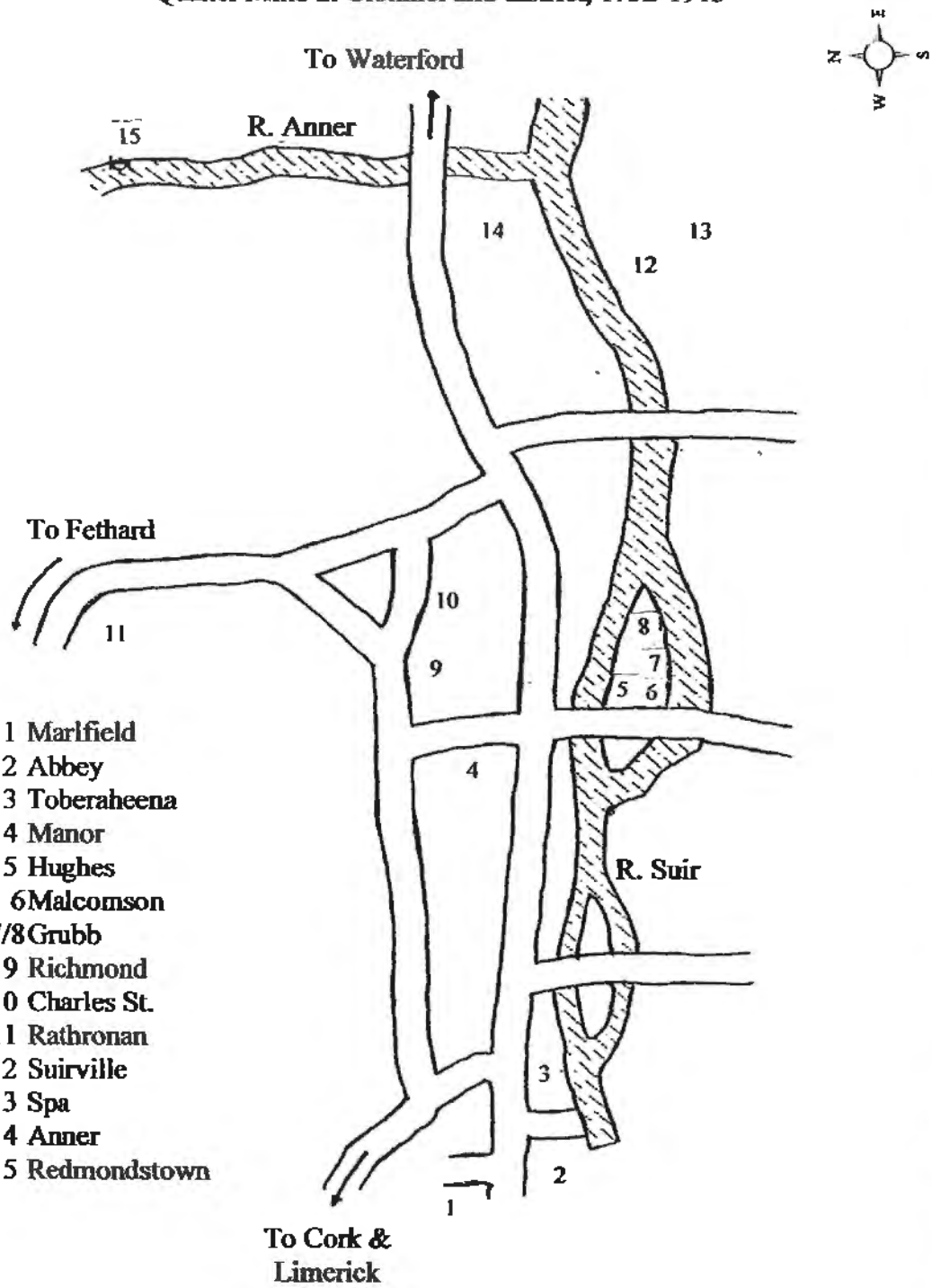
Joseph Grubb (1710-1782) was the founding father of the Grubb milling dynasty. It was he who, together with his sons Thomas, John, Joseph, Robert and Samuel, secured a virtual monopoly of the corn milling industry in Clonmel. In 1752, Joseph leased a mill at Anner¹⁵² which, in 1765, he apparently extended.¹⁵³ (see Map 4:1)

¹⁵² R.D., 1860/1/234.

¹⁵³ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Quaker records* (Dublin, 1967), p.45.

Map 4:1

Quaker Mills in Clonmel and district, 1752-1913



Sources: Various deeds in National Archives and Registry of Deeds.

Anner mill was situated three kilometres east of the town of Clonmel, at a point where the Anner River joins the Suir. Ten years later, he erected another mill on the Anner at Redmondstown, five hundred metres upstream from the first. Some years afterwards, intense rivalry between Joseph Grubb and the above mentioned Stephen Moore led to an agreement whereby all corn produced east of an imaginary line drawn through the Main Guard,¹⁵⁴ north to south, would be purchased by Grubb, and that to the west by Moore. On the collapse of the Moore enterprise through over-speculation in 1784, the corn trade of Clonmel was monopolised by the Grubbs and their fellow Quakers.¹⁵⁵

On Joseph Grubb's death in 1782, his son, John, took over Anner and Redmondstown mills. John, mentioned above in connection with the woollen industry, married Sarah Pim who, against the advice of her family, was to continue to operate the mills after her husband's death, under the name Sarah Grubb & Co., Clonmel. This remarkable and indomitable woman who became known as 'The Queen of the South' was one of the most prosperous millers in the south of Ireland. She was astute enough to realise that continued business success depended upon engaging the services of competent clerks. She first hired a Quaker, David Malcomson, later to become the founder of the Malcomson family fortune, but later dismissed him for poor time-keeping. He was replaced by his co-religionist, John Clibborn from Moate, who was to become her son-in-law and the future owner of both mills.

In a search for promising locations to expand his milling interests, Joseph Grubb turned his attention to the town of Clonmel. It was inevitable that the islands in the River Suir were going to provide the ideal setting for milling. Although the islands were close to the town centre, they were still far enough away to minimise disturbance to the town. Furthermore, they were located in a geographically self-contained area. Most important of all, by siting the mills on the islands, it was possible to conveniently manipulate the water power that the fast-flowing river Suir provided to turn the mill wheels. Suir Island was the site for the first two corn mills built by the Grubb family in

¹⁵⁴ The Main Guard was originally built to house the Palatinate Court by the first Duke of Ormond in the seventeenth century and was situated in the centre of medieval Clonmel.

¹⁵⁵ William Burke, *History of Clonmel*, (Waterford, 1907), pp.130-131.

Clonmel. In 1774, Joseph Grubb leased an existing rape mill, which he converted into a corn mill, and also leased another portion of ground on the south side of Suir Island.¹⁵⁶ Four years later, Joseph's son, Thomas, returned from Waterford and, with wealth accumulated from his venture in the woollen industry, proceeded to build a mill adjoining that of his brother on the portion of land leased by Joseph.¹⁵⁷

The two remaining mills on Suir island were situated on the north side of the island. The first of these was built in 1778 by another Quaker, Simmons Sparrow. This mill was destroyed by fire in 1801. In 1809, Richard Sparrow, son of Simmons, sold the site to fellow Quaker, Thomas Hughes, who initially was in partnership with another member of the Quaker community, Thomas Greer.¹⁵⁸ The second mill was built on the south side of Hughes's mill. In 1781, Edward Collins obtained a lease from the corporation of the old corporation mill, and erected a new mill at the cost of £12,000. In 1808, John Malcomson bought that mill for his brother David for the sum of £3,000, from the trustees of John Howell¹⁵⁹ who, in the meantime, had taken over from Collins. This left all four mills on the island under Quaker control. The concentration of these four mills formed the largest milling complex in Ireland.

A number of other mills in and around Clonmel were either owned or operated by the Quakers during this period. The first of these was the Manor mill, situated on the north bank of the Suir opposite Suir Island. Quaker interest in the mill can be traced back to 1780, in which year Samuel Rigge demised it to another Quaker, James Keys. In 1784, when Samuel Morton took over, it passed temporarily out of Quaker control. In 1782, Robert Dudley built Suirville mill, three kilometres down river and took his eldest son, Joseph into partnership with him.¹⁶⁰ Dudley was the son of a small farmer from Roscrea, who was apprenticed to Phineas Airy, a saddler in Clonmel. He became a convert to Quakerism, which was a rare occurrence in the history of Tipperary

¹⁵⁶ Lease of rape mill & the Willow Islands from Osborne Tothall to Joseph Grubb, 23 March, 1774 (Town Hall, Clonmel).

¹⁵⁷ Conveyance and grant annuity from Thomas Grubb to Joseph Grubb, 31 December dated 1810 (Town Hall, Clonmel).

¹⁵⁸ *C.A.*, 24 Sept. 1814.

¹⁵⁹ Deed Box V. folder no.1 (F.H.L.D.).

¹⁶⁰ R.D., 353/134/237018.

Quakerism, and set up as an ironmonger in town before entering the milling industry. Suirville was operated by Robert and other members of his family until c1791, when it was leased to his co-religionist Joseph Wood. Dudley was also involved in partnership with Samuel Reeves in a bolting mill situated at Rathcoole, near Fethard.¹⁶¹ After the death of Robert Dudley in 1807, the mill was put up for lease by Robert's nephew, Joseph Grubb Benjamin, in partnership with Isaac Jacob and Thomas Taylor.¹⁶²

According to Cullen, the practice of letting mills for investment purposes was common.¹⁶³ Although the Grubbs had an interest in the mill over an extended period, there is no indication that they milled there and were probably content to derive income from leasing. Thomas Taylor was also in partnership with the above-mentioned Joseph Wood in another mill in the town around 1783. The Sparrow family, apart from their venture on Suir Island, was involved in further milling developments. In 1794, Simmons Sparrow built a mill at Toberaheena in the western suburbs of the town. Around the same time Richard, son of Simmons Sparrow, leased two further mills for a short period in the village of Marfield. These included the enormous Marfield mill built by Stephen Moore¹⁶⁴ and the nearby Abbey mill.¹⁶⁵

Various members of the Grubb family also secured other mills outside the town of Clonmel. In 1782, Benjamin Grubb, a nephew of the above mentioned Joseph, leased a mill at Silverfort, ten kilometres north of Fethard.¹⁶⁶ It would appear that he held this mill but for a short period, which is hardly surprising, since his main sphere of activity was the grocery business in Clonmel. Joseph Grubb's youngest son, Samuel, was primarily responsible for expanding Grubb milling interests. Apart from his involvement in the family mills on Suir Island, he decided to seek out suitable new milling locations outside the town of Clonmel. It would appear that his initial efforts did not meet with the

¹⁶¹ *C.G.*, 26-29 Sept. 1792.

¹⁶² *C.H.*, 20 Jan. 1808.

¹⁶³ L. Cullen, 'Milling in the eighteenth century', p. 19.

¹⁶⁴ Memorandum of Agreement between John Bagwell of Marfield and Richard Sparrow of Clonmel, 3 Oct. 1794 (copy in possession of author).

¹⁶⁵ R.D., 529/203/346902

¹⁶⁶ R.D., 347/217/231805

success he had anticipated. Around 1791, he built a bolting mill at Rathronan,¹⁶⁷ some three kilometres north of Clonmel, but two years later, leased it to fellow-Quaker Robert Thompson. The following year, Samuel is recorded as having an interest in Mayfield mill¹⁶⁸ in County Waterford. His association with this mill also appears to have been of short duration.

In 1794, Samuel Grubb focused his energies on the village of Clogheen as a potential centre for the expansion of his milling concerns. In that year, he leased a bolting mill at Cooleville from Thomas Vowell and purchased it five years later.¹⁶⁹ (see Map 4:2).

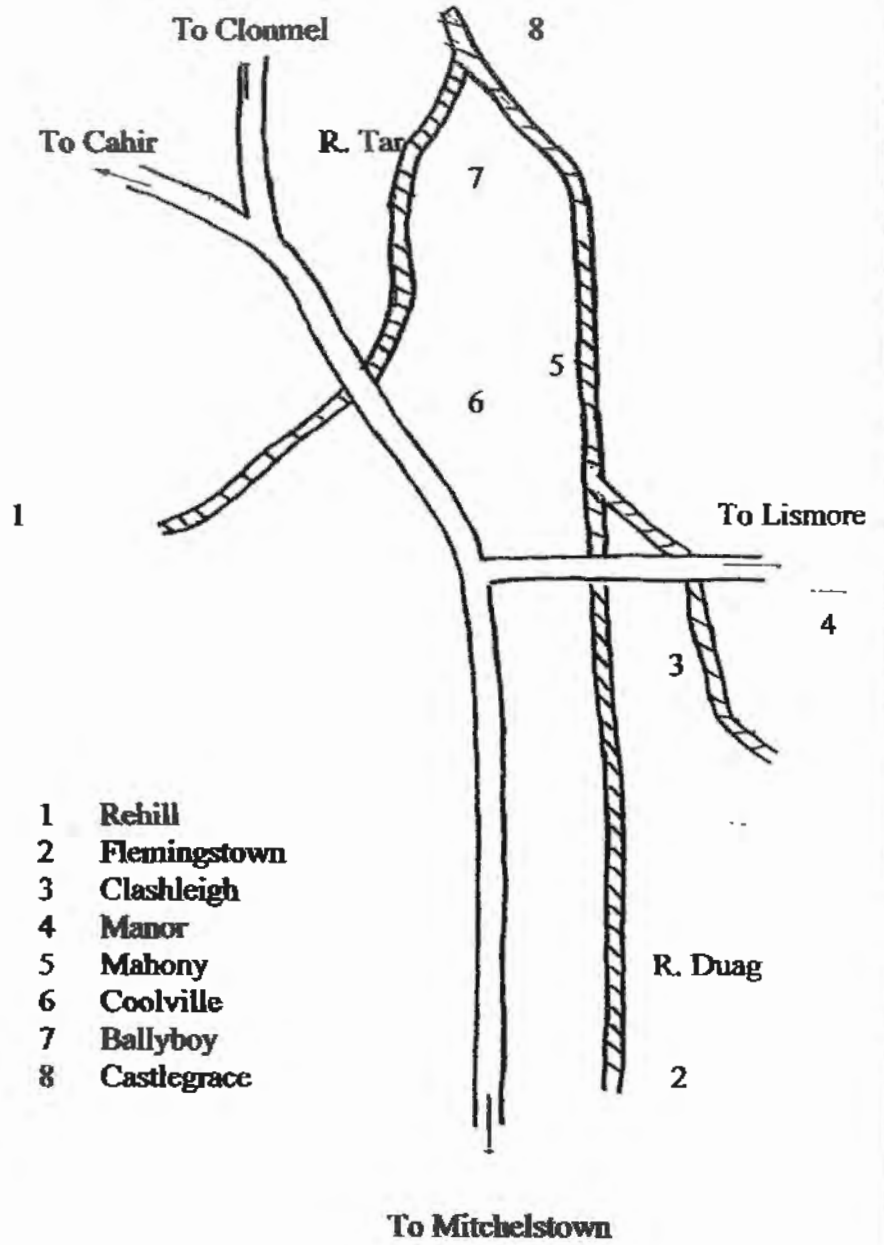
¹⁶⁷ Wm. Burke, *History of Clonmel*, pp. 183, 184.

¹⁶⁸ Commons' jn (Ir.), 1791-92, xvi, app. xxxvi.

¹⁶⁹ R.D., 603/182/410697.

Map 4:2

Quaker Mills in Clogheen and district, 1784-c.1889



Samuel Grubb also secured a further mill a few hundred metres downstream on the River Tar, subsequently referred to as the Ballyboy mill.¹⁷⁰ Clogheen, situated some twenty kilometres from the main focus at Clonmel, and sixteen kilometres south of Cahir, was an ideal location for milling. Two rivers, the Tar and the Duag, which flowed through the village some few hundred metres apart before coming together approximately a half mile east of Clogheen, provided the motive power, while the rich farmlands of the surrounding area supplied the raw material. In 1802, Samuel Grubb leased Clasheigh mill and an existing brewery in the middle of Clogheen from Lord Lismore.¹⁷¹ Thomas Chandlee, who was an apprentice in the mill of his uncle, Richard Grubb of Clogheen, writing to his mother gives some indication of how the milling business was thriving during the years 1812-1814, supplying necessary victuals to the British army during the Napoleonic conflict. He speaks of 'the great run of business greater than ever' and 'I fear I can't see you this summer as we will have some additional buildings to the mill and it is likely I can't be spared'.¹⁷² There were two further mills in the area which were Quaker-operated during this period. The first of these was situated at Rehill, north of Clogheen, which was leased to William Fennell by Lord Cahir in 1780.¹⁷³ The second was Flemingstown mill, west of Clogheen, leased by Lord Lismore to John Jellico in 1814.¹⁷⁴

In Cahir, the Chaytors, Jellicos, Fennells, Goings, Jacksons and Walpoles monopolised the corn industry, just as did their Quaker brethren in Clonmel (see Map 4:3).

¹⁷⁰ Assignment from Vowell to Grubb, 20 Aug. 1792. Lease in possession of Mrs. Jackson, Coolville House, Clogheen.

¹⁷¹ R.D., 603/181/410696.

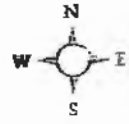
¹⁷² Fennell Collection, (F.H.L.D., MS. box 24 g, letters 5 & 6).

¹⁷³ R.D., 346/252/231775

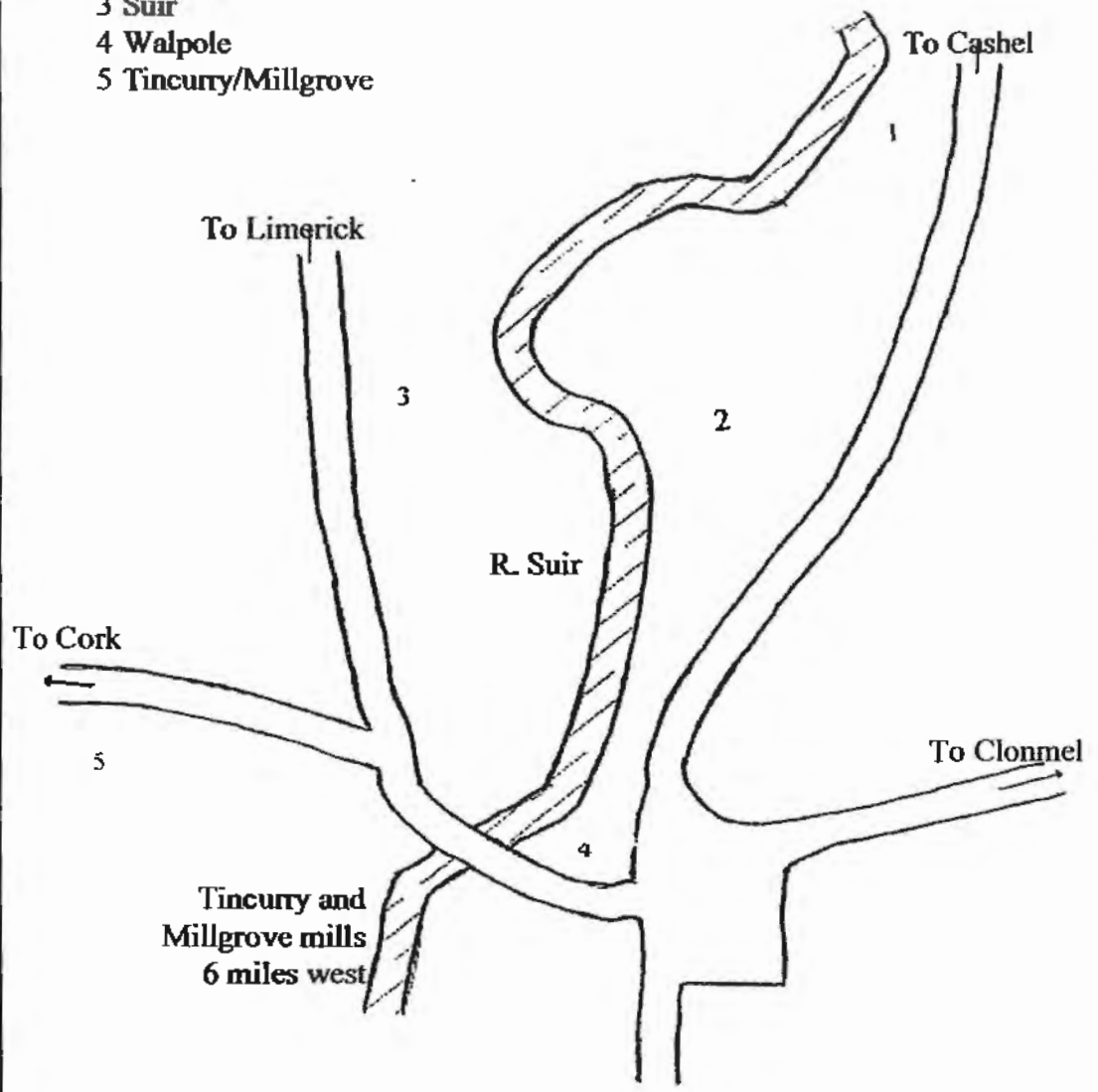
¹⁷⁴ Indenture from Lismore to John Jellico, 1814 (Tipperary S.R. Museum, Clonmel 1995.176).

Map 4:3

Quaker mills in Cahir and district, 1772-c.1876



- 1 Keylong
- 2 Barnora
- 3 Suir
- 4 Walpole
- 5 Tincurry/Millgrove



Sources: Various deeds in National Archives and Registry of Deeds.

They worked their mills on the banks of the Suir, at Killemlly and Barnora north of Cahir, with Walpole's and the Abbey mill in the town itself. About five miles west of the town, off the Mitchelstown Road, the Jacksons built Millbrook mill in the townland of Tincurry. The Jacksons appear to have been the first Quaker family to become involved in milling in the Cahir area. Joseph Jackson was the son of Thomas and Mary Jackson of Clonbullock in King's County. In 1756, he married Mary Fennell, daughter of Joshua and Elizabeth Fennell of Kilcommonmore, Cahir, and in the same year leased some 161 acres of the lands of Tincurry and Whitechurch at a yearly rent of £99-3s.-0d. from Robert Sargint.¹⁷⁵ It is not certain whether Joseph or his son, Thomas, was responsible for building the Millgrove mill (sometimes referred to as Tincurry mill). This mill was certainly in existence by 1788, in which year Thomas Jackson is listed as sending 1,864 cwt. of flour to Dublin.¹⁷⁶

Joshua Fennell, son of William Fennell of Garryroan, Cahir, spent much of his early life in Cork. In 1765, Joshua married Sarah, daughter of John Newson, a prominent Quaker merchant in that city. They lived in Cork, where the first eight of their fifteen children were born. Joshua formed a thriving partnership with Charles Going, mentioned below, in the West Indies trade, and in the sale of Mediterranean produce.¹⁷⁷ Shortly before his father's death in 1774, he returned to Cahir to look after his father's interests. In 1772, he purchased Cahir Abbey mill. This mill was situated in what were once the priory grounds of the adjacent Augustinian Abbey, and may have stood on the site of the abbey's ancient grist mill. In 1801, Joshua transferred his interest in the mill to his son, William.¹⁷⁸ They were described at the time as 'the extensive Bolting Mills of Cahir Abbey, competent to manufacture 500-600 barrels of corn per annum'.¹⁷⁹

Charles Going of Mountrath was born in 1763. He moved to Cork, where he was mentioned in several Cork directories of the period, being described as a grocer and dye-stuff merchant. His business partnership with Joshua Fennell may have been instrumental

¹⁷⁵ R.D., 183/278/12281.

¹⁷⁶ Commons jn. (Ir.), 1788-89, xiii, App. cclx.

¹⁷⁷ R. Harrison, *Cork city Quakers* (n. p., 1991), p.34.

¹⁷⁸ R.D., 540/452/356238.

¹⁷⁹ C.H., 5 Nov. 1804.

in encouraging him to commence milling in Cahir. In 1800, he became a partner in the Suir Mill Company with fellow Quakers, Samuel Jellico, a brother of the above mentioned John Jellico, who served his apprenticeship in Anner mill, and Nicholas Chaytor.¹⁸⁰ Going paid each of them £499 to become a partner and invested £200 in capital shares.¹⁸¹ In the same year, the consortium received a lease of lands in Barnora, a mile north of Cahir on the east bank of the Suir, with a covenant that they would erect a mill there. In the following year, 1801, there is a record of the three partners seeking permission to erect a weir and conduct water to mills at Barnora.¹⁸² In 1809, Charles Going, in partnership with the brothers Samuel and John Jellico, leased the bolting mill at Killemlly (sometimes referred to as Keylong) from Richard Butler at a yearly rent of £194 19s. 5d.¹⁸³

John Walpole, born around 1765, was the son of Joseph Walpole of Mountmellick, County Laois. In 1785, he married Mary, a daughter of the above mentioned Joseph Jackson. In 1802, John leased a property in the centre of Cahir from James, Lord Cahir, for a period of three lives. There is no indication as to whether he built the brewery and the mill, later to become known as Walpole's mill, which occupied this site.

In Roscrea, the Quaker community, being few in number, was not as prominent in the milling industry as it was in other Quaker centres within the county (see Map 4:4).

¹⁸⁰ R.D., 529/203/346502.

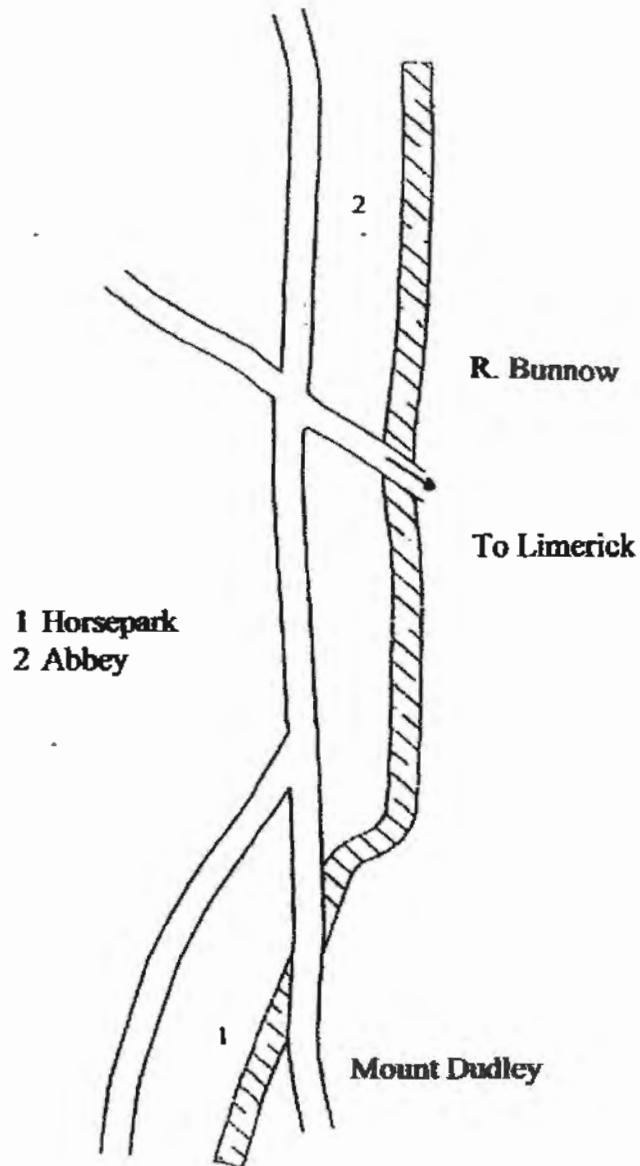
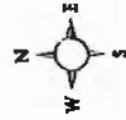
¹⁸¹ Lease from Samuel Riall to Charles Going 10 June, 1803 (Document in possession of John Mackey, Lissava, Cahir).

¹⁸² R.D., 533/542/355387

¹⁸³ R.D., 615/44/419944.

Map 4:4

Quaker mills in Roscrea, 1785-early 1800s



Sources: Various deeds in National Archives and Registry of Deeds.

William Neale is the first Quaker who can be identified with the milling industry in the town, and in the period 1784-85 he is listed as sending 202 cwt. of flour to Dublin.¹⁸⁴ In 1785, Joseph Godfrey is also listed as sending 2,850 cwt. of flour to Dublin¹⁸⁵ from Rockford mill.¹⁸⁶ That same year, John Dudley bought Horsepark mill for £800.¹⁸⁷ Up to 1796, the mill was worked by William Neale.¹⁸⁸ The only other reference to Quaker involvement in milling during the period concerns William Rhodes, a clothier in Roscrea who, in 1800, secured a lease of Abbey Park with the provision that he build a mill on the site,¹⁸⁹ and, four years later, he leased the property known as Abbey Park mill.¹⁹⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that any member of the Rhodes family ever worked this mill. In 1830, the mill was still in the possession of the Rhodes family when it was once again leased by Robert Rhodes.¹⁹¹ After this date, there is no further reference to the Quaker community in Roscrea being connected with milling.

The first Tipperary Quaker miller's name to appear in the returns of the Irish house of commons journal was that of John Grubb of Anner mills, who during the year 24 June, 1772 to 24 June, 1773¹⁹² sent 5,428 cwt. of flour to Dublin. The records for succeeding years show the steady expansion of Quaker milling interests, with 11 millers listed for 1794-95, sending 32,425 cwt. of flour between them to the capital.¹⁹³ The prominence of Quaker millers was reflected by the fact that at one stage or another, during the entire period, there was a total of fourteen Quaker-owned or Quaker-operated mills in and around Clonmel. Five of these were in the Cahir area, and four in the Clogheen district, with a further four in Roscrea. In 1789/90, the Quakers controlled twenty per cent of the mills in County Tipperary, while they were responsible for twenty per cent of the corn sent to Dublin from Tipperary. They were, however, in receipt of

¹⁸⁴ Commons' jn. (Ir.), 1784-1788, xii, appendix xliii.

¹⁸⁵ Commons' jn. (Ir.), 1789-90, xiv, appendix dxxxviii.

¹⁸⁶ It has not been possible to identify the location of this mill.

¹⁸⁷ R.D., 361/435/245322.

¹⁸⁸ R.D., 503/507/325288.

¹⁸⁹ R.D., 583/118/395114.

¹⁹⁰ R.D., 583/341/397710.

¹⁹¹ R.D., 862/349/574849.

¹⁹² Commons' jn. (Ir.), 1778-79, viii, appendix cxcii.

¹⁹³ *ibid*, 1793-95, xvi, appendix celxx.

approximately twenty-five per cent of the bounties.¹⁹⁴ In addition to this, apart from those directly involved as millers, a number were operating as grain merchants. One such individual was Thomas Taylor, a Clonmel grain merchant, who between September 1791 and May 1792 sent 1,790 barrels of oats, 1,215 of wheat, and 200 of barley, valued in all at £3,042, to a Waterford firm for export.¹⁹⁵

The export bounties granted in Foster's corn law of 1784 were effective because they were payable at much higher price levels than formerly. By 1797, when the inland bounties were abolished,¹⁹⁶ the milling industry was so firmly established that it stood in no need of public subsidies. When it was proposed to introduce a bill to abolish the bounties, Lord Clare noted, 'The principal millers in the neighbourhood of Clonmell, a part of the kingdom from which there is a considerable influx of corn to the city, do not complain of the bill; on the contrary many have declared that they will not suffer any loss from it'.¹⁹⁷ This optimism appears to have been well founded, because the abolition of the bounties led to a re-orientation of the trade through the port of Waterford, availing of the export bounties which were 'to transform Clonmel, with Waterford close at hand, into a major centre for the grain trade'.¹⁹⁸ In England, an expanding domestic market, the Napoleonic wars and a growing industrial population meant dependence on supplies of Irish grain. The journals of the Irish house of commons give an annual breakdown of the quantities of flour sent to the Dublin market and the value of the bounties paid to the various mill owners throughout Ireland from 1768 to 1796, the year in which the bounties were abolished. The share of grain crops in total exports rose from about one-tenth in the early 1780s to one-quarter by 1814, and cereal prices rose by 92 per cent between 1780-4 and 1810-14.¹⁹⁹ Profits were further increased as many of these Quakers, such as the Grubbs, were both producers and retailers of their produce.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, 1789-90, xiv, appendix clxxxviii.

¹⁹⁵ Louis Cullen, 'the overseas trade of Waterford as seen from a ledger of Courtenay and Ridgway' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxxviii, part 2, (1958), p. 176. (N.L.I., Dublin, fo. 43), p. 176.

¹⁹⁶ 1797 (37 Geo. III), c.24.

¹⁹⁷ *Annals of Agriculture*, xxix, p. 157 (quoted in Burke, *History of Clonmel*, p.131).

¹⁹⁸ T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society in eighteenth century Tipperary*, p.33.

¹⁹⁹ Cormac O'Gráda, *Ireland, A new economic history 1780-1939* (Oxford, 1994), p.28.

It would be wrong to think that the business endeavours of every member of the Quaker community were an unqualified success. A number, for one reason or another, found themselves in financial difficulties. The Quaker convert, Robert Dudley (1732-1807), who had no experience of the milling industry, built his mill at Suirville, on a unsuitable site, making it an unprofitable venture. In 1814, Richard Sparrow (1762-1814) of Marlfield mill died in London having suffered a severe reversal of fortune resulting from extravagant expenditure, and, in 1778, Samuel Grubb (1750-1815), despite his extensive milling interests, met with losses amounting to more than all he possessed.²⁰⁰ Samuel Grubb, no doubt with financial assistance from his family, recommenced milling and, as already been stated above, successfully established himself as a miller in Clogheen. The death of Robert Dudley in 1807 severed the family's connection with the Suirville mill, which continued to be operated until the end of the nineteenth century. Richard Sparrow died in Clapham in England, his estate in Ireland being auctioned off to meet his debts.

Quakers in milling and textiles, 1815-1846

Throughout this period, the prosperity of the corn industry was dependent on the continued exclusion of foreign grain from the English market. Any moves to amend the existing legislation gave cause for alarm. Confidence in the industry in the opening decades of the nineteenth century was reflected by the expansionist policy of the county's leading millers. The Grubbs extended their interests in Clonmel and Clogheen, while establishing themselves in Cahir by taking over the huge Suir mills from the Fennells. The Malcomsons opened two additional mills, one on Suir Island adjacent to their existing one and another at Pouldrew in County Waterford. In addition to their milling interests

²⁰⁰ J. William Frost (ed.), *The records and recollections of James Jenkins* (New York, 1984), pp. 462, 528, 567. Jenkins does not give precise dates for these occurrences. In Dudley's (1732-1807) case he suggests that his financial difficulties took place when he was in his seventieth year. Sparrow's troubles occurred shortly before his departure for London in 1810. Margaret Grubb, wife of Samuel, writing to her sister Deborah at Athy in 1778 referred to her husband's business failure, which resulted in the letting of their large house in Clonmel and selling off their furniture. Grubb collection, ms. box 57 no. 72 (F.H.L.D.)

they established two cotton mills, one in Clonmel and another at Portlaw. The period also saw a short-lived attempt to set up a branch of the linen trade in Clonmel.

Corn milling 1815-1846

As far as milling was concerned, the continued growth in the domestic demand for flour, and the milling industry's privileged position in the British market throughout the nineteenth century until the repeal of the corn laws in 1846, ensured continued expansion. During this period, Clonmel became the largest milling centre in Ireland.²⁰¹ Cullen writes, 'One of the most arresting features of the post-1815 period was the dominant position of Clonmel (shipping through Waterford), which completely overshadowed any earlier or contemporary centre and held its place until the collapse of domestic wheat-growing in the 1850s'.²⁰² O'Gráda has remarked that the mills 'were technically very sophisticated and impressed travellers'.²⁰³ In the 1850s, Marmion noted, 'prior to the repeal of the corn law, Clonmel had the most extensive flour mills in Ireland, on the erection of which large capitals were expended',²⁰⁴ while another contemporary observer stated, 'The magnitude and extent of the mills has attracted the attention of several commentators'.²⁰⁵ In 1834, Cobbett claimed that more than 100,000 qr. of wheat and more of oats left Clonmel each year.²⁰⁶ Confidence was expressed in the future of the industry by the erection of at least four new mills in Clonmel and its environs, and in the extension of existing ones.²⁰⁷ While the Grubbs continued to consolidate their position as the town's leading millers, the expansion of David Malcomson's interests and the appearance of such families as the Chaytors, Shannons and Banfields gave the Quakers almost total control of the industry.

²⁰¹ Majella Flynn, *Harvest. A history of grain growing, harvesting and milling in Ireland* (Macroom, 1996), p. 91.

²⁰² Louis Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland from 1660*, p.146.

²⁰³ Cormac O'Gráda, *Ireland before and after the famine. Explorations in economic history 1800-1925* (Manchester, 1988), p.305.

²⁰⁴ Anthony Marmion, *The ancient and modern history of the maritime ports of Ireland* (London, 1855), p. 559.

²⁰⁵ Alexander Somerville, *Letters from Ireland during the famine of 1847* (Dublin, 1994), p.50; H. D. Inglis, *Journey through Ireland 1834*, i (Dublin, 1834), p.130; J. Fraser, *Handbook for travellers in Ireland* (Dublin, 1874), p.127.

²⁰⁶ William Cobbett, *Cobbett in Ireland. a warning to England* (London, 1834), p. 122.

²⁰⁷ Burke, *History of Clonmel*, pp.183,184.

Both Anner and Redmondstown mills continued to be managed by Sarah Grubb up to her death in 1832, after which time they passed into the hands of her son-in-law John Barclay Clibborn. The two Grubb mills on Suir Island experienced varying fortunes. After 1840, the mill known as Joseph Grubb's mill was put up for leasing, while the mill built by Thomas Grubb was operated by Robert Samuel Grubb²⁰⁸ until it was destroyed by fire in 1842. It was claimed that all of his possessions, to the value of £60,000, were destroyed. A further misfortune for Robert Samuel was the absence of an insurance policy. Money was collected, presumably from among his relatives and friends in the Quaker community, to assist him in buying mills at Annacotty, Co. Limerick.²⁰⁹ The ruined mill in Clonmel was sold and came into the possession of another Quaker, Abraham Murray, who proceeded to rebuild it.²¹⁰

The expansion of Grubb milling interests in the town can largely be attributed to the efforts of Thomas Samuel Grubbe (who had added an 'e' to his surname), the younger brother of Robert Samuel. In 1826, he built Richmond mill.²¹¹ It was exclusively steam-driven, and its location in the middle of town reflects the lack of further suitable sites on the banks of the Suir. In 1835, the building was completely destroyed by fire.²¹² It was reported at the time that 'every effort was being made for its speedy re-erection', and within four years it was back in production.²¹³ Around this time Grubb's plans for a further mill in Russelstown, outside Clonmel, were well advanced.²¹⁴ In 1845, he gained control of the Manor Mill when the premises was assigned to him by his first cousin, Joseph Grubb.²¹⁵ The Grubb family had an interest in that mill since

²⁰⁸ Robert Samuel Grubb (1790-1882) was the son of Samuel Grubb, founder of the Grubb milling dynasty in Clogheen.

²⁰⁹ Paraphrased from letter dated 9/11/1938 from Robert Grubb to his daughter, commenting on his grandfather, Robert Samuel. (A copy is in private possession of Louis Grubb, Beechinount, Fetbard).

²¹⁰ R.D., 1842/15/152.

²¹¹ *2nd Report Select Committee Fictitious Votes, Ireland*, H.C., 1837, 7ii, Appendix no.9.

²¹² *The Times*, 17 Feb. 1835.

²¹³ *Shearman's Directory 1839*, p.39.

²¹⁴ C.A., 25 July 1828.

²¹⁵ R.D., 1845/17/78.

1818, when James Morton had taken Joseph Grubb into partnership with him.²¹⁶ In 1842, Joseph bought out Morton's interest for £3,000.²¹⁷

Thomas Samuel's milling interests were not confined to the town of Clonmel. According to Richard Harrison, John Barcroft Haughton, Thomas Samuel's father-in-law, operated a cartel of Quaker milling interests. This led to Thomas Samuel's involvement in the leasing of the Kilnap Mills in Cork for a short period during the 1820s.²¹⁸ By 1839, he had acquired a steam mill at Ferrybank, Waterford.²¹⁹

David Malcomson, Grubb's main rival, was no less active during this period. In 1820, he set about enlarging his mill on Suir Island by leasing a site between his own mill and that of Thomas Hughes. It had a frontage of fifty feet and measured two hundred feet from front to rear, and one of the conditions of the lease was that a mill be erected within two years.²²⁰ This mill was later known as Baron's mill,²²¹ to distinguish it from Malcomson's first mill which was referred to as Corporation mill. A visitor to Clonmel in 1828 was favourably impressed by the Malcomson mills which he described as 'the finest in Ireland ... There half the harvest of the adjoining counties as well as of Tipperary is powdered under the huge mill stones that I saw wheeling with incalculable rapidity ...'.²²² In 1824, David Malcomson acquired a lease of Pouldrew corn mills, situated about two miles from Kilmeadon, in the County Waterford.²²³ In view of these acquisitions, it is scarcely surprising that his business expanded rapidly. Exports of flour from the Malcomson mills rose from 34,398 cwt for the period 1815 to 1819, to 357,618 cwt for the years 1825-29.²²⁴ Another Quaker miller whose business was flourishing was Thomas Hughes. An examination of the surviving fabric of his mill premises on the north side of Suir Island shows that it was extended on no fewer than five separate occasions

²¹⁶ *C.A.*, 9 Sept. 1818.

²¹⁷ *R.D.*, 1842/5/250.

²¹⁸ Richard Harrison, 'A Cork Quaker dynasty' in *J.F.H.S.*, dvii, no. 1 (1993), p.37.

²¹⁹ *Shearman's Directory 1839*, p. 22.

²²⁰ *R.D.*, 753/447/572182.

²²¹ *R.D.*, 1887/39/278.

²²² Richard Shiel, 'A glimpse of industrial Clonmel in 1829' in *The Catholic Record* (1918), p.116.

²²³ Memoir of the Malcomson family (N.L.I., MS. 8146, unpaginated).

²²⁴ Agricultural Committee Report 1836

during this period. According to Mary Henry, 'it appears from maps that its present dimensions were reached by the 1840s'.²²⁵ In addition, he was leasing Suirville mill, originally built by the aforementioned Robert Dudley.

Other Quaker families made their appearance among the town's millers. Rathronan mill was operated by the Thompsons²²⁶ and Chaytors in turn.²²⁷ By 1827, James Shannon was in possession of the Abbey mill in Marlfield, while Peter R. Banfield, who already had other commercial interests in Clonmel, decided to branch into milling. He built a mill in Charles Street, known later as Banfield's mill²²⁸ and secured an interest in three further mills on the southern outskirts of the town. These included the Ragwell, Minella and Spa mills, the last-named of which he bought from John Bagwell in 1837.²²⁹ In 1832, Clonmel's flour exports through the port of Waterford reached 230,540 cwts., with Quaker producers accounting for the greatest proportion.²³⁰

In Clogheen, the Quakers assumed the same dominant position in the industry as they had done in Clonmel. The Grubbs, in addition to their mills at Cooleville and Clashleigh, acquired three further mills. By 1827, Samuel Grubb, whose father was the founder of the family's milling fortunes in Clogheen, had acquired an interest in Shanrahan mill (later known as Flemingstown mill),²³¹ one kilometre west of Clogheen following the financial collapse of John Jellico. Shortly afterwards, he built another mill at Castlegrace, east of Clogheen.²³² The Grubb mills at the time were considered to be 'very extensive, employing great power and a considerable number of hands'.²³³ It is also noticeable that the fabric of the Cooleville mill indicates that it was extended on two occasions, although it is not possible to determine when such alterations took place. The

²²⁵ Mary Henry, An archaeological report on Hughes' mill, Little Island, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary (Clonmel town hall, P.D.A. 2/122/95 and 2/17/96).

²²⁶ *C.A.*, 25 March 1815. Robert Thompson offered to lease the mill.

²²⁷ *C.A.*, 21 Feb. 1827. At that time John Chaytor was operating the mill.

²²⁸ William Burke, *History of Clonmel*, p.184.

²²⁹ *R.D.*, 1874/10/132.

²³⁰ Anthony Marmion, *The ancient and modern history of the maritime ports of Ireland*, p. 560.

²³¹ *C.A.*, 21 Feb. 1827.

²³² *R.D.*, 1836/7/298

²³³ *Slater's Directory 1846; The Parliamentary Gazetteer*, i (Dublin, 1846), p.415.

last mill to be built in Clogheen was the Manor mill situated on the Glounliagh stream, south of the workhouse. It was erected in 1832 by the Murray family who, in 1845, sold it to the brothers William and James Fennell, who later extended it.²³⁴

Some indication of the importance of the milling industry to the economy of the town during this period can be gleaned from the following:

a large trade in agricultural produce is carried on, chiefly for exportation, and more than 80,000 barrels of wheat are annually purchased in this market and in the neighbourhood, which is made into flour of very superior quality and sent by land to Clonmel, whence it is conveyed down the (River) Suir. For this purpose there are seven flour mills in the town and neighbourhood, which are worked by fourteen water wheels. There is also an extensive brewery.²³⁵

In Cahir, although the period saw one mill demolished and extensive changes of ownership, the milling industry continued to be monopolised by the Quakers. Around 1824, William Walpole sub-let his mill, and there is no evidence to suggest that Walpole later re-commenced milling. In 1843, the earl of Glengall, as part of his grand design for re-modelling the town of Cahir, recorded in his diary that 'all of the land on the east side of the castle, formerly leased to Walpole, is of vital importance, for there is the place for the castle stables should the castle be turned into a residence'.²³⁶ Consequently, the mill and brewery were shortly demolished. In the same year, on the death of Thomas Jackson, Tincurry mill was leased to William Walpole, whose father, John, had been married to Thomas Jackson's sister. An advertisement that appeared in a local paper in 1827 gave the following picture of the mill. It stated that 'it had a fall of thirty to forty feet of water with late improved plan of machinery, would manufacture 12,000 barrels of wheat in a year, and would store about 5,000 barrels of grain - and situated in a remarkable fine wheat country'.²³⁷

The deaths of Nicholas Chaytor and the Jellico brothers left the mills at Barnora and Killemlly in the hands of the Going family. In 1830, after the death of Charles Going, control of the mills passed to his eldest son, William. Five years previously, Cahir Abbey

²³⁴ Assignment from Murray to Fennell, 1845 (N.A., D17162).

²³⁵ Samuel Lewis, *Topographical dictionary of Ireland*, i (London, 1837), p.341.

²³⁶ Cahir Estate (N.A., MS. no. 976/6/5).

²³⁷ *C.A.*, 21 April 1827.

Mill was purchased by Richard Grubb of Clogheen from the Fennells and he invested £6,000 re-furbishing it.²³⁸ The mill, which was capable of storing 10,000 barrels of grain,²³⁹ was considerably extended, increasing the output significantly, so much so that in 1841 it was described as 'the most splendid and powerful mill in Ireland with an annual rateable valuation of £850. The mill had ample water power, consisting of two large undershot wheels, and could be worked in all conditions' and Hogg has suggested that it 'may have been the biggest grinding unit in the country'.²⁴⁰

As has been stated, any moves to abolish the corn laws was a cause for concern. This apprehension was voiced by David Malcomson, who was astute enough to see the repercussions of such legislation. In a letter written in 1825, he stated that 'a change in the corn laws would be very injurious to this country'.²⁴¹ He also felt that Irish producers were facing increased competition from English millers, when he wrote:

we have so many buyers and so much competition such as we may say has been the case for years past. Mill power in England has, I believe, doubled itself of late and is still increasing and the consequence affords a discouraging prospect for the trade in general but some in this country do not admit this to be the case but rather boast of profits.²⁴²

Concern was highlighted by a petition sent to the house of commons by the corn-millers of Clonmel, Clogheen, Cahir and the surrounding area.²⁴³ The petition illustrates the importance of the industry to Tipperary and the extent of Quaker involvement in the milling industry at the time. It stated that:

the entire exports of flour from Ireland to Great Britain in the year ending 5th Jan. 1826, were 394,374 cwts. whilst the quantity shipped at the port of Waterford in the year ending 1st May, 1825, was 285,235, of which 220,483 cwts. were manufactured by your Petitioners, independent of the supplies for home consumption.

²³⁸ C.A., 1 April 1826.

²³⁹ C.A., 8 July 1818.

²⁴⁰ William E. Hogg, *The millers & the mills of Ireland of about 1850* (Dublin, 1998), p.119.

²⁴¹ C.A., 18 April 1825.

²⁴² Memoir of the Malcomson family, letter dated 6 Sept. 1837. (N.L.I., MS. 8146, unpaginated).

²⁴³ C.A., 21 Feb. 1827.

Sixteen of the twenty signatories to the petition were members of the local Quaker community.

Cotton industry 1825-1846

The period also saw the second venture by Quaker entrepreneurs into the cotton industry. In 1825, David Malcomson, apprehensive for the future of milling, decided to diversify his interests by erecting a giant cotton factory in Portlaw. As Dickson has stated:

Fear for the future of the grain trade with the prospect of foreign competition on the British market, compounded with a measure of philanthropy inspired by James Cropper, led him (Malcomson) to build up a vertically-integrated complex, using power looms from the beginning and manufacturing plain cotton.²⁴⁴

In the following year, David Malcomson built another cotton factory on the Quay at Clonmel, employing one hundred girls in the manufacture of calico by hand looms. They worked from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. in winter with a forty-five minute break for breakfast at nine, and from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. in summer, and were paid 1/6 to 6/- per week (average 2/9), while superintendents were paid 15/-. Two years later, when Richard Lalor Shiel visited the mill, he was impressed by the perfect cleanliness (in fact each girl was obliged to wash and comb each morning), the freshness of the air, the whiteness of the walls and the air of cheerfulness that was diffused over the whole assembly. In 1838, when the factory inspector, C.O. Otway, visited the Clonmel factory, he formed a contrary impression, when he stated that although he found the factory in good order, the roofs or lofts in which the weavers worked were so low as to endanger the health of the operative and he felt that 'no employer ought to collect a number of operatives in a place so confined and devoid of proper means of ventilation as to endanger the health of his workpeople'.²⁴⁵ Although, by 1846, the Clonmel mill was reported as being closed ²⁴⁶, it, as will be shown below, subsequently re-opened.

²⁴⁴ David Dickson, 'Aspects of the rise and decline of the Irish cotton industry' in L. Cullen and T. C. Smout (eds.) *Comparative aspects of Scottish & Irish economic and social history 1600-1900*, p.111.

²⁴⁵ *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the first half year ending 31 Dec. 1843*, H.C., 1843, p. 249.; *Reports of the general commission on hand loom weavers in several districts of England, Scotland, Ireland and continental Europe, 1839-40*, H.C., 1840, xxiii, p.43.

Linen industry 1826-c.1830

Prior to the nineteenth century there appear to be no records of cultivation of flax in Tipperary. Linen production was mainly concentrated in Ulster but Louis Cullen observes 'that the linen industry from the mid eighteenth century was characterised both by growth and by re-location and re-organisation'.²⁴⁷ The local Quakers were to play a leading role in efforts to establish a linen industry in Clonmel. According to a local newspaper 'they placed their Meeting House at the disposal of those wishing to establish a branch of the linen and hempen manufacture in the county'.²⁴⁸ Isaac and Samuel Jacob sold flax seed at reduced rates to farmers in order to encourage the growth of flax.²⁴⁹ Another local Quaker, Robert Banfield, together with the Protestant banker, William Riall, each sowed an acre of their ground with flax,²⁵⁰ in the hope that others would follow their example. It was also envisaged that a scutching mill would be erected for preparing flax, and subscriptions were encouraged to defray the cost.²⁵¹

In 1826, a linen hall was erected in Clonmel. This led to the opening of a weekly market for the sale of yarns and linens. Premiums were awarded to the seller of the best piece of brown linen, and spinning wheels and reels were offered as prizes to the producers of the highest quality yarn for sale in the markets.²⁵² In spite of the best efforts of all concerned, the venture ended in failure, the reasons given that the amount of flax sown was insufficient and of poor quality.²⁵³ Power has also claimed that 'the industry was imposed from the top down: there was a concentration on the bleaching side of the industry, and at a local level employment in linen was unreliable and unremunerative for rural dwellers compared with worsted spinning'.²⁵⁴ There may have been other market forces at work. Commenting on the failure to establish the industry

²⁴⁶ *T.F.P.*, 29 April 1846.

²⁴⁷ Louis Cullen, *Economic history of Ireland since 1660*, p.108.

²⁴⁸ *C.A.*, 7 April 1819.

²⁴⁹ *C.A.*, 20 May 1818.

²⁵⁰ *C.A.*, 23 May 1818.

²⁵¹ *C.A.*, 29 July 1819.

²⁵² *C.N.*, 26 Dec. 1964.

²⁵³ T. P. Power, *Land, politics*, p.44.

²⁵⁴ *ibid.*

outside of Ulster O'Gráda has argued 'dispersion could not survive the centralising tendencies of the industrial revolution'.²⁵⁵

Quakers in Milling and textiles 1847-1913

During this period a number of factors combined to destroy the corn industry in Tipperary. The abolition of the corn laws, the importation of cheap foreign grain and the reluctance of Irish millers to adapt to new roller technology were contributing factors to its collapse. The decline was reflected in the closure of mills and the decline in the export of flour. By 1913, the sole remaining mill in Quaker hands had closed its doors. The Malcomson cotton empire which had its headquarters in Portlaw, closed the plant in Clonmel in the 1850s and, in 1864 opened another factory in Carrick-on-Suir. Thirteen years later disaster struck when the Malcomson company went bankrupt.

Corn milling 1847-1913

The repeal of Foster's corn laws in 1846 dealt a shattering blow to the corn industry in the country as a whole. The availability of cheap American grain and the new roller milling technology plunged the Irish milling industry into a state of crisis. To compound their difficulties local millers were slow to adapt in the face of changing technology. According to a local newspaper, they persisted in carrying 'on their business in the same old fashioned method which was pursued in the days of protection'.²⁵⁶ This point was repeated twenty years later by George Bassett who, in his commercial directory for County Tipperary 1889, wrote that 'the free entry of American flour so affected the industry that only a few of the millers had courage enough to expend the money in improved roller machinery'.²⁵⁷ Unfortunately, he does not mention the millers in question. While milling became increasingly concentrated in such centres as Cork and Limerick which had the facilities to handle large quantities of imported grain, the mills in County Tipperary were reduced to a local trade.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Cormac O'Gráda, *Ireland. a new economic history 1780-1939*, p.283.

²⁵⁶ *T.F.P.*, 22 July 1877.

²⁵⁷ *Bassett's Directory 1889*, p.23.

²⁵⁸ *Slater's Directory 1870*, p.34; Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (Dublin, 1928), p.50.

An article in a local paper summed up the impact of these developments by stating that 'Free Trade and the importation of foreign grain have levelled a blow at the manufacture of flour, and many of our huge mills, that have often excited the stranger's curiosity, now, in their half-employed condition, tell only of a vast industry that has fallen into disuse'.²⁵⁹ The depressed state of the industry can be seen from a hand-written note appended to the valuation lists. It relates to a letter written by Thomas Cambridge Grubb in 1862 to one of the valuation officers, seeking a reduction in the valuation for the Manor mill. His request merited this reply: 'This mill is the oldest and best established in the county. Mr. Grubb appeals against the present value of £120. Previous to 1862/63 the value was £136-10-0, ¼ would leave it at £100. This amount I consider fair considering the falling off of trade as stated in his letter'.²⁶⁰

The decline in milling was gradual. Cullen states that 'in milling numbers fell little at first sight: from 3,986 in 1871 to 3,834 in 1882, but there was a gathering storm at the end of the decade'.²⁶¹ Since milling was no longer a profit-making venture many Quakers throughout the county began to abandon it. As has already been stated, during the 1840s, the Malcomsons converted their mill on Suir Island into a spinning factory. Richmond mill was converted into a sawmill, circa 1870, by the then owner Thomas Cambridge Grubb. Around the same time, Thomas Shannon surrendered his interest in the Abbey mill at Marlfield, while Peter Banfield sold Ragwell mill to Richard Crean for £150 in 1874.²⁶² Two years later, the National Bank took possession of Murray's mill on Suir Island.²⁶³ In 1880, William Davis relinquished the lease of Suirville mill to Joseph Ernest Grubb,²⁶⁴ who worked Suirville for a few years before it finally closed. Around the same time Hughes's mill on Suir Island suffered a similar fate.

²⁵⁹ C.C., 19 Aug. 1865.

²⁶⁰ Valuation Office, Dublin. (Handwritten note in Valuation Book for the Barony of Iffa and Offa East, St. Mary's Clonmel. System No. 46282. unpaginated).

²⁶¹ L. M. Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1972), p. 147

²⁶² R.D., 1874/10/132.

²⁶³ R.D., 1876/2/252.

²⁶⁴ R.D., 1880/57/120.

Another sign of the decline in milling is the fact that of the four mills destroyed by fire in the years 1877 to 1894, none recommenced production.²⁶⁵ These included the mills at Anner, Rathronan,²⁶⁶ Redmondstown²⁶⁷ and the Manor mill, all of which were in the possession of the Grubb family. When the Manor mill was burnt down in 1894, only six people were employed there.²⁶⁸ Joseph Grubb's mill on Suir Island, built in the eighteenth century, was the only Quaker mill in Clonmel by the end of the century. Although a fire destroyed a portion of the mill in 1891, Thomas Cambridge Grubb continued to operate it until his death in 1903. Joseph Ernest Grubb, his cousin, was the last member of the Grubb family to work the mill from 1906 to 1913. At this stage, the mill was not only the last of the Grubb mills in Clonmel, but the only remaining mill in operation in the town.

The most striking evidence of the collapse in milling was the decline in grain exports through Waterford. In the three years preceding 1898, the export of grain had practically ceased, while in that year the import of grain had been eight times greater than twenty years before.²⁶⁹ The closing pages of Charles Kickham's novel *Knocknagow*, first published in 1873, contain this rueful passage, 'But I never see a town that's gone like Clonmel. I remember when I could hardly get through the streets wud loads of corn; and now there's nothing doing there. The mills nearly all idle, an' the stores an' half the shops shut up. 'Twas well Phil Morris use to say 'twas the corn made the town uv Clonmel'.

270

The same trend was evident in the other Quaker centres throughout the county. However, the evidence would suggest that the impact of this decline was not immediately evident. A ledger dealing with the Grubb-run brewery in Clogheen,²⁷¹ covering the period 1848-1859, also contains entries which give an insight into their

²⁶⁵ Sean O'Donnell, 'Clonmel Corporation 1842-98: A municipal study', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Maynooth, 1996), p.35.

²⁶⁶ W. Burke, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), p. 183.

²⁶⁷ *C.C.*, 12 March 1878.

²⁶⁸ *C.N.*, 17 March 1894.

²⁶⁹ Peter Solar, 'The agricultural trade of the port of Waterford' in W. Nolan and T. P. Power (eds.) *Waterford history and society*, pp. 495-518.

²⁷⁰ C. J. Kickham, *Knocknagow*, xxxi impression (Dublin, 1952), pp.619-620.

²⁷¹ Ledger in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary.

milling operations at this time. The Grubb mills and the brewery were operated by a partnership consisting of Samuel, Richard and Henry Samuel Grubb. In 1858, they had a capital investment of £5,370-16-10, £4,815-11-10 and £4,826-6-5 respectively. In 1855, the Clogheen and Castlegrace mills recorded profits of £1,988-8-10, while the Flemingtown mills had a profit of £610-15-2.

However, the leasing of Ardfinnan mill in 1856²⁷² by James Fennell, and his subsequent renewal of the lease of Manor mill in Clogheen were, in hindsight, a case of misplaced optimism. The same could be said of Frederick Grubb who acquired Mahony's grist mill (situated on the Duag a few hundred metres south of Cooleville) from Lord Lismore in 1856 at an annual rent of £40.²⁷³ It was not long before the Grubbs began disengaging themselves from the milling business. The Castlegrace mill had ceased operations around 1862 and was converted to a grainstore. In 1870, Frederic Grubb put Cooleville mill up for sale,²⁷⁴ while by this time their mill at Flemingstown was operating in a semi-derelict condition:

The work done in this mill in 1852 was 4,970 barrels, and in 1865, 1,115 barrels. Little or nothing has been done since 1868, with only one pair of stones working for two days a week on an average in these times. Some buildings are in ruins and others much dilapidated. Indian Corn is now only ground in it and wheat grain must be supplied from the Dublin market. It is nine miles from the nearest railway station.²⁷⁵

A similar picture of the industry emerges from the directories of the period:

the corn mills of Messrs. Grubbs are very extensive, employing great power and a considerable number of hands, but the trade of this town (Clogheen) like that of many of the other towns in this and the neighbouring county, has passed away, some of the largest mills and stores standing idle.²⁷⁶

As another commentator put it, 'within forty years, four flour mills were worked with success in the town and neighbourhood. Now only one is kept going'.²⁷⁷

²⁷² R.D., 1856/26/56

²⁷³ Assignment Lismore to Grubb 1856 (Deed in the possession of Mrs. Jackson, Coolville House, Clogheen).

²⁷⁴ *T.F.P.*, 2 April 1870.

²⁷⁵ W. J. Smyth, 'Clogheen-Burncourt: A social geography of a rural parish in south Tipperary'. unpublished Ph D thesis (U.C.D., , 1969), pp. 25,26.

²⁷⁶ *Slater's Directory, 1870*, province of Munster, p.30.

²⁷⁷ *Bassett's Directory 1889*, p. 169.

In Cahir, with one notable exception, the situation was no different. In 1849, John Walpole died, bequeathing his estate, Brookfield House, Millgrove House and mills to his son, William. After William's death in 1882, Tincurry mill was purchased by Joshua Robert Fennell of Garryroan in trust for John Christy Fennell of Garryroan for £1,100,²⁷⁸ but there is no indication that the mill was still in production by that date. Ten years earlier, the mill had been burned but no details of the extent of the damage were given.²⁷⁹ It has been said that the Going milling fortunes suffered a reversal under the ownership of William Going. William, it would appear, wished for a legal career, but instead became the reluctant head of the Cahir milling business, which declined in consequence.²⁸⁰ It was left to Alexander Going, the fourth son of William, to restore the family fortunes.

Meanwhile, Richard William Smyth, who was a non-Quaker, accepted a position to run the Cahir mill, otherwise known as the Manor or Bridge mill. In 1858, he inherited a large fortune which enabled him to purchase the mill and, in the following year, bought a half share of the Going mill at Barnora, which was then being run by his future brother-in-law, Alexander Going. In 1863, he married Caroline Going, sister of his partner. The following year, he took complete control of Barnora and began to operate as Going & Smyth. The firm, it would appear, decided to abandon its interest in its other mill at Killemlly which was put up for leasing.²⁸¹ By this time, the Goings had abandoned Quakerism in favour of the Church of Ireland, as did the Grubbs of Cahir. In 1876, the Grubb brothers sold their interest in Suir mill and it became part of the Going & Smyth group, and continued to be operated up to 1967 when the firm went into liquidation. In 1889, Bassett, referring to this mill and noting the decline in Cahir's milling industry stated 'Flour-milling is the only industry remaining. Thirty-five years ago this was in the

²⁷⁸ Abstract of Title of Mrs. Emma F. Walpole and William Henry Walpole Esq., Oct. 1882. (Document in possession of John Mackey, Lissava, Cahir).

²⁷⁹ *C.C.*, 11 June 1872.

²⁸⁰ Rev. C.C. Ellison, 'Going of Munster' in *Irish Ancestor*, i, (1977), p.39.

²⁸¹ *T.F.P.*, 22 Feb. 1871.

flood tide of prosperity. Only one firm continues to do battle with the horde of outside competitors'.²⁸²

Cotton industry 1847-1877

During this period the Malcomsons' cotton interests in Clonmel were re-organised. Their handloom factory on the quay continued in existence for some years after 1866 'because in that year the Sisters of Charity (who had started schools for the poorer children of the town) instituted a 'night school' for the benefit of the girls employed in this factory'.²⁸³ It was later closed and converted into a corn store while, as has been stated, they converted their corn mill on Suir Island into a spinning factory. In 1864, William Malcomson, senior partner in the firm bought the manor house and townparks adjoining in Carrick-on-Suir for sum of £4,000. He demolished a house known as the 'Villa Mantilla de Verda' which stood on the property, and on the site erected a spinning mill and cotton factory known as the Villa factory. It gave employment to about 800 and, in 1885 the poor law valuation was £194.²⁸⁴ There is no indication when the factory went out of existence but it is unlikely that it survived the collapse of the Malcomson empire in 1877.

The Quaker industrial legacy in Tipperary

There can be little doubt as to the importance of the corn industry in Tipperary and of the prominent part played by the Quaker community in its development. The most noticeable impact on the urban fabric was the presence of their multi-storeyed mills and ancillary stores, the ruins of many being still visible. They also erected houses to provide accommodation for their mill workers, whose numbers and location were shown by the Griffith valuation. There were at least two schemes in the environs of Clonmel. Twenty seven houses in the parish of Kilgrant catered for a portion of the workhouse in Anner mills,²⁸⁵ while the houses of Thomas Grubb's Place on the Old Bridge, Clonmel served a similar purpose for the workers in Suir Island mills.²⁸⁶ The Grubbs of Clogheen were

²⁸² *Bassett's Directory 1889*, p. 139.

²⁸³ A memoir of the Malcomsom family (N.L.I., MS. 8146, unpaginated)

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*

²⁸⁵ Griffith valuation. County of Tipperary S. R. Barony of Iffa and Offa East, p.60.

²⁸⁶ Griffith valuation. County of Waterford, Barony of Upperthird, pp.67, 68.

also responsible for similar developments for those employed in the Clashleigh and Cooleville mills.²⁸⁷ In the town of Cahir, provision had been made by the Fennells for their employees in Cahir mills.²⁸⁸

Clonmel was by far and away the largest milling centre, handling much of the produce from the Cahir and Clogheen mills and sending it down the Suir to Waterford for export. At one stage or another, there were nine Quaker-operated mills within the borough of Clonmel, with as many more in the immediate hinterland. The main portion of the development along the quay, the heartland of industrial Clonmel, was the result of Quaker initiative. By 1913, when Joseph Ernest Grubb closed his mill on Suir Island, as has been stated, not alone was it the only remaining Grubb mill, but it was also the last corn mill in operation in Clonmel.

Before the end of the nineteenth century flour milling had ceased in Clogheen, from which time the Grubbs and the Fennells ceased to have any influence on the fortunes of the village.²⁸⁹ As for Cahir, while the earls of Glengall were largely responsible for improving the appearance of the nineteenth century town, credit must go to the Quakers for transforming its economy. Their contribution was such that 'Cahir was once called "The Quaker town", for the reason that the members of the Society of Friends were so greatly identified with its interests'.²⁹⁰ The town's prosperity 'derived principally from the extensive flour mills, actively and continually at work, in the immediate neighbourhood, and conducted almost exclusively by the "people called Quakers"'.²⁹¹ Similar sentiments were expressed by another writer who stated that 'extensive flour mills in the vicinity, conducted chiefly by Quakers, and actively and constantly at work, contribute largely to the support of the population'.²⁹² The collapse of the labour-intensive milling industry had considerable repercussions for the local

²⁸⁷ Griffith valuation. County of Tipperary S. R., Barony of Iffa and Offa West, pp. 75 and 135.

²⁸⁸ Griffith valuation. County of Tipperary S. R., Barony of Iffa and Offa West, pp. 21 to 23.

²⁸⁹ Smyth, 'Clogheen-Burncourt: A social geography etc.', p.26.

²⁹⁰ *Bassett's Directory 1889*, p.147.

²⁹¹ Mr. & Mrs. S. C. Hall, *Ireland, its scenery, character etc.*, ii (London, 1842), p.89.

²⁹² *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland 1843-44*, i (Dublin, 1844), p. 293

economy. In Clonmel the situation had been exacerbated by the collapse of the Malcomson empire in 1877, which meant the closure of their cotton factory and the loss of 300 jobs.²⁹³ In O'Donnell's opinion:

With the increasing failure of the corn and livestock trades to provide adequate sources of work, the range of employment in Clonmel became very narrow and the town therefore was more dependent on its position as a regional administrative centre with employment available in the service sectors such as the army, transport, the provision trade and local government administration. While these areas were among the principal sources of employment by the end of the century their capacity to absorb the workforce was very limited.²⁹⁴

Bassett, in 1889, commenting on the town's potential for employment, stated that 'The manufacturing enterprises are not extensive' but 'excluding the existing corn, flour and oat mills, Clonmel had a brewery, a woollen factory, tanneries, a boot factory, carriage factories, agricultural implement, mineral water, and cabinet works'.²⁹⁵ While undoubtedly, the collapse of the corn and cotton trades restricted employment opportunities, Clonmel was not as adversely affected as were the other Quaker centres within the county.

In Clogheen and Cahir, where the range of employment opportunities was more limited, the collapse of the milling industry had more serious consequences. The village of Clogheen, where employment had almost been totally dependent on Quaker initiative, reverted to being a quiet rural village with its shops supplying the basic necessities for the surrounding countryside. Tradition states that the Grubbs willingly paid the fares of any former mill-worker wishing to emigrate to America. Cahir was marginally better off to the extent that the formerly-owned Grubb mill under the management of Going & Smyth, as has been stated, continued in operation until it finally closed in the 1960s.

Sadly, from the second half of the nineteenth century Quaker numbers in the county were dwindling rapidly, for reasons which will be explained in chapter 8. In addition to this, those who remained appeared to lack the same entrepreneurial flair of their forebears. As will also be seen in chapter 5, many had become members of the

²⁹³ Memoir of the Malcomson family (N.L.I., MS. 8146. unpaginated).

²⁹⁴ Seán O'Donnell., *Clonmel 1840-1900. Anatomy of an Irish town* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 24,25.

²⁹⁵ *Bassett's Directory 1889*, p. 67.

rentier class, while the sons of successful businessmen sometimes preferred careers in the professions. No effort was made to find an alternative industry to milling, as the Goodbodys had done by introducing jute production to Clara. While the collapse of the milling industry removed Quaker involvement from the industrial life of the county, it cannot be held responsible for the ultimate departure of the Quaker community which, chapter 8 will show, was caused by reasons other than economic ones.

To sum up, by the end of the seventeenth century Irish Quakers were already beginning to win a reputation for integrity and to enjoy a certain degree of business success. A century later, many of Tipperary's Quaker community, especially through their dominance of the woollen and milling industries, had become very wealthy. The forces that shaped this prosperity cannot be divorced from the essence of Quaker belief and practice. Their refusal to take oaths excluded them from the ranks of the public service and from entry to the university and compelled them to seek success in the world of commerce and industry. The Quaker reputation for probity and fair-dealing won for them the confidence of the market place. These values were reinforced by the many epistles and advices which bound members to compliance with these principles. The Society's insistence on providing education for all its members, while overseeing a well supervised and regulated system of apprenticeships, ensured a literate and well-trained workforce. Endogamous marriage practice reinforced the Quaker network, and the marriage portions which accrued from these alliances were often a source of additional capital. Furthermore, involvement by the members in the administrative affairs of the Society proved to be good training for the business world, while attendance at the quarterly and yearly meetings must have been fruitful occasions for the exchange of ideas and the making of valuable business contacts.

Tipperary's Quakers first came to prominence in the commercial affairs of the county through their involvement in the woollen industry. With the decline of the wool trade from the 1780s onwards the Quakers transferred their capital and entrepreneurial expertise to the emerging corn industry. They proceeded to monopolise this in the towns of Clonmel, Clogheen and Cahir during the years of its greatest prosperity. In the early

days, partnerships were deemed necessary to secure the requisite working capital. This became common practice in a number of Quaker enterprises, which included those of Riggs and Fennell, and Greer and Hughes. In the case of Grubb and Morton, the former was even prepared to enter into a business arrangement with a non-Quaker family. The transition of Thomas Hughes and Samuel Jellico from mere apprentices to successful millers, was made possible by the support of their fellow Quakers. The opportunities afforded by the growing corn industry allowed Charles Going, a successful fruit-importing merchant from Cork, and Robert Dudley, who operated a hardware business in Clonmel, to become successful millers. Powerful milling families, such as the Grubbs, extended their milling interests to a number of centres within the county, while others, such as Thomas Samuel Grubbe and David Malcomson, secured further mills outside the county borders. A number adopted the strategy of sub-letting their mill buildings as a more lucrative prospect. Despite some failures, the more successful milling families such as the Grubbs, Goings and Malcomsons became extremely wealthy.

The Quakers of Tipperary made a significant contribution to their respective communities. Their industrial endeavours made a notable impact on the urban fabric - their imposing mills accompanied by ancillary buildings, the houses for their workers and the many fine residences they built for themselves became features of the landscape. There can be no doubt that the collapse of the milling industry had serious consequences for these Quaker towns. However, it occurred at a time when the local Quaker community itself was in a state of crisis. Numbers were dwindling. They had ceased to display the entrepreneurial flair which had established their reputation as successful businessmen. Few efforts were made, either by the Quakers or members of the broader community, to introduce modern technology or to find an alternative industry. Some Quakers were content to live on their investments, while others sought careers in the professions. Whereas the former prosperity of these towns can be largely attributed to the Quakers, when the repeal of the corn laws threatened their core industrial interests they were unable or unwilling to respond to the subsequent crisis.

Chapter 5

Tipperary Quakers: other commercial ventures

This chapter examines the wider commercial activities of the Quakers in County Tipperary. It will show how many of their undertakings were natural developments of their agricultural background and demonstrate their economic evolution. It will also illustrate how they focused on supplying commonplace, household commodities, and their avoidance of luxury goods which they identified with the vanities of the world. Another Quaker concern was their involvement in various infra-structural improvements which they considered vital to their interests. It will also demonstrate how the accumulation of surplus Quaker capital saw extensive investment in landed estates and property, and enabled them to finance road construction and various public institutions in the nineteenth century. This increased wealth also provided the opportunity to take shares in shipping and railways, and to promote such financial institutions as banks and insurance companies. The chapter will investigate the Quaker-run family firm and its viability as a commercial entity, as well as looking at the status of local Quakers in Clonmel's business hierarchy, and their position in relation to other dissenters in the town. Finally, the activities of county Tipperary's Quakers will be examined in the context of the commercial interests of their co-religionists in other parts of Ireland.

Practically all early Irish Quakers, as noted above, earned their living through combining farming with some trade or other. They practised a comprehensive range of skills, from that of cutler to saddletree-maker. As the eighteenth century progressed, an increasing number abandoned agriculture and moved into the towns and cities. In the process, many became shop-keepers and successful middle-class traders. Benjamin Holme, an English Quaker, writing in 1725, declared that many Irish Friends were considerable traders and that 'some from very small beginnings have got very considerable estates'.¹ This view is shared by the Quaker historian, Isabel Grubb, who

¹ Benjamin Holme, *A collection of the epistles and works of Benjamin Holme* (London, 230

wrote, 'On the whole, towards the end of the eighteenth century, Irish Quakers were looked upon by their contemporaries as wealthy and successful traders'.² Quaker commercial activities could be divided into the processing of agricultural raw materials and involvement in the provision trade. As Ó Maitiú states 'the Quaker commitment to simplicity also turned them away from "superfluities" with a preference for the food and (usually soft) drink industries'.³ In addition to milling, described in chapter 4, Quakers took on the role of bacon and butter producers, brewers, distillers, tanners and tallow chandlers, while they also became grocers, drapers, bakers and hardwaremen.

A number of Tipperary's Quaker community had amassed considerable wealth from their successful involvement in the woollen and corn industries. This allowed them to offer assistance to members of their extended families who wished to initiate some commercial enterprise, and to support migrant Quakers who came to the county with a view to bettering themselves. Clonmel, the centre with the city's largest Quaker community, became the main focus for Quaker commercial activity. Outside of Clonmel, there was minimal Quaker involvement in trade, which reflected fewer Quaker numbers in these towns. Anne Fennell, who operated a millinery shop in Clogheen in the mid-nineteenth century, and the grocer, Samuel Jellico, in Cahir, who was in business for forty years up to 1872,⁴ were the only Quaker-owned shops in these towns, while Roscrea and Carrick-on-Suir had little more than a half-dozen Quaker-run businesses between them.

Businesses derived from agriculture

As has been already stated, the earliest Quakers who settled in Tipperary were all involved in agriculture, to one degree or another. By the middle of the eighteenth century, it would appear that many of them had become relatively successful. By that time, 'many of the wealthy inhabitants of Clonmel' were sending 'great quantities of flour, corn and potatoes down the river in large boats to Waterford' and that 'the Quakers were

1753), p. 46.

² Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and industry* (London, 1929), p.18.

³ Séamus Ó Maitiú, *W & R. Jacob: celebrating 150 years of Irish biscuit making* (Dublin, 2001), p. 7.

⁴ *C.C.*, 18 May 1872.

the principal actors in this trade'.⁵ Entries in various commercial directories from the *Directory of Richard Lucas* in 1787 to those covering the first half of the nineteenth century, indicate their continued success in trading in agricultural products.

When Edward Wakefield paid a visit to Clonmel town in the early years of the nineteenth century, he found a thriving bacon market. He described a pickling store where 1,200 hogs were slaughtered yearly and a warehouse that could hold 100 tons of bacon. He went on to state that the pork merchants were mainly Quakers.⁶ These included Robert Banfield, John M. Murphy and Robert Samuel Grubb. Thomas Davis and Co. were also involved in the trade and had a yard capable of slaughtering 500 hogs weekly.⁷ Some extent of Banfield's business is reflected in a news item which reported the theft of 300 guineas from one of his pig-buyers.⁸

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century Clonmel also had a flourishing butter industry. In 1817, when a new butter market was built by subscription in the town, one of the leading contributors was the Quaker, William Chaytor.⁹ The average quantity of butter sold annually in the market was about 50,000 firkins, supplied from the dairies of several adjacent counties.¹⁰ Many Quaker butter merchants enjoyed the profits which accrued from this lucrative trade, including the firms of Murphy & White,¹¹ and that of David Malcomson & Sons.¹² Samuel Grubb who had a butter and corn merchant business in Main Street was also an important butter exporter. Grubb's name frequently occurs in the ledgers of the Waterford merchant firm of Courtenay & Ridgeway, to whom the Grubbs were related. Samuel Grubb was among their most important agents, supplying them with a total of 1,657 casks of butter during the years 1791-92.¹³ His

⁵ 'Clonmel 1760' in *C.C.*, 20 Dec. 1930.

⁶ Edward Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland statistical and political*, i (London, 1812), p.752.

⁷ *C.A.*, 28 Nov. 1832.

⁸ *Clonmel Advertiser*, 25 Jan. 1815.

⁹ William Burke (Rev.), *The History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), p.186.

¹⁰ *Irish Commercial Directory 1818*, p.157.

¹¹ *ibid*, p.134.

¹² *T.F.P.*, 12 April 1828.

¹³ L. M. Cullen, 'The overseas trade of Waterford as seen from a ledger of Courtenay and Ridgeway' in *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxxviii, part 2 (1958), p.174.

cousin, Benjamin Grubb, who had a grocery shop in the town, was also engaged in the butter business. In 1829, an act of parliament¹⁴ 'repealed former acts restricting the sale of butter; merchants now purchased at their stores, and the smaller towns opened markets of their own. Three years later the quantity of butter sold in the Clonmel market had shrunk to 21,559 cwts.'¹⁵ Rynne offers another reason for the slump in Clonmel's butter trade when he states that although the town did have a covered market 'at which butter could be weighed, inspected and branded this did not often happen'.¹⁶

Apart from the butter and bacon trades, there were a number of minor ones, including tallow chandling and tanning, which were also dominated by local Quakers. Among Clonmel's leading tallow chandlers were Murphy & White, Robert Banfield, Robert Samuel Grubb, the Pim brothers, and Shaw & Co. Other Quakers, including members of the Whitten families, both in Clonmel and Roscrea, were also engaged in this line of business. The tanning of leather was carried on in Clonmel by such enterprising Quakers as Peter Banfield, Thomas & Samuel Rigg and Thomas Taylor.

The most capital-intensive enterprise in the agricultural sector was brewing and distilling, which involved the erection of a large factory premises, the installation of the necessary machinery and the acquisition of the required stocks of material. There appears to have been a certain ambivalence shown by the Quakers to the consumption of intoxicating liquor. In 1682, George Fox directed vintners and innkeepers not to let anyone have more strong liquors than what was good for their health.¹⁷ During the early days of the Mountmellick provincial school, the Quakers supplied beer to their students as part of their diet.¹⁸ The passage of the 1791 act¹⁹ for preventing the excessive use of

¹⁴ 10, Geo. IV., c. 41.

¹⁵ Wm Burke (Rev.) *History of Clonmel*, p. 185.

¹⁶ Colin Rynne, *At the sign of the cow: The Cork butter market 1776-1924* (Cork, 1998), p. 58.

¹⁷ cited in W. C. Braithwaite's, *Second period of Quakerism*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1961) pp. 595-96.

¹⁸ Michael Quane, 'The Friends' provincial school, Mountmellick' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxxix, part 1, (1959), p. 68. As part of the plan of regulations for the school drawn up in 1785, beer was to be supplied at meals five days a week for the pupils.

¹⁹ 31 Geo. III, c.13.

spirituous liquors among the lower orders drew a reaction from a number of Clonmel Quakers. As a result of a public meeting held in the town, they pledged themselves to enforcing certain provisions of the act within the district. These included:

that clause, relative to the sale of spirits on the Lord's Day, and at unseasonable hours, on any other day; and that we will, from time to time, inspect such houses as retail such spirits, and give information of all such trespass against said Act, as shall come to our knowledge.²⁰

The only Tipperary Quaker involved in the production of spirits was John Malcomson of Clonmel, who was in partnership with a member of the Riall family. The firm of Riall and Malcomson were both brewers and malsters.²¹ They had been in operation at the beginning of the nineteenth century and had gone out of business around 1814.²² A subsequent notice in the local paper, stating that they were taking steps to recover their debts,²³ suggests that the reason for closure may have been financial. Subsequently, the yearly meeting of 1836 advocated abstinence from distilled spirits for all its members. In the same year, Abraham Grubb, a Clonmel spirit merchant, responded to the wishes of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends and withdrew from the sale of spirituous liquors.²⁴

Although teetotalism was never compulsory or universal within the Society, the rapid spread of the temperance movement among Friends during the nineteenth century placed Quaker brewers and wine merchants in a position of great difficulty. The situation is summed up by Walvin who writes:

Temperance steadily gained ground throughout the Society of Friends, helped by its elevation into a moral campaign - the very stuff of traditional Quaker politics. However, life was made uncomfortable for that band of Quaker brewers whose business interests were gently but firmly criticised at various meetings. But as the century advanced, the sting of the temperance movement was removed not so much by their own success as by the general decline in levels of drunkenness. The demon drink had become less of a social ill by the end of the century.²⁵

²⁰ C.G., 24 to 28 Sept. 1791.

²¹ C.A., 26 Nov. 1814.

²² C.A., 22 Nov. 1814.

²³ C.A., 23 Oct. 1817.

²⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of monthly meeting 1818-49, 9th day of twelfth month, 1836 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

²⁵ James Walvin, *The Quakers - money and morals* (London, 1997), p. 153.

The attitude of Tipperary Friends to the issue of temperance was divided. People like Joseph Ernest Grubb refused to tow barges containing barrels of beer or porter behind his steam tug, the *Father Matthew*, on the river Suir, despite the considerable financial loss involved.²⁶ His wife, Rebecca, was equally committed. She held temperance classes in her house²⁷, and her name appears on an undated document addressed to the directors of the Great Southern and Western Railway company, requesting that only non-alcoholic beverages be served on their trains. William Beale, a Clonmel hardware merchant made 'large contributions to the temperance movement'.²⁸

On the other hand, they were those who had enough independence of mind to retain both their breweries and their Quakerism, or perhaps were loathe to abandon what had become a lucrative enterprise. It should be said, however, that the three Quaker-run breweries in Tipperary were in existence before the temperance question became an issue. The most successful and enduring Quaker brewing enterprise was that of Thomas Murphy & Company of Clonmel. It commenced operations in 1798 under the partnership of Samuel Murphy and Thomas Greer, and became one of the most important and extensive in Ireland. The original building, which was one of modest proportions, was destroyed in 1825. A disastrous fire ensued when a kiln became over-heated.²⁹ Fortunately, it had been insured for a sum of £4,000 with fellow-Quaker, Robert Banfield, an agent for the British & Irish Fire Insurance Company.³⁰ The new building, which was a six storey edifice, occupied an area of two acres stretching from Dowd's Lane to Nelson Street on the New Quay. Built in a castellated style and pierced with three hundred windows, it became one of the town's most distinctive landmarks.

After the death of Thomas Greer in 1834, this brewery became the sole property of the Murphy family. Trading under the name Thomas Murphy & Company, not to be confused with today's Murphy's stout, the then partners were the brothers Thomas and

²⁶ Patrick Grogan, 'Some aspects of Lemuel Cox's bridge' in *Decies*, dv, (1999), pp. 36, 37.

²⁷ Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (Dublin, 1928), pp. 16, 17.

²⁸ *C.N.*, 4 May, 1901.

²⁹ *C.A.*, 8 Oct. 1825.

³⁰ *C.A.*, 23 Nov. 1825.

John Malcomson Murphy. John died in 1849, and Thomas a year later. The brewery then passed into the hands of Samuel and Benjamin, sons of John Malcomson Murphy. Samuel died in 1854, bequeathing his share to his brother, John. Benjamin died in 1880 and John six years later. The brewery was inherited by Thomas, George and John Murphy, sons of Benjamin. Being minors, their interests were looked after by Charles Fennell, who was neither a relative nor a Quaker, but who became trustee and manager of the brewery. At the time of its closure in the nineteen twenties, Thomas and John were directors.

Run with typical Quaker enterprise and flair, the Clonmel brewery won a widespread reputation as a model establishment. Murphys' practical skill and innovative policy ensured that attention was continually devoted to processes that would increase quality whilst holding or reducing costs. Accompanying the growth of the premises was 'the improvement of the machinery, plant, and appliances, every improved device and mechanical invention being taken up with an avidity of proprietorship determined to produced malt beverages of unsurpassed quality at the lowest possible cost'.³¹ The proprietors were always ready to innovate and experiment. They had their own sawmills which supplied the materials to build their own carts and floats, as well as making and repairing their own casks. Their water supply for brewing was obtained from two wells, one seventy feet deep and the other thirty feet. They also had private electricity long before a public supply was available. This generating plant was situated in the adjoining Dowd's Lane, and was operated by gas, manufactured on the premises from the burning of anthracite coal. In 1885, the firm won a first class certificate for the excellence of their coopering work at the Dublin Artisans' Exhibition. A striking example of their spirit of innovation was the joint approach made to the Great Southern Railways Company, in the 1850s, by the management of the brewery and the Clonmel Gas Company.³² It was proposed that a line be built from the railway station to the gas company yard for their mutual benefit. We can only speculate as to what prevented its implementation.

³¹ *Stratton's Directory 1892*, p.272

³² Margaret Rossiter, 'Murphy's brewery' in *C.N.*, 23 Oct. 1982.

Three malt houses produced ale, stout and porter of the finest quality. A portion of the required supply of barley was grown locally but most of it came from the Horse and Jockey area, near Thurles. By the end of the nineteenth century, Murphy's brewery had an extensive market throughout Ireland and a depot in Belfast to supply the north of the country. It also exported to England, Scotland and Wales, supplying the regimental canteens of the British army. The brewery employed a workforce of some two hundred, with an extra one hundred at peak periods.

By 1924, after a long and proud history, the brewery found itself in difficulties. In April of that year, Thomas Murphy, the managing director, announced that the company would have to reduce its workforce. The brewery no longer had an export market and was dependent on local trade. Rising unemployment and increasing duties on beer had affected sales. At a subsequent meeting of the Clonmel Workers' Council representing the various trade unions in the town, a resolution was passed calling on the townspeople to support the brewery. Despite this exhortation, the brewery closed in 1924, with disastrous consequences for the town. The size of the annual wage bill of £25,000, in addition to a proportion of the £15,000 spent on raw materials, gives some indication of the loss inflicted on the town's economy. In addition, a large number of the workforce, many of them highly skilled, were forced to emigrate.

When the Grubbs leased Clashleigh corn mill in Clogheen in 1803, they also came into possession of the nearby brewery,³³ and it was still in production in the eighteen fifties.³⁴ The third brewery was that of John Walpole which was attached to his corn mill in the centre of Cahir. It had a capacity for brewing 5,000 barrels of beer annually. Its water mill was capable of grinding sufficient malt for the brewery, and 4,000 barrels of oats.³⁵ This is the sole surviving reference to Walpole's brewery. There is no indication as to whether he built it or took it over when he leased the adjoining corn mill from Lord Cahir.

³³ R.D., 603/181/410696.

³⁴ Brewery ledger in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary.

³⁵ C.A., 14 August 1811.

The provision trade

It has been said that Quakers set out to conquer 'the world of the domestic market for humble, everyday articles'.³⁶ They avoided trade in luxury goods, preferring to deal in everyday commodities for which there was a constant demand. These essentials included grocery, drapery, bakery and hardware goods. One of the most popular and successful types of enterprise would appear to have been the grocery business, and a number of Quaker-run shops earned a well-deserved reputation for quality and service. Among the leading grocers were Samuel Jellico of Cahir, whose premises closed its doors in 1872 after forty years in business,³⁷ and the Grubbs of Clonmel. The last named was established by Benjamin Grubb in the middle of the eighteenth century. It remained under the family's control, for four generations, until 1892, by which time it was regarded as the leading tea house in Clonmel.³⁸ As Harrison has observed, 'The era of the tea specialist had arrived, in which the sales of tea and coffee sometimes predominated over the usual grocery lines'.³⁹ This typified the commercial changes which took place in the wake of the Napoleonic wars and as a result of the consequent depression. In addition to stocking the usual grocery goods, Joseph Grubb, son of the founder Benjamin, placed advertisements in the local newspapers⁴⁰ promoting the sales of tea and coffee. Demand was increased by the growth of the temperance movement, making it a very lucrative venture.

A similar degree of specialisation was evident in the hardware trade, another area that attracted considerable Quaker investment. Some enterprises 'concentrated on one or two particular products, such as timber and coal, while selling a large range of other goods'.⁴¹ This is evident from a reference, in 1794, to the activities of the firms of Sheldon and Edward Dudley of Roscrea.⁴² Others who operated on this basis were the

³⁶ Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry* (New York, 1950), p.340.

³⁷ *C.C.*, 18 May 1872.

³⁸ *C.N.*, 14 Feb.1912.

³⁹ Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers*, p.35.

⁴⁰ *C.A.*, 1 Dec.1824; 17 Oct.1835.

⁴¹ Richard Harrison, *A Cork Quaker dynasty*, pp. 33/34.

⁴² R.M.M. Record of sufferings 1762-1831 (F.H.L.D., MM V G4).

Pim Brothers, who specialised in the sale of iron. Founded in Clonmel in 1820, Pims also supplied hardware, horse and cattle medicines as well as operating as a soap and candle manufacturer.⁴³ Hardware firms were located in Clonmel and Carrick where the riverine situation facilitated the importation of stock from the port of Waterford. In Carrick-on-Suir, the firm of T. G. Howell, which was prominent in the latter half of the nineteenth century, carried an equally wide selection of merchandise. While these businesses functioned as retail outlets, more ambitious Clonmel Quakers, like their co-religionists elsewhere, began to concentrate on developing a new style of business based on a combination of retailing and wholesaling. Advertisements from the period indicate the range of merchandise carried. Isaac Jacob & Son supplied various timbers, slates, sheet lead, laths and tiles,⁴⁴ while the partnership of Malcomson & Jacob sold oils, colours, window-glass, dye-stuffs, drugs etc. In addition they had a general assortment of iron-steel and metal-ware 'suited to mill and carriage work, farming and general purposes' as well as having a selection of coals for sale.⁴⁵ Other advertisements give some indication of the volume of business done by such traders. An advertisement placed by T. S. Grubbe (sic) & Son announced the arrival in Waterford of a cargo, consisting of 400 to 500 casks of tallow, 50 tons of hemp, deal, and lathwood.⁴⁶

The drapery trade was another area of endeavour for the Quaker entrepreneur. For many this was a natural development for those families which had previously engaged in the woollen and linen industries. One of the first Quaker-run draperies in County Tipperary occurs in 1792 with the mention of Eleazor Dudley in Roscrea.⁴⁷ Another prominent Roscrea firm was Samuel Rhodes and Sons, retail woollen and linen drapers, established in 1815. In Clonmel, there were a number of establishments run by the Boardmans, Taylors and Sparrows and various members of the Grubb family. From the evidence available, it appears that there were only two Quaker-run bakeries in County Tipperary. In Clonmel, John Grubb set up in business in the 1820s, which

⁴³ *C.C.*, 10 July 1873.

⁴⁴ *C.A.*, 9 April 1828.

⁴⁵ *T.F.P.*, 2 April 1828.

⁴⁶ *T.C.*, 1 Oct. 1847.

⁴⁷ *R.M.M.*, Record of sufferings 1762-1831 (F.H.L.D., MM V G4).

continued under the management of his wife, Elizabeth, after his death in 1832,⁴⁸ while Thomas Rhodes operated a similar enterprise in Roscrea.⁴⁹

Regardless of their principal line of business, be it grocery or drapery, a number of Clonmel Quaker traders carried a far wider range of products than one would associate with a similar enterprise to-day. Their billheads and advertisements are a clear indication of this combination of interests. In 1822, Francis Grubb was described as a grocer, linen-draper and haberdasher operating out of Jervis Place in Clonmel.⁵⁰ Samuel Davis & Company were listed as drapers and grocers,⁵¹ James Malone as woollen draper and tobacconist,⁵² and Susanna and Georgina Shaw as haberdashers and linen-makers.⁵³ The Jacob sisters having listed some of the articles for sale in their linen drapery in Bagwell Street, Clonmel,⁵⁴ added the following reminder that 'they are as usual well supplied with most articles in the grocery line'.⁵⁵

Iron and brass foundries

Foundries could be regarded as one of the indicators of a successful manufacturing centre. John Proctor was an established brass and iron founder in Clonmel during the opening decades of the nineteenth century, but despite some outstanding examples of his fine wrought iron gates and railings which are still to be seen adorning the entrance to the former Jackson woollen mill at Brookfield, outside Cahir, there is no further evidence to indicate the extent or duration of his business. The second Quaker firm of this nature had its origin in 1838 when John Grubb, assisted by the provision of £1,000 from his father, went into business with his cousin, Henry Jacob. They operated an iron and brass foundry on the New Quay in Clonmel, which also included a timber and slate yard. They manufactured a wide range of industrial, agricultural and domestic products. A price list which the company issued gives some indication of the range of

⁴⁸ *Shearman's Directory 1839*, p.28; *Triennial Directory 1840*, 41 & 42, p.41; *Slater's Directory 1846*, p.177 and *Slater's Directory 1856*, p.200.

⁴⁹ *Bassett's Directory 1889*, p. 321.

⁵⁰ *C.A.*, 25th Oct. 1822.

⁵¹ *Pigot's Directory 1820-21*, 22, p. 159

⁵² 'Directory of Richard Lucas 1787' cited in Burke's, *History of Clonmel*, p. 134.

⁵³ *Slater's Directory 1846*, p. 179.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *T.C.*, 8th Dec. 1835.

services offered. It included the provision of steam engines, threshing machines, kitchen ranges, window sashes, money chests, scale weights, pumps, water pipes, tailors' and hatters' irons, garden and field rollers, bedsteads, locks, garden sheds and cast-steel tools. They were also prepared to supply no fewer than 332 different types of wheels, and stated that most other kinds of cast and wrought iron work could be made to order.⁵⁶ The firm also designed and installed water power systems and milling machinery in the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, Tipperary and Waterford.⁵⁷

It is obvious from the foregoing that the Clonmel foundry was a most ambitious and capital intensive undertaking. Although Henry Jacob was forty-one years of age at the time, John Grubb was only twenty-two and hardly experienced enough to be engaged in a venture of this magnitude. In the circumstances, it is hardly surprising to find that the history of the foundry was marked by financial difficulties. The first crisis resulted in the partnership of Grubb & Jacob being dissolved on 17 August 1843. It appears that the company was unable to satisfy its creditors due to a loss of trade, and that debts to the sum of £2,327 had accrued with the bank. For reasons that are not readily apparent, Grubb had to surrender his interest in the entire stock and, in addition to this, pay Jacob the sum of £250 for debts due.⁵⁸ Isabel Grubb claimed that John Grubb, her grandfather, had no real responsibility for the finances of the firm.⁵⁹ Yet, as noted in chapter 8, he was disowned by the Tipperary meeting on the grounds that he was guilty of issuing a false audit.⁶⁰ John Grubb sold off his wedding presents⁶¹ and auctioned off his household furniture from his home in Anglesea Street⁶² in an attempt to honour his debts. Ten shillings in the pound was paid at the time, and fifteen years later, when he paid off his creditors in full, membership of the Society of Friends was restored to him.⁶³

⁵⁶ Grubb papers (N.A., D 16460).

⁵⁷ R. E. Jacob, *Quakers in industry and engineering in Ireland in the 19th century* (Dublin, 1988), p.14

⁵⁸ Grubb papers (N.A., D 16460).

⁵⁹ Isabel Grubb, *Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (Dublin, 1928), p.11.

⁶⁰ R.T.M. Disownments and resignations, (F.H.L.D., MM X 02).

⁶¹ Isabel Grubb, *Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, p.11.

⁶² *T.C.*, 4 Sept. 1843.

⁶³ Isabel Grubb. *Joseph Ernest of Carrick-on-Suir*, p.11; Wigham. *op. cit.* p.59.

Meanwhile, the foundry continued under the management of Henry Jacob who, during this time, supplied the town of Clonmel with gas standards. Imprinted on the base of the only remaining town gas standard, which is located in the graveyard of Old St. Mary's Church, are the words *Jacob 1847*. In 1852, another crisis loomed when a circular issued by a local attorney convened a meeting of the creditors of Henry Jacob with a view to winding up Jacob's affairs.⁶⁴ Somehow the firm managed to weather the storm and in 1856, it was being operated by the sons of Henry Jacob under the name 'Jacob Brothers, Iron and Brass Founders and Millwrights, Wellington Street'.⁶⁵ Having survived the difficulties of the famine period, however, shortly afterwards, the firm went out of business.

The Suir Steam Navigation Company

In December 1843, the year in which Grubb and Jacob's partnership was dissolved, John Grubb and his young family moved from Clonmel to Carrick-on-Suir. He opened an iron and coal business on the Quay, presumably with assistance from other members of the family. It developed into a wholesale and retail trade in corn, flour, oats and other feeding stuffs. In August 1877, he placed advertisements in all the local papers announcing the establishment of the Suir Steam Navigation Company. In view of the spread of the railways this could be regarded as a courageous, if foolhardy, attempt to keep the commercial viability of the river alive. This Quaker enterprise had a uniquely local flavour and does not appear to have been replicated elsewhere. It was an export-import business operating through the port of Waterford and based on a combination of tug-boats and flat-bottomed barges. The towns of Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel⁶⁶ acted as dispatching and collecting centres for the surrounding areas with goods and parcels carried to and from nearby towns and villages. The goods were to be received at Waterford and shipped out to and from Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Glasgow, Greenock,

⁶⁴ Grubb papers, Lease from Edward Power to John Grubb of premises on New Quay, 22 Sept. 1863. (N.A., D 16460).

⁶⁵ *Slater's Directory* 1856, p.203

⁶⁶ Grubb papers, (N.A., D 16466). The Clonmel headquarters was located on the New Quay, adjacent to the Gashouse bridge.

Liverpool, London, Plymouth and Southampton by arrangements with the Waterford Steamship and the Clyde Shipping companies.

Grubb bought a tug in Liverpool, and renamed it the *Fr. Matthew*, in honour of the famous Tipperary-born apostle of temperance whom he admired. This was used to transport the goods between Waterford and Carrick-on-Suir. They were conveyed onward to Clonmel on flat-bottomed barges pulled on a specially constructed towpath, by a team of twelve horses, accompanied by four men.⁶⁷ When it began, Grubb's initiative was widely resented by rival boatmen because he offered the men on his tug a fixed wage of 20 shillings a week. Before this, the lightermen or bargemen received two-thirds of the load profits, an agreement that had been wrenched from the barge owners during the latter part of the eighteenth century by secret combinations. Rival bargemen encouraged the Grubb's employees to go on strike, giving financial support to the strikers and their families. By the end of August, the strikers had all returned to work and Grubb was victorious. He now offered towing facilities to other lighters and set about modernising the river trade.⁶⁸

His company carried a wide range of products:

The principal articles brought up the river were coal, grain, flour, feeding stuffs, artificial manures, foreign timber, and a large variety of shop goods, including farm implements and machinery, whilst down the river went oats, condensed milk, wool, eggs, fruit, honey, willows, native timber etc.⁶⁹

Grubb also recognised the supreme importance of the cattle trade and made special trips to Waterford for fairs and markets to make arrangements to carry the port cattle, sheep and pigs. Since many of these commodities formed the core of Quaker commercial undertakings, the provision of an efficient network of communications between Clonmel and Waterford played a vital role in the expansion of their economic interests. The only item that J. Ernest Grubb, son of John Grubb, refused to carry was alcohol. His workers were warned to avoid alcohol while in his service. On their arrival in Clonmel, the boatmen were provided with hot meals in an effort to deter them from visiting local

⁶⁷ Quaker involvement in developing the River Suir as a commercial waterway will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁶⁸ Patrick Power, *History of Waterford*, p.188.

⁶⁹ Isabel Grubb, *Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, pp.40, 41.

taverns. Joseph Ernest was also an ardent nationalist, as will be seen in chapter 7, and many of his advertisements indicated a pronounced emphasis on native produce. They highlight the fact that all flours on sale were of genuine Irish manufacture, and the building blocks on offer were made in Kilkenny, while the garden pots, pans, saucepans etc. were of Wexford origin.⁷⁰

The growth of rail and road transport inevitably led to the decline of the commercial importance of the River Suir as a transport artery and the subsequent collapse of the Grubb import-export trade. By 1887, the company was employing the railways to handle a portion of their business.⁷¹ Clearly the transport revolution had severe implications and Joseph Ernest knew all too well that due to the antiquated methods of haulage he was forced to employ, the navigation of the Suir to Clonmel could not pay.⁷² In 1912, Joseph Ernest retired and disposed of his interest in the navigation business. In summing up his career, his daughter wrote, 'the result of many years of hard work could hardly be called commercial success', but with typical Quaker spirit she felt that he 'had no need to think pessimistically about his fifty-six years of commercial activities, for in his daily occupation he had found much scope for services to humanity'.⁷³

Banking

The Quaker adage, 'It's not what thee saves but what thee spends that will make thee rich' is reflected in the observation that they proved to be 'exponents of re-investment rather than of conspicuous consumption'.⁷⁴ Infrastructural developments and utilities such as banking, insurance, waterways, railways, and gas companies were seen as the logical extensions of mercantile interests.⁷⁵ Quaker involvement in banking was brought about by the need for credit and access to ready cash, and was a natural extension of their commercial activities. Their reputation for probity had led them to

⁷⁰ *C.N.*, 10 Aug. 1889

⁷¹ *C.N.*, 10 Aug. 1887.

⁷² Isabel Grubb, *Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, pp. 50,51.

⁷³ *ibid*, p.51.

⁷⁴ P. Loughrey, *The people of Ireland* (Belfast, 1988), p.164.

⁷⁵ see Billy Wigham & Colin Rynne, *A Life of usefulness. Abraham Beale and the Monard Ironworks* (Blarney, 2000), pp. 17-25.

adopt the role of surrogate bankers and husbanders of other people's money. Consequently, by the 1720s, a number of Quaker-owned banks had emerged in Ireland such as Hoare's of Cork and Joseph Fade and Company in Dublin. This development was reflected in England by the emergence of the banking enterprises of the Barclay, Lloyd and Gurney families. Walvin has claimed that 'Quaker banks offered access to funds, often on favourable terms, for further ventures. Quakers could be depended on to care for other people's money; Quaker borrowers could be relied on to use that money sensibly'.⁷⁶ In 1750, outside of Dublin and Cork, Clonmel was one of the few towns providing a local banking service.⁷⁷ In the early part of the eighteenth century, a bank had been founded by William Bagwell, a Protestant landlord and grandson of John Bagwell, a captain in Cromwell's army. He 'conducted his business so well and profitably that, when he died in 1754, the fortune he had amassed, chiefly invested in landed estates, was said to be of the value of £20,000 a year'.⁷⁸ The business was carried on by his son-in-law, William Riall, and it continued to be operated by members of the Riall family until its closure in 1820. The suspension of cash payments in 1797, due to the shortage of coinage as a result of the Napoleonic wars, had led, by 1804, to a wider proliferation of private banks.⁷⁹

In 1800, a second private bank was opened by the Quaker, Solomon Watson, in the building now known as 3 Gladstone Street, Clonmel. The town quickly emerged as the main inland centre where banking business of any volume was conducted, and the existence of two private banks was a reflection of the town's economic performance. They provided credit facilities to finance both the building boom and the town's increasing export and import trade. John Watson, the ancestor of the bankers, had arrived in Ireland from Cumberland in 1658 with his father who, like Bagwell, had served in Cromwell's army. Watson acquired lands at Kilconner, County Carlow, which his son, John, inherited in 1675. The Watson connection with Tipperary can be traced to John's

⁷⁶ James Walvin, *The Quakers - morals and money* (London, 1997), p. 209.

⁷⁷ R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p.202.

⁷⁸ C. M. Tenison, 'The private bankers of Cork and the south of Ireland' in *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, iia, 1st series (1893), pp. 69-72.

⁷⁹ F. G. Hall, *The Bank of Ireland 1783-1946* (Dublin, 1990), p.103.

younger brother, Samuel, who, as has been stated in chapter 2, leased lands from fellow Quaker John Boles at Clonbrogan, near the town of Fethard. John's great-grandson, Solomon, purchased lands at Ballingarrane and Glenconnor, where he built Summerville and Larchgrove (now Glenconnor House) in the late 1790s. Solomon, together with his sons, John and William, commenced his banking operations in 1800. A few years later John was replaced by another prominent local Quaker, Robert Banfield, as a partner in the company.

Little is known of the operation of the bank of Watson & Co. We may assume that they received support from the wealthy Quaker community, making the bank a formidable competitor to Riall & Company. Their business expanded rapidly and 'in the year 1803 they paid stamp duty on 34,400 notes under three guineas, and 1,500 notes under ten pounds'.⁸⁰ Burke's sarcastic quip that 'the Watsons for a time did a roaring business - in the issue of paper'⁸¹ probably summed up the bank's inherent weakness. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the position of the monetary and credit systems in Ireland was very unsatisfactory. The privileges conceded to the Bank of Ireland forced the country to depend on a large number of private banks. Private banks were restricted to having a maximum of six partners, a fact which severely curtailed the amount of capital at their disposal. Moreover, the continued suspension of cash payments resulted in the production of a large paper currency. To supply the shortage of small change, many of these notes were for trifling sums as little as a shilling. The value of this paper currency rose and fell with the credit of the issuer, and to make matters worse, it was susceptible to forgery. Not a few of the many bank failures of the period can be traced to this forced issue of paper money by private banks and, by 1812, out of the fifty banks in Ireland which had been in operation in 1804, only nineteen still survived.⁸²

We can only speculate as to what caused the ultimate collapse of Watson's bank in 1809. It has been suggested that 'their scope was restricted by the monopoly vested in the Bank of Ireland' and that 'they ill-advisedly made loans on the security of land which

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ W. Burke (Rev.), *History of Clonmel*, p. 189.

⁸² C. M. Tenison, 'The private bankers of Cork and the south of Ireland' in *Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal* (1893).

fluctuated in value as the fortunes of the Napoleonic wars ebbed and flowed'.⁸³ When the bank closed its doors, Solomon Watson went to live in Bath, Somerset, where he died. In his will there is mention of a deed signed by him on 27 July 1810 where by mortgaging much of his property, he raised a sum of £45,485. He advanced this against the debts incurred in his banking operations with his co-partners, William Watson and Robert Banfield.⁸⁴ In time, the Watson family honoured all debts outstanding.

Insurance

Quakers were involved in the development of the Irish insurance industry, providing capital and administrative expertise for the establishment of such companies as the National Assurance Company and the Patriotic Assurance Company, set up in 1822 and 1827 respectively. This investment pattern was part of what became known as the 'joint-stock mania', which saw capital utilised in the promotion of insurance companies and other utilities. The three categories of insurance on offer were life policies and protection against fire and marine disasters, all of which had their specific attractions for a Quaker population which felt compelled to protect the interests of their families and their capital investments. Apart from their desire 'to find a profitable home for surplus capital' and break the monopoly that English companies had exercised in the Irish market, their interest 'had probably grown out of their mercantile experience in shipping and the bulk storage of goods such as grain, oil and wool'.⁸⁵

In 1835, Joseph Grubb⁸⁶ held 10 shares at £100 each in the Patriotic Insurance Company⁸⁷ which is the earliest reference to an investment in stocks and shares by any member of the Grubb family. His niece, Hannah,⁸⁸ also held shares in the same company, as did members of the Malcomson family.⁸⁹ An inventory of David Malcomson's property for the years 1829 to 1831 indicates that he had shares in insurance to the value

⁸³ S. J. Watson, *A dinner of herbs* (Clonmel, 1988), p. 112.

⁸⁴ N.A., Abstracts and copies of wills, T 7606.

⁸⁵ R. Harrison, *Irish insurance. Historical perspectives 1650-1939* (Cork, 1992), p.4.

⁸⁶ Joseph Grubb (1769-1827), son of wool merchant and miller, Thomas Grubb (1736-1809).

⁸⁷ A Printed list of proprietors of the Patriotic Assurance Co. 21 March 1835 (Royal Irish Academy 1595 Holiday Collection).

⁸⁸ Grubb papers (N.A., T 13298).

⁸⁹ R. Harrison, *Irish insurance: Historical perspectives 1650-1939* (Cork, 1992), p.16.

of £300. The company or companies in which he invested are not identified, nor is it possible to determine what other family members had similar investments. At a later date, the name of William Malcomson appears as a member of the board of directors of the Royal Insurance Company.⁹⁰

The earliest recorded policy for a member of the local Quaker community concerns Sarah Grubb, proprietor of Anner Mills, who had her house and mill insured by the Royal Exchange Assurance of London.⁹¹ Fortunately, the proprietors of Murphy & Greers Brewery in Clonmel, which was devastated by fire in 1825,⁹² had similar protection. Being insured by the British and Irish Fire Insurance Company for a sum of £4,000 enabled them to re-build and re-commence production. However, not all members of the Quaker community were as prudent. In 1824, a dispute arose between Joseph and John Grubb, who had a grocery business in Clonmel, and John Pim, their broker in London. A cargo of sugar bound for the Grubb firm in Clonmel, which was uninsured, was lost when the vessel *Hibernia* carrying it to Ireland from England, was wrecked. What responsibility Pim had in the matter, or what reason John Grubb had for not insuring his merchandise, is not quite clear. John, who was resident in London at the time, makes mention of the matter in a letter addressed to his brother in Clonmel:

Some years ago I remember Thomas White talking with me in Waterford about our not insuring and he seemed to think then that what we saved in insurance would bear any probable loss - but it was not on that ground we ever declined to insure, and I often felt thankfulness cover my mind on receiving letters with account of the safe arrival of our goods.⁹³

The insurance company with which the Quakers were perhaps most closely associated was the Friends' Provident Institute set up in England in 1832 to provide the security of life insurance for members of the Society of Friends.⁹⁴ Initially, life policies proved unacceptable to Friends, on the grounds that they were often allied to the ideas of

⁹⁰ Malcomson papers (N.L.I., MS. 8146).

⁹¹ Sarah Grubb, policy with the R.E.A. 1 January 1787 (F.H.L.D., Deed Box iv, Folder iii no. 2 b. 86 and 1 August 1788, no 2b.87).

⁹² *C.A.*, 23 Nov. 1825.

⁹³ J. F. Carroll and O. Goodbody (eds.), *Extracts of letters from John Grubb to Joseph Grubb* (Dublin, 1966), pp. 51, 59, 63.

⁹⁴ D. Tregoning and H. Cockerell, *Friends for life. The Friends Provident 1832-1982* (London, 1981), p.13

lotteries and speculation and implied a lack of trust in providence.⁹⁵ The Institute was able to allay Quaker scruples concerning a possible lack of trust in providence by supplying mortality tables based on demographic data gathered from the meeting houses of England and Wales.⁹⁶ The profits of the insurance were distributed among the membership. Agents were appointed in consultation with the various monthly meetings. By 1847, there were eight agents in Ireland, one of them being Robert Davis, a Clonmel Quaker.

As well as providing investment capital for various companies, Quakers proved a popular choice as agents, their respected image in the local community enhancing the reputation of the enterprise that they represented, and 'being well enough capitalised to meet legal conditions for having them and having a presumed probity and wide commercial interests'.⁹⁷ Their agency work helped to subsidise their income, while at the same time providing a valuable customer service. 'The agent received about 10% for a new policy and 5% for renewals, and would receive a rebate from the government of 5% for the collections of duty, which were submitted quarterly'.⁹⁸

The various agents in Clonmel were all prominent in the commercial life of the town as grocers, boat owners, butter and bacon merchants. Their names and those of the companies they represented occur in the directories of the period. It is noticeable that a number of them, including Robert Banfield, were agents for more than one company.⁹⁹ One of the companies Banfield represented was the British and United Fire Insurance Company. An advertisement stated that he was their agent for upwards of twenty years, the earliest reference to a Quaker acting as an insurance agent in Clonmel.¹⁰⁰ A

⁹⁵ Richard Harrison, *Irish insurance etc.*, p. 1.

⁹⁶ *C.A.*, 10 Nov. 1832. By this date, it would appear that at least some members had no objections to this particular type of policy. From a notice inserted, Robert George Grubb acknowledged the receipt of £100 from the Sun Life Assurance Co. secured to him on the life of the late John Grubb.

⁹⁷ Richard Harrison, 'A Cork Quaker dynasty' in *Journal of the Friends' Historical Journal*, dvii, no. 1, (1993), p.38.

⁹⁸ Richard Harrison, *Irish insurance etc.*, p.11.

⁹⁹ *Irish Commercial Directory, 1818*, p. 159 - agent for British and United Fire Insurance Co.; *Pigot's Directory 1824*, p.238 - agent for Westminster Society.

¹⁰⁰ *C.A.*, 3 Sept. 1825.

statement of the premiums disbursed, indicated that a large proportion of his business was derived from members of the established church. Robert Davis was also an agent for two companies,¹⁰¹ one of these being the National Assurance Company. Part of the service offered by this company was the provision of a fire engine with a special liveried crew, which no doubt was a colourful spectacle on the streets of Clonmel. Other Quaker Clonmel agents included Henry Jacob¹⁰² and Thomas Murray,¹⁰³ while Charles Fennell¹⁰⁴ and Frederick Ernest Grubb¹⁰⁵ assumed a similar role in Cahir, as did Joseph Ernest Grubb¹⁰⁶ in Carrick-on-Suir.

Like so many areas of Quaker commercial activity, the agency was transferred within the family. William Whitten was succeeded by his son, Anthony, as agent for the West of England Company,¹⁰⁷ which developed an extensive business interest in Ireland. Similarly, Peter Banfield, son of the above-mentioned Robert, was an agent for no fewer than five companies.¹⁰⁸ In the case of the Davis family, their involvement in insurance spanned three generations. Two sons of Robert Davis, Samuel and William, were also insurance agents,¹⁰⁹ as was William's son, Alfred.¹¹⁰

Annuity companies

The Clonmel Annuity Society was set up in 1785¹¹¹ to provide certain annuities for the widows and children of its members. Since the practical care of widows and

¹⁰¹ *Pigot's Directory 1824*, p.238; *Slater's Directory 1846*, p.179 - agent for Friends' Provident Institute and the National Assurance Co..

¹⁰² *Pigot's Directory 1824*, p.238 - agent for Royal Irish Insurance Co.

¹⁰³ *Pigot's Directory 1824*, p.238 - agent for Patriotic Assurance Co..

¹⁰⁴ *C.C.*, 25 July 1879 - agent for Liverpool & London & Globe Insurance Co.

¹⁰⁵ *C.C.*, 14 June 1871 - agent for Royal Insurance Co.

¹⁰⁶ *Henry & Coghlan Directory 1867* - agent for Patriotic Insurance Co.

¹⁰⁷ *Triennial Directory 1840*, 41 & 42, p.25; *Slater's Directory 1846*, p.179.

¹⁰⁸ *Triennial Directory 1840*, 41 & 42, p. 24 - agent for British and United Insurance Co. and Westminster Insurance Co; *Slater's Directory 1846*, p. 179 - agent for Medical Invalid. & General Life; *C.C.*, 25 March 1869 - agent for West of England Fire and Life Co.

¹⁰⁹ *Henry & Coghlan's Directory 1867*, p.410 - Samuel Davis, agent for Patriotic Assurance Co.; *Slater's Directory 1880/81* - William Davis, agent for National Assurance Co..

¹¹⁰ *Slater's Directory 1870*, p. 37 - agent for the Royal assurance Co.

¹¹¹ The Charter Party of the Clonmel Annuity Company 1798 (N.L.I., MS. 1358). This contains the articles of agreement dated January, 1785 with subsequent amendments.

orphans had been an important concern for Quakers since the foundation of the Society, their involvement was not surprising. About one third of the original members were Quakers from County Tipperary and other parts of Munster, and throughout its subsequent history many served as officers and committee members of the Society. Membership was originally limited to sixty but, in 1786, was raised to eighty. Each member paid a contribution of ten guineas and an annual subscription of four guineas. Its funds were managed by a committee of nine, elected annually. Failure by any member to attend the yearly and half-yearly meetings incurred a fine of 2s. 8d., while, if the absentee were a member of the committee, the fine rose to one guinea.

The funds were invested in government stocks and debentures. Additional income was raised from mortgages, rents from land, and in subscriptions and fines. The cash, as was the custom of the time, was kept in a chest, the keys of which were held by the secretary, president, and three other members, elected annually. There were two paid officials, the secretary who, in 1800, received an annual salary of twelve guineas, and a beadle, who was paid two guineas and provided with a great coat and hat at the Society's expense.

The first recipient of an annuity was Sarah Grubb of Anner mills, widow of Joseph Grubb. She received £25 per annum from 1796 with the accompanying declaration:

The affirmation of Sarah Grubb being laid before this meeting, by which it appears her late husband Joseph Grubb of Clonmel died on the 1st of July last, and he being a member of this company for five years, which entitles his said widow to an annuity of twenty five pounds per annum, and our secretary reporting that he having seen the will of his said widow, ordered, that our secretary pay her half a year's annuity which falls due this day.¹¹²

By 1805, the Society had £9,851-12-8 in funds, and an annual income of £894-3-0 out of which fourteen widows were in receipt of annuities, one of £25, one of £30, one of £40, and eleven at £50 per annum.

¹¹² General Half Yearly Meetings of the Clonmel Annuity Company, 1796. MS. 1358 (N.L.I).

So successful was the Society that a Second Clonmel Annuity Society was set up in 1810,¹¹³ and run on similar lines to the previous one. Founding members' fees were the same as that of the first society, but subsequent members had to pay £20 or £30, depending on whether or not they were single or married. A scale of annuities was set down, rising from £15 in the first year to £45 per year after nine full years of payment. If a widow re-married she was obliged to pay the society a sum of £80 as a condition for the continued receipt of their annuity. As a means of increasing income the Society issued loans, but members were excluded from availing of this facility. In cases where the society's interest from capital stock fell below £600 per annum, subscriptions were increased to rectify the matter. Steps were also taken to protect the rights of those entitled to benefit from the annuities. The consent of the female party was necessary in such cases where her spouse might seek to sign away her rights or obtain control of her annuity.

Only Irish residents were admitted and, if they moved abroad, their stock in the society was forfeited. Various measures were adopted to protect the interests of the society. If a member had occasion to travel outside of Europe he was obliged to take out life insurance which would yield a premium of £350 sterling. The policy had to be drawn up in the name of the secretary and the insurers had to be approved of by the committee. Soldiers and seafarers were excluded from membership by the precarious nature of their professions, and consequently their wives were in more apparent danger of becoming an encumbrance on the said capital stock, 'and not proceeding from disaffection to the government or any disrespect or disesteem for any person engaged in such services excepted against as aforesaid'.¹¹⁴

The second society was as successful as the first. Initially, the total membership was restricted to sixty but, as members dropped out, new applicants were admitted by a ballot of existing members. By 1830, it had one hundred members. It too, had a significant Quaker involvement. Between 1810 and 1831, out of a total membership of

¹¹³ Charter Party of the Clonmel Second Annuity Company 1831 (F.H.L.D., 7 D 28). It contains a List of Members 1810-1831.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

128, at least 38 were Quakers. Nothing is known of the subsequent history of the two companies, other than they were still in existence in the early eighteen forties.¹¹⁵ At that stage, Robert Davis of Clonmel was secretary to the second annuity company.

River transport and shipping

The provision of an efficient network of communications between Clonmel and its hinterland played a vital role in the expansion of Quaker commercial interests. Apart from its rich agricultural surroundings, the prosperity of Clonmel was due in no small measure to the River Suir which provided it with a direct link to both Waterford and the ports of England. 'The greater part of the goods imported into Waterford are only unloaded on the quays and sent forward to Clonmel, which has more internal commerce than any town in Ireland'.¹¹⁶ Being situated at the highest navigable point of the Suir, the town acted as a distribution centre for the surrounding area. In the south-east, flour-milling, brewing and distilling at towns such as Clonmel, New Ross and Carrick-on-Suir were of considerable importance in the early nineteenth century and water traffic in flour, wheat, oats, barley, butter, lard, bacon, coal, turf and timber was for many years of substantial proportions.¹¹⁷ Many of these commodities formed the core of Quaker commercial undertakings.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when trade was severely hampered by the inadequacy of the road system, the development of the River Suir as an artery for trade assumed a growing importance for the advancement of business. Consequently, every effort made to improve the navigation of the Suir had the wholehearted support of the Quakers. In 1715, commissioners were appointed for the improvement of the river,¹¹⁸ but no action was taken until 1755, when the Navigation Board contracted three local businessmen, one of them being Joseph Grubb, to carry out improvements on the stretch of river between Clonmel and Carrick.¹¹⁹ The channel was deepened to

¹¹⁵ *Triennial Directory, 1840, 41 and 42*, p. 15.

¹¹⁶ Edward Wakefield, *An account of Ireland statistical and political*, ii (London, 1812), p.22.

¹¹⁷ W. A. McCutcheon, 'The transport revolution: canals and river navigation' in K. N. Nolan (ed.) *Travel and transport in Ireland* (Dublin, 1973), p.80.

¹¹⁸ 2 Geo. 1. c.12 (Ir.), 1715.

¹¹⁹ W. T. H. & D. R. Delany, *The canals of the south of Ireland* (Newtown Abbot,

accommodate the free passage of boats of ten tons, and a tow path was built along the north bank. This enabled goods to be hauled on horse-drawn barges, hitherto pulled by men, from Carrick to Clonmel. In 1816, the Waterford Harbour Commissioners Board was established to improve access to the port of Waterford.¹²⁰ This body included six nominees of the traders of Clonmel. The names of leading members of the town's Quaker community, including David Malcomson, Robert Grubb, Thomas Cambridge Grubb and S. B. Pim, are to be found among the commissioners¹²¹ throughout the century.

In 1835, the final effort to improve the river resulted from a meeting attended by local landlords and businessmen in the Tinvane Hotel, Carrick-on-Suir.¹²² The meeting was addressed by David Malcomson who stated 'that there are 93 boats on the river, and they employ 200 men'. He hoped one day 'to see vessels come to the quay in Clonmel' and 'The cheaper the freight, the more we can give for the produce'.¹²³ Consequently, this resulted in the establishment of a joint-stock enterprise called the River Suir Navigation Company. Thomas Hughes became its first chairman and also joint treasurer with David Malcomson. The Committee included other prominent Quakers such as the Clonmel brewer, J. M. Murphy, and leading millers Barclay Clibborn, Thomas Samuel Grubb and Thomas Grubb.¹²⁴ In the company's prospectus¹²⁵ it was stated that the exports from Clonmel amounted to 9,000 tons of produce per annum, and it imported 150,000 barrels of coal and culm, in addition to imports of timber, iron, salt and groceries. The object of the company was to remove a shoal of rocks below Carrick to enable sea-going vessels of 300 tons burthen to berth at the town. It was felt that the benefits from such improvements would be considerable:

The merchants of Clonmel will have to boat their goods before shipping, only 12 miles instead of 34, and the saving of freights thereby will ultimately benefit the

1996), p. 143.

¹²⁰ 56 George II & III, c.55.

¹²¹ Minutes of Meetings of Waterford Harbour Commissioners (N.A.), *passim*.

¹²² C.A., 13 Oct. 1835.

¹²³ W. Burke (Rev.), *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), p.196.

¹²⁴ T.C., 2 Feb. 1836.

¹²⁵ W. Burke, *History of Clonmel*, pp. 196, 197.

agricultural interests at large, and as the distance from Clonmel to Carrick may be travelled in four hours by water, and in an hour and a half by land, they will be able to superintend their own shipments, which will enhance the value of their goods considerably in the London market, as nothing affects the price of Irish provisions more favourably than the care and cleanliness with which they are shipped to England, and to the feeder and live stock, the advantages will be incalculable.

The company obtained parliamentary powers and a grant of £8,000. The shoal was removed by the summer of 1836, allowing vessels of 200 tons to berth in Carrick. In the circumstances, 'sanguine people looked forward to extending the "navigation"¹²⁶ to Clonmel. Unfortunately, no further schemes were undertaken. By the beginning of the 1840s, river transport on the Suir was in a flourishing condition. Clonmel, at the head of the Suir navigation, was 'the medium through which the corn and provision export trade is carried on between the southern and eastern portions of this large county and England. There are generally about 120 lighters, of from 20 to 50 tons burden, employed in the trade of this town'.¹²⁷ The directory for 1840 lists eighteen boat owners in the town, including Thomas Samuel Grubbe, Joseph Jacob and Anthony Whitten. However, with the opening of the Waterford - Limerick railway in 1854, the days of river transport were numbered.

The Grubbs, more than any other Quaker family, were associated throughout all phases of the river's structural development, and also in promoting it as a commercial highway. Many members of the family served on the board of the Waterford Harbour Commissioners, while several served as directors of the Suir Navigation Company. The position of secretary to that company was held by three generations of the same family, John Grubb (1853-1870), his son, Joseph Ernest (1871-1896) and grandson Louis (1896-1921). However by 1920, all commercial traffic on the river between Carrick and Clonmel had ceased.

Bill Irish states that 'central to all of Malcomson's enterprises at Clonmel, Pouldrew and Portlaw, was cheap and efficient transport, and critical to this end was the maintenance and improved navigation of the Suir'.¹²⁸ Apart from their interests in the Suir Navigation company the Malcomsons were also acutely aware of the possibilities

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ *The Triennial Directory 1840, 41 & 42, p. 4*

¹²⁸ Bill Irish, 'The Waterford Steamship company' in *Decies*, diii (1997), p. 70.

steamer developments offered in providing a consistent and regular cross-channel trade.¹²⁹ In 1836, the Malcomsons were instrumental in setting up the Waterford Steam Navigation Company when 'a group of merchants led by the Malcomsons boosted the share capital of the new company to £100,000, quarter of it held by the Malcomsons'.¹³⁰ The family members who invested in the new company included John, Joseph and Joshua Malcomson who each held 40 shares, David, Robert and Thomas with 20 each and John, who held 7.¹³¹ During the 1840s, they built a ship repair yard in Waterford, known as the Neptune iron works, while Joseph Malcomson became a substantial shareholder in the Cork Steamship Company. Joseph also founded the London-St. Petersburg Steamship Company and had shares both in the P. and O. Navigation Company and in Richardson Bros., promoters and first managers of the Inman line. In 1868, it was claimed in the house of commons that the Malcomsons were the largest shipowners in the world (ninety of them registered in Waterford).¹³²

Railways

From the beginning, Quaker capital played an important role in the development of railways in Ireland. James Pim Jr., the father of Irish railways, was the driving force behind the construction of the first line which was opened between Dublin and Kingstown in 1834. The Pim family contributed twenty per cent towards the capital cost, and four of the original ten directors were Quakers.¹³³ The prominent Dublin Quaker hardware merchant, James Perry, helped launch the first four railways out of Dublin. When it came to the construction of provincial railways, it was local businessmen, including many prominent Quakers, who took a leading part in promoting and investing in the line which ran through their own area.

¹²⁹ *ibid*, pp. 73,74; Colman O'Mahony, 'Shipbuilding and repairing in 19th century Cork' in *J.C.H.A.S.*, xciv (1989), pp.74-87; J. S. Carroll, 'Waterford ships and shipping in the nineteenth century' in *Decies*, vi (1977), pp. 11-16 and *Decies*, vii (1978), pp. 5-9.

¹³⁰ Bill Irish, 'The Waterford Steamship Company etc.', p. 71.

¹³¹ Articles of agreement to the Waterford Steam Company 1835 (N.L.I., Memoirs of the Malcomson family, Ms 8146).

¹³² *Waterford News*, 4 Dec. 1868.

¹³³ Joseph Lee, 'The provision of capital for early Irish railways 1830-53 in *Irish Historical Studies*, xvi (1968-69), p.47.

In 1844, some of the town's leading Quakers were among those who signed a request directed to the mayor of Clonmel to discuss the proposed railway line from Waterford to Limerick. These included Thomas, James and John Hughes, Joshua Malcomson, Thomas Greer, William Greer, John M. Murphy, Francis Grubb, Thomas Murphy, Robert Malcomson and J. B. Grubb.¹³⁴ When the committee for the Clonmel to Cahir section of the railway was elected, it included the names of T. S. Grubb, R. Malcomson and G. Fennell, while Robert Davis was appointed secretary. Similarly, when the spur line from Clonmel to Thurles was proposed, T. S. Grubb and Joshua Malcomson were elected patrons of the project.¹³⁵ Their co-religionists in Cahir were no less active when a proposal was made to build a line from Cahir to Mitchelstown. Among the committee appointed to implement the preliminary survey of the proposed building of the line were Edward, Henry Samuel, Frederick and Ernest Grubb, while the Fennells were represented by John, George, Joshua and Alexander.

The original subscription list of the Waterford and Limerick railway company included a number of Clonmel and Cahir Quakers.¹³⁶ Later, the Malcomson Brothers became large investors. As shareholders and committee members they made strenuous, but unsuccessful, efforts to have the line run on the south side of the Suir, which they felt would be of great benefit to their cotton factory in Portlaw. The family also held shares in various other lines, including Waterford to Tramore, Waterford to Dungarvan and Lismore, while they invested £19,000 in the Limerick-Castleconnell line.¹³⁷ William Malcomson was later to become an influential figure, serving as chairman of the Waterford to Limerick line, in which capacity he was consulted by the lord lieutenant on the development of railways in Ireland.¹³⁸ A number of Grubb family members also held

¹³⁴ *T.C.*, 3 April 1844.

¹³⁵ *T.C.*, 3 April 1845.

¹³⁶ John M. Hearne, 'The original subscription list of the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company (1845): a brief analysis' in *Decies*, dvi (Waterford, 2000), p. 152. James Clibborn and Anne Grubb, both of Clonmel held shares to the value of £1,000 and £500 respectively. Joseph Fennell, Hannah Fennell, George Fennell and Richard Grubb, all of Cahir held shares to the value of £500, £100, £2,700 and £500 respectively.

¹³⁷ Memoir of the Malcomson family (N.L.I., Ms 8146).

¹³⁸ *C.C.*, 3 August 1870.

shares in the Waterford-Limerick line, including Hannah Grubb¹³⁹ and her cousin, Thomas Cambridge Grubb, who invested £1,200. There is no indication when Hannah acquired her shares but, by the 1880s, Thomas Cambridge had a substantial investment portfolio in various railways. These included £800 in the Dublin to Drogheda line, £300 in the Cork to Bandon line, £1,000 in the Great Southern and Western line, £300 in the Dublin to Wicklow to Wexford line and £300 in the Great Northern line.¹⁴⁰

Gas

The Clonmel Gas company was set up in 1842 and throughout its independent history local Quakers played a major part in financing and administering the company. Two of the three original trustees were Quakers, in addition to seven of the thirteen committee members.¹⁴¹ This dominance at all levels was to continue until the company was taken over in 1894 by Clonmel Corporation. When the original trustees resigned in 1862, they were replaced by Robert Malcomson, Benjamin Murphy and Benjamin Fayle, all of whom were Friends.¹⁴² In 1870, the Quakers made up approximately fifty per cent of the committee, which included Robert Malcomson, Samuel Fayle, Thomas S. Grubbe, Benjamin Fayle and Peter Banfield. William Davis was the Company's long serving secretary and, after the death of Charles Bianconi in 1884, Benjamin Fayle became the leading shareholder and chairman of the company. The share capital of the company was £15,000 divided into 3,000 shares of £5 each, of which over fifty per cent were held by members of the Quaker community.¹⁴³ Similarly, the Fennells, both financially and administratively, were the leading supporters of Cahir Gas Company, with both George and John Fennell serving as chairmen.

¹³⁹ Grubb papers (N.A., T 13298).

¹⁴⁰ Richard Harrison, 'The Carroll family. A Cork Quaker business dynasty' in *J.F.H.S.*, xciv (1990), p.32.

¹⁴¹ Deeds of Settlement of Clonmel Gas Consumers' Company and certificate of incorporation (Tipperary S.R. County Museum, 1984:511, p.1).

¹⁴² *C.C.*, 3 July 1870.

¹⁴³ Annual list of members and summary of capital and shares of Clonmel Gas Consumers Co. (Tipperary S.R. County Museum, 1984:486).

Other interests

Harrison has said of Dublin Quakers that 'by the 1850s they had retreated from the innovative and creative position they held in the first three decades of the century'.¹⁴⁴ The same could be said of the County Tipperary community. The enterprising spirit which had been the cornerstone of their prosperity was no longer in evidence. Those still in business were either continuing to operate concerns that had been in the family for generations, or were deriving their income from rented property or shares. By the middle of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of the successful members of Tipperary's Quaker community were becoming part of the rentier class.

This is clearly illustrated by an examination of Griffith's valuation or from the wills of deceased members. Both of these sources indicate the amount of property acquired either by the efforts of the individuals concerned or through inheritance. According to the Griffith valuation, 3.3% of the property in Roscrea amounting to 5.9% of the total valuation was held by Quakers, Samuel Dudley and John Talbot. In Clogheen, 12.3% of the property and 5% of the total valuation was in the hands of three members of the Grubb family, Samuel, Richard and Frederick. The holdings of Cahir Quakers were even more impressive. Members of the Grubb, Fennell, Jellico, Walpole and Going families held 15% of the property in the town which comprised 27% of the total valuation. Quaker-held property in Clonmel was distributed amongst a wider group of families, including the Banfields, Clibborns, Davises, Fayles, Greers, Grubbs, Hugheses, Jacobs, Malcomsons, Murphys, Murrays, Strangmans and Whittens. Between them they held 9.3% of the property within the borough or 7.9% of the total valuation. The Grubbs, who held 105 properties, or 5.89% of the properties within the borough, were by far the biggest Quaker property owners. The largest property owner listed was the Protestant land owner, John Bagwell of Marlfield, who was the lessor of 159 properties or 13.53% of the total.¹⁴⁵ On the outskirts of the town, the Grubbs held an additional 24 properties.

¹⁴⁴ Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business 1800-1850', unpublished M. Litt. thesis (T.C.D., 1988).

¹⁴⁵ S. O'Donnell, 'Clonmel corporation 1842-98: A municipal survey' unpublished PhD. (N.U.I., Maynooth, 1996), p.74.

An examination of the topography of the towns in question shows that many of these properties were in prime commercial and residential locations, consequently attracting a high rateable valuation. As has been previously stated, a number of the Quaker-held houses in Clonmel, Clogheen and Cahir were of a more humble aspect, having been built to accommodate the workforce employed in their mills. However, details from the limited amount of surviving wills¹⁴⁶ also indicate the extensive and valuable nature of their holdings, many of these properties being held by the family for generations, while some were acquired through marriage. It is also noticeable that rents in a number of cases were derived by the testator from properties in parts of the country other than the former place of residence. This applied to such people as Hannah Grubb who had property in Youghal, and Joseph Grubb Benjamin, who had holdings in College Green, Dublin.

Reference has already been made to the investments of various members in insurance companies, railways and other joint stock ventures such as gas companies and the Suir Navigation Company. An examination of the investment portfolio of Thomas Cambridge Grubb¹⁴⁷ of the 1880s shows that, apart from holding shares in Irish railways, that he invested in Austrian and Dutch railways, Bank of Ireland stock, Canadian, New Zealand, United States and Russian government stock, the Dublin and Liverpool Steam Shipping Company and two flax spinning companies. His total investment came to £11,000, but the account gives no indication of the source from which the initial capital was generated, though it does indicate that the dividends were invested in the Manor Mills. On his death in 1903, he left behind a considerable personal estate valued at £12,381-12s.-1d.¹⁴⁸ Hannah Grubb, who died in 1887, left a personal estate valued at £2,402-7-7.¹⁴⁹ She held shares in utilities and financial institutions which, as has been mentioned, included the Waterford-Limerick Railway. In addition to

¹⁴⁶ N. A. Abstracts and copies of wills, T13299, T7772; Grubb papers (Tipperary S.R. County Museum, 1991:623).

¹⁴⁷ Copy in possession of Richard Harrison, St. Mary's Place, Cork.

¹⁴⁸ Abstract of wills, 1903 (N.A., p. 181).

¹⁴⁹ Abstract of wills, 1888 (N.A., p. 280).

this, she was a shareholder in the Patriotic Insurance Company, the Bank of Australia and the Bank of Ireland.¹⁵⁰

A number of Clonmel Quakers were involved in quality housing developments in select residential areas of the town, which provided an additional source of income. In 1805, Joseph Grubb Benjamin built two adjoining three storey houses next to his grocery business in Gordon Street at £1,500.¹⁵¹ In 1817, in conjunction with the celebrated Clonmel-born architect, William Tinsley,¹⁵² he added a further sixteen houses in nearby Peter Street. In the same year, Peter Banfield built a number of houses in Anglesea Street, which for years afterwards were known as the Banfield buildings. In 1843, Joshua Grubb built a block of twelve magnificent, residential houses, called Prince Edward's Place, near Banfield's development, in the eastern environs of the town. Another outlet for Quaker capital was investment in various infra-structural developments. When a new workhouse was being erected in Clonmel in the 1850s, a sum of £13,350 was raised by the guardians through the issue of bonds. Much of the capital advanced was forthcoming from the Quakers, who received an interest rate of 5% on their investment.¹⁵³ There is also a record of sums of money being advanced to the Tipperary grand jury for road developments within the borough of Clonmel.¹⁵⁴

Quaker family businesses

Most Quaker businessmen could be described as middle class shopkeepers. Their shops provided the sole source of income, were run with the assistance of family members, and were handed on from generation to generation. A smaller, but more ambitious, section of the Quaker community were prepared to utilise surplus capital to diversify and exploit other lucrative areas of business.

¹⁵⁰ N.A., Abstracts and copies of wills, T 13298.

¹⁵¹ Grubb papers (N.A., D 16444).

¹⁵² J. D. Forbes, *Victorian architect* (Indiana, 1953).

¹⁵³ Eamonn Lonergan, *St. Joseph's Hospital, Clonmel* (Clonmel, 2000), p.25.

¹⁵⁴ Presentment records for County Tipperary, 1855 (Cork County Library), p.48; The repayment of the 14th of 20 instalments of £327-6-8 with interest of £29-2-2 advanced by Grubb, Luther and Kennedy for the completion of Jackson's Hill; Presentment records for County Tipperary, 1857 (Cork County Library), p. 64. The repayment of the 14th of 20 instalments of £201-18-0 with interest of £11-17-4 advanced by Grubb, Luther and Kennedy to complete the new road at the asylum.

Initially, shortage of capital frequently made partnerships a necessity, with at least one notable exception. In a letter written by Sarah Grubb in 1784, to her brother, shortly after the death of her husband, John, she pointed out that it was vital to her interests to continue in business without the entanglements of partnerships. She felt this could be best accomplished by engaging the services of competent clerks.¹⁵⁵ The isolationist nature of the Quaker community in Ireland and their strict business ethic meant that the majority of their business alliances were formed with fellow members.¹⁵⁶ These embraced such diverse undertakings as the grocery and drapery business of William Stockdale and John Malcomson in Main Street, Clonmel, and the afore-mentioned brewery of Thomas Greer and Samuel Murphy. Occasionally, a partnership was entered into with a non-Quaker as happened in the brewing and distilling venture of Malcomson & Riall. Continued success was accompanied by a shift in the nature of business alliances. As the nineteenth century progressed, businesses became increasingly based on family and kinship groups. The typical trading arrangement consisted of a father and one or two sons. Sometimes, two brothers went into partnership, as happened with Isaac and Samuel Jacob who set up a timber importing business in 1803.¹⁵⁷ Occasionally, alliances were made between cousins as occurred in the above mentioned foundry of John Grubb & Henry Jacob. Ó Maitiú makes the point that 'a feature of the business life of Quakers was that when fresh blood usually provided by large Victorian families failed, the extended family, or friends, could be called on to create new partnerships to add fresh stimulus to the enterprise'.¹⁵⁸

The Quaker network was another factor which encouraged the foundation of business within an area. William Fennell and Charles Going were business associates in Cork. Shortly after Fennell returned to Cahir to take up the family business, Going arrived in the town and set up in milling. Similarly by the 1780s, John Malcomson was followed by his brother, David, to Clonmel where they both established themselves in

¹⁵⁵ Grubb collection, MS. box 44, SGB 12 (F.H.L.D).

¹⁵⁶ John M. Hearne, 'Quaker enterprise and the Waterford glassworks, 1783-1851' in *Decies*, div (1998), p.29.

¹⁵⁷ *C.G.*, 21 to 24 May 1803.

¹⁵⁸ Séamus Ó Maitiú '*W & R. Jacob etc.*', p.21.

business. Some years later their brother-in-law, Samuel Murphy, established the above mentioned brewery in partnership with Thomas Greer. Similarly James Malone, brother-in-law to Benjamin Grubb, came to Clonmel and became a woollen draper and grocer.¹⁵⁹

Quakers insisted that their children received a suitable education and a proper training before allowing them to take their place in the family firm. On completing his apprenticeship, a young man would often enter business, marry, and be bolstered by his wife's marriage portion. It was also common practice for legacies involving a specific amount of money to be accompanied with the words 'in order to promote him in business'.¹⁶⁰ These procedures guaranteed a skilled workforce and an infusion of capital. The traditional Quaker firm has been described 'as clannish and inward looking and most anxious to maintain entire control in their own hands'.¹⁶¹ This could only be achieved through a policy of dynastic marriages 'where the best way of extending the business, acquiring new capital, partners, or fresh blood for management, was through marriage to another business family'.¹⁶² For the Quaker family business, suitable marriage and partnership agreements tended to safeguard capital, leading to the maintenance and increase of wealth in families thus allied. Within the extended families they found trustworthy agents, who would conduct business on their behalf, fairly and honestly. No business was forced to stand alone but was helped over a difficult time by its numerous 'cousins'.

Family firms helped to foster cohesion and commitment.¹⁶³ Success was incremental, taking place over a period of time. Within two or three generations many of these enterprises became dominant influences in towns and cities. Instant rags to riches stories are as rare in Quakerism as elsewhere and 'many Quaker firms progressed steadily, over a period of two or three generations, from moderate prosperity to great

¹⁵⁹ 'The commercial directory of Richard Lucas, 1787' in Burke's *History of Clonmel*, p. 135.

¹⁶⁰ Copy of will of Joseph Grubb (Benjn.), 15 May 1842 (Tipperary S.R. County Museum, 1991.618).

¹⁶¹ David Burns Windsor, *The Quaker enterprise* (London, 1980), p.121.

¹⁶² *ibid*, p.168.

¹⁶³ A. P. Williamson, *Enterprise, industrial development and planning: Quakers and the emergence of the textile industry in Ireland* (Dublin, 1992), p.57.

wealth'.¹⁶⁴ Friends won a reputation for quality and trustworthiness in the local community. Paying tribute to the Clonmel firm of Pim Bros., hardware merchants, which closed in 1876, after over a half century of service, a local newspaper said that 'it maintained the highest reputation for commercial integrity'.¹⁶⁵ The grocery and bacon business of George Chapman was another such firm. Established in Clonmel in the 1850s, it enjoyed a remarkable degree of longevity, and was renowned for quality and service. Chapmans later moved to Carrick and then to Waterford, where they continued to trade until the closing years of the twentieth century. Close family ties would be presumed to imply a degree of legal security based on trust, which was also backed up by the moral sanctions of the Quaker community. Their reliability evoked constant demand for their services enabling them to build up a faithful clientele. Their appointment as insurance agents, already referred to, was a further tribute to their integrity and success as Quakers. They also secured agencies for various products. Hannah Taylor became the Clonmel agent for the Dublin Tea Co.,¹⁶⁶ while the grocery firm run by Sarah Jacob and her sisters were agents for John Cassell's coffees.¹⁶⁷

As has already been stated, many of these family-run businesses engaged in a wide range of activities. The diverse interests of individual traders can be illustrated by the activities of Abraham Grubb and others. In 1824, Abraham Grubb was described as a manufacturer and retailer of such items as '*Sail cloth, Stockings, Flour and Corn Sacks and Bags - Coarse Linen, Duck, Shoe-hemp, and from his Fairy-Hill Rope Walk, Ropes, Twines, and different descriptions of cordage*'.¹⁶⁸ In addition, he operated as a wine and spirit dealer, and is also listed as agent for Albion Fire and Life Insurance.¹⁶⁹ The elegant house that Abraham Grubb built at Merlin in the suburbs of Clonmel was a clear indication of the level of his commercial success. His cousin, Francis Grubb, combined his business of grocer and linen draper with that of hotel owner, in addition to being a

¹⁶⁴ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, pp. 184, 185.

¹⁶⁵ *C.C.*, 17 June 1876.

¹⁶⁶ *C.A.*, 20 July 1826.

¹⁶⁷ *C.C.*, 20 Oct. 1849.

¹⁶⁸ *C.A.*, 6th Aug. 1825.

¹⁶⁹ *Pigot's Directory 1824*, p. 239.

livery stable keeper.¹⁷⁰ Peter Banfield was described as a provision merchant, farmer, bacon trader, insurance agent, linen trader and flour miller.¹⁷¹ T. G. Howell of Carrick-on-Suir was listed as timber merchant, slate, tile and brick merchant, oil and colourman, iron-monger, hardwareman, bookseller and stationer, boot and shoe maker, and agent for the Scottish Widows Fund.¹⁷²

Another factor which helped to guarantee success was their propensity of being in the right place at the right time. As Isichei has pointed out:

Many successful Victorian Quaker entrepreneurs flourished partly because of factors outside their own control. Quaker tea dealers and cocoa manufacturers profited by the decline in the national consumption of alcohol. Both they and manufacturers of other articles for domestic consumption, such as shoes, soap, biscuits, and other foodstuffs, profited by the steady expansion of the home market through a rapidly growing population and rising standards of living.¹⁷³

Many family firms became victims of their own success, and one commentator outlines the dilemma facing some of them, particularly in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

One of the great strengths of the Quaker connection had been the interrelationships that resulted from a large family. Apart from making good marriages with other businesses, the members of a family - were it sufficiently large - could comfortably control all aspects of the business. As an enterprise increased in size, it was necessary to produce more children to manage it This meant not only that their administrative ability would be stretched to the utmost but also that as private venture capitalists their financial resources to meet the demands of a growing business would also be stretched Increasing taxes on inherited wealth and death duties were draining off private wealth which had previously gone into business.¹⁷⁴

It is true that not all family members were endowed with the entrepreneurial ability to guarantee continued success, and a number of bankruptcies occurred, including those of grocer, Nathan Beeby,¹⁷⁵ hardwaremen, Isaac and Samuel Jacob,¹⁷⁶ boat-owner, George Grubb¹⁷⁷ and draper, George Grubb¹⁷⁸ It could also be said that some

¹⁷⁰ *Pigot's Directory 1820-22*, p. 160.

¹⁷¹ *C.A.*, 19 Jan. 1819.

¹⁷² *Slater's Directory 1881*, Munster, pp. 21/22.

¹⁷³ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 186.

¹⁷⁴ David Burns Windsor, *The Quaker enterprise* (London, 1980), pp. 121, 122.

¹⁷⁵ R.T.M. Testimonies of disownment (F.H.L.D., MM X O1, p. 2); Jacob-Lecky family letters, MS. box 49, no. 117 (F.H.L.D.).

¹⁷⁶ *C.A.*, 12 May 1819.

¹⁷⁷ R.T.M. Disownments and resignations 1825-1895 (F.H.L.D., MM X O2).

firms became too large for one family to effectively control, maintain personal liability, a fact sometimes highlighted by the withdrawal of vital capital stock from the company by a widow or by the dependants of a late partner. These were some of the elements that contributed to the collapse of the Malcomson enterprise. Sometimes the family business was weakened when some of the profits were put aside for the education, marriage portion or maintenance of various family members. As Isichei put it, 'despite the advantage of the Quaker "invisible hand"' they 'succumbed to bad luck, bad judgement, or a mixture of the two'.¹⁷⁹

Other difficulties for family-run firms arose when no member of the family was either interested or available to carry on the business. In some cases there was no male heir available, and also, as the nineteenth century progressed, with wider career opportunities available, increasing young Quakers were being attracted to the professions. Francis Grubb (1780-1857), who had a successful millinery shop in Clonmel, had three sons. One of them pre-deceased him, and the two others abandoned the family business and took up careers in the public service. On the death of Francis, the shop immediately closed. Similarly, the grocery business which had been set up by Benjamin Grubb in the eighteenth century and prospered for four generations came to a dramatic end in 1892. The family relinquished control, even though the business was still thriving. The current partners were the brothers, Joseph Henry and Llewellyn Grubb. Joseph Henry had previously married Lucy White from Waterford. Her family had a considerable hardware, grocery, chemist business there, and he took up residence in that city. The other partner, Llewellyn, being unmarried decided to retire. Sometimes, individuals were pressurised into remaining in the family enterprise with adverse consequences. On the death of his father, Charles, William Going, who wished to pursue a legal career, became the reluctant head of their Cahir milling business, which declined as a consequence.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 186.

¹⁸⁰ C. C. Ellison (Rev.), 'Going of Munster' in *Irish Ancestor*, i (1977), p.39.

On rare occasions, ownership of a family business was transferred to relatives, as happened when, in 1841, Joseph Jacob's hardware enterprise in Clonmel was taken over by his brothers in law, Charles and John Pim. On another occasion, continuity was ensured by handing the business on to another member of the Quaker community.¹⁸¹ This occurred when Benjamin Fayle's ironmongery in Clonmel became the property of the brothers, Edward and William Beale.¹⁸² However, these measures did no more than postpone the inevitable.

If, as has been argued, 'during the early years the strict moral code and close family links which characterised the Quaker community proved to be enduring and cohesive elements in their business endeavours',¹⁸³ then it is also true to say that the crises which convulsed Quakerism in the later nineteenth century considerably weakened these moral foundations. Commercial prosperity had introduced many of them to the drawing rooms of the affluent middle classes. Similarly, younger members were finding it difficult to reconcile the strictures of their Society with the new lifestyle to which they were becoming increasingly exposed. This led to a growing number of disownments and expulsions. In addition, the decrease in family size, the decline in the marriage rate and mounting celibacy, discussed in chapter 2 and 8, severely diminished the community. An examination of the commercial directories of the period shows Quakers being replaced by an increasingly powerful group of Catholic middle-class traders. By the close of the nineteenth century, a Quaker-run family business in County Tipperary was a rarity.

It should be said that not all members of the Tipperary Quaker community were independent traders. Some were employed by other Quakers who were already in business. These employees included people like Robert Shaw, who managed the Malcomson cotton mill in Portlaw,¹⁸⁴ and Richard Baker, who worked in the grocery shop of Davis & Co., Clonmel.¹⁸⁵ Both were employed in a managerial or administrative

¹⁸¹ *C.N.*, 18 March 1950.

¹⁸² *C.C.*, 7 Jan. 1871.

¹⁸³ John M. Hearne, 'Quaker enterprise and the Waterford glassworks, 1783-1851' in *Decies*, div (1998), p.40.

¹⁸⁴ Tom Hunt, *Portlaw, County Waterford 1825-1876 Portrait of an industrial village and its cotton industry* (Dublin, 2000), p. 49.

¹⁸⁵ *Bassett's Directory, 1889*, p. 116.

capacity. Unmarried females sometimes assumed the role of companions to more wealthy Quakeresses. This was the position occupied by Mary White in the household of Elizabeth Clibborn.¹⁸⁶ The more humble roles of operatives or domestic servants in Quaker businesses or households, as was the case with Protestants in general, appear to have been filled by Catholics.

The Malcomson family

Without doubt David Malcomson was responsible for creating the most important Quaker family business which, in the course of time, evolved into a commercial enterprise of international significance. Although many Quaker entrepreneurs amassed great wealth, none of them could remotely match the achievements of the Malcomson family, whose economic activities transcended both county and national boundaries and who, in the course of time, 'built up a multinational, multifaceted empire'.¹⁸⁷ In chapter 4, it has already been shown how the success achieved by David Malcomson's involvement in the corn and cotton industries formed the cornerstone of the family's fortune. The rise and fall of the Malcomson empire has already been the subject of two academic studies and numerous papers.¹⁸⁸ This chapter attempts to show how the family's rise to commercial prominence was due to a combination of the entrepreneurial genius of David Malcomson, allied to Quaker business practice. The eventual abandonment of this practice and the business being placed in less capable hands were contributory factors in the family's economic decline.

¹⁸⁶ Elizabeth Clibborn's diary 1807-1813 (F.H.L.D.).

¹⁸⁷ Cormac O'Gráda, *Ireland a new economic history 1780-1939* (Oxford 1994), pp. 278,279.

¹⁸⁸ Margaret Fogarty, 'The Malcomsons in the economic development of the lower Suir valley', M.A. thesis (U.C.C. 1968); Tom Hunt, 'Portlaw, Co. Waterford. Profile of a model village and its cotton factory', published M.A. thesis (N.U.I. Maynooth, 1999); Robert E. Jacob, *Quakers in industry and engineering in Ireland in the nineteenth century* (Dublin, 1988); Arthur P. Williamson, *Enterprise, industrial development and social planning: Quakers and the emergence of the textile industry in Ireland* (Coleraine, 1992); Desmond G. Neill, *Portlaw - a nineteenth century Quaker enterprise based on a model village* (Dublin, 1992); Phyllis Millar, 'The Malcomsons of Portlaw and Waterford' in *Journal of the Old Waterford Society*, iii (1972), pp. 126-139; Rev. P. Power, 'The Portlaw cotton factory' in *Waterford and the South-East of Ireland Archaeological Journal*, xiii (1910), pp. 59-64.

The Malcomsons were Scottish Presbyterian emigrants who settled at Lurgan in County Armagh in the seventeenth century. The first Malcomson to come to Ireland was Andrew, a skilled linen weaver, who married a local girl, Jane Tugh. In 1748, one of Andrew's sons, Joseph, married Rachel Greer, a Quakeress. Although Joseph never joined the Society of Friends, his eleven children were all brought up as Quakers. When Joseph died in 1774, one of his sons, John, was thirteen years of age, while another, David, was four years younger. We cannot say when or what were the circumstances that brought John and David Malcomson to Clonmel, but since it was the duty of the Quakers to look after the welfare of widows and their children, it is likely that John and David were entrusted to the care of the Clonmel Meeting. Since young Quakers passed directly from school to apprenticeship, it seems certain that both brothers served their time in business before arriving in Clonmel. It would appear that David arrived in 1785 and took up employment with his cousin Sarah Grubb, (her mother was also a Greer), who had advertised for 'competent clerks to aid her in the administration of her husband's estates'.¹⁸⁹

Although she sacked him shortly afterwards, reputedly for poor time-keeping, Sarah Grubb was astute enough to recognise young Malcomson's ambition and ability. She felt that he would have left anyway unless his situation became more lucrative, and acknowledged that she was 'much indebted to his ingenuity'.¹⁹⁰ David had been fortunate enough to receive a legacy of £300 and was able to find other outlets. It is difficult to trace his movements around this time. It would appear that he was prepared to entertain any scheme or seize any opportunity that offered any hope of success that would lead to prosperity. He is reputed to have been in partnership with Simmons Sparrow, who had opened Suir Island Mills, in some unspecified venture. In 1790, he was appointed agent to John Bagwell, who operated a corn mill at Marlfield, and, in a most un-Quakerly role, became the paymaster of the North Tipperary militia. The Bagwell connection was to become an invaluable one when, in 1800, Bagwell purchased 'the lordship, manor or reputed manor of the town of Clonmel and all rights, royalties and franchises

¹⁸⁹ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records* (Dublin, 1967), p. 85.

¹⁹⁰ Grubb collection, Ms box 44, SGB, 12 (F.H.L.D.).

appertaining thereto'.¹⁹¹ David Malcomson maintained this connection for the rest of his life and through it became a freeman of the borough, in the process acquiring the attendant commercial and political privileges bestowed by that honour.

Malcomson's marriage to Mary Fennell, of Cahir Abbey, brought him an estate in Crohane and a dowry of £1,500. He was fortunate, too, in being able to rely on the support of his elder brother, John, who was then established in a linen and grocery business in Clonmel. John was secretary of the Clonmel Annuity Society and a partner in the firm of Riall & Malcomson, distillers.¹⁹² As we have already seen, in 1808, John assisted David in the purchase of Corporation Mills on Suir Island. Ambitious as ever, David seized every opportunity to diversify and expand his interests. He set about acquiring various commercial properties, including four corn stores, opened up a grocery business,¹⁹³ and became involved with a member of the Jacob family in a hardware and timber import business.¹⁹⁴ His increasing wealth can be seen from his record books which show an increase from £33,888 in 1809 to £67,434 in 1816.¹⁹⁵ Having avoided the temptation to over-speculate, he was able to withstand the depression in corn prices that followed the cessation of the Napoleonic wars, which saw many of his contemporaries driven to bankruptcy. Realising the precarious position of the corn industry prompted him to open a cotton factory in Portlaw. From that time onward, Portlaw became 'the headquarters of what was to become one of Ireland's first multi-national business empires, with massive steamship, shipbuilding, linen spinning, cotton spinning and weaving, coalmining, salmon fisheries and railway interests'.¹⁹⁶

According to Irish, 'the Portlaw achievements were also, in part, the flowering of David Malcomson's Quaker philosophy'.¹⁹⁷ He transformed Portlaw into a model

¹⁹¹ W. Burke, *History of Clonmel*, p. 174.

¹⁹² *Kilkenny Moderator*, 28 June 1817.

¹⁹³ *C.A.*, 6 June 1811.

¹⁹⁴ *C.A.*, 9 April 1828.

¹⁹⁵ Notes on the Malcomson family (N.L.I., MS. 8146).

¹⁹⁶ T. Hunt, 'The origin and development of the Portlaw cotton industry' in *Decies*, diii, (1997), p. 32.

¹⁹⁷ Bill Irish, *Shipbuilding in Waterford 1820-1882* (Bray, 2001), p. 120.

industrial village providing houses, education, medical care and various social services for its workers. This development:

provided a socially conscious, patriarchal sponsor with the opportunity to exercise ideas in social improvement. In an ethically driven approach to modernisation (sometimes associated with the Quakers, as at Bessbrooke and Bournville) industrial development was seen as an opportunity for the moral and physical welfare, as well as for the intellectual improvement of those employed in the new enterprise.

These new settlements were similar to previous urban experiments which, without the industrial component, had as their aim the creation of an Utopian environment. In this respect, Portlaw represents a hybrid of the religious settlement and the Utopian ideal.

As an exercise in social engineering of this type it is, at least in its scale, unique in Ireland. The fact that much of its development occurred during the worst years of the Great Famine heightens its significance.¹⁹⁸

David Malcomson proved he was a man of considerable foresight. He was prepared to apply his considerable intelligence, foresight and organisational ability to any form of commercial activity that might be useful and profitable. On his death in 1837, the family firm changed its name to Malcomson Brothers, with Joseph, David's eldest son, becoming the senior partner. The death of Joseph in 1858 was a double blow to the firm. Joseph's widow withdrew his share of the capital from the business and control passed to Joseph's brother, William, who unfortunately, embarked upon a series of disastrous investments. This change-over took place at a time when the corn and cotton industries, two industries with which the Malcomson interests were closely associated, were experiencing difficulties. Unlike the Goodbodys of Clara, they made no effort to find an alternative industry which might have ensured continued viability. The firm was plunged into a state of crisis,¹⁹⁹ and on 17 January 1877, being unable to pay their creditors, the company submitted a petition to the court of bankruptcy.

¹⁹⁸ Extract from the draft development for Portlaw prepared in 2002 by the Waterford County Council in *Dungarvan Observer*, 24 July, 2002.

¹⁹⁹ Desmond G. O'Neill, *Portlaw. A nineteenth century Quaker enterprise based on a model village* (Dublin, 1992), p.14.

The Quaker contribution to the commercial life of the County Tipperary

It has been stated that the contribution made by Quakers to the Irish economy was out of all proportion to their numbers. The same could be said of the community in Clonmel, especially during the period 1780-1830, the period of their greatest prosperity. In the absence of business records, it is difficult to determine the degree of prosperity these achieved. However, the visible evidence of the houses they once inhabited, and the location and proportions of their former business premises, would suggest that they achieved a considerable status in the local community. Directories of the period show the important position of the Quakers in the commercial life of the town. In the *Directory of Richard Lucas* of 1787,²⁰⁰ 15.8% of the entries had identifiable Quaker names. Seven were listed as clothiers, three as grocers, with one merchant, one tanner and one tallow manufacturer. There was also one surgeon, one apothecary, two schoolteachers and the remaining six were involved in the corn industry. By the early 1820s,²⁰¹ Quakers accounted for only 9.8% of the traders. In addition to the entries in Lucas's directory, they appear as insurance agents, boat owners, brewers, butter merchants, haberdashers, iron merchants, seedsmen and wine and spirit merchants. As has already been pointed out, Quaker capital played an important part in promoting housing developments and local gas companies, and in providing infrastructural developments such as river and rail transport. They were also involved in banking, savings banks and various educational institutions, all of which helped to promote the local economy.

The contribution of the Quakers to the commercial life of Clonmel, as in other Quaker centres in Ireland, was out of proportion to their numbers.²⁰² It was also far more significant than that of other religious minorities such as the Presbyterians and Methodists, though it should be said they were fewer in number than the Quakers.²⁰³ The burial records for Old St. Mary's, Clonmel²⁰⁴ for the periods 1844-1848 and 1853-

²⁰⁰ *Directory of Richard Lucas 1787* in *Burke's History of Clonmel*, pp. 133-135.

²⁰¹ *Pigot's National Directory of Ireland 1820*, 21 & 22, pp. 158-162.

²⁰² D. H. Akenson, *Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants 1815-1922* (Quebec, 1988), p. 22.

²⁰³ *The National Gazetteer*, i (Dublin, 1868), p. 608.

²⁰⁴ Records of births, deaths and marriages for St. Mary's, Clonmel (The rectory, Mary St. Clonmel).

1861 record the interment of Presbyterians and Methodists. Comparing these names with the commercial directories of the time, only two can be identified with the commercial life of the town, one a cutler and the other a jeweller. A register of Presbyterian and Methodist marriages in Clonmel,²⁰⁵ which covers the period 1863-1932, records seventeen marriages.²⁰⁶ Those whose occupations are listed include an auctioneer's clerk, engineer, watchmaker, creamery manager, merchant, chemist, clerk and servant. It is reasonable to assume that neither dissenting groups were as prominent as the Quakers in the commercial life of the town nor did the scale of their activities rival those of the leading Quaker entrepreneurs.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the prominence of Quakers in the commercial life of County Tipperary became less noticeable. This could be attributed to an irreversible decline in their number, and by the decision of some to seek employment in the professions.

Commercial differences among various Quaker communities

The principal areas of economic and vocational interest of Tipperary Quakers, which embraced agriculture-related activities, involvement in the provision trade, the promotion of communications and transport, and investments in banking, insurance and other commercial ancillaries, were typical of Quakers in the country as a whole.²⁰⁷ It has been stated by Constantia Maxwell that 'In Dublin they (the Quakers) were mostly merchants in trade, but in the south they owned land and were millers, farmers and shopkeepers. Some were also linen manufacturers, silk weavers, tanners ... and wherever they went they seemed to have been industrious and prosperous'.²⁰⁸ This assertion suggests that although the Quakers generally succeeded in business, their fields of endeavour were subject to certain regional variations. This is certainly true of their involvement in the

²⁰⁵ Registry of births, deaths and marriages (The Clinic, Western Road, Clonmel).

²⁰⁶ Register of births, deaths and marriages (The Clinic, Western Road, Clonmel).

²⁰⁷ This is borne out by studies made of various centres which had an established Quaker community. Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers*, (Cork, 1991); Richard Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in business 1800-1850 etc.'; Regina O'Keeffe (ed.), *The Quakers of Mountmellick* (Mountmellick, 1994) and Mary P. Lovett, 'The Quakers of Limerick', MA thesis, (University of Limerick, 1998).

²⁰⁸ Constantia Maxwell, *Country and town in Ireland under the Georges* (London, 1940), p. 245.

grain trade and in the cotton and linen industries. Although, on the one hand, these were widely disseminated activities, it is also true to say that milling was not very significant around Mountmellick, which had the biggest Irish Quaker settlement outside Dublin, and that success in the linen industry was confined largely to Ulster, with Clara and Moate being notable exceptions.

Furthermore, a distinction must be drawn between Quaker groups in such inland towns as Moate, Clara, Mountmellick and county Tipperary, and those in the coastal cities, particularly in Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Limerick. Those in the towns depended on the extensive network of kinship links among their co-religionists in various Irish ports, who handled both goods bound for the export markets and the importation of vital raw-materials.²⁰⁹ Consequently, in many of the coastal cities, Quakers were numbered among the merchant classes. In Waterford the firms of Strangman, Courtenay & Ridgeway, and those of Jacob, Watson & Strangman, handled a substantial percentage of the export trade of the port of Waterford, while Fisher, Mark & Fisher of Limerick and Charles Going of Cork were prominent importers of timber and fruit respectively. The export of provisions, which formed a significant part of Waterford's export trade, was supported by the Quaker traders of south Tipperary. A necessary adjunct for the merchant class was the acquisition of their own shipping fleet, in addition to taking on ship-building and ship-repair yards.²¹⁰ Among those were the Pikes and Leckys of Cork, the Malcomson Brothers, Waterford, Joseph Robinson Pim, Dublin, and Richardson Brothers & Co. Belfast.

Another striking feature of Quaker entrepreneurial flair was innovative ability in creating new industries, such as the foundation of Waterford Glass by the Penroses, or the manufacture of jute by the Goodbodys of Clara. Furthermore, the availability of the necessary raw material enabled the Clibborns of Moate to set up a tile and brick factory. They sometimes specialised in reviving traditional industries which had languished,

²⁰⁹ Robert E. Jacob, *Quakers in industry and engineering in Ireland in the 19th century* (Dublin, 1988), p.5

²¹⁰ Anon. 'Irish Friends and early steam navigation' in *J.F.H.S.*, xvii, (1920), pp. 105-113.

pottery in Mountmellick being a prime example.²¹¹ Families also became identified with certain products, such as the Clibborns of Moate and Richardsons of Bessbrook with linen, the Pims of Dublin with bay yarn and the Grubbs of Tipperary with milling. The longevity of many of these family concerns, which was so obvious in Clonmel and other parts of Tipperary, was also evident elsewhere, particularly for the Newhams of Cork, Haughtons of Limerick and the Jacobs and Bewleys of Dublin. A factor which helped prolong Quaker dominance was the durability of these Quaker dynasties, and the manner in which one group of powerful families was replaced by another.²¹² In Clonmel, where such families as Jacob, Banfield and Hughes were prominent in the first half of the nineteenth century, they were later succeeded by the equally influential Fayle, Davis and Beale families.

The comment that Mountmellick owed 'its flourishing condition to the money-making followers of George Fox',²¹³ is equally true of County Tipperary's Quaker centres. However, to say that the Quakers were solely responsible for this prosperity, there and elsewhere, would be an over-statement. It would be more accurate to state that, as in the case of the Clibborns of Moate, their arrival coincided with the emergence of the town²¹⁴ or, as Arthur Young put it, wherever Quakers settled, prosperity followed. Another commentator makes the point 'that their enterprising spirit ensured that they were well placed to take advantage of opportunities as the Irish economy embarked on one of its most sustained periods of growth'.²¹⁵ This was certainly true of the Quakers of Tipperary, who were in a position to avail of the economic opportunities that resulted from an expanding woollen industry, following by the development of milling.²¹⁶ Families such as the Malcomsons in Portlaw, the Clibborns of Moate, the

²¹¹ Regina O'Keeffe, *The Quakers of Mountmellick* (Mountmellick, 1994), p.31

²¹² J. Mannion, 'The Waterford merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland provisions trade' in L. M. Cullen and P. Butel (eds.) *Negoce et industrie en France et en Irlande aux xviii et xix siècles* (Bordeaux, 1978), p.38.

²¹³ T. P. O'Sullivan, 'Quaker country' in *The Irish Times*, 15 March 1973.

²¹⁴ Brid Grauden, *The contribution of the Clibborn family to Moate town & district*, (Moate, 1990), p.27

²¹⁵ James Kelly, 'From splendour to famine' in Sean Duffy (ed.), *Atlas of Irish history* (Dublin, 1977), p.73.

²¹⁶ Arthur P. Williamson, *Enterprise, industrial development etc.*, p.1.

Goodbodys of Clara and the Pims of Mountmellick became employers in these centres to such a degree that their departure coincided with the economic eclipse of the area.

In conclusion, the majority of the early Quakers in County Tipperary were small farmers and artisans, combining both pursuits to earn a living. By the end of the eighteenth century while some remained in farming, the majority had become successful middle class traders. Considering their origins, it is hardly surprising that many of the commercial pursuits in which they engaged such as brewing, tanning, and the bacon and butter trades should be agriculturally related. Another core area of their commercial activities was dealing in everyday commodities for which there was a constant demand. These included the grocery, drapery and hardware businesses. Many of their activities reflect their flair for innovation, and their adoption of modern business practices, and at all times they showed a keen eye for any venture which might prove to be profitable. Some enterprises adopted the strategy of specialising in a particular product, while others combined wholesale and retailing outlets. As agents for commodities such as tea, they found it profitable to promote the sale of products of well known national companies. The brass and iron foundry of Grubb & Jacob found an outlet for their merchandise in the numerous milling enterprises in the area, while the Suir Steam Navigation Company exploited Clonmel's ideal location as a distribution centre.

Quakers also became involved in many ancillary activities which complemented and proved advantageous to their main sphere of interest. Their probity helped them assume the role of bankers and made them acceptable as insurance agents. The promotion of such utilities as gas companies, river transport and railways could be seen as a natural extension of their commercial interests, in addition to providing a source of secure investment. The accumulation of surplus capital provided them with the opportunity to diversify and find other lucrative investments. As the nineteenth century advanced, they invested in property, in some cases building blocks of luxury houses for leasing purposes. The Griffith valuation reflects both the extent and valuable nature of their holdings at the time. They also loaned money to the grand jury which was utilised for infra-structural improvements.

The small Quaker community produced more than its share of successful entrepreneurs. Their business activities was often marked by a multiplicity of interests. Thomas Samuel Grubb of Clonmel, in addition to being a successful corn miller, operated a wholesale hardware enterprise, and was listed as a boat owner. The diversity of their enterprises was no less striking. Thomas Cambridge Grubb, among his other interests, acted as an agent for Richardson & Company, a firm of Belfast manure manufacturers, while Robert Malcomson operated turkish baths on Suir Island in Clonmel.

Initially, many Quakers, in order to acquire necessary capital, formed partnerships with other Quakers to whom they were not directly related or with those who were not members of the Society. Later, businesses were based on family and kinship groups, with the business being handed on from one generation to the next. This arrangement tended to foster cohesion and commitment. Children received the training necessary to carry on the business, and dynastic marriages ensured a valuable infusion of capital. However, not all family members were endowed with entrepreneurial flair. As the nineteenth century progressed the younger members were leaving the Society in increasing numbers, and, of those who remained, many abandoned the family business for a career in the professions. At the opening of the nineteenth century, Clonmel Quakers had assumed a role in the commercial life of the town out of all proportion to their numbers. From the available records, this dominance is no less marked when compared with the commercial contribution of other dissenting groups. Their position was gradually eroded by the emergence of a Catholic middle class, and declining numbers within the Society of Friends itself.

In general, the activities of the local community were typical of Quakers elsewhere. Their involvement in the grocery, drapery and hardware businesses, and their interests in various infrastructural activities such as insurance, banking and transport were, to a greater or lesser degree, common to all urban Quaker communities. Regional differences tended to be of a filial, environmental or geographical nature. Families in different places tended to become identified with different products. While the Grubbs were associated with milling, the Clibborns of Moate were identified with wool and the

Goodbodys of Clara specialised in the production of jute. Similarly, milling became a central activity for the Quakers in the south of Ireland, while their brethren in the north of Ireland found a comparable degree of success in the linen industry. Quakers in the coastal communities such as Cork, Dublin and Waterford became members of the mercantile classes and engaged in shipping, often handling merchandise and acting as agents for inland Quaker communities. This diversity of interests was indicative of Quaker ability to adapt and to respond to the prevailing commercial opportunities, and in doing so reap the rewards of such endeavour and enterprise.

Chapter 6

Pacifism, Public Life and Philanthropy

This chapter proposes to examine the development of Quaker attitudes to pacifism, public life and philanthropy in respect of Tipperary Quakers. It will show that although many early Quakers were soldiers, it became evident that George Fox's emphasis on the brotherhood of man was incompatible with military service of any sort. The chapter will also point out that the Society's peace testimonies were not always sufficient to guarantee immunity in times of political conflict or to guarantee protection against the lawless elements within society. An attempt will be made to determine the extent to which Quakers bore arms for personal use. The chapter will also investigate the Society's changing attitude to public life. Initially, they felt their way of life could best be preserved and promoted by shunning all contact with a hostile and corrupt world, while later many of them came to recognise that their ideals and interests could best be served through involvement in the political process. Finally, the chapter will illustrate how the Society moved from the provision of assistance for their own poorer members to concern themselves with the injustices and poverty in the wider world around them. It will show how they set about applying their resources, time and expertise to alleviating the distress and destitution of those in need.

The shift to pacifism

Today, the Quaker rejection of war is recognised as an essential feature of the movement. The Quaker testimony concerning war is based on the central truth of Quaker teaching: 'that of God in every man'. Consequently, their testimonies against wars arose by an inward conviction that such practices were contrary to the spirit of Christ. As Jones pointed out 'George Fox gives us no clue by which we can trace the origin and development of his own position toward war'.¹ The first recorded pronouncement on the relations of Christianity and war by George Fox occurred in 1650. When Fox was asked to take a commission in the parliamentary army he replied that, 'he lived in the virtue of

¹ Rufus Jones, *The faith and practice of the Quakers* (London, 1927), pp. 104, 105.

that life and power that took away occasion of all wars'.² This was a logical extension of the fundamentals of Quakerism which postulated that since Christ is in-living in all humans, it behoves one to show love towards one's fellows, and that such action as war is abhorrent to the will of God.

Hirst in his analysis of this first Quaker testimony against war stated:

Fox did not linger over the circumstances of the particular war, nor the interpretation of a particular text, but he relied on the contradiction between the spirit of war and the spirit of Christ. He obviously carried on no peace propaganda among the other conscripts and made no attempt to impose his own convictions on them. The essence of early Quakerism lay in the freedom to follow the internal guide, who in due season would lead the pilgrim into all truth: there was no desire on the part of the human teacher to force his hearers at his own pace or to tread precisely in his footprints. Thus the Quaker 'position' on war, as will be seen, came to be adopted at different times as an individual conviction by the first members of the Society.³

Fox laid down no rules for his followers but felt that their inner guidance would lead them on the path of peace. This is typified by his reply to William Penn. As Ruth Fry has observed:

Even William Penn consulted George Fox as to the problem of continuing the fashion of wearing a sword, to which the wise answer 'Wear thy sword as long as thou canst' shows that Fox realized the futility of urging outward conformity even to so important an idea, knowing, that when the inner change came, the outward sign of it would inevitably follow.⁴

Pacifism was thus something that evolved rather than something that was laid down from the beginning.

What became one of the fundamental beliefs of Quakers, that all war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christ, seems somewhat ironic since many of its early converts were Cromwellian soldiers. 'In the first days of the Society, the contradiction of their principles with serving in the army was not clearly seen, and many soldiers became Quakers the full implication of their beliefs only gradually developed in their minds'⁵ or, as Braithwaite put it, 'Quakerism at this early stage laid down no laws or regulations for its members, but it is abundantly clear that it soon proved impossible for a Quaker to

² A. Ruth Fry, *Quaker ways*, p.73.

³ M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in peace and war* (London, 1923), p. 44,45.

⁴ *ibid*, pp. 71, 72.

⁵ A. Ruth Fry, *Quaker ways* (London, 1933), p.71.

remain a soldier'.⁶ A number of the first Quakers in Ireland had been Cromwellian soldiers, including William Edmondson, the father of Irish Quakerism. Although Quakers were among Cromwell's forces who came to Ireland, it was the Irish garrisons that were to prove fruitful recruiting ground.⁷ It was travelling ministers, such as Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, who, during their mission of 1655, gave great impetus to the growth of Quakerism in the Cromwellian army, winning converts particularly among the Cromwellian forces stationed in the towns and cities of Munster.⁸

Government opposition and the rise of the peace testimony brought about the disappearance of Quakerism from the army. The Quaker rejection of rank and title was held to be subversive of military discipline, and in 1654, when Henry Cromwell, son of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, assumed control of the government, the oath of allegiance was tendered to all soldiers, which had the effect of cutting short the military career of several Quakers. Their refusal to take the oath of allegiance 'was suspected as the cloak of design to restore Charles Stuart or to set up a kingdom of the Stuarts'.⁹ Although no evidence was advanced to substantiate the latter, in 1656, Cromwell stated: 'I think their principles and practice are not very consistent with civil government, much less with the discipline of the army. Some think they have no design but I am not of that opinion. Their counterfeited simplicity renders them to me dangerous'.¹⁰ This led to a policy of cashiering Quakers out of the army.

The inevitable conflict between Quaker principles and army discipline was highlighted by Besse. Writing a century later about Irish Quakers during the Cromwellian era he declared that there were many in the army:

who came to be convinced of the truth gradually, and began publicly to declare against vices and immoralities of others, and were sensible to the corruptions of the teachers in those times, and bore their testimony against them. This their zeal for virtue and true religion often exposed them to the resentment of their officers and

⁶ W. C. Braithwaite, *The beginnings of Quakerism*, (London, 1912), p. 519.

⁷ Richard Harrison, 'As a garden enclosed' in Kevin Herlihy (ed.) *The Irish Dissenting tradition* (Dublin, 1995), p. 83.

⁸ Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Quakerism and the Cromwellian army in Ireland' in *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, div, no.3 (1978), p.137.

⁹ *ibid*, p.49

¹⁰ W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, (London, 1912), p.215.

others, who hated reproof, so that some of those faithful monitors were imprisoned, others cashiered and turned out of the army. And divers of them, as they became further enlightened refused to bear arms any longer, and became able ministers of the truth, and publishers of the gospel.¹¹

At first, the restoration of Charles II looked hopeful for the beleaguered Quakers. His declaration at Breda offered 'liberty to tender consciences' and in the first months of the reign, hundreds of Quaker prisoners in Ireland were released. The revolt of the Fifth Monarchy men on 6 January 1661 created widespread confusion in government ranks. In the ensuing panic many Quakers were imprisoned. This led to George Fox drafting a declaration of loyalty which was presented to King Charles on 21 January 1661. The document which was entitled *A declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers*, stated:

We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world. The Spirit of Christ by which we are guided is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing of evil, and again to move into it; and we certainly know, and testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of the world.¹²

This public statement while, on one hand, was a declaration of loyalty, was also an expression of their peaceable intentions. Although Fox said it cleared the air, arrests and imprisonments continued. As Trueblood has observed:

what started as a solution of a particular practical problem became, in the process, the statement of a principle of far-reaching effect. The important document was re-issued, with the approval of the Morning Meeting (sic), in 1684, along with the assertion that Friends as a body could not wage war with outward weapons.¹³

In Hirst's opinion the statement was reprinted to 'stand as our certain testimony against all plotting and fighting with carnal weapons' and may be taken as the official expression of the early mind of the Society upon the question of peace and of loyalty to the established government.¹⁴

¹¹ Joseph Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, i (London, 1753), p. 460.

¹² cited in Glynn Douglas, *Friends and 1798* (Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 1998), p.3.

¹³ D. Elton Trueblood, *The people called Quakers* (New York, 1966), p. 195.

¹⁴ M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in peace and war* (London, 1923) p. 68.

In the succeeding centuries Quakers clung steadfastly to their pacifist principles, despite considerable material losses and personal harassment. These 'peculiar people' resorted to all peaceful means at their disposal in pursuit of their civil liberties. As witnesses to non-violence, their pacifist principles frequently brought Quakers into conflict with those who did not share such views, and this pacifism was not always sufficient to guarantee them immunity from the militaristic fervour whipped up by contemporary political events. Testimonies against bearing arms, and the evils of warfare have remained central to the Society's concerns, indicated by the periodic advices that were issued. In 1730, the yearly meeting handed down the following reminder:

It hath been a weighty concern on this meeting, that our ancient and honourable testimony against being concerned in bearing arms, or fighting, may be maintained; it being a doctrine and testimony agreeable to the nature and design of the Christian religion, and to the universal love and grace of God. This testimony, we desire may be strictly and carefully maintained, by a godly care and concern in all to stand clear therein; so shall we strengthen and comfort one another.¹⁵

During the Williamite war, not alone were Quakers subject to the depredations of both the Williamite and Jacobite armies, but also they had to contend with roving bands of the Irish rapparees who were intent on destroying the settler population in an effort to recover their estates. John Fennell of Garryroan, outside Cahir, provides a vivid description of the hardships he suffered:

After the breach of the Boyne my house was plundered by King James's men, the regiment did belong to Colonel Luttrell; they carried away the best and most of our household goods both of woollen and linen, some pewter and brass and all such goods as they could carry away upon horse backs and other way besides silver and brass money, some plate that was in the house; the particulars of what was taken away at that time I cannot give a just account, but do know that all was not less worth than three hundred pounds sterling.¹⁶

James Hutchinson of Knockballymaher in north Tipperary was even less fortunate. Not alone was his house robbed and burned, but he was abducted with a number of his servants and held captive until a ransom was paid.¹⁷ Another victim of the

¹⁵ Quoted in *Rules of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland with Advices* (Dublin, 1841), p. 268.

¹⁶ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland* (London, 1926), pp.65-66.

¹⁷ Thomas Wight & George Ruttly, *A History of the rise and progress of people called Quaker etc.*, (Dublin, 1751), p.164.

fortunes of war was Gershon Boate from near Templemore, who claimed that he never allowed the distress to prevent him fulfilling his Christian obligations. Although he 'suffered many hardships and escaped many dangers both at home and on the road going to Meetings; his house being often set upon by the Irish, both of the army and tories, and was wonderfully delivered out of their hand. And many English families, both priests and others, were succoured there and helped on their way'.¹⁸ Such was the destruction that, during the course of the war, it was estimated that the material loss to Friends throughout the nation amounted to £100,000.¹⁹

Despite their outright rejection of war and violence, Quakers were willing to help prisoners of war, regardless of their political allegiances. During the Williamite conflict they 'would venture and gett leave of the chief officers of the Irish to carry the prisoners victualls to keep them from starving to death ... so that many of them say'd when at liberty if the Quakers have not beene they have been starved to death'.²⁰ As Isabel Grubb stated:

the position, then, of Friends in Ireland during these years was complicated. They refused, as a whole, to take sides in the war, but submitted to whichever king was in authority. James granted them liberty of conscience and protection, but as Englishmen their security of tenure for their lands depended upon the success of William.²¹

Quakers also suffered from their refusal to join the armed forces or serve in the militia. In 1715, an act of the Irish parliament²² for the regulation of the militia provided special treatment for Quakers, allowing them to compound for personal service on the same terms as other Protestants upon making an affirmation of their loyalty to the king and denying claims of the pope and the pretender.²³ According to an act of 1762, which set out conditions for a Friend who refused to serve, the authorities might hire a substitute and reimburse themselves for the expense by distraint on the Friend's goods.

¹⁸ *ibid*, p.164.

¹⁹ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p. 70.

²⁰ Quoted in Isabel Grubb, 'Social conditions in Ireland in the 17th and 18th centuries as illustrated by early Quaker records', M.A. thesis, (University of London, 1916), p. 38.

²¹ Isabel Grubb, 'Irish Friend's experiences of war' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, d (4 mo.1916), p.186.

²² 2 George I c. 9.

²³ J. C. Beckett, *Protestant dissent in Ireland* (London, 1948), p. 133.

The following entry in the list of sufferings of the Tipperary meeting 1802 illustrates the application of this statute. The suffering reads 'taken from Isaac Jacob by Michael Coghlan and Edmond Mockler under a warrant from three justices for a demand of three guineas for providing a substitute to serve in the militia'.²⁴

During their quietist phase in the eighteenth century, which will be discussed in chapter 8, Quakers became a state within a state, deeply suspicious of external interference by the institutions of the state. Their seclusion from the world, coupled with their anxiety not to draw attention to themselves meant that, as a body, they almost ceased from engaging in public controversy. There are no direct political statements of any kind throughout the minutes of the Tipperary meetings, from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, or references to current political issues.

Nonetheless, throughout the eighteenth century, Quakers found their property attacked for one reason or another. In 1745, their refusal to celebrate the victory of the king's forces over his Scottish rebels, resulted in Friends in Limerick, Waterford and Clonmel having their windows smashed by 'a rude mob of soldiers and others'.²⁵ Later they, like members of the established church, found themselves victims of Whiteboy disturbances. In March 1763, John Watson's deerpark at Clonbrogan, north of Fethard was thrown down and four of his deer killed. The attackers were protesting that such deer parks reduced the available land for conacre lettings.²⁶ They also found themselves victims of sectarian violence. In October 1754, the Clonmel meeting house was attacked by some unnamed member of the gentry with a brace of pistols and a broad sword; 'he threatened to kill the whole congregation over their enquiries into his actions. He kept them prisoner for two hours' but thankfully no one was hurt.²⁷

²⁴ Records of the Tipperary meeting. Sufferings 1800-1868 (F.H.L.D., MM X G2).

²⁵ Thomas Wight & George Ruddy, *A history of the rise and progress of people called Quakers etc.*, p.237.

²⁶ Thomas P. Power, *Land, politics and society in eighteenth century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 180, 185; Maurice J. Bric, 'The Whiteboy movement in Tipperary 1760-1780' in William Nolan and Thomas G. McGrath (eds.) *Tipperary: History and society* (Dublin, 1985), p.155

²⁷ cited in Jack Burtchaell, 'Bristol Irish news in the 1750s' in *Decies dii* (1996), p. 19.

In August 1775, the Whiteboys, 'in their uniforms, mounted on horseback, and armed with firearms', attacked the house of Thomas Hughes on the far side of the Suir from Anner mills in Tickincor, and seized his gun and pistol.²⁸ This is the first reference we have to a Tipperary Quaker carrying firearms and subsequent events prove he was not the only one. In 1784, Robert Dudley had a gun seized in lieu of tithes.²⁹ There is no indication of the purpose of the weapons in question, whether they were retained for self-defence or were mere fowling pieces. In 1802, a statement in a local newspaper indicates the level of interest by local Quakers had in hunting and who had sought permission to hold firearms for that purpose. The paper which published a list of those issued with certificates for killing game in the Clonmel district contained the names of thirteen Quakers. In addition to this being a violation of the Quaker testimony in relation to hunting,³⁰ it also indicates a familiarity with the use of firearms by those concerned, albeit that the weapons in question were, presumably, no more than fowling pieces.

In the intervening period, political events which culminated in the rebellion of 1798 prompted the Quakers once again to bear active testimony against the use of force. The Society had become alarmed by the degree to which some young Friends lent their support to the Volunteers,³¹ and the National Meeting responded by issuing an Advice about 'associating with armed companies'.³² In the later 1790s, despite being faced with the prospect of insurrection, the Society instructed its members to destroy or dispose of any weapons they might possess. William Hutchinson of Knockballymaher, a member of one of Tipperary's leading Quaker families at the time, was disowned for refusing to comply with this request. The Mountmellick Monthly Men's Meeting held at Mountrath on 18 October 1797 recorded that:

It having been reported to the last monthly meeting that William Hutchinson still persists in refusing to comply with the advice of Friends in destroying his arms which he appeared to retain in his Possession, and also that he has desired we

²⁸ Maurice J. Bric, 'The Whiteboy movement in Tipperary etc.', p. 162

²⁹ R.T.M. Suffering for tithes 1783-1798 (F.H.L.D., MM X G1).

³⁰ The national yearly meeting 1704 issued the following advice admonishing young men not to keep greyhounds and go hunting with dogs and guns (F.H.L.D., A.2).

³¹ Glynn Douglas, *Friends and 1798* (Dublin, 1998), p. 11.

³² Minutes of Half-Yearly National Meeting, 11th Month 1779. (F.H.L.D., ½YM A 5).

should no longer consider him a member of our Society and said report having been solidly considered, this meeting is at this time concerned to Testify their disunity with such conduct being altogether contrary to the peaceable principles which we profess, and therefore disown him from being longer considered as a member of our society, as we do not hold ourselves longer accountable for his conduct inasmuch as he has so far deviated from our known rules. Eleazor Dudley and William Neale are appointed to shew this minute to him and return it to be recorded.³³

This may not have been the only incident where there was a reluctance by certain members to surrender their firearms. A minute from a meeting held in Clonmel in 1799 reads, 'The meetings of Cork, Youghal and County Tipperary not having a clear account to give respecting guns they are desired to attend thereto and report to next meeting'.³⁴ After the 1798 rebellion, it should perhaps be noted that Clonmel Quakers appeared to have no objection to the presence of the military, provided they were engaged in non-militant activities. They gratefully acknowledged the efforts of the Antrim militia under the command of Lord O'Neill for their efforts to extinguish a serious fire in the town of Clonmel.³⁵

Writing in 1812, Joseph Haughton stated that Irish Quakers were universally accepted as non-partisans during the Irish rebellion of 1798.³⁶ Although County Tipperary was quiet in 1798, the increased military activity by the authorities in South Tipperary was a cause of great anxiety to Quakers. Isaac Jacob, writing to John Lecky from Clonmel, had this to say, 'Friends in this part are much stripped of their horses and incommoded with billeting, but have as yet not met with anything that can be called extraordinary sufferings in that line'.³⁷ Margaret Grubb wrote of the inconvenience of having soldiers billeted in their house.³⁸ She and her husband, Samuel were all too conscious of the growing militancy among their brother's employees. They were aware that the reasons some of the mill-hands in their brother's mills failed to turn up on time

³³ cited in Douglas Glynn, *Friends and 1798*, pp. 38,39; Dr. Hancock, *Principles of peace as exemplified in the contribution of the Society of Friends in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798* (London, 1825).

³⁴ Records of Munster Quarterly Meetings, 13th day 4th mo. 1799 (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A8).

³⁵ C.G., 30 April-3 May, 1794.

³⁶ Papers of Joseph Haughton (N.L.I., L1, 576).

³⁷ Records of Munster Quarterly Meetings, 4th day 6 mo. 1799 (F.H.L.D., QM 11 A8).

³⁸ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 2, no. 32. Margaret Grubb to Mary Leadbeater, 1798 (day and month illegible)

was 'due to the nightly drills they were expected to attend in preparation for an expected French invasion of Ireland' and knew of 'the manufacture and concealment of pikes and other weapons in nearly every blacksmiths shop, and found weapons one day hidden behind bags of corn in their own store'.³⁹

Margaret Grubb of Clogheen, while commiserating with her sister, Mary Leadbeater, on the 'trials' suffered by Ballitore Quakers as a consequence of the rising, described the situation certain Friends faced in the Cahir district. She stated that:

it seems as if one part of them (rebels) was moving near ourselves for Robert Fennell of Garryroan has had his house attacked by a gang of robbers, who took some of his property, broke and destroyed some of his furniture and struck himself and servant then, so as to hurt the latter much. But providentially they committed no murder, nor materially wounded any. They put his papers in a grate and attempted to set fire to them but did not affect their purpose. Catherine Fennell (who was there) was remarkably clever and courageous, and they threatened her. Several Friends in consequence have quit the country for the present. William Fennell and part of his family have taken lodgings in Clogheen. Joseph Jackson's gone to Cahir to John Walpole's house, who is married to Molly Jackson; young Joseph Fennell and wife and Thomas Jackson and wife came to Clonmel, but the robbed family and Cahir Abbey stay at home.⁴⁰

Although she does not identify any of the perpetrators, from the context of the letter it would appear that they had some connection with the insurgents.

As in previous conflicts, Quakers once more showed that they were not merely passive witnesses for peace. 'They again, as in earlier warfare, took an active part in trying to help the innocent'.⁴¹ Sarah Grubb of Anner mills was quick to send aid to those afflicted by the rebellion.⁴² Their concern was also illustrated by an incident which took place on 29 May 1798 in the streets of Clonmel. This involved Bernard Wright, a tutor of French to the family of Samuel Grubb, and had widespread repercussions. The innocent Wright, suspected of being a French spy, was flogged on the streets of Clonmel on the instructions of the notorious Judkin Fitzgerald, high sheriff of the county.⁴³ On 14

³⁹ Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972), p. 104.

⁴⁰ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 2, no. 34. Margaret Grubb to Mary Leadbeater, date illegible.

⁴¹ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p.77.

⁴² Sarah Pim Grubb, An entry prepared by Peter Lambe for the forthcoming publication entitled *Quaker biographies*.

⁴³ W. Burke (Rev.), *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), pp. 162-163.

March 1799, Wright brought an action against Fitzgerald for £1,000 damages at the Clonmel assizes. Despite Fitzgerald's fierce reputation and powerful position, Solomon Watson, a local Quaker was prepared to testify in court 'that he had known the defendant having flogged some labourers on account of the kind of waistcoats they wore'.⁴⁴

Hirst has pointed out that 'the end of the struggle with Napoleon left a world weary of war In England, at least, the sentiment in favour of peace was stronger and more widespread than ever before, and the opportunity arose for an organized movement to promote international good will'.⁴⁵ This movement, founded in London in 1816, which was to be known as the Peace Society had its origin within the Society of Friends. It marked a turning point in the Society's peace policy. The negative testimony against the bearing of arms and non-participation in violent action was replaced by participation in this peace society. It admitted as members all 'desirous of the promotion of peace on earth and good-will towards men' and their programme included the substitution of arbitration for war, a general reduction of armaments, and the institution of an International Court for the settlement of disputes'.⁴⁶ One of those to attend the early meetings of the new society in London was Samuel Grubb of Clogheen. Subsequently, there may have been further involvement by Tipperary Quakers. In 1884, the Peace Society of Ireland was established and the Society continues to this day to have a peace committee which meets when the need arises.

During the early nineteenth century, members of the Tipperary Quaker community were subject to frequent attacks on their property, or became victims of personal assaults. The frequency of these occurrences may reflect the lawlessness of the times,⁴⁷ and, as Hurst states, during this period 'observers before and since have had occasion to

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in peace and war* (London, 1923), p. 243.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 244.

⁴⁷ see Maurice J. Bric, 'The Whiteboy movement 1760-1780 etc.', pp. 148-184; S. J. Connolly, 'Violence and order in the eighteenth century' in Patrick O'Flanagan, Paul Ferguson & Kevin Whelan (eds.) *Rural Ireland: Modernisation and change 1600-1900* (Cork, 1987), p. 53; Denis G. Marnane, 'Land and violence in 19th century Tipperary' in *Tipperary Historical Journal*, i (1988), pp. 67-73.

comment on the lawless nature of County Tipperary'.⁴⁸ This is reflected in the numbers committed to Clonmel gaol charged with criminal offences, which rose from 376 in 1825 to 720 in 1831.⁴⁹ There is no indication that these crimes were the result of organised agrarian societies but may have been the response of various individuals to economic stress. In this context members of the Quaker community were ideal targets. They were known to be wealthy and, because of their pacifist beliefs, were unlikely to retaliate. In the view of Greaves, 'Quakers were easy targets of violence because of their distinctive ways, their sense of being a separated group, and possibly their adherence to the peace principle'.⁵⁰

In the fifteen year period 1813-1828, no fewer than fourteen crimes were recorded in the press involving individual Quakers in Clonmel, Clogheen and Cahir as victims. These consisted of ten robberies, one failed attempt and two threatening incidents seeking money. Although this would seem an extraordinarily high figure for a small community, it would appear that it was their reputation as a wealthy and vulnerable people which merited such attention. In one case, ten pounds of tea, two or three pounds of sugar, and about 40s. in change were stolen from the grocery store of John and Joseph Grubb in Gordon Street, Clonmel.⁵¹ Some years later, Isaac Jacob, accompanied by Mrs. Jacob and one of their children, were proceeding home in their gig, when they were stopped by four armed men on the New Bridge of Clonmel, at the County Waterford side who relieved him of £7 and his watch. In 1821, Robert George Grubb's drapery shop in Main Street was broken into but no other details were forthcoming.⁵²

A more serious incident took place in 1826 on the river at Killaloe, some three miles downriver of the town of Clonmel, when 70 to 80 men plundered a boat laden with flour, the property of David Malcomson. This attack drew the comment that Mr. Malcomson's extensive concerns gave 'employment to many hundreds who but for them

⁴⁸ James W. Hurst, 'Disturbed Tipperary: 1831-1860' in *Eire-Ireland* ix:3 (1974), p. 44.

⁴⁹ Statistical survey of Tipperary in the 18th and 19th centuries (N.L.I., MS. 96).

⁵⁰ Richard Greaves, *God's other children: Protestant dissent and non-conformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland 1600-1700* (Stanford University Press), p. 369

⁵¹ C.A., 22 Oct. 1814.

⁵² C.A., 25 July 1821.

should pine in want'.⁵³ Unfortunately, in other robberies the victims did not escape so lightly. In 1810, Samuel Grubb was stopped outside his home in Clogheen and robbed of about £200. His three assailants violently beat him with his own stick, leaving him with 'his head cut and much bruised'.⁵⁴ In another attack, £300 was taken from Cahir mills and the clerk, Mr. Fayle, was assaulted. A reward of £100 was offered for the apprehension of the culprits.⁵⁵

On at least two occasions, efforts were made to intimidate the intended victims. In 1808, Elizabeth Clibborn described how armed men fired shots under her window at her home at Anner Mills, deposited a letter containing 'threats and unreasonable requisitions' and left her 'so frightened as not to be able to articulate a word'.⁵⁶ A similar incident took place at the house of Robert Thompson of Rathronan, where 'a party of deluded beings ... fired a brace of bullets into the bed-chamber where there were seven females, and discharged also a piece into the parlour, with two balls and as many slugs; fortunately no person was hurt.' The report further stated that 'Mr. Thompson during the last three years had received several threatening notices. This is in no small degree extraordinary, as he is not only a most inoffensive character, but a very worthy and esteemed gentleman: the sick, or distressed peasantry of his neighbourhood have ever found in him a friend, and avow the highest gratitude for his kindness'.⁵⁷ However, on one occasion the intended victim proved too resourceful for his would-be attackers. Such was the case of Mr. Chandlee of Clogheen who was returning home from Lismore:

Mr. Chandlee was stopped on the mountain by four marauders armed with a blunderbuss and pistols, and desired to deliver his money. Two of the fellows stepped up to seize the bridle of his horse; but Mr. Chandlee, fearing if they got hold of him they would ill-treat him, cried out 'Take care of the horse-he'll bite you'. The fellow drew back for an instant and Mr. Chandlee, taking advantage of the circumstances, put spurs to his horse, and galloped off triumphantly, and though the robbers discharged two shots after him, he fortunately escaped without receiving the smallest injury.⁵⁸

⁵³ *C.A.*, 5 May 1826.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Clibborn's diary 1807-1813 (*F.H.L.D.*), p. 32.

⁵⁵ *C.A.*, 1 April 1826.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Clibborn's diary 1807-1813 (*F.H.L.D.*), p. 3.

⁵⁷ *C.A.*, 13 Nov. 1813.

⁵⁸ *C.A.*, 5 Jan. 1814.

One family, the Jacksons of Tincurry and Millgrove, appear to have been particularly unfortunate and were the targets of several threats and robberies. The first of these regrettable occurrences was recorded by Elizabeth Clibborn who wrote in 1809 that:

Thomas Jackson was riding to meeting - he left his wife Rachel ill in bed. Five men, three of whom were blackened, stopped him near his avenue and gaining possession of the bridle threatened to shoot him if he attempted resistance in leading them to his own house. They got a good deal of money, two pistols and a gun, searched the house and then made off. Rachel recognised a pedlar amongst them who was a few days before served in the house. Several of the neighbours collected in the lawn but the robbers escaped to the mountains where a thick fog favoured their secretion.⁵⁹

The leader of the band was none other than the notorious outlaw William Brennan or Brenan whom Stephen Dunford⁶⁰ describes as arguably Ireland's best known highwayman. Brennan informed his victim that his neighbours should feel no just cause for jealousy from his neglect; for that he would visit them all. Brenan was as good as his word, for two weeks later:

he and his accomplices visited Mr. Abraham Jackson with a demand of his money etc. Mr. Jackson's first oblation amounting only to eleven guineas, Brenan said that would not do; he had a very urgent call for £20, and £20 he must have. Mr. Jackson offered some silver, amount to about £4, towards making up the deficiency; but Brenan, who likes dealing in whole numbers, would not split the balance, and, refusing the silver, departed after obtaining a solemn promise from Mr. Jackson to send within eight or nine days the £7 10s. to the house of a person whom Brenan names pro hac vice, as his banker, and who is much in Mr. Jackson's confidence. Having settled matters so satisfactorily with Mr. Abraham Jackson, the party proceeded to Mr. Joseph Jackson's at the woollen factory, upon whom he levied contributions; but to what amount, or whether with as much good temper on all sides we have not yet learned.⁶¹

Some five years later a local paper reported that:

On Tuesday morning last, as Mr. Abraham Jackson, of Tincurry, near Cahir, was walking near his house with two friends, a man who lives in the same neighbourhood begged to speak with him, and apologising for interrupting him

⁵⁹ Elizabeth Clibborn's diary 1807-1813 (F.H.L.D.), p.18.

⁶⁰ Stephen Dunford, *The Irish highwayman* (Dublin, 2000), p. 229. Brennan was reputedly born near Kilworth, county Cork in the latter part of the eighteenth century. He concentrated his operations on north Cork and south Tipperary. In 1812, he was captured in the townlands of Clonmore on the slopes of Galtee mountains and was subsequently executed in Clonmel.

⁶¹ *The Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 28 Feb. 1809.

said that a party had come to his house the night before, and under the most violent threats, compelled him to swear that he would deliver to Mr. Jackson, a letter that they gave him. He then gave Mr. Jackson the letter. It contained a threatening letter, importing, that if Mr. Jackson did not deposit at a certain place twenty guineas for the use of a prisoner now in Clonmel gaol, and also dismiss two servants then in his employ, the person who sent it would pay a visit to Tincurry, when they would levy a sum three times that amount, and put Mr. Jackson and his wife to death. The man who delivered the note was in no disguise, but acted evidently under the impulse of the greatest fear, that in case he did not obey the mandate of the deluded wretches, who imposed the task on him, himself and family would become a sacrifice to their rage.⁶²

Not surprisingly, many attacks on Quaker property took place when food was in short supply. The first identified recorded case took place in 1784 when a mob, two hundred strong, broke into the mill of the Jacob family in Clonmel and appropriated its contents.⁶³ Two further incidents were reported in 1834. The first report stated that several carts laden with flour going from the Grubb-owned Cahir Abbey mills to Clonmel were stopped by an immense concourse of peasantry who stole 26 bags.⁶⁴ Three days later, carts laden with Mr. Grubb's flour from his Clogheen mills were being sent to Clonmel. Outside the town several hundred people assembled to attack the cart but were deterred by the police.⁶⁵ The most numerous incidents took place during the great famine of the 1840s when the Quaker-owned mills in Clonmel, Cahir and Clogheen were subject to attack and looting.⁶⁶

Geoffrey Watkins Grubb claims that Richard Grubb (1780-1859) of Cahir:

often questioned how as a Quaker he could reconcile pacifist views with the fact that his parents before him, other Quaker property owners, and himself had recourse in troubled Ireland to call in the protection of the soldiery and armed guards on occasions of insurgence or hooliganism. Ought they not to have turned the other cheek.⁶⁷

The author goes on to state that:

Richard knew some Quakers refused to keep guns or other weapons. Similarly how could he join with his brothers and sons in hunting and bloodsports, if he

⁶² C.A., 9 July 1814.

⁶³ Greer papers, Jacob to Greer, 12 Feb. 1784, D1044/686. 687A, (PRONI).

⁶⁴ C.A., 11 June 1834.

⁶⁵ C.A., 14 June 1834.

⁶⁶ Denis G. Marnane, 'The famine in south Tipperary: part one' in *T.H.J.* 1996, pp. 1-42; Edmund O'Riordan, 'Famine in the Clogheen area' *ibid.*, pp. 96-100.

⁶⁷ Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p.119

really believed that animal and human blood should not be shed by the hand of man. Yet when his eldest son Samuel was killed in the hunting field, Richard would never believe that this was a just retribution on the sin of hunting; Samuel was his own flesh and blood, and his grief was unbounded. Inconsistency was the only answer, and this huge moral issue always fretted Richard.⁶⁸

Undoubtedly, others held similar views.

It should be noted that not all Tipperary Quakers lived orderly, sedate, industrious lives in accordance with Quaker principles. While the Society disowned those who failed to conform to the rules of the Society, a topic which will be discussed more fully in chapter 8, some members also were in breach of civil law and, as a consequence, suffered the ignominy of being jailed for their misdemeanours. It should be stated that the Society forbade its members to satisfy their differences by recourse to the law. In 1808, Samuel Fennell was jailed for non-payment of debts to his brother, Joshua. Later that year, Joshua secured his release. Two years later, Joseph Jackson was disowned for a similar offence, refusing to pay rent to his brother.⁶⁹

The year 1827 marks the last recorded case where a Tipperary Quaker, apart from at least four who joined the British army,⁷⁰ was disowned for bearing arms. The member in question was John Chaytor of Cahir who 'put himself under the protection of an armed party of men and that he himself acknowledges he was armed at the time.'⁷¹ The minutes do not mention where the incident took place, but it is more than likely that it refers to an event which was reported in the local papers seventeen months previously. Chaytor and others in the employment of Lord Cahir refused to allow tithe gatherers on to his lordship's estate to gather tithes for the bishop of Waterford, on the grounds that they acted in defence of the civil rights of their employer. The report read as follows:

Last night Nicholas Chaytor, John Chaytor, James Johnson and John Pike arrived at Clonmel gaol with an escort of police, committed by the court as Cashel sessions, having been yesterday convicted of a riot, and assault on persons coming on the lands of Kilcommon on the 24th August last, to distrain for tithes in dispute between the Earl of Glengall and the Lord Bishop of Waterford, and in which Messrs Chaytor acted under advice of Counsel. Messrs Nicholas and John

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ Elizabeth Clibborn's diary (F.H.L.D.), p. 24.

⁷⁰ R.T.M. Disownments and resignations 1797-1825 (F.H.L.D., MM X 01); 1825-1895 (F.H.L.D., M X 02).

⁷¹ R.T.M. Minutes of men's monthly meetings, 1st day 3mo. 1827 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

Chaytor, and James Johnson to be confined a month and pay £20 fine each; and John Pike to be confined one month.⁷²

Not alone were the Quakers opposed to their members enlisting in the armed forces, they disapproved of even having contact with soldiers. One such liaison which was to have tragic consequences has since become part of the folklore of the town of Clonmel. It concerned Anne Grubb,⁷³ a girl of striking beauty who, at the age of fifteen, was apprenticed to her uncle, Robert George Grubb, who operated a millinery business in the Main Street.⁷⁴ Some time later, Anne had formed an attachment with a Lieutenant Frederick Close, who had recently been transferred to the local barracks. It was an alliance of which Quaker pacifist sympathies could scarcely approve and which led to the couple meeting secretly. Their tragic disappearance on the night of 26 February 1826 aroused much speculation.⁷⁵ On the fatal evening, they were last seen strolling down the banks of the Suir, which was severely flooded at the time, never to be seen again. Their bodies were recovered some time later and the subsequent inquest returned a verdict of accidental drowning. In the ensuing controversy, among other theories put forward was that they were murdered by persons unknown.

The Young Ireland rebellion of 1848 was similar to the hostilities of half a century earlier, in being of short duration. In 1848, as they had done earlier, members of the Society of Friends 'refused to sell to any parties ropes, iron, or anything else which might be used for making weapons or instruments of cruelty'.⁷⁶ They tried to pre-empt violence by attempting to reduce the weapon supply. Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir, whose home was situated in an area which had a degree of rebel sympathy, recalled how most of the Protestant inhabitants of Carrick had fled, in fear, to the garrison in Waterford, to England or even to America. He went on to say that his father and his

⁷² C.A., 22 Nov. 1825.

⁷³ Anne Grubb, was the second of fourteen children born to John Grubb (1781-1832), a Clonmel baker, and Elizabeth Millner (1782-1857) of Mountmellick.

⁷⁴ R.M.M. Certificates of Removal 1798-1827, dated 22nd day 1st mo.1823 (F.H.L.D., MM V K2).

⁷⁵ James White (ed.), *My Clonmel scrapbook* (Waterford, 1907), pp.148-154; G. W. Grubb. *Grubbs of Tipperary*, p.57.

⁷⁶ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p.75.

mother remained with their three young children (of whom he was one) quietly at their home:

My father was engaged in the iron trade and sold steel which was in considerable demand for making pikes. However, when the disturbances began he refused to sell steel of the sizes and quality needed for pikes ... My mother took us children on our usual walks without hindrance.

He went on to state that although the rebels under William Smith O'Brien were encamped four miles to the north, while the town and district was alive with soldiers who searched every house for arms, the family went regularly each Sunday the fourteen mile drive to Meeting at Clonmel.⁷⁷

In the early twentieth century, Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir, who described himself as a lover of peace and a conscientious objector to militarism in all its phases, was called upon, on more than one occasion, to uphold the Society's peace principles. He did what he could to help those pacifists who were being persecuted for their refusal to fight during the first world war. During the war of independence, a party of British soldiers called to his residence searching for Sinn Féin literature. Joseph Ernest took advantage of the situation to plead for peace and friendship and to point out the sacredness of human life. During the ceasefire that followed, he wrote a letter of protest to a local paper objecting to the activities of an I.R.A. commandant who was levying money in Waterford for the maintenance of the Volunteers. Although he favoured an independent united Ireland, he felt it must be achieved through peaceful means and that the prospect of civil war might be averted. He felt that:

The great obstacle to national growth is organised force claiming supremacy over the human being. True fellowship, not force, is the index of a healthy nation Let us each live according to our individual opportunities and abilities, ever working for the good of all, gladly recognising the good qualities of others, and endeavouring to mend our own defects. May the dark pall of militarism, which has destroyed many nations, never overshadow Ireland.⁷⁸

However, during this period world events were responsible for a modification of the Irish Quaker community's pacifist principles. World war one saw a number of Irish Friends enlist in the services, while the conscientious objectors found themselves in

⁷⁷ Hirst, *The Quakers in peace and war*, p.253.

⁷⁸ cited in Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (Dublin, 1928), p. 89.

difficulties. The question was debated at the yearly meeting in Dublin in May 1915. Those present concluded that, 'the wisest course was to accord those who enlisted the fullest liberty of conscience in what they have thought it right to do; at the same time we fully maintain our adherence to the principles of peace'.⁷⁹ Even those among the few remaining members of the Tipperary meeting were directly touched by the tragedy of this conflict. Among the fatalities were Hubert and Llewellyn Malcomson, sons of William and Adelina Malcomson, former members of the Tipperary meeting and who still had relatives attached to the meeting.⁸⁰

As Hatton states 'Whether or not pacifism was originally adopted to survive, the depth of Friends' conviction cannot be doubted. Quakers have staunchly maintained their stance in the face of great physical abuse and vilification and have borne much for the sake of pacifism'.⁸¹ After the adoption of pacifist values Quakers retained the principle that faith in God, manifested by a peaceful life and good will towards men, was a surer protection than any armed force. As much could be said of most Tipperary Quakers.

Public Life

The sufferings that resulted from such political upheavals and non-payment of tithes, which have been discussed in chapter 1, were compelling, if negative, reasons for Quakers to keep clear of politics and to reinforce their pacifist principles. However, their pacifism had not guaranteed them immunity from personal violence and in some cases the destruction of their property. Indeed, in order to seek redress for their grievances they had to resort to lobbying and making representations to those in power. 'Notwithstanding their recurring experience of state-supported persecution, in their dealings with the government the Friends generally avoided a hostile tone but did not shrink from challenging authorities on both legal and religious grounds'.⁸² They looked for loop-holes

⁷⁹ Yearly Meeting, Dublin 1915 (F.H.L.D.).

⁸⁰ Malcomson papers (N.L.I., MS. 8146), unpaginated. Hubert Malcomson was fatally wounded on the Somme, August 1916, while two months later Llewellyn was killed in action near Loos. Their elder brother William Theodore survived, as did their cousin Alexander, son of Robert and Isabel Malcomson.

⁸¹ Helen Hatton, *The largest amount of good. Quaker relief in Ireland 1654-1921* (London, 1993), p.19.

⁸² Richard L. Greaves, *God's other children. Protestant nonconformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland, 1660-1700*. (California, 1997), pp. 364, 365.

in the legal process, and provided assistance to members charged with various offences by assigning competent people to attend assizes and quarter sessions on their behalf. Such representations often had a successful outcome, as occurred in the case of John Ashton of Kilconihinmore in north Tipperary who, for refusing to take an oath, was kept prisoner in Clonmel for eleven weeks. Friends from the Mountmellick meeting obtained his release without payment of fees or going to court. Commenting on this case the half yearly meeting of 1677 noted that:

Friends from the first ... (were) a people unwilling to go to law about matters pertaining to Conscience and truths Testimony, having always found a more general Successe in proceeding on such Occasions by Soliciting innocently, proper persons for Redress, then in Seeking to be Relieved by Law where they had an Oppertunity.⁸³

It would appear that Quakers were about to enter a new era of tolerance and acceptance. James II, on his accession in 1685, extended concessions to both Catholics and dissenters in an effort to win their support. Such toleration as they enjoyed was only a temporary expedient to help James and Tyrconnell restore the realm to Catholicism. The Quaker community in Ireland were given a sharp reminder of the fickle nature of political fortunes when they were called upon to defend themselves against what they claimed was the false charge of having assisted James with money and clothes for his troops during the subsequent Williamite war. The petition to parliament which contains the following denial, dated 15 November 1698 contains, among others, the signature of the Tipperary Quaker, Gershon Boate (1648-1703) from Templemore. It read as follows:

an address of William Edmundson, Thomas Strafford, Robert Hoop, Thomas Weight, and Gershon Boate on behalf of themselves and the rest of their friends, called Quakers, in the Kingdom of Ireland, humbly intreating, this House would be pleased not to entertain hard thoughts of them concerning groundless and untrue reflections that they lent King James money, and raised and clothed a regiment for him; and that this House would put a charitable construction upon their tender scruple of conscience in not subscribing the Declaration, in regard the sacred name of God is therein convinced and in that respect too much like an oath.⁸⁴

⁸³ cited in Greaves, *God's other children*, p.340

⁸⁴ Acts Orders and Proceedings of the Commons House of Parliament assembled and met together in Chichester House, 1695-8, p. 1044.

In the 1690s, Irish Quakers set up a parliamentary committee to scrutinise any proposed legislative measures of the Dublin parliament that might be contrary to their interests and to make representations with a view to effecting the necessary changes.⁸⁵ A list of names was drawn up annually of those Friends willing to attend sessions of parliament to remind that body to keep their grievances in mind:

The committee consisted of local Friends from Dublin and other parts of the country. The latter were not allowed to go home without special leave, for they were useful in speaking to the M.P.s from their own county. On the arrival of the new lord lieutenant, the Quakers presented him with an address begging liberty to seek access to him to lay any matter before him, which arose out of political disabilities caused by their religion. When the parliament was in session they attended sessions daily to see if bills were prejudicial to their interests.⁸⁶

One who played a leading part in activities of the committee was the above mentioned Gershon Boate who rendered:

great service to Friends in their dealings with the government. At the beginning of the eighteenth century he was indefatigable in his attendance at the parliament house to secure relief for Quakers in any bills which affected them. However, we have no way of knowing how effective his efforts were.⁸⁷

His own personal welfare was secondary to his commitment:

The story of Gershon Boate, enfeebled by illness longing to get home, yet staying because he had considerable influence with the members of council, had an added pathos when it was known that a few months later he succumbed to the effects of this devotion to the cause.⁸⁸

In tribute to him Wight and Ruttly stated that:

He was ready and willing to serve Truth and Friends with all his might, both in travelling with Friends in the Ministry, and in seeking relief for such as were under sufferings; and he was a man of such parts and interest, that he seldom missed effecting the matter he took in hand. He was of a quick apprehension, great abilities and courage, and very serviceable to the Country on several occasions, and particularly with regard to the Rapparees that infested it; and was wonderfully preserved thro' many imminent dangers, from those blood-thirsty men who lay in wait for mischief. By this means he became acceptable to the Government, and had an interest among and a ready access to persons in power, which however he did not apply to his own promotion, in the profits or honours of this World, but to the

⁸⁵ Wight & Ruttly, *op. cit.*, p.155.

⁸⁶ Quoted in Isabel Grubb, 'Social conditions in Ireland', p. 227.

⁸⁷ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p.42.

⁸⁸ Records of the National half-yearly and yearly meetings, Nov. 1703. Parliamentary committee 1698-1729 (F.H.L.D., ½YM A 3).

advancement of Truth and its Testimony, and the good of his Brethren. He was a true servant of the Church, and in its service contracted his last illness, and died in great peace and resignation to the Will of God.⁸⁹

His son, also called Gershon, was no less active. In 1711, he was a member of a delegation, which included another Tipperary Quaker, John Boles, which went to London to request the English parliament to amend the act of affirmation of 1696.⁹⁰ This act allowed Quakers to dispense with taking a formal legal oath in court but only in certain circumstances. Consequently, it did not satisfy all their objections. As Fry said, it 'did enable those Friends who could accept it, to carry out transactions with the customs and excise, give evidence and prove wills among sundry other advantages'.⁹¹ Other Tipperary Quakers who attended sessions of parliament were Joshua Fennell and Joseph Collett.⁹² It would appear that not all Tipperary Friends were diligent in their duties. In 1723, a letter from some Dublin Friends to John Boles, Solomon Watson and Samuel White urged them that Friends draw up an address and present it to the house of commons before it was too late.⁹³

Although it was a cherished belief of the Quakers, especially during their quietist years, that the only way they would retain their way of life was by not conforming to the ways of the world, it could be argued that the quietist rejection of politics was never completely consistent with the Society's repeated attempts to influence parliament.⁹⁴ The closing decades of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of the Quakers from their self-imposed isolation. The outward differences which distinguished them as a peculiar people were gradually disappearing, as their commercial and philanthropic activities brought them into closer contact with the outside world. This issue will be discussed further in the following two chapters. They displayed an increasing tendency to identify

⁸⁹ Thomas Wight and John Rutt, *A history of the rise and progress of people called Quakers*, pp. 205, 06.

⁹⁰ *ibid*, p. 212.

⁹¹ A. Ruth Fry, *Quaker Ways*, p. 139.

⁹² R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting 1694-1724, 11th day 4th mo. 1710 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

⁹³ R.T.M., Ministers and elders, folder C, no. 20 (F.H.L.D., MM X C1).

⁹⁴ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 189/190.

themselves with a variety of issues and causes, many of an overtly political nature, which they considered worthy of their attention and support. As Mc Mahon states:

Quakers and indeed, non-conformists had originally viewed Christian work and worldly activity such as politics as incompatible. Influenced by Christ's compassion and evangelicalism both Quakers and non-conformists felt that they could not ignore social and economic evils around them.⁹⁵

To many individual Friends there was no strict division between religion and politics. Henry Tuke noted this in 1847 when referring to the need for moral and social improvement in Ireland, 'It is a duty in which the politicians and the Christian philanthropists should heartily unite.'⁹⁶

There were indications of a slow process of change which witnessed a growing accommodation of Irish Quakerism to the wider society in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. This movement was accompanied by their abandonment of endogamous marriage, the gradual erosion of their distinctive culture, including peculiarities of speech and dress, and the growth of evangelicalism within the Society. These changes, reinforced by commercial and philanthropic connections, facilitated a closer identification with Protestant society, religiously, economically and socially, and a consequent alienation from the Catholic community.

In 1788, the most influential of Clonmel's Quakers supported a testimony to Edward Collins, the town's outgoing mayor to whom they felt indebted:

for a very useful Reform in the Police of the Town; to whose Firmness and Activity, we ascribe the good Order which marked his Mayoralty, under which the Inhabitants at large derived, not only peace in the Transaction of their Trade and Commerce, but Tranquility in every quarter of the Town: During whose Magistracy, we experienced no Inquietude from tolerated Tumults, nor any Insecurity from nocturnal depredations: Thus protected and thus governed, we conceive ourselves called on publickly, to testify our grateful acknowledgements etc.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Dorren Mc Mahon 'The Irish Quaker community 1870-1925' unpublished M.A. thesis (U.C.D., 1985), p. 188.

⁹⁶ J. H. Tuke, *A visit to Connacht in the autumn of 1847* (London, 1847), p. 28.

⁹⁷ *C.G.*, 13-16 Oct. 1788.

More significant was a similar testimony made five years later, to the outgoing mayor of the day, which local Friends signed as members of the local Quaker community, indicating that they had the approval of their meeting.⁹⁸

There were other small, but notable, expressions of Quaker loyalty to the establishment. This trend could be detected during the Napoleonic wars in the tribute paid to Lieutenant General John Lee on the occasion of his promotion and departure from Clonmel. He was complimented on his 'uniform attention to, and support of the Civil power, in the preservation of the peace of this county', a commendation which had the support of leading members of the local Quaker community.⁹⁹ From time to time, in the absence of an official police force, appeals offering financial rewards for the apprehension of felons and law-breakers appeared in the local newspapers. Many Quaker names are to be found among the signatories supporting such appeals. Another example of their eagerness to uphold the law was the willingness of certain members to collect subscriptions to prosecute certain so-called road jobbers, who in the late eighteenth century had been defrauding the public.¹⁰⁰

Their anxiety to be seen as law-abiding citizens, and their social concern was also obvious in their determination to support the parliamentary act of 1791 curtailing the sale of spirituous liquors, as has been mentioned in chapter 5. They could be quick to act to rectify what they perceived to be an act of injustice of any kind. This was indicated by their support for the mayor of Clonmel in his determination to break up a workers' combination that was formed as a result of an industrial dispute during the building of a cotton factory in the town. In the course of the work, the masons withdrew their labour and entered into a combination to allegedly harass others who were procured to complete the work.¹⁰¹ These observations of protocol and expressions of loyalty, as well as gestures of civic concern, were in keeping with the testimonies of the Society, whereby

⁹⁸ *C.G.*, 5-9 Oct. 1793.

⁹⁹ *C.A.*, 25 June 1814.

¹⁰⁰ *C.G.*, 28-31 July 1790.

¹⁰¹ *C.G.*, 5 to 9 June 1788.

Friends were expected to support the state and the law at all times, unless their conscience was violated.¹⁰²

It was during this period that Quakers began to be drawn into a more positive engagement with the political process. In the 1776 parliamentary election, twenty nine of the county's Quaker freeholders voted to elect two members of parliament for County Tipperary.¹⁰³ The two successful candidates, both of whom could be regarded as extreme conservatives,¹⁰⁴ had the support of the majority of the Quaker electors.

The alliance of Clonmel Quakers with the Protestant interest at local level is illustrated by their support for John Bagwell of Marfield, Clonmel. This alliance with the Bagwell interest can be traced to 1782, when 'a committee under John Bagwell, and dominated by Quaker merchants, attempted to break the monopoly held by the Moores over the creation of freemen'¹⁰⁵ in the borough of Clonmel. In 1800, the Bagwells purchased the manor of Clonmel from the Moore family, giving them control of the Clonmel corporation. Between 1832 and 1835, in return for their political support in securing the election of Bagwell to parliament, thirty-nine members of Clonmel's Quaker community were admitted as freemen of the borough¹⁰⁶ by the town patron, John Bagwell.¹⁰⁷ This honour conferred important commercial privileges, which included exemption from local tolls on their merchandise, a fact which would, undoubtedly, influence their continued allegiance.

As Friends grew closer to the society in which they lived, it was inevitable that some of them would wish to take a more active role in public life. Samuel and John Watson were the first Quaker-born members of the Tipperary meeting to hold public

¹⁰² Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, p. 101.

¹⁰³ An alphabetical list of the freeholders who voted on the election for two knights of the shire to represent the County of Tipperary in parliament, 1776. (Royal Irish Academy, Haliday Collection no. 368).

¹⁰⁴ The candidates in question were Daniel Toler and William Prittie. William Nolan 'Patterns of living in County Tipperary from 1770 to 1850' in William Nolan and Thomas G. McGrath (eds.) *Tipperary: history and society* (Dublin, 1985), p. 301

¹⁰⁵ *C.G.*, 24-27 June 1782. Quoted in T. C. Power, *Tipperary in the eighteenth century*, p. 226. During that time the borough of Clonmel was under control of the Moore family.

¹⁰⁶ Sean O'Donnell, *Clonmel 1840-1900. Anatomy of an Irish town* (Dublin, 1999), pp.106, 109 and 304-308.

¹⁰⁷ John Bagwell of Marfield was M.P. for Clonmel (1857-74).

office in the county. In 1801, Samuel Watson of Summerville, Clonmel was appointed a magistrate and, in the following year, became a member of the grand jury. Similarly, John also became a member of the grand jury in 1803.¹⁰⁸ By that time, it may be assumed that neither was a member of the Society, as was the case of William Chaytor of Clonmel. He was disowned in 1812, and subsequently served as mayor of Clonmel from 1826 to 1834.¹⁰⁹

As the nineteenth century progressed, Tipperary Quakers began to move into more explicitly political areas. As Harrison states:

The thirties coincided with a period of political reform which was to widen the possibility of political involvement for all sections of the community and finally removed all disabilities from Quakers in the use of the affirmation. It left the way open for Quakers to move into more explicitly political areas, to act as magistrates and to serve on juries in criminal cases.¹¹⁰

Although none of them stood for parliament, Tipperary Quakers acted as magistrates, and members of boards of guardians, sat on corporations and other municipal bodies, and took up positions in the public service. In 1850, the civil administration of Clonmel was vested in four separate bodies, consisting of the commissioners for lighting and watching, the Clonmel Corporation, the grand jury and the poor law guardians. The Quakers, in one way or another, were associated with all of them. One aspect of the Quaker contribution to the civic life of Clonmel is reflected in their record as local public representatives.

Their involvement began in 1828 when, side by side with its borough status, Clonmel became eligible for town commissioners by adopting the Lighting of Towns Act, 1828.¹¹¹ Robert Grubb (1778-1832), William Whitten, a boat owner, Thomas Greer and Thomas Hughes, both millers, were numbered among the town's first commissioners.¹¹² Joshua Malcomson and John M. Murphy were elected in 1840,¹¹³ while, in 1848, the names of Joseph Grubb, brother to the above mentioned Robert, and Samuel Fayle,

¹⁰⁸ MS. 570, Genealogical office, Dublin. List of magistrates and members of the grand jury of County Tipperary from 1658.

¹⁰⁹ cited in W. Burke, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), p. 231.

¹¹⁰ Richard Harrison, 'Dubin Quakers in business 1800-1850', p. 468.

¹¹¹ *C.A.*, 25 Sept. 1828.

¹¹² Donal A. Murphy, *The two Tipperarys* (Nenagh, 1994), p.145.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 146.

occur.¹¹⁴ Whether they became commissioners out of social concern or political ambition is difficult to say. As Isabel Grubb has stated, 'Many of these Quaker industrialists were keenly interested in the problems of civic life, especially when they were able to share in the government of a town'.¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, there is no record of the part played by any Tipperary Quakers as commissioners.

In 1850, the commissioners were abolished and their powers transferred to the corporation. In subsequent decades, a number of Friends were elected as members of Clonmel Corporation. However, the only previous occasion that Tipperary Friends served as corporation members was during the short-lived Jacobite era. In 1687, George Collett¹¹⁶ and George Baker¹¹⁷ became members of Clonmel and Cashel corporations respectively, but there is no indication as to how long they served or what contribution they made. However, what is abundantly clear was the attitude of the Society to involvement in the political arena at that early time. Participation in such bodies was a cause of concern to some Friends, and resulted in the half-yearly meeting of 1687 issuing the following advice to Friends who found themselves in the position of being officeholders. They were instructed 'to keep low, tender, and watchful in all things' and to forbear using 'such words, Customs, Gestures & Garbs as are not agreeable to the simplicity of the truth, nor doth answer the plainness of our holy Profession'.¹¹⁸ George Fox felt obliged to issue further counsel to Quakers in office. He warned them not to take oaths, or wear formal gowns, and to sit with their hats on with other officials, and to respect everyone's rights and property.

It is doubtful if the Quakers who were elected to the Clonmel Corporation¹¹⁹ from 1852 onwards were obliged to comply with such constraints. These included Charles A. Pim, partner in a hardware business, who served as a member from 1852 to 1857; Joseph Clibborn, a miller, who was a member from 1853 to 1877; and Francis

¹¹⁴ *Thom's Directory 1849*, p. 371.

¹¹⁵ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and industry before 1800* (London, 1929), p. 150.

¹¹⁶ William Burke (Rev.), *History of Clonmel*, p. 108.

¹¹⁷ Edmundson to Fox, 12 Nov. 1687 (F.H.L.D., A. R. Barclay MS. Transcripts no. 103, p.298)

¹¹⁸ National yearly meeting records 1687 (F.H.L.D., ½YM A 2).

¹¹⁹ Sean O'Donnell, *Clonmel 1840-1900 etc.*, pp. 252, 256, 259, 262, 284.

Grubb, a draper, who was a member from 1853 to 1857. Grubb was most conscientious in his attendance at meetings. His attendance rate of 89% was higher than that of any other councillor; George Chapman, a grocer was a Conservative member from 1863 to 1865; Benjamin Fayle, a hardware merchant, later described as a Liberal Unionist in outlook, was a member in 1868 and again from 1879 to 1893; Benjamin's son, Edwin, was a member from 1894 to 1898, while Edwin's older brother, William Thomas, was a member in 1893. Although a unionist, he formed a strategic alliance with Parnellite members.

In attempting to assess the political allegiance of Tipperary Quakers one can do little more than make a few generalisations. They tended to identify with the Protestant interest and, with one notable exception discussed below, they were staunch unionists. Speaking of Clonmel's Quakers at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Wakefield claimed that 'their political opinions are those of the Protestants, and are in direct opposition to Roman Catholics'.¹²⁰ This was further illustrated by Margaret Grubb who was 'distressed' because an unnamed Friend subscribed to the Catholic rent and was a member of the Catholic Association. She said that his reasons 'savoured of much of what is called a radical' especially since she felt Quakers 'have been kindly treated by the government'.¹²¹ However, others like, the above mentioned, Benjamin were more favourably disposed towards their Catholic brethren. Described as one 'with broad liberal views' who 'when the question of Church disestablishment arose invariably voted with his Catholic constituents'.¹²²

The minutes of the Clonmel Corporation and the reports of their deliberations in the local papers fail to shed any light on the performance of individual Quaker members. As a group, they were remarkably homogeneous. They were all successful business-men from comfortable backgrounds and actively identified with philanthropic movements and reforming legislation. Like other Friends in the latter half of the nineteenth century, they

¹²⁰ Edward Wakefield, *An account of Ireland, statistical and political* (London, 1812), p. 774.

¹²¹ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 3, no. 71. Margaret Grubb to Elizabeth Leadbeater, 20th day 12 mo. 1824.

¹²² *C.N.*, 6 March 1901.

recognised themselves as Irish but loyal to the union and the queen, in common with their middle class peers.¹²³ In political terms, by the end of the century most could be described as liberal unionists. Another member of the Grubb family to evince an interest in politics was Joseph Henry Grubb, who unsuccessfully contested the 1891 election for membership of Clonmel Corporation.

Grubb involvement in local politics continued with the passing of the local government act of 1898. In that year, Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir became a member of both the Tipperary S.R. county council and the Carrick-on-Suir urban district council. As a member of the former, he had the honour of being elected chairman in 1907,¹²⁴ and was a member of all its committees at one stage or another. In 1911, he announced his intention of not contesting the forthcoming election for the county council,¹²⁵ but continued to serve on the Carrick urban district council until he was returned for the final time at eighty years of age. 'At the meetings of these bodies his knowledge of the details of public administration, finance, acts of parliament governing the work of local bodies, local history and archaeology, made him an outstanding, highly respected and esteemed member'.¹²⁶ He was also an enthusiastic member of the Land League, although he disassociated himself from any violence or intimidation. He also became a member of the home rule party in the days when, in the circle in which he moved, it was far from fashionable to be so. In 1893, 1,376 out of 1,698 adult Friends in Ireland sent an address to English Friends looking for support opposing home rule.¹²⁷ These Quakers believed 'while disestablishment would be a spiritual blessing for the Church of Ireland there was the threat of a new ascendancy appearing - that of the Catholics'.¹²⁸

Up to 1898, the most important statutory body in Clonmel was the grand jury. Throughout the century, a number of Quakers were associated in various capacities with

¹²³ Maurice Wigham, *The Quakers in Ireland*, p.102

¹²⁴ *C.N.*, 14 June 1907.

¹²⁵ *C.N.*, 20 May 1911.

¹²⁶ *C.N.*, 12 Oct. 1921.

¹²⁷ cited in Dorren Mc Mahon 'The Irish Quakers 1870-1925', p. 209.

¹²⁸ Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant crusade in Ireland, 1800-70* (Dublin, 1978), p. 38.

this most influential arm of local government. Some held appointments under the grand juries, while others either served on committees or contributed to institutions under their jurisdiction, and were actively engaged in promoting the welfare of the inmates in such institutions.

One of the first to hold an appointment under the grand jury was the above-mentioned Robert Grubb (1778-1832) who, as already has been stated, served on the lighting and watching committee in Clonmel. Under the grand jury he was appointed a supervisor of roads. In 1822, he is mentioned as being 'on the road, superintending some improvements which had been commenced for the purpose of giving employment to the starving peasantry'.¹²⁹ Robert Grubb also served as a member of the board of superintendence of Clonmel Prison. It is not certain when he took up this appointment, as early reports of the inspectors general, dating from 1823, do not give a list of board members. A document among Canon Burke's papers would indicate that his involvement commenced prior to that date. The entry reads as follows:

Until late the cells there were most uncomfortable situations, especially in winter having no other barrier against the inclemency of the weather than whatever little wisp of straw the prisoner could stuff between the bars. The Rev. Stephenson and Robert Grubb Esq., (to whom the unfortunate people confined in this gaol are much indebted) took particular care to have these windows glazed with the addition of wooden shutters.¹³⁰

Three years later, Grubb was one of the three commissioners who, together with John Bagwell and John Howell, was appointed by the grand jury to purchase land for the enlargement of the gaol.¹³¹

On a visit to Clonmel in 1822, Thomas Reid, referred to above, accompanied Robert Grubb on a tour of Clonmel Prison. From the following description it is obvious that he was very impressed by Mr. Grubb's sincerity and commitment:

It is difficult to say what part of the character of this gentleman is most estimable. Regardless of all petty distinctions of sect or party, the bugbears only of little mind,

¹²⁹ Thomas Reid, *Travels in Ireland in the year 1822: exhibiting brief sketches of the moral, physical and political state of the country* (London, 1823), p.257.

¹³⁰ W. S. Mason, *Survey of Clonmel 1809* in Canon Burke papers, Mount Melleray, Co. Waterford.

¹³¹ *C.A.*, 15 April 1812.

his whole time is devoted to lessen the sorrows of the afflicted, and for the attainment of this praiseworthy end, his well cultivated and unwearied zeal peculiarly qualify him.¹³²

Robert's brother, Joseph (1791-1863), was treasurer of the Clonmel-Kilkenny turnpike road from 1818 to its closure in 1847, for which he received an annual salary of £70.¹³³ In 1847 he is first mentioned as a member of the board of superintendence of Clonmel gaol, the first year for which a list of members of the board is given.¹³⁴ He is continually listed as a member of the board until the year of his death in 1863.¹³⁵

During Joseph's term as a board member, his cousin, another Robert Grubb (1814-1868), was appointed deputy governor of Clonmel Prison in 1849 at a salary of £120 p.a.¹³⁶ When the office of deputy governor was abolished in 1859, Robert Grubb was appointed clerk of the prison. His salary fell from £120 to £100 p.a. In addition to acting as clerk, Grubb was also expected to act as head turnkey (prison warder). On the day of the inspector general's visit to the prison, the prison governor, Isaac Strahan, was absent on leave, leaving the entire establishment in the charge of Robert Grubb. The inspector general was critical of the fact that Grubb, as clerk of the prison, had the same duties to perform as when he was deputy governor, in addition to his duties as clerk, yet had to endure a drop in salary of £20 a year.¹³⁷ On Strahan's retirement in 1862, Robert Grubb was appointed governor of the prison at a salary of £250 a year, a position which he held until his death in 1868.¹³⁸

Grubb would appear to have been an innovative governor. The inspector general noted on the day of his 1865 visit that Robert Grubb took photographs of criminals, at a time when the use of 'mugshots' in the apprehension of criminals was but a recent development.¹³⁹ However, any laxity was severely punished. Owing to the escape of a Fenian prisoner from the prison in 1867, Robert Grubb and the head warder were each

¹³² Reid, *op. cit.*, p.257.

¹³³ *Bassett's Directory 1866*, p.75; *Henry & Coughlan's Directory 1867*, p.409.

¹³⁴ *26th Report of inspectors general of prisons in Ireland*, xxxiv, H.C., 1847-48, p.104.

¹³⁵ *42nd Report of inspectors general of prisons in Ireland*, xxvii, H.C., 1864, p. 347.

¹³⁶ *28th Report of inspectors general of prisons in Ireland*, xxix, H.C., 1850, p.97.

¹³⁷ *38th Report of inspectors general of prisons in Ireland*, xxxvi, H.C., 1860, p. 310.

¹³⁸ *47th Report of inspectors general of prisons in Ireland*, xxix, H.C., 1868-69, p.450.

¹³⁹ *44th Report of inspectors general of prisons in Ireland*, xxxiv, H.C., 1866, p. 310.

fined one quarter of their salary and were severely reprimanded. An unnamed turnkey was also fined three pounds.¹⁴⁰

In 1910, the prison was converted to a borstal for young offenders, providing them with a combination of education, technical instruction and physical training.¹⁴¹ Joseph Ernest Grubb, in his capacity as magistrate, was appointed by the Prisons' Board as a member of the visiting committee of that institution. As a committed and dedicated public servant, he took his duties seriously. Apart from his attendance at meetings, he obtained permission to visit the boys. He gave them encouragement and advice, brought them food and sometimes dined with them.¹⁴²

In 1904 Joseph Ernest was appointed justice of the peace for the counties of Tipperary and Waterford. The position was also held by three Quaker-born relatives of his, Octavius Grubb (1828-1871) of Clogheen, Richard Grubb (1812-1886) of Cahir who was appointed in the 1860s, and Thomas Cambridge Grubb (1824-1903) of Clonmel, some thirty years later. The first Tipperary Quaker to hold the office of magistrate was William Joshua Fennell (1799-1867) who was appointed in 1828, a position held by his cousins, John George (1814-1896) and Llewellyn Fennell, almost fifty years later, both of Cahir. John Chaytor of Cahir served in a similar capacity in the 1850s. Around the same time, Benjamin Fayle (1825-1901) was appointed a borough magistrate for Clonmel. This position was also held by various members of the Grubb family, Richard appointed in the 1850s, Alfred in the 1870s, Henry Samuel and Samuel Richard in the 1880s. Another appointee of the grand jury was Thomas Milner Grubb (1811-1871) who served as clerk of petty sessions in 1856, a position he held until his death in 1871.¹⁴³ Others had the distinction of holding more prestigious posts. Two of these were Quaker-born, Samuel Thomas Grubb (1821-1863) who was appointed high sheriff for County Waterford in 1863, while Robert Malcomson served as high sheriff for County Tipperary in 1896.¹⁴⁴ In the opening decades of the twentieth century, this position was also held

¹⁴⁰ *46th Report of inspectors general of prisons in Ireland*, xxxvi, H.C., 1868, p.450.

¹⁴¹ *C.N.*, 7 Dec. 1918.

¹⁴² Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (London, 1928), pp. 59-60.

¹⁴³ *Thom's Directories*, *passim*.

¹⁴⁴ List of magistrates and grand jurors from 1658 for County Tipperary, Genealogical Office,

by two other members of the Grubb family, Louis Henry (1865-1929), and his cousin, Samuel Richard (1855-1921), although neither was Quaker-born.

Two further institutions with which the Quakers were associated in Clonmel were the House of Industry and the Fever Hospital. Both were supported by public subscriptions and contributions from the grand jury and administered by a board of governors. The House of Industry was opened in 1811 in the western suburbs of the town. It was described at the time 'as a common receptacle for all descriptions of malfortunes (sic.) serving at the same time as a place of confinement for vagrants and lunatics as well as an asylum for the poor and helpless'.¹⁴⁵ Its foundation owed a particular debt of gratitude to the Quakers and, in particular, to 'Robert Grubb (1778-1832), cousin to the above mentioned prison governor, whose unremitting labours and charitable exertions towards ameliorating the situation of the poor inhabitants of Clonmel will never be forgotten'.¹⁴⁶ In 1822, when Thomas Reid paid a visit to the lunatic quarters of the House of Industry, he was accompanied by Robert Grubb. Reid was impressed by 'the manner in which these creatures flocked around Mr. Grubb, and his soothing treatment of everyone who addressed him'.¹⁴⁷

The Quakers also provided financial and administrative support for the dispensaries and fever hospitals in Clonmel and Cahir. In 1788, the name of Thomas Taylor appears as secretary to the Clonmel Dispensary,¹⁴⁸ an office which Joshua Fennell filled in Cahir.¹⁴⁹ The Quakers were instrumental in setting up the fever hospitals in Cahir and Clonmel which were built following a severe outbreak of typhus in 1817.¹⁵⁰ A letter dated 12 March 1821, from the earl of Glengall to the general board of health in Dublin, said of the local Quaker community in Cahir, 'I refer to what I have already said of our dispensary and fever hospital, which is overlooked chiefly by my family, assisted by the Quakers, who are the most actively benevolent persons in this neighbourhood, and

Dublin, MSS. 570.

¹⁴⁵ W. Burke (Rev.). *History of Clonmel*, pp. 198/99.

¹⁴⁶ Mason's survey of Clonmel 1809 in Canon Burke papers, Mount Melleray, Co. Waterford.

¹⁴⁷ Reid, *op. cit.*, p.260.

¹⁴⁸ *C.G.*, 9-12 Sept. 1788.

¹⁴⁹ *C.A.*, 24 July 1813.

¹⁵⁰ *C.A.*, 11 March 1818.

under whose care all charities are sure to do well'.¹⁵¹ A meeting of these institutions, convened two months earlier, indicated that seven of the fifteen members of the committee were drawn from Cahir's Quaker community and that Nicholas Chaytor had succeeded Joshua Fennell as treasurer.¹⁵² From this period on, one committee assumed responsibility for the management of both their own dispensary and the fever hospital. In Clonmel, William Otway acted as treasurer to both institutions,¹⁵³ while Benjamin Grubb served as secretary from circa 1839 to 1848.¹⁵⁴ They were also to the fore in reviving the Clonmel Surgical Hospital, which had been temporarily closed in 1832. The hospital came under the control and management of the committee of the fever hospital and dispensary.¹⁵⁵

When the mentally ill were removed from the House of Industry to the District Asylum following its opening in 1835, the Quakers continued to maintain their connection with the new institution. David Malcomson became a member of the first board of governors and directors.¹⁵⁶ Joseph Grubb, who is mentioned above as a member of the board of superintendence of Clonmel Prison, served as a member of the board from 1849 to 1863. Benjamin Fayle and William Davis served in a similar capacity from circa 1886 to 1893. Joseph Ernest Grubb, who was a member of the joint committee of the Clonmel District Lunatic Asylum from 1900 to 1911, wrote, 'Of all public works which I undertake, none is of greater interest than this asylum work ... There is an unlimited field of usefulness for the Christian citizen, man or woman, in Asylum work'.¹⁵⁷ Isabel Grubb noted that Joseph Ernest, 'believed strongly in providing

¹⁵¹ cited in Maria Luddy, 'The lives of the poor in Cahir in 1821' in *T.H.J.*, iii (1991), p.78.

¹⁵² *C.A.*, 21 March 1821.

¹⁵³ *C.A.*, 13 Oct. 1824.

¹⁵⁴ *Shearman's Directory 1839*, p.28.

¹⁵⁵ *T.C.*, 1 Nov. 1836.

¹⁵⁶ Eamonn Lonergan, *St. Luke's Hospital, Clonmel 1834-1984* (Clonmel, 1984), p.24.

¹⁵⁷ Minute books of St. Luke's Hospital, Clonmel, March 1848 to March 1867 (Thurles County Library, nos. 2 & 3; Minute books of the Joint Committee of the Clonmel District Lunatic Asylum, nos. 22 to 30, 10 July 1900 to 10 Jan. 1911 (Tipperary County Library, Thurles).

occupation for the inmates, and personally studied the methods of other mental hospitals in this respect'.¹⁵⁸

In 1841, the House of Industry was converted into a workhouse for the Clonmel poor law union. Thomas Hughes was a member of the first board of guardians. The name of Thomas Cambridge Grubb appears as a member of the Clonmel poor law guardians from 1893 to 1894, while his cousin, Joseph Henry Grubb, served from 1893 to 1919, during which period he had the honour of acting as chairman of the committee.¹⁵⁹ William Davis was also a member of the board from circa 1880-1890. In Clogheen, the Quakers were no less active in the affairs of the Clogheen union. At the initial meeting held on 18 March 1839, the names of John Chaytor and Samuel Grubb appear as *ex-officio* members of the board of guardians. Others, including George Fennell, Samuel Jellico, Richard Grubb, William Joshua Fennell, Thomas Fennell, Joshua Robert Fennell and Henry Samuel Grubb, also served as members of the board of guardians.¹⁶⁰ Others served in different capacities, Robert Malcomson as a member of the dispensary district committee of Cahir, and George Frederick Fennell as a relieving officer,¹⁶¹ while John George Fennell, Joshua Robert Fennell and his son, John Christy, were employed as poor rate collectors. The latter position carried a commission of 6d. in the £1 on monies collected.¹⁶²

Two incidents typify the public spirit and willingness of Tipperary Quakers to serve the community in times of crisis. One concerns Mr. Robert Grubb who, in the winter of 1814, during a particularly severe snow storm, went to great difficulty to secure the assistance of the army to re-open the mail link between Cork and Dublin:

Mr. Grubb of Clonmel - It is with a very sincere feeling of gratitude that on the part of the public we offer thanks and praises of the most unqualified description to the public spirit of this gentleman, to whom, if we are rightfully informed, and to whom alone, we owe the opening of the intercourse between Cork and Dublin. When the

¹⁵⁸ Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, p.58.

¹⁵⁹ Minutes of Clonmel Board of Guardians nos. 72 to 144, Sept. 1892 to Sept. 1919 (Tipperary County Library, Thurles).

¹⁶⁰ Minute Books of the Clogheen Union, nos. 1 to 47, 1839 to 1870 (Tipperary County Library, Thurles).

¹⁶¹ Edmund O'Riordan, *Famine in the valley* (Published privately, 1997), p.65.

¹⁶² *C.C.*, 27 May 1876.

great masses of snow blocked up the roads, Mr. Anderson of Fermoy wrote to Mr. Grubb to know if it was in the neighbourhood of Clonmel that the mails were stopped. Mr. Grubb, actuated by a public spirit, which the selfish cannot understand, immediately set out to explore the state of the road to Dublin. He found it open to Carlow, but there all the mail bags had remained, and not the slightest effort was dreamed of to proceed with them. Mr. Grubb was not to be deterred by difficulties. He got a band of hardy peasants to accompany him on foot through by-paths, and he at length succeeded in bringing the mails to Dublin. There he found that the post-office, nor the government, nor any public department, had the least idea of opening the intercourse during the rigorous season, although great mercantile distress was the consequence of the non-arrival of the mails, and also a great dearth of provisions in all the towns. In this situation Mr. Grubb applied to the commander-in-chief for a power to use the military between Cork and Dublin to clear the roads. The order of course was very properly granted, and the exertion made in consequence has been so effectual, that the mail has not only arrived here with some regularity on horseback, but from tomorrow it is expected that the coaches will run as usual. If Mr. Grubb had been a paid servant of the public, we should not think his exertions any thing more than his duty, but proceeding as they do from public spirit, and from that feeling which in our city does not seem either to be understood or appreciated, we think he is richly entitled to the good report which we feel it our duty to give of his conduct.¹⁶³

On another occasion, a relative of Robert's, the above-mentioned Joseph Ernest Grubb, reacted in a similar fashion during a later crisis. In 1881, during a severe frost, the River Suir was coated with ice. Using his tug boat, the *Father Matthew*, Joseph Ernest went to great lengths to break up the ice.¹⁶⁴ However, not all Quakers were imbued with the same sense of public service. In 1843, William Jacob of Clonmel, appearing in traditional Quaker garb, made a successful appeal at the Tipperary assizes to be excused from jury duty. He stated that for many years he had conscientious scruples against acting as a juror.

Quaker involvement in public life and their adherence to pacifism was inspired by their religious values and their humanitarian sympathies. However, their most important contribution to the society in which they lived was probably made, not in these areas at all, but in philanthropy.

Philanthropy

In the beginning Quakers concentrated on the needs of their own community. As Greaves has stated, Quakers had a keen sense of social responsibility which included

¹⁶³ *Kilkenny Moderator*, 27 Jan. 1814.

¹⁶⁴ Isabel Grubb, *Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, pp. 42-44.

providing for widows, orphans, the indigent and ill.¹⁶⁵ Their energies were also directed at supporting imprisoned Friends and their dependants. When John Ashton was imprisoned in Clonmel for non-payment of tithes, the meeting provided him with the means to support himself and his family and, as has been stated elsewhere, 'he learned to make garters and laces, for his support while in confinement'.¹⁶⁶ Suitable structures for the expression of charitable concerns were immediately to hand in the meetings for business and discipline,¹⁶⁷ and it became common practice for Friends to help their imprisoned brethren:

From the earliest days of Quakerism, money had been collected for the needs of Friend prisoners, and part of the money was spent in providing them with materials for working at their handicrafts. Even those who had the means to have the materials obtained for them, and in each meeting there was some Friend responsible for the care of those in prison. When the customary employment of the prisoner was not one that could be carried on in such circumstances, he was advised what it was thought best for him to do.¹⁶⁸

Throughout the eighteenth century, as the Society entered its quietist phase and the movement proceeded to withdraw from the world, it continued to direct its attention to the needy members within the compass of their own particular meetings, providing them with food, clothing and, in some cases, finding them suitable accommodation. The following examples taken from the minutes of Tipperary meetings at different periods give some indication of the scope of these activities. In 1734, Thomas Whitten was reported as being 'in poor condition in a place very unfit for him. Richard Sparrow was deputed to ask him to the next meeting at Cashel. John Fennell is desired to buy him a couple of shirts and Thomas Godwin to buy him furse for a coat and a pair of stockings'.¹⁶⁹ In 1738, a weekly subsistence of 'a quarter of beef', was to be given to the widow, Sarah Mason, and 'a crown if her necessity should require it', and 'a pair of blankets bought out of the meeting's stock to be lent to Joseph Collett to cover him at

¹⁶⁵ Richard Greaves, *God's other children*, p. 315.

¹⁶⁶ Mary Leadbeater, *Biographical notices* (London, 1823), p. 202.

¹⁶⁷ Helen Hatton, *The greatest amount of good 1654-1921* (London, 1993), p. 433.

¹⁶⁸ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and industry before 1800* (London, 1929), p. 136.

¹⁶⁹ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting 1724-1760, 8th day 10 month 1734 (F.H.L.D., MM X B2).

night this winter. He is bare of bed clothes'.¹⁷⁰ In the 1750s, a specific fund was set up towards the payment of apprenticeship fees for those whose parents would have found hardship in paying. Similar assistance was provided to ensure a suitable education by paying school fees and supplying the necessary requisites.

Though the reforming zeal of the Quakers that is best remembered belongs to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, its ethical roots reach back to the formative years. From the beginning, the attention of George Fox had been drawn to the injustices in the world around him. He denounced the barbarity the legal system inflicted on prisoners, and spoke out against flogging, transportation and public execution.¹⁷¹ Walvin has also stated that Fox:

called for a more humane treatment of the less fortunate, demanding public housing for the disabled, widows and orphans, and beggars, proposing that the expense be borne by using the proceeds from fines and tithes, and converting public buildings, churches and even Whitehall into almshouses. Fox's ideas were not designed to endear him to the wealthy, but none-the-less provided a framework for the developing Quaker conscience.¹⁷²

It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century, when Quakers began to emerge from their period of 'quietism', that they began to move away from helping each other, to assisting others who suffered from poverty and oppression. 'In this and other matters of reforming conscience, Quakers were carried along by the rising tide of evangelicalism'.¹⁷³ As Isabel Grubb has stated, 'Friends as a whole were beginning to look away from the small circle of their own interests to the world about them, and to realise that many needed their help'.¹⁷⁴ A minute from the yearly meeting held in Dublin in 1800, urged that Quakers should:

relieve the distresses of our fellow creatures by affording them the means of obtaining a comfortable livelihood for themselves; by visiting the sick and afflicted in their habitations, by promoting the education of their poor neglected children, and by doing our parts to render their situation altogether as comfortable as we would others should do to us were we in a similar situation.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.* 9th day 5 mo. 1738.

¹⁷¹ W. C. Braithwaite, *The beginnings of Quakerism* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 47-50.

¹⁷² James Walvin, *The Quakers-money and morals* (London, 1997), p. 124.

¹⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁷⁴ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900*, p.131.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 135,136.

Walvin, commenting on the nature of Quaker philanthropy, has argued that 'It was broadly based and had no real boundaries, but addressed itself to myriad issues - many parochial; others (such as slavery) of global significance'.¹⁷⁶ Isabel Grubb stated that:

Philanthropy towards the close of the eighteenth century became more than merely local. Even in the remote parts of Ireland Friends interested themselves in the campaign against slavery at a time when to consider any matter not directly affecting Friends in a meeting for discipline was thought to be out of keeping with the occasion.¹⁷⁷

As pioneers of social reform, Irish Friends responded positively to the anti-slavery cause:

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.¹⁷⁸

According to Rogers, anti-slavery ideas were first imported into Ireland by the Quakers.¹⁷⁹ Harrison goes on to claim that 'during the two decades from 1770 on, there was a sharpened awareness among Irish Friends as well as a wish to assist their American brethren in the abolition of the slave trade'.¹⁸⁰ In 1791, the ex-slave and black abolitionist Olaudah Equiano arranged for the printing in Dublin of the fourth edition of his best-selling autobiography. Among the names in the subscription list were the names of Thomas Hughes and Richard Sparrow, two prominent Clonmel Quakers.¹⁸¹

In 1792, Tipperary Quakers, such as the brothers, John and Joseph Grubb, sought ways of voicing their concern, which led them to consider the boycott of goods being produced by slave labour. This led the grocery firm of John and Joseph Grubb to place an

¹⁷⁶ James Walvin, *The Quakers: money and morals*, p. 125.

¹⁷⁷ Isabel Grubb, 'Quakerism and home life' in Howard H. Brunton *Children of Light* (New York, 1938), p. 291.

¹⁷⁸ Richard S. Harrison, 'Irish Quaker perspectives on the anti-slavery movement' in *J.F.H.S.*, dxi, no. 2 (1991), pp. 106-07.

¹⁷⁹ Nini Rogers, 'Ireland and the black Atlantic in the eighteenth century' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxii, no. 126 (Nov. 2000), p.

¹⁸⁰ Harrison, 'Irish Quaker perspectives on the anti-slavery movement', p. 107.

¹⁸¹ Olaudah Equiano, *Olaudah Equiano, The interesting narrative and other writings*, ed. Vincent Carretta (London & New York, 1995).

advertisement in a local paper stating their intention of discontinuing the sale of West India sugar when present stocks were exhausted, until it ceased 'to be the cause of the slavery and death of such a number of their fellow creatures'.¹⁸² An undated letter contains the names of nineteen Tipperary Quakers who subscribed £22-15-0 towards the abolition of the slave trade.¹⁸³

Although the slave trade was abolished by the United Kingdom parliament in 1806, in the 1820s and 1830s anti-slavery revived and regrouped to challenge the existence of slavery itself. New societies sprang up to back the cause in Ireland and once again the support of the Quaker community was forthcoming. The Tipperary meeting opened a subscription list to support the cause of abolition.¹⁸⁴ In 1824, the Clonmel meeting sent a petition to parliament which contained 203 signatures.¹⁸⁵

Tipperary Quakers were also made very much aware of the work of Elizabeth Fry and her efforts to secure prison reform. In 1827, she paid a visit to Clonmel and addressed a crowded and enthusiastic gathering in the meeting house.¹⁸⁶ Her influence was reflected, as has been shown above, in the interest taken by a number of local Quakers in trying to improve the conditions of, and in rendering assistance to, the inmates of Clonmel gaol.

These worthy causes found a ready response in the growing concern and commitment shown by the local Quaker community about want and injustice. Similar to their impact on the economic life of the country, their philanthropic contribution was wholly disproportionate to their numbers, a fact borne out by the frequency of Quaker names on lists of officers of charitable societies and on the subscription lists. Tipperary Quakers, like their co-religionists elsewhere, played a leading role in helping to relieve the distress of the poor and the homeless. They visited and gave comfort to prisoners and to the mentally ill. They promoted education for the disadvantaged. As has already been

¹⁸² O. C. Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker Records (1654-1860)*, p.90; *Clonmel Gazette* 13-16 Feb. 1792.

¹⁸³ R.T.M., Ministers and elders, folder c (F.H.L.D., MM X C1).

¹⁸⁴ R.T.M., Minutes of the men's monthly meetings 1818-1849 2nd day 8 mo. 1821 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

¹⁸⁵ *Southern Reporter*, 3 June 1824.

¹⁸⁶ *C.A.*, 25 April 1827.

stated, their names frequently occur on the committees of various public bodies engaged in such humanitarian work.

The impulse for their philanthropic fervour resulted from a combination of religious conviction, social responsiveness and successful business enterprise.¹⁸⁷ The egalitarian assumptions of the “inner light” provided a philosophical basis for Quaker benevolence to all mankind, while commercial success allowed them to follow the ‘dictates of their own conscience’.¹⁸⁸ The Quaker ideal of trade was that making money was not to be seen as an end in itself, but that the profits of labour should be employed for the good of all. In attempting to analyse the nature of Quaker philanthropy, Hatton has stressed that Quakers did not base their work on the assumption that the sufferer was the cause of his own misery, nor was it directed at the inculcation of middle class values, and neither did it attempt to make the poor in their own image and likeness, but that ‘humane practicality and total non-sectarianism distinguished Quaker relief’.¹⁸⁹

Support for various charitable causes came largely from the more prosperous members of the community. A distinction can be drawn between those who, in addition to providing substantial donations, became involved in the day-to-day running of the organisations they favoured, and others who restricted themselves to providing financial assistance only. This division reflected the two sides of Quakerism. The evangelical Quakers who favoured closer contact with the outside world, were prominent in every level of the Society's organisation and became involved in the administration of the institutions they supported, while those who favoured the quietist tradition felt that such involvement could distract from the inward condition of the soul, and remained aloof.

From the very beginning, the most prominent Quaker families in Tipperary took the lead in providing aid and assistance to their fellow Quakers, and later to members of the wider community. In the first century of Quakerism in the county the Colletts, Cherrys, Cookes and Hutchinsons were to the fore in this endeavour. Later, members of

¹⁸⁷ Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, p.73.

¹⁸⁸ Helen Hatton, *The largest amount of Good. Quaker Relief in Ireland 1654-1921* (London, 1993), p.23; Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and industry before 1800* (London, 1929), p.45.

¹⁸⁹ Helen Hatton, *The largest amount of good etc.*, pp. 4, 5.

the Fennell and Grubb families, because of their numbers, keep appearing regularly in the records. The prosperity experienced by an enlarged Quaker community, mainly because of the milling bonanza and the arrival of the Banfield, Hughes, Malcomson, Jellico, Going families and others helped broaden the scope and level of contribution of the Society. As the Quaker community dwindled, this proud tradition was maintained by the Grubbs, Fayle and Davis families. It is also noticeable that people such as David Malcomson, Edwin Fayle, a number of the Grubbs, and others who were extremely successful in business, assumed a high profile in a number of causes. It could be said of these successful businessmen that they made an equally successful career in philanthropy. Moreover, the experience gained by Quaker women in the administrative affairs of their own Society gave them the confidence and training to make a worthwhile contribution to philanthropic causes, particularly at a time when such opportunities were denied to other members of their sex:

Women of ability often found in charity the satisfaction they would have found, at a later date, in a career. It utilized their talents, and filled an often super-abundant leisure - this was especially true of Quaker women, to whom, for much of the century, many conventional middle-class pursuits, such as music and painting, were closed. There was a literal truth in the pious aspiration of a Yearly Meeting Advice; 'the best recreation of a Christian is the relief of distress.'¹⁹⁰

As Harrison states 'there was not generally a tradition of organisation for charitable purposes, but as the eighteenth century advanced, the older ideas of individual charity were replaced by moves to set up charitable institutions on a more extensive scale'.¹⁹¹ Friends, at the end of the eighteenth century, had a concern about educational philanthropy and this resulted in the setting up of Quaker charity schools, similar to those established by the English Quaker, Joseph Lancaster. The first effort to relieve social injustice for which evidence is available which involved members of the local Quaker community was the setting up of the Clonmel charity school¹⁹² which resulted from a meeting held in the Clonmel courthouse on 3 December 1789. The minutes recall that it

¹⁹⁰ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 217.

¹⁹¹ Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers* (Published privately, 1991), p.47.

¹⁹² Michael Ahern, 'The Quaker schools in Clonmel' in *T.H.J.*, iii, (Thurles, 1990), pp. 128-132.

was proposed to establish a school for those 'whose parents are not of ability to bear the expense being much wanted' and 'that a Subscription be opened for this benevolent purpose'.¹⁹³ The school was attached to the Quaker meeting house, and the education provided was non-denominational. The curriculum consisted of the 3 Rs and readings from the bible without note or comment. In addition to this, needlework formed a very important part of the curriculum, two and a half hours each day being devoted to it. The report of 1809 lists only garments repaired and clothes made, and it would appear to indicate that instruction concentrated on handwork rather than bookwork.

Originally, the school catered for boys and girls but, after 1804, the boys' school was discontinued. The girls' school was run by Miss Ann Grubb, with the assistance of a ladies' management committee, many of whom were members of the Society of Friends. An examination of all eight extant annual reports showed that the schools had the generous support of the Quaker community.¹⁹⁴ The report for 1836 indicated that Quakers comprised over two-thirds of the committee members and contributed a similar proportion of the subscriptions. Initially, the school was very successful. The annual report of 1809 stated that there were 150 pupils on the roll and a total of 2,012 admissions during the 20 years of the school's existence. However, as the century advanced and the national schools became established, the numbers declined. In 1863, the school closed owing to lack of enrolments.

Other concerns that attracted the attention of members of the women's meeting were the conditions of prison inmates, to which end they formed the Female Committee of the County Gaol in the beginning of the nineteenth century, to organise visits and to bring comfort to the incarcerated.¹⁹⁵ They were also concerned over the lack of facilities available for poor, expectant women. In response to this need, the Clonmel Lying-in Establishment, an organisation established in 1798, provided natal care for the less fortunate women in the community. The committee appointed a matron and the upkeep of the institution was sustained by the generous contribution of Tipperary Friends. The

¹⁹³ Grubb Collection, MS. box 52 S.C.5 (F.H.L.D).

¹⁹⁴ Report of Clonmel Charitable School, MS. box 52, S.C. 4 (F.H.L.D.).

¹⁹⁵ C.A., 25 Sept. 1811.

women were guaranteed attention and provided with medicine and the care of a mid-wife. On leaving, they were given a suit of baby clothes, half a pound of sugar, a loaf of bread and a loan of bed linen. At a meeting held in the Friends' meeting house in 1846,¹⁹⁶ the activities of the institution were extended with the addition of a dispensary for the treatment of diseases of women and children. One of rules of the institute stated that:

The number of tickets of recommendation of patients to the institution to be in proportion to the amount of subscription - viz., a subscriber of ten shillings to have power to send to the Hospital *one* patient, and to the dispensary one; or to the dispensary alone *five* patients annually - and so on in like proportion.

A printed annual report indicated the number who received assistance, the nature of the assistance, and a list of subscribers. On average, 165 women stayed in the hospital annually, and by 1874 a total of 21,764 women had been assisted.¹⁹⁷

Quakers also involved themselves in various schemes to encourage thrift among the poor. On 11 July 1817, an act was passed to encourage the establishment of banks for savings in Ireland.¹⁹⁸ As a result of this act, the Clonmel Savings Bank was established in 1819 to provide the financially less well-off members of the community with a secure place to save their money at interest. Quakers gave it their full support and were active at all levels in its organisation. One of the hallmarks of Quaker philanthropy was the loyalty they showed to causes they espoused, and throughout the bank's history their names frequently appear as trustees and members of the committee.¹⁹⁹ Robert Malcomson had the honour of being numbered among its chairmen, while Abraham Grubb was appointed its first treasurer, a position he was to hold until 1844, when the office was henceforth entrusted to a representative of the Provincial Bank. This was a tribute, not alone to his remarkable enterprise, but to his integrity. By 1873, the savings facilities offered by post offices had made the work of the bank largely redundant. Two-thirds of the sub-committee appointed to oversee its closure were Quakers.²⁰⁰ An ancillary service

¹⁹⁶ *T.F.P.*, 14 Feb. 1846.

¹⁹⁷ Grubb Collection. MS. box 52, S.C. 3 (F.H.L.D.).

¹⁹⁸ 57, George III. c. 105.

¹⁹⁹ *T.C.*, 13 Jan. 1843; *T.C.*, 8 Jan. 1846.

²⁰⁰ *C.C.*, 25 June 1873.

provided by the bank was the establishment of a small loan society²⁰¹ for the purpose of granting small loans, on good security, to industrious and well conducted persons. It would appear that a similar service was provided by the Cahir Loan Fund. Both schemes had considerable Quaker support, with Robert Proctor of Cahir acting as secretary for the latter.²⁰²

When the Mendicity Institute was established in 1821 to provide hostel accommodation for the lowest stratum of society, consisting of the vagrant and the homeless,²⁰³ financial assistance was again readily forthcoming from the Quaker community. As in many such institutions, demand exceeded available resources, and there were constant appeals for donations. Applications for admittance invariably exceeded the number that could be accommodated and the committee engaged in selecting those in greatest need.²⁰⁴ Thomas Samuel Grubbe was the last chairman of the Institute when it closed its doors, due both to the lack of funds, and the refusal of the poor-law guardians to take it over.²⁰⁵ Possibly, in light of this new development, Quakers who had supported the institute felt there was no longer any need to do so. In 1833, the Clonmel Provident Clothing Charity was set up to encourage the industrious poor in the habit of regular savings. The charity was supported by a list of wealthy subscribers, enabling each saver to receive a small annual interest. The extent of Quaker subscriptions to this undertaking is evident in the charity's annual reports.²⁰⁶

Certain Quakers gave unstintingly of their time and money to help launch and sustain the Clonmel Mechanics' Institute²⁰⁷ which was set up for the education and improvement of the working classes. At the inaugural meeting in 1842, David Malcomson became one of its patrons, while seven of his co-religionists were elected on to the committee.²⁰⁸ Apart from their commitment and financial support, which was

²⁰¹ *T.C.*, 8 June 1839.

²⁰² *C.C.*, 30 April 1872.

²⁰³ William Burke (Rev.), *History of Clonmel*, p.199; *C.N.*, 20 Oct. 1988.

²⁰⁴ *T.F.P.*, 28 June 1834.

²⁰⁵ *T.F.P.*, 9 July 1839.

²⁰⁶ *C.A.*, 29 Jan. 1836.

²⁰⁷ Michael Ahern, 'Clonmel Mechanics' Institute' in *T.H.J.*, iv, pp. 159-162.

²⁰⁸ *T.C.*, 7 Jan. 1842.

sustained and continuous,²⁰⁹ other gestures of generosity were forthcoming in times of crisis. A donation of £100 was made by a Miss Malcomson to defray the cost of an extension to the building, while the firm of Malcomson Brothers organised the transportation of materials from London for use in the art school. Though the Institute was to be for the benefit of the working class, it was inspired and supported by the upper and middle classes and was destined to remain so. It was disappointing that it failed to continue to attract the interest of the mechanics of the town, the very people it was designed to serve. By the end of the century, when it was handed over to the corporation, only one mechanic could be found among its members. However, it left the town a well-stocked library, and a flourishing art school, but, most important of all, it left a building with facilities for the future development of technical education in Clonmel.

Clonmel Quakers were to the fore when a branch of National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was set up in the town in 1899. Joseph Henry Grubb was appointed honorary secretary, while a number of his co-religionists served on its committee.²¹⁰

Quakers were also quick to respond to periodic crises by offering financial support and administrative expertise, or help in disbursing assistance. In 1792, a meeting was convened by the mayor of Clonmel for the purpose of creating a coal fund.²¹¹ The intention was to sell coal in small parcels at low prices to the poor of the town. A total of eighteen subscriptions showed the overwhelming support this appeal received from the Quaker community. Eight years later, a similar appeal evoked an equally enthusiastic response, when a meal fund was set up to alleviate distress caused by the near famine conditions resulting from the harvests of 1799 and 1800.²¹² John Grubb, as treasurer, had the responsibility for disbursing the funds raised by the town's traders. Local Quakers were also responsible for establishing the Clonmel Friendly Society which distributed food and clothing, in addition to providing shelter for the needy. The average number of

²⁰⁹ Annual Reports of Clonmel Mechanics' Institute, 1844, 1866 (County Library, Thurles).

²¹⁰ *C.N.*, 5 May, 1900.

²¹¹ *C.G.*, 28 Nov. to 1 Dec. 1792.

²¹² T.P. Power, *Land, Politics and Society in Eighteenth Century Tipperary*, p.58; *C.A.*, 26 Nov. 1800.

individuals daily relieved by the issue of provisions for 19 June to 14 Aug. 1817 was 1,800, while the number of articles of clothing disbursed from 15 Aug. 1817 to 14 March 1818 was 1,253.²¹³ In 1836, David Malcomson became chairman of a relief fund which was created to provide fuel and straw for the poor, while other Quakers, as committee members, were appointed to gather the necessary money.²¹⁴

Quaker financial support was again forthcoming during the great famine, which is discussed below, when numerous relief committees were set up throughout the county in an effort to combat the rising poverty among the poorer classes. Joshua Fennell became secretary to the Cahir relief fund,²¹⁵ and in Clonmel, Thomas Hughes and William Davis were deputed to approach Clonmel corporation with a view to providing employment on public works for those in need.²¹⁶ The early 1870s was another period of exceptional distress, saw the re-emergence of various relief fund committees in Clonmel, Cahir and Clogheen.²¹⁷ In 1885, Joseph Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir was instrumental in setting up a scheme to give assistance to unemployed workmen in the town. Grubb was appointed treasurer of the Relief Fund, and subscription lists indicate that the majority of the funds were raised among the Friends.²¹⁸ Twenty-five to thirty men were employed at any one time, and they were paid sixpence a day. They were employed as sweepers, and undertook road repairs and sanitary work. The relief work commenced in the autumn of 1885 and lasted until January 1886, when all the funds were exhausted.

Members of Tipperary's Quaker community did not confine their philanthropic endeavours to Ireland, as can be seen from Robert Grubb's attempts to establish a work colony in the Loire Valley in France. He had visited this area some years previously with his wife Sarah, who was then travelling in the ministry. With the support of Jean Marsillac of Congenies, and some English Friends, they applied, in 1779, to the French authorities in Loire et Cher for permission to set up an agricultural, artistic and commercial

²¹³ *C.A.*, 31 March 1818.

²¹⁴ *C.A.*, 20 Dec. 1836.

²¹⁵ *T.F.P.*, 1 July 1846.

²¹⁶ *T.F.P.*, 25 April 1846; 20 May 1846.

²¹⁷ *C.C.*, 16 Dec. 1870; 31 Dec. 1872; 15 Jan. 1873.

²¹⁸ Relief Committee Minute Book, Carrick-on-Suir, 1885-86 (F.H.L.D., MS. box 52, s.c.2)

community in the castle of Chambord. The minister of the interior was most anxious to have the plan carried out, but there was local opposition, and the outbreak of war rendered its fulfilment impossible.²¹⁹ In 1896, Joseph Malcomson, who had bought an estate in Ceylon, was inspired by the Friends' Foreign Mission Association to support a mission there which had been set up some years previously. The mission was inspired by the evangelical ideas which influenced Quakerism at the time. Joseph, accompanied by his wife and family, governess and family associates took up residence in Ceylon. In spite of difficulties this 'family' mission continued to function after its founder's death in 1937.

Famine relief, during the great famine of the 1840s, is regarded by many as the principal monument to Quaker compassion. Avril Doyle, in her official capacity as government minister, writing in the foreword to the commemorative edition of *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the famine in Ireland* which was republished in 1996, stated that 'the Famine, with its horrific casualties and devastating effects, is a most difficult period in our history: one of the few bright pages in that horrifying story is the edifying record of the Society of Friends (or Quakers) during the period'.²²⁰ A contemporary tribute read, 'there can be but one opinion as to their (i.e. Quakers) practical benevolence. They are always in the forefront of every work of charity, and their benevolence is as unostentatious as it is ample. The present unfortunate condition of the country has excited their deepest concern, and nobly are they exerting themselves to alleviate the distress of their suffering fellow countrymen'.²²¹

Prior to the famine of the 1840s, all philanthropic schemes in which Quakers were engaged had been organised on a local basis, but when this calamity arose the Society found itself in a position to organise relief on a national basis. They had a proven track record of distributing aid at local level and both their entrepreneurial ability and the

²¹⁹ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and industry before 1800*, pp. 143/44; Arthur P. Williamson, *Enterprise, industrial development and social planning: Quakers and the emergence of the textile industry in Ireland* (Coleraine, 1992), p.306.

²²⁰ Society of Friends, *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland of 1847 and 1847* (Dublin, 1882, repr. 1996), p. iii.

²²¹ *Belfast Newsletter*, 15 Dec. 1846.

network of meetings within the Society itself gave them the necessary administrative expertise. Also, their extensive family linkages at home and abroad allowed them to identify the areas of greatest need, and to appeal to their brethren in England and America for assistance.

By October 1846, Waterford Friends had started relief works,²²² and soup kitchens were soon established in Cork, Clonmel, Limerick and Youghal. Goodbody has written, 'One of the main ways in which Quakers assisted the hungry was through soup kitchens. These were often set up by individual Quakers or Quaker families or groups in their own local areas'.²²³ Such was the case of Samuel and Elizabeth Jellico in Cahir, who with the assistance of their daughters organised a soup kitchen and dispensary from their residence at Apsley House in the town.²²⁴ As the crisis intensified, it became apparent that efforts at a local level were insufficient. On 13 November 1846, at a meeting of Quakers in Dublin, a central relief committee was formed and twenty one members appointed. They were all drawn from Dublin so that they could meet readily. The committee then appointed twenty-one correspondents throughout Ireland to keep in touch with the country at large. Tipperary was represented by Richard Dowd, of Brosna Mills and Roscrea, and by Benjamin Grubb of Clonmel. It was their duty to obtain trustworthy information respecting the real state of the more remote districts.

In addition to these bodies, by the end of 1846 four auxiliary committees had been established in Munster. These were based on the Monthly Meetings which were part of the Munster Quarterly Meeting, namely, Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Clonmel, and 'they acted as the gatherers of information and administrators of relief within the province of Munster, thereby taking an enormous burden off the central committee'.²²⁵ The members of the Clonmel committee were Barclay Clibborn, Joseph Clibborn, Robert Davis, William Davis, Thomas J. Grubb, Joseph Grubb, Benjamin Grubb, John Hughes,

²²² Joan Johnson, 'The Quaker relief effort in Waterford' in Des Cowman & Donald Brady (eds.) *The famine in Waterford 1845-1850* (Dublin, 1995), p. 216.

²²³ Robin B. Goodbody, *Quaker relief work in Ireland's great hunger* (Cumbria, 1995), p. 8.

²²⁴ Jellico papers in the possession of Sara Cobley, Fishponds, Oxenbourne, Petersfield, Hantshire, England.

²²⁵ Robin B. Goodbody, *A suitable channel* (Bray, 1995), p. 6.

Thomas Hughes, Samuel Fayle, Joshua Malcomson and John T. Pim. The district assigned to them included two baronies in Waterford and the County of Tipperary, except the three baronies of Upper Ormond, Lower Ormond, and Owney and Arra which were assigned to the Limerick committee. The distribution of relief constituted a new departure for the Quakers, being focused through specific bodies funded and directed by Friends, with associated administrative structures.²²⁶

In Clogheen, the soup kitchen which had been established in 1846 by the Grubbs was run by a self-constituted committee of ladies. Letters written by Mrs Deborah Grubb, as secretary of the committee, give some indication of the severity of the crisis, the difficulties they were labouring under and their efforts made to secure additional funding from government. The following was written on 8 January 1847 to the under-secretary at Dublin Castle, T. N. Redington, Esq.,:

Having observed a paragraph in a newspaper mentioning that the dean of Limerick had intimated that Government would contribute an equal amount to any subscriptions in that city for a soup depot; the Ladies who have instituted one in the town of Clogheen, which has been in operation during one month, and has in that time relieved 5,965 persons by cheapening that number of quarts of soup and ½lbs. of bread in a ratio of 1:3, and 1,882 by giving them the same gratuitously, supporting daily 260 persons, and that number continually augmenting, are induced to make application for assistance, in as much as that the district contiguous to the town is a mountainous tract of country, with very few resident gentry, and in consequence they cannot extend aid beyond its precincts. Could they obtain aid from Government, they might take in rather a wider district, where the people are actually dying of famine. The ladies raised £260 which they distribute and attend to with the greatest economy, as they trust inspection of their accounts will prove.

Signed on behalf of the Committee
Mrs. Grubb, Secretary.²²⁷

The relief commissioners informed Mrs. Grubb that government aid could only be given to the official relief committees. In a subsequent letter, dated 20 January, 1847, to Sir Randolph Routh, the commissary general, Mrs Grubb indicated how the situation in Clogheen had radically deteriorated:

no persons with common feelings could withstand the solicitations of the starving wretches imploring them for relief which they cannot give. Disease in the rural

²²⁶ Richard Harrison, *Cork city Quakers*, p.57.

²²⁷ Famine Relief Papers - Tipperary, (N.A., uncatalogued).

districts is making rapid strides, where grass, and bran and donkeys, they are here resorted to for food; the two former they know are not uncommon.²²⁸

The women finally secured aid through the intervention of the Clogheen relief committee, who appointed a deputy (sub) committee of their own members, namely Samuel Grubb, William and James Fennell, to act as superintendents of the soup kitchen management. It should be mentioned that Clogheen's Quakers gave generously to the relief fund. The contribution of £50 by Lord Lismore, the town's landlord, was matched by both Samuel and Richard Grubb. The subscription list also contained the names of other local Quakers, as well as a number from outside the county.

About the same time, Robert Davis, having been accompanied on a tour of Clogheen and the surrounding area by William Fennell, prepared a report to the auxiliary relief committee of Friends at Clonmel. In the course of his journey, he visited various soup kitchens at Burncourt, Tincurry and Tubrid that had been set up with assistance from the Clonmel committee. Similar facilities were in the process of being set up in Castlegrace and Ardfinnan. Davis also had his first experience of famine conditions, which struck him forcibly and echoed those described in the letter above:

there was no mistaking the shrunken looks and sharpened features of the poor creatures, who were slowly and with tottering steps assembling to partake of the accustomed bounty. Sheer destitution marked their attenuated countenances too legibly to admit of a doubt that it was all a sad reality.²²⁹

The Quakers believed in inculcating the philanthropic spirit in their children from an early age. In Carrick-on-Suir, where John Grubb was actively engaged in relief work, his four-year old son, Joseph Ernest, was put in charge of collecting the tickets in the soup kitchen run by his family.²³⁰ Selling soup at a modest price was in keeping with the Quaker principle of avoiding pauperising the recipients. Tickets could be bought by charitable organisations and individuals for distribution to the poor.²³¹

The active part played by Quaker women during the great famine was no less impressive, especially at a time 'when all official relief committees and all boards of

²²⁸ *ibid.*

²²⁹ Society of Friends, *Transactions of the central relief committee of the Society of Friends during the famine in Ireland of 1846 and 1847* (repr. Dublin, 1996), pp. 176-178.

²³⁰ Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*, p.52.

²³¹ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Quaker records*, pp. 9,10.

guardians were exclusively male'.²³² In Clonmel, as in Clogheen, Quaker women were to the fore in organising the soup kitchen. Lydia Grubb kept a diary containing soup kitchen accounts and records which show that, between 11 September 1846 and 12 April 1847, a daily average of 300 to 400 gallons of soup were ladled out to the starving, the highest amount being 940 gallons on 6 March, 1847.²³³ Asenath Nicholson witnessed these 'Quaker matrons and their daughters with their white sleeves drawn over their tidy clad arms - their white aprons and caps, all moving in that quiet harmony so peculiar to that people'.²³⁴

During that period the provision of relief through food was conducted by the Quakers rather than the government relief committee. Tickets were sold for one penny, which entitled the purchaser to a quart of soup and four ozs. of bread, the actual cost of which was 1¾d.²³⁵ Towards the end of February 1847, the Quakers had distributed in one week 12,240 quarts of soup, nearly 6,000 of which were free, together with the corresponding bread-ration mentioned above.²³⁶ On 5 March, 'Sarah Malcomson and Charlotte Moore attended from nine to eleven (o'clock), in which time about 380 gallons of porridge were disposed of, the quality good and the demand great. Ten days later they dispensed 690 gallons.' Some time later a further report from Clonmel was signed by Eliza Sargint and L. H. Strene:

We have attended here since ten o'clock this morning; tasted the soup and found it excellent and the demand for it was very brisk. We suggest for Fridays the manufacture of porridge made of Indian meal, oatmeal, water; pepper and onions with the addition of some salt herrings boiled in it and also that three or four wooden seats would be provided for the attendants.²³⁷

²³² Joan Johnson, 'The Quaker relief effort in Waterford' in Des Cowman and Donald Brady (eds.) *Famine in Waterford 1845-1850* (Dublin, 1995), p.221.

²³³ Helen E. Hatton, *The greatest amount of good*, p.86; Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Quaker records*, p.98.

²³⁴ Anesath Nicholson, *Annals of the famine in Ireland 1847, 1848, 1849*, ed. Maureen Murphy (Dublin, 1997), p. 43.

²³⁵ H.C. Report of Lt. Col. Douglas to Routh, 16 Jan. 1847. Commissariat series, 1847 (797), lii.

²³⁶ *T.F.P.*, 24th Feb. 1847.

²³⁷ Clonmel famine relief book 1846-47, Grubb Collection, MS. box 52, S.C.1, (F.H.L.D.).

It is apparent from these accounts that, despite the best efforts of all concerned, the distress was escalating and the situation was getting beyond their powers of containment. Apart from assisting in the soup kitchen, the ladies paid visits to families in need, distributing money and setting up associations for making, collecting and distributing clothes. Their names also appear among the members of the visiting committee of the local workhouse.²³⁸ The signatures include the names of Strangman, Grubb, Greer, Murray, Davis, Jacob, Murphy, Moore and Malcomson.²³⁹

Outside what might be termed their public efforts to combat the distress, there were many private acts of generosity. Malcomson Bros. supplied 1,100 yards of tarred canvas to Clogheen workhouse to help waterproof sheds so that more paupers could be accommodated. A letter written by William Sadleir of Tipperary to Joshua Grubb of Clonmel included the line: 'Having heard of your kindness in giving out some provisions to the poor during this time of distress' and encouraged him to make further donations.²⁴⁰ A member of the Jackson family, described as a Quaker settler, 'helped the famine victims by giving them plots of potatoes and free milk'.²⁴¹ Ministering to the destitute was fraught with danger of infection and death from virulent typhus. This was tragically illustrated by the fate of George Grubb of Clonmel, who fell victim to famine fever.²⁴²

In a tribute to the efforts of the Clonmel Quakers during the famine, Alexander Somerville²⁴³ praised them for 'their broad benevolence' which he said was 'the chief support of many thousands of people bereft of food, and who are flocking to Clonmel, or, who being there, are flocking to them for subsistence'. He went on to state that Clonmel's contribution to the relief fund was 'by far the most liberal of any town in Ireland

²³⁸ S. J. Watson, *A dinner of herbs* (Clonmel, 1988), p.135.

²³⁹ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Quaker records*, p.83.

²⁴⁰ Famine relief papers (N.A., Uncatalogued). William Sadleir to Joshua Grubb, 29 July 1847.

²⁴¹ Tadhg MacCarthaig, 'The famine in Ballylooby' in *T.H.J.*, vii (1996), p. 45.

²⁴² *T.F.P.*, 22 Jan. 1848.

²⁴³ Alexander Somerville was born into deep poverty in 1811, the eleventh child of a family living in a one-roomed, hovel in East Lothian, Scotland. Having held a variety of menial jobs, he was invalided out of the army in 1837. He devoted the rest of his life writing about the injustices of society. Alexander Somerville, *Letters from Ireland during the famine of 1847*, ed. D. K. M. Snell (Dublin, 1994), introduction.

according to its population'. Furthermore, 'the millers (mostly Quakers), most of them, give £100 to £50 each, their daughters and sisters giving sums of £20 and £50'.²⁴⁴ A report prepared on behalf of the central committee in Dublin commended the efficiency of the Clonmel auxiliary committee on their distribution of relief funds.²⁴⁵

The Central Relief Committee in Dublin began to wind down its operations in the early part of 1849. Lord John Russell made a derisory offer of £100 to encourage the Quakers to resume food distribution. In June 1849, the Quakers discontinued their relief work, pointing out in a bluntly worded letter to the British prime minister that the problem of relief was far beyond the reach of private exertion and that the government alone could remedy the situation. A total of £200,000, estimated at £11 million in today's money, was spent by the central committee, while only 2% was spent on administration. The bulk of the committee's work had been concerned with the distribution of food, money and clothing. Tipperary received 550 tons of food, £2,008 in money and 87 clothing grants. In addition, the county was supplied by the central committee with 35 boilers and 3,243 lbs. of seed.

The pioneering activities of the Quakers in setting up soup kitchens were copied by the British government, and became the model for their soup-kitchen act of spring 1847.²⁴⁶ According to Goodbody:

there can be no doubt, however, that many lives were saved and many more were spared from having to emigrate as a direct result of Quaker intervention. This can in no sense be deemed a failure and, if the scale of the task was beyond the reach of such a small group of people, their achievements went far beyond what could have been expected.²⁴⁷

An examination of the nature of Quaker philanthropy highlights some interesting anomalies, in addition to underlining its limitations. Walvin has stated that, 'As in matters of commerce and business, Quakers came to play a role out of all proportion to their

²⁴⁴ D. K. M. Snell (ed.), Alexander Somerville, *Letters from Ireland during the famine of 1847* (Dublin, 1994), pp.50, 57.

²⁴⁵ Society of Friends, *Transactions of the central relief committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland of 1846 and 1847*, p.449.

²⁴⁶ Thomas P. O'Neill, 'The Society of Friends and the great famine' in *Studies*, xxxix, no. 154 (June, 1950), p.213

²⁴⁷ Robin B. Goodbody, *Quaker relief work in Ireland's great hunger* (Cumbria, 1995), p.31.

numbers, and contemporaries were in no doubt that the Friends were crucial to the dynamism and success of a great deal of Victorian philanthropy'.²⁴⁸ The same could be said of the contribution of Tipperary's Quakers. Walvin goes on to state that 'this image rests on the shoulders of the wealthy, who gave huge amounts of money to their favourite cause',²⁴⁹ but one must not lose sight of the many who worked and contributed anonymously to the improvement of the less fortunate. Walvin also makes the point that 'Despite their reputation, Quakers were by no means united over the issue (i.e. their involvement in philanthropic activities). Those who clung to the quietist tradition tended to resist the idea of public engagement with social issues, with all the attention it would attract'.²⁵⁰ However, it is not possible to say to what extent these ideological differences resulted in omissions from the subscription lists and administrative personnel of the many charitable causes and organisations which attracted the support of Tipperary Quakers.

Isichei has expressed some reservations about the altruism of Quaker philanthropy. She suggests that 'philanthropy became a hereditary duty in many wealthy Quaker families' and that these self-perpetuating vested interests became 'a substitute for the search for effective remedies for social evils'. She also felt there was a tendency 'to see alms-giving as a kind of supernatural insurance'. There was a certain hubris attached to seeing one's name in the hosts of officer or subscription lists, while 'they could not ignore the demands made on them if they hoped to retain their standing in the Quaker community'.²⁵¹ While there may be a certain truth in these assertions, matters would have been so much worse without such intervention. Philanthropic endeavour, no matter how well-intentioned, was by its very nature limited. The non-interventionist laissez-faire policy of government for much of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of a plethora of charitable organisations. This often resulted in duplication of effort, with numerous societies with similar aims competing with each other and dividing the available support.²⁵² Being set up to address some particular crisis or social injustice, they failed to find long term solutions

²⁴⁸ James Walvin, *The Quakers-money and morals* (London, 1997), p. 149.

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 150.

²⁵¹ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, pp. 214,215.

²⁵² *ibid.*, p. 215.

to the problems confronted. As Walvin has observed: 'the traditional Quaker virtues of self-help and thrift among those affected, and philanthropy on the part of the prosperous, could never touch, let alone cure, the residual problems of the abjectly poor'.²⁵³

On the other hand, Quakers' generous contributions to various philanthropic schemes acted as a catalyst for many of the improvements in welfare which were later adopted at official level. It could be said that they helped to influence public opinion into recognising that it was the duty of the state, and the state alone, to protect and assist its most vulnerable citizens. It has also been suggested that they also helped to change the climate of opinion so that poverty and indolence were no longer considered synonymous.²⁵⁴ In a tribute to Quaker philanthropy, Bishop Westcott, in 1887, wrote: 'No religious order can point to the services rendered to humanity more unsullied by selfishness or nobler in farseeing wisdom'.²⁵⁵

The extent of Quaker philanthropy was reflected in many ways, through legacies, testimonies of the Society of Friends, or the sentiments expressed in obituary notices in local papers and many unsolicited tributes. It was said of John Ashton of Kilconihinmore (1662-1741) that 'an increase of wealth enabled him to indulge the natural benevolence of his heart in acts of generosity and hospitality'.²⁵⁶ Likewise, Abigail Boles of Woodhouse (1684-1752) 'when on private visits, discovering wants among Friends in low circumstances, which they were not willing to make public, she assisted them privately'.²⁵⁷ Similarly, a tribute to Anne Grubb of Clonmel (1688-1765) stated that when 'her circumstances became more easy, and she was enabled to exercise hospitality to her friends, and benevolence to the poor; virtues she possessed in an eminent degree'.²⁵⁸

²⁵³ James Walvin, *The Quakers-morals and money*, p. 199.

²⁵⁴ Mary P. Lovett, 'The Quakers of Limerick 1655-1900' unpublished M. A. thesis, (University of Limerick, 1998), p.29.

²⁵⁵ cited in Gráinne O'Flynn 'Aspects of concern in the Religious Society of Friends with education in Ireland, 1627-1812' in *Capuchin Annual* (1975), p. 322. Bishop Wescott (1825-1901) was Anglican bishop of Durham.

²⁵⁶ Mary Leadbeater, *Biographical notices of members of the Society of Friends who were resident in Ireland* (London, 1823) , p. 203.

²⁵⁷ *ibid*, p. 250.

²⁵⁸ *ibid*, p. 256.

Robert Grubb (1743-1797) of Suir Island demised premises and left money in his will²⁵⁹ for the education of poor children. It was said of Sarah Grubb (1752-1811), wife of Joseph Grubb, that:

her virtues and useful course of life were sufficient to attract the emulation of those to whom she set such worthy an example. Foremost in every undertaking for the amelioration of the poor and needy she relinquished the comfortable retirement which ample means would have secured to her for the more arduous, yet no less sweet employment of rendering succour to the distressed. Her solicitude sought after and penetrated the abode of the wretched; and out of her house proceeded the essence which dispelled the noisome atmosphere of the dungeon, and spread health and cheerfulness within the prison walls. She was one of the original institutors of the subscription, so honourable to the benevolent of this town, for the Relief of the indigent lying-in Families. In a word, no plan had been set on foot in her day for improving the condition of her species to which she has not largely contributed, the charities discriminating between no sect or denomination of Christians.²⁶⁰

Benjamin Grubb of Clonmel (1727-1802) was described as being 'compassionate towards his fellow creatures',²⁶¹ while Robert Thompson of Rathronan (1737-1822) was regarded as 'a very worthy and esteemed gentleman: the sick, or distressed peasantry of his neighbourhood have ever found in him a friend, and avow the highest gratitude for his kindness'.²⁶² The activities of Sarah Pim Grubb of Clonmel(1746-1832) give some idea of the scope of Quaker philanthropic activities:

She did what she could to alleviate widespread local misery caused by poverty and drunkenness, and was quick to send aid to those afflicted by the '98 rebellion. She was a great encourager of youth, and a supporter of Quaker building projects, helping to fund Newtown School Waterford and Garryroan Meeting House, Co. Tipperary. Further afield she supported the fight against slavery and helped German refugees in London.²⁶³

In 1853, when John Talbot of Roscrea died:

All the shops in Roscrea were kept partially closed until after his funeral. He was a liberal subscriber to the local charities and emphatically a man of universal love and peace. He was universally courteous to rich and poor and always discouraged the use of intoxicating drinks. He was anxious by example and precept for the

²⁵⁹ cited in Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 99.

²⁶⁰ *C.A.*, 25 Sept. 1811.

²⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 328.

²⁶² *C.A.*, 13 Nov. 1813.

²⁶³ 'Sarah Pim Grubb', from an article prepared by Peter Lamb, Killeagh, Co. Cork for inclusion in the forthcoming *Quaker biographies*.

extenuation of peace on earth and good-will toward all. Above all, he trusted humbly in the mercy of God through our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ.²⁶⁴

It could also be said that the Quakers did not seek either reward or recognition or praise for what they did, considering it no more than their duty. As Patrick Loughrey succinctly states, 'Quakerism in Ireland will be remembered for its philanthropy and concern for social justice'.²⁶⁵ At least as much could be said of the Quakers of Tipperary.

In conclusion, as George Fox was formulating the Society's peace testimony, ironically the authorities were purging the army ranks of Quakers. They were seen to be subversive, while their egalitarian principles were not regarded as conducive to army discipline. Their pacifism and neutrality in times of armed conflict did not guarantee immunity, and they became targets of the opposing forces, who plundered their property and, in some cases, threatened their personal safety. Despite the losses they incurred they were prepared to render assistance to victims of violence. Pacifist, but not passive, they exerted what influence they could to promote peace by requesting their members, on the outbreak of the 1798 rebellion, to surrender any firearms they possessed and later, during the 1848 rebellion, by refusing to sell materials that might be used for the production of armaments. It is obvious that certain Quakers had recourse to arms for hunting purposes, there is no indication that they retained them for personal safety. Individuals such as Ernest Grubb who, during the war of independence of the 1920s, found their homes occupied by the military, availed of the opportunity to seek to dissuade them from the path of violence.

Before the 19th century, sufferings and persecution and Quaker principles prompted Quakers in general to avoid direct involvement in public life. Nevertheless, they were prepared to set up committees to make representations to parliament and to attend judicial proceedings on behalf of their members' interests. By the close of the eighteenth century, they were beginning to emerge from a period of partly self-imposed isolation. The newspapers of the day record many expressions of interest by members of the Quaker community in local affairs and community institutions. They indicated a willingness to

²⁶⁴ Richard Harrison, *A biographical dictionary of Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1997), p. 96.

²⁶⁵ Patrick Loughrey, *The people of Ireland* (Belfast, 1989), p. 165.

voice their opinions on such matters as law and order, the conduct of the mayoralty in Clonmel, and questions of injustice. Also noticeable in this period was their alignment with the Protestant interest. The legislative reforms of the early nineteenth century, their philanthropic activities, and their commercial interests, fostered a more active participation in the political process. They played a useful and constructive role on many statutory boards such as poor law unions and hospitals, holding positions under the grand jury as road supervisors, clerks, magistrates and sheriffs, while others served as elected members of Clonmel corporation. For many, these positions provided an opportunity to render service to their fellow man and to the community and, in typical Quaker fashion, the commitment given was invariably above and beyond the call of duty.

Chapter 7

The Quaker way of life

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the domestic, social and religious lifestyle of Tipperary's Quakers and to assess the degree of loyalty they showed to the principles and values of their Society. The chapter will consider educational aims, system of apprenticeships, vocational aspirations and leisure activities, and the rituals concerning birth, marriage and burial rites. It will also demonstrate the increasing difficulty which many members experienced in adhering to the Society's principles in a rapidly changing world. Finally, a number of case studies will consider the experiences and fortunes of some individual members.

Introduction

From the beginning of the movement, one of the central Quaker values was to prevent the community from moral degeneracy. According to Isabel Grubb, these values were in evidence by the end of the Williamite war,¹ and were to mark Irish Quakerism for the next one hundred and fifty years. One of the central concerns of the Quakers was their attempt to maintain these values. Greaves has claimed:

their determination to uphold truth - to adhere to the strictest standards of apostolic doctrine and life - manifested itself in the enunciation and application of rigorous yet simple standards of conduct, reinforced positively by testimonies and negatively by imposition of discipline against those who breached these standards.²

This rigidity of discipline and enforcement of minute regulations was achieved by a combination of instructions from the yearly meeting and the intrusive scrutiny of local Friends.³ In 1694, the Tipperary meeting recorded that two Friends were appointed by the local meeting to visit Friends' houses and 'where any neglect had been it was spoke of'.⁴ A minute from a women's meeting held in 1743 reads as follows: 'the meeting

¹ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland* (London, 1926), p. 81.

² Richard Greaves, *God's other children: Protestant non-conformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland 1660-1700* (Stanford University Press, California, 1997), p. 315.

³ James Walvin, *Quakers: money and morals*, p. 37.

⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting 1694-1724, 18th day 1st mo. 1694,

appoints Anne Grubb and Sarah Rigge to be overseers in town and where they see anything disagreeable to truth amongst their members, that they may advise in love and bring an account to next meeting'.⁵ Isabel Grubb has argued that Quakers from the end of the seventeenth century onwards:

had worked out a somewhat elaborate and severe code of rules known as the *Discipline* with regulations which affected them as individuals and also in families and households. The testimony for simplicity which they upheld influenced individual dress, language and behaviour, and also the furnishings of their houses and the kind of hospitality shown. Yet it must be remembered that many friends did not conform in these matters and for them attendance at meetings for worship was their principal link with the Society. These people mixed socially with their contemporaries and were sometimes known as gay Friends. Very many of them were disowned for marrying outside the Society or for similar causes.⁶

She also pointed out that for stricter Friends:

the peculiar dress was as much a uniform as that of the soldier and as much a symbol of separateness as that of the nun. These families tended more and more to become a carefully guarded community. In the garden walled in by The Discipline spiritual flowers blossomed and bore fruits, producing some of the finest traits of the Quaker character.⁷

According to Greaves, 'the basic principles on which the Friends' behavioural standards rested were straightforward. Rooted in the deep-seated spiritual conviction that truth must be proclaimed in unadorned simplicity, the fundamental Quaker social tenet was a mandate not to detract from the witness of truth by superfluity'.⁸

Quakers felt that their unique lifestyle could best be achieved by disassociating themselves from the world around them.⁹ In order to achieve this they attempted to create a self-contained world, a society within a society. Harrison has said of Irish Quakers, they 'had a loyalty to a way of life and worship, testimonies and dress, language and tradition'¹⁰ which set them apart from the rest of society or, as Robert Barclay put it:

(F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

⁵ R.T.M. Minutes of women's six weeks meeting 1735-1764, 26th day 11th mo. 1743 (F.H.L.D., MM X B2).

⁶ Isabel Grubb, 'Quakerism and home life' in Howard E. Brunton (ed.) *Children of light* (New York, 1938), p. 281.

⁷ *ibid*, p. 282

⁸ Greaves, *God's other children etc.*, p. 317.

⁹ Thomas Clarkson, *A portraiture of Quakerism*, 2nd ed., i (London, 1807), pp. ii-iii.

¹⁰ R. Harrison. 'The evolution of the Irish Quakers' in Kevin Herlihy (ed.) *The religion of Irish dissent 1650-1800* (Dublin, 1996), p.79.

The religious principles of the Quakers were based on the idea of Divine guidance, aimed at the idea of carrying religion into every phase of life and action. The whole life of man from the cradle to the grave was legislated for by the church. Nothing was too great or too small, everything from the tenderest years was found to have a bearing on his eternal interests.¹¹

Education

Quakers looked to the family as the chief agent of religious instruction, from having paramount importance in making provisions for schooling and apprenticeship to the establishment of procedures for marriage. The moulding of the Quaker began in the home and from early on parents were advised to keep strict supervision over their children, and neither to indulge or spoil them.. As Vann has pointed out:

Friends were generally quick to take up the pen, and so adept at mutual exhortation, that one can reasonably judge the direction and intensity of their corporate attention to any subject by the volume and character of their literary productionsby the middle of the eighteenth century concern for the nurture and education of children was expressed so frequently as to seem a corporate preoccupation.¹²

The national yearly meeting of 1680 advised 'that parents, both men and women, take care to educate their children in the awe and fear of the Lord, according to the principles of the blessed truth etc.'¹³ At a session of the women's meeting held in Clonmel, 'Elizabeth Jacob gave suitable advice to all mothers and mistresses of families in educating their children' and exhorted them 'to keep them in their sight so they may not have opportunity to go into hurtful company'.¹⁴

The primary role of Quaker parents was to instil in their children the principles of the Quaker faith. Many young Quakers were exposed to family worship, 'one, twice, and even three times a day; they were used to similar periods of prayer and meditation on the occasion of family visits from travelling Friends'.¹⁵ The Bible was a constant source

¹¹ Robert Barclay, *Inner life of the religious societies of the commonwealth* (London, 1876), pp. 494, 495.

¹² R. T. Vann, *The social development of English Quakerism 1655-1753* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 167.

¹³ Rules of discipline of the yearly meeting of Friends in Ireland (Dublin, 1841), p. 183.

¹⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of the Tipperary women's monthly meeting, 5th day 7 mo. 1736 (F.H.L.D., MM X B1).

¹⁵ Isabel Grubb, 'Quaker ministry in Ireland' *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, no. 251 (1929), p.258.

book and family reading after breakfast became the norm.¹⁶ This was reinforced by their reading material which, being almost exclusively of a spiritual nature, was in a serious and sober vein, while at the same time members were admonished to avoid atheistic books. The children of Elizabeth Clibborn of Clonmel, for example, were exposed to selected reading material of a similar nature.¹⁷ In the testimony to Anne Grubb, daughter of Benjamin and Susanna, it is recorded that 'Her mother having found her reading a book which she did not approve, desired her to put it away, and read such no more. The child resigned the book, and ever after refrained from unprofitable reading'.¹⁸ It is doubtful if all Quaker children were as compliant.

John Barclay and Elizabeth Clibborn exemplify Quaker parents who took the religious education of their children seriously. Elizabeth stated that 'education is a matter of the greatest moment and I daily feel my incapacity for training them in the right way'.¹⁹ Training started at an early age. Elizabeth Clibborn records how her 'dear little Barclay went to meeting for the first time and sat well, aged 3 years and 8 months'.²⁰ Their regular attendance at quarterly and yearly meetings kept them in touch with the stronger currents of life in the Society as a whole. When family tragedy struck, the family's faith in divine providence could help members to bear the consequences. This is illustrated by the memoir compiled by Elizabeth Clibborn, which recalled the final illness of her daughter Eliza, who died in 1829 at the age of twenty-one.²¹ In the opening paragraph she stated that Eliza 'was released from the trials and temptations of this probationary state, rejoicing in the assurance of a blessed and glorious immortality'. The last meeting of worship her daughter attended was at Garryroan, outside Cahir where Eliza told the congregation that 'we souls all prepare for the end which everyone must come to.' When Eliza's mother told her that she had not long to live, Eliza 'received the

¹⁶ Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, p. 48.

¹⁷ Diary of Elizabeth Clibborn, (F.H.L.D.), pp. 24, 25.

¹⁸ Mary Leadbeater, *Biographical notices of members of the Society of Friends who were resident in Ireland* (London, 1823), p. 363.

¹⁹ Diary of Elizabeth Clibborn, (F.H.L.D.), p. 2.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 26.

²¹ Clibborn Papers in the possession of Gwen Gray, Stradbally, Waterford. An unpaginated memoir entitled Eliza Clibborn written by her brother Joseph Clibborn, sometime after the subject's death in 1829.

solemn and affecting intelligence with perfect composure, and with a cheerful aspect, afterwards frequently conversing on the subject with great serenity'. On the night she died, the family was grief-stricken, but 'a peaceful covering mercifully overshadowed those who were present, resignation and fortitude were vouchsafed to the bereaved parents, who were enabled to rejoice in the spirit's release, with a perfect acquiescence to the Divine Will'. In 1845, John Barclay made a draft of his will. On behalf of his wife and himself he entreated his children 'to keep free from the contamination of a worldly spirit' and hoped that they remain 'real Quakers for 'such possession we value more for our dear children than all the riches than can be heaped upon them'.²²

The Quaker message was reinforced by sending their children to Quaker-run schools. Education in its widest sense, including all that fits a child for what lies before it, was the constant care of Friends.²³ From the beginning of the movement the desire to provide a carefully guarded education for their children was an important concern of the Quakers. In 1695, the national yearly meeting advised 'that schoolmasters and mistresses who are faithful Friends, and well qualified, be encouraged in all places where there may be need: and that care be taken that poor Friends' children may freely partake of such education as may tend to their benefit and advantage'.²⁴ The minutes of the Tipperary meeting contain frequent reminders to parents regarding their responsibility in providing a proper education for their children. At a meeting held in 1776, it was 'recommended that two friends visit Sarah Olney and advise her to be more careful in the education of her children'.²⁵ Provision was also made for the education of children whose parents found themselves in financial difficulties. In 1829, John Grubb died, leaving his wife, Elizabeth, to manage a small bakery in Clonmel with the added responsibility for seven children under the age of fifteen. The Committee of the Poor, selected by the monthly meeting to render assistance to the less fortunate of its members, was insisting that her son, James, then eight years of age, was in need of a guarded education and that he

²² R.T.M. Ministers and elders, folder c (F.H.L.D., MM X C1).

²³ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, pp. 89, 90.

²⁴ *ibid*, p. 184.

²⁵ R.T.M. Minutes of women's six weeks meeting 1763-1793, 23rd day 6 mo. 1776 (F.H.L.D., MM X B3).

should be placed in the Leinster Provincial School at Mountmellick. His mother was not in a position to pay for him and felt that she had no choice but to keep him at home until one of the three children she already had there was removed. Financial assistance was promptly forthcoming and the name of James Grubb appears among the list of students for Mountmellick School for that year.²⁶

As has been previously stated, the desire for denominational education led to the establishment of Quaker day schools and, at a meeting held on the 12 July 1701 at Knockgraffon, it was decided to engage William Dower as schoolmaster for the proposed school which was to be located in the meeting house in Clonmel.²⁷ By December of that year the school was in operation. The following minute which was recorded at the County Tipperary six-weeks meeting held at Knockgraffon stated that 'It is ordered by this meeting that all such Friends as have sons abroad at scull due bring them home and send them to our scull at Clonmel'.²⁸ Isabel Grubb has supplied the following description of how such schools operated:

Girls and small children were generally taught by mistresses who took reading and needlework; the masters teaching the more advanced pupils writing and Latin. School was generally from 8. 0 a.m., to 11.30 a.m., and from 1.0 p.m. to 5.0 p.m., except in the winter when it closed at 4.0 p.m. Schools were inspected regularly by a committee of local Friends, and the National Meeting summoned the schoolmasters to confer on methods of teaching.²⁹

Nothing is known of the subsequent history of the Clonmel school. There is no reference to its existence in the Commissioners report on education of 1826.

During the course of the eighteenth century a number of Quaker boarding schools were opened throughout Ireland and most of them, to one degree or another, were attended by sons and daughters of Tipperary Quakers.³⁰ In 1726, the first of these

²⁶ Regina O'Keeffe, (Co-ordinator). *The Quakers of Mountmellick* (Mountmellick Development Association, 1994), p. 78.

²⁷ W. Burke, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), p. 296.

²⁸ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six-weeks meeting, 12th day 8th mo.1701 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

²⁹ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p.91.

³⁰ Eric J. MacAuliffe, *An Irish genealogical source: The roll of honour of the Quaker school at Ballitore*; Regina Flynn (Co-ordinator), *The Quakers of Mountmellick* (Mountmellick, 1994), pp. 69-81; Handlists/Portfolio collection. Portfolio 5 no. 5, List of pupils at Suir Island School (F.H.L.D.); Handlists/Portfolio collection. Portfolio 75

schools, a privately-run school which catered for the children of wealthy Friends was established at Ballitore, County Kildare by Abraham Shackleton. Unlike other Quaker-run schools, it took in children of other denominations. Among the first thirty-eight pupils listed for the school were James Hutchinson from Knockballymaher, Oliver Simmons from Clonmel, and John, Solomon and Samuel Watson from Woodhouse.³¹ At Ballitore, Edmund Burke, one of its most illustrious pupils, received a sound classical education which prepared him for Trinity College.³² Abraham Shackleton announced that he declined:

from conscientious motives, to teach that part of the academic course which he considers injurious to morals and subversive of sound principles, particularly those authors who recommend in seducing language the illusions of love and the abominable trade of war.

Those who design their sons for the College will take their measures accordingly. He professes to fit the youth for business, and instruct them in polite literature. His terms are Six Pounds per quarter, no entrance money demanded.³³

The boys were taught the classics and history, mathematics and geography, English literature and the art of writing and composition.

In 1787, Sarah Grubb opened an exclusive girls' school adjacent to her residence on Suir Island, Clonmel. It catered for the daughters of wealthy Quakers, providing 'a guarded and religious education'.³⁴ The school was liberally endowed by her husband, Robert. There was provision for 32 boarders and it became one of the leading finishing schools for Quaker girls in Ireland. In 1788, Sarah Grubb recorded in her journal that she had 12 girls in attendance in her school. After the death of its founder, the school was carried on by members of the Davis, Jacob and Taylor families. In 1846, the school moved to a new premises in the town at Prior Park. With the decline of the Quaker population, it closed in 1864.

no. 15, List of scholars, Newtown School 1798-1891 (F.H.L.D.).

³¹ Michael Quane, 'Ballitore School' in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, xiv (1964-1970), p. 176.

³² Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The great melody* (London, 1992), p. 24.

³³ Kildare Heritage Project, *The Quakers of Ballitore* (Naas, 1994), unpaginated.

³⁴ Gráinne O'Flynn, 'Aspects of concern in the Religious Society of Friends with education in Ireland 1627-1812' in *Capuchin Annual* (1975), p.330

The pupils of the Suir Island school paid an annual fee of twenty-four guineas, plus an additional guinea for washing. For this they were taught French, German, the principles of geometry and natural philosophy, physical geography and the elements of astronomy, English literature, drawing, the keeping of accounts, deportment, household duties, scripture and needlework. In relation to needlework, the beautiful samplers produced by the pupils of the school show a high degree of skill and provided an outlet for their artistic talents. Examples of this fine embroidery can be seen in the Quaker museum in Dublin.

In addition to transmitting religious values, the school aimed at cultivating character formation, a charitable disposition towards one's fellow man and a co-operative rather than a competitive spirit. This is evident from the rules of Mountmellick school³⁵ in Queen's County, and in the sentiments as expressed in the journal of Sarah Grubb, who hoped her school would bring about 'simplicity of Manners, and a religious improvement of the morals of youth'.³⁶ A document said to be in Sarah Grubb's hand clearly indicates that the pupils of her school were being trained to live out their lives according to strict principles.³⁷ It declared that one of the most grievous faults a Quaker could be guilty of was to tell lies; 'If they have committed fault' they were duty bound to 'candidly acknowledge it'. It was a reputation for honesty that won Quakers a name for fair dealing in the business world. Quaker principles not only tried to discipline inner life, but also sought to influence even their demeanour and behaviour by advocating 'plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel'. The pupils were expected to 'express themselves in as few comprehensive words as they are able', and advised to 'encourage one another to simplicity of heart, conduct and appearance' and to reject 'a disposition to follow any unbecoming fashion in their apparel'. 'Finery and fashion lead from God' was the Quaker motto. It also impressed on them to show a concern for fellow man by

³⁵ Michael Quane, 'The Friends' provincial school, Mountmellick' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxxix, part 1 (1959), pp. 78,79.

³⁶ R. Jackson. *Some account of the life and labours of Sarah Grubb* (Dublin, 1794), p.244; M. Ahern, 'The Quaker schools in Clonmel' in *Tipperary Historical Journal*, iii (1990), pp.128-132.

³⁷ Handlists/Portfolio collection. Portfolio 11 no. 9, Advices to the pupils of Clonmel female boarding school. School records (F.H.L.D.).

cultivating 'an affectionate regard for one another', and 'if one be offended, by no means to avenge it.' They were encouraged to look after the welfare of others, 'to serve those with whom they sojourn, but specially strangers and the sick'.³⁸ In the words of Cyril Brannigan, Quaker education aimed to produce 'consistent, reliable, industrious, obedient and serious minded young Quakers'.³⁹

Two other Quaker-run schools which were patronised by the children of Tipperary Friends were the Mountmellick Provincial School set up in 1784 by the Leinster Province of Friends and the Munster Provincial School at Newtown in Waterford city which opened its doors twelve years later. Unlike Ballitore and Suir Island, both these establishments catered for the children of Quakers in poor circumstances, the cost being borne by their respective monthly meetings. Quaker education was not seen as an avenue of social mobility. As was the case with Quaker schools in England, 'Friends accepted the division in their own ranks between 'the labouring classes' and 'those in affluence' and they saw no objection to providing for each group'.⁴⁰ The children of Quakers in poor circumstances were given a very basic education to fit them for more menial jobs. In the provincial schools girls were trained to become useful household servants, while the boys entered trade when they left at the age of fourteen.⁴¹ The children of the wealthy were given a far broader curriculum to enable them to pursue careers in business or the professions.

The first and far more important aim of Quaker education was the transmission of Quaker beliefs to preserve the spiritual survival of the group. Secondary to this religious and moral aspiration, the schools had a secular and vocational dimension. Children were given skills that might prove useful in later life, while at the same time instilling in them methods of useful industry. Practical education was seen as 'a fortification of industry through which the attacks of indolence can never pierce' and a mother writing of her

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ Cyril Brannigan, 'Quaker education in Ireland 1680-1840', unpublished M. Ed., thesis (N.U.I., Maynooth, 1982), pp. 40-41.

⁴⁰ John Reader, *Of schools and schoolmasters. Some thoughts on the Quaker contribution to education* (London, 1979), p. 33.

⁴¹ Michael Quane, 'The Friends' Provincial School, Mountmellick' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxxix, part 1 (1959), p. 73.

son's experiences as a pupil at Newtown said, 'The habit of using spare minutes is a most valuable one, and has remained with him'.⁴²

At Mountmellick and Newtown the curriculum was initially limited. The children were instructed in the three 'Rs', and also in the principles of the truth as expressed by the Quakers, in addition to being provided with 'suitable seasons for retirement and reading of the Scriptures'.⁴³ Knitting and sewing were provided for the girls in both schools, while in Newtown, the girls were expected to make their own apparel and to make shirts for the boys.⁴⁴ Girls were also assigned specific household duties, while the boys worked in the garden and looked after the land. The study of science was encouraged, especially the natural sciences, on the grounds that they were empirical and practical. Gardening in all Quaker schools was encouraged since it promoted skill, neatness and order, and led to the formation of industrious habits and taught the value of time.⁴⁵ It is hardly surprising that many Quakers retained an interest in the world of science and nature.

The Quaker interest in the natural world was evident from their leisure activities, described below, while their practical application of science found expression in a variety of ways. Samuel Davis of Clonmel, apart from his work as a grocer, was a commercial photographer.⁴⁶ The flair for experiment and innovation was a hallmark of Quaker industrial endeavour, as has already been noted in the activities of Murphy's brewery. The Cahir-born Quaker George Baker (1816-86), son of Richard Harris and Elizabeth Baker, is credited with having pioneered mechanised biscuit-making in Ireland in 1844.⁴⁷ Mention should also be made of Joseph Wright (1824-1923) who was apprenticed to a grocer in Clonmel. In 1859, he worked for a year at Trinity College, Dublin for the professor of geology and, as Sandra King argues:

⁴² *Newtown Centenary*, p. 5.

⁴³ Michael Quane, 'The Friends' Provincial School, Mountmellick' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxxix, part 1 (1959), p.64.

⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.25.

⁴⁵ Michael Quane, 'Ballitore School' in *Journal of the Kildare Historical Society*, xiv no. 2, (1966-67), p.209.

⁴⁶ *Henry & Coughlan's Directory 1867*, p. 411.

⁴⁷ Richard Harrison, *A biographical dictionary of Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1997), p. 26.

Joseph Wright's main work in life was the study of foraminifera (fossils). He was made a fellow of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland in 1864 and the same in London in 1866. His collection of macro fossils are now housed in various museums in London, Glasgow, Dublin and Belfast and some of his manuscripts are in the National Library, Dublin.⁴⁸

One member of Tipperary's Quaker community to win an international reputation for his scientific work was William Joshua Fennell (1799-1867), who devoted his life to the promotion and conservation of salmon fisheries in these islands. Born in 1799, the eldest son and second of sixteen children of Joshua William and Elizabeth Fennell of Ballybrado, it is said that he 'had a desultory education, and spent much of his time in hunting, shooting and fishing. He became especially expert in angling for salmon, and his attention was drawn to the decay of fishing in the Suir and other rivers'.⁴⁹ In 1842, he became secretary of the Suir Preservation Society which was under the chairmanship of his neighbour and friend, Lord Glengall, and 'it was due to their exertions that an act of parliament was passed in 1842,⁵⁰ embodying many of Fennell's proposals. This was followed in 1848⁵¹ by a further act, known as Fennell's act 'which provided funds and machinery for carrying the law into practice by making the local administration of the salmon acts self-supporting'.⁵² An accepted authority on salmon conservation in these islands, William Joshua held many prestigious appointments. In 1860, he secured the position of royal commissioner with responsibility for examining the salmon stocks in England and Wales and, two years later, was appointed commissioner of fisheries to Scotland. He also wrote a number of pamphlets and lectured upon the fishery question.

In adherence to the advices of the Society and the concept of providing a guarded education, many branches of knowledge were forbidden. Consequently, Quaker education was narrow and restricted, and according to Cambell Stewart 'It was not education at all in the higher sense of the word'.⁵³ He goes on to argue that:

⁴⁸ Sandra King, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, Frederick Street, Belfast* (Belfast, 1999), p. 36.

⁴⁹ *Cahir Heritage Newsletter*, di (Jan.1991).

⁵⁰ 5 and 6 Vict. c.105 and c.106.

⁵¹ 11 and 12 Vict. c.92.

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ W. A. Cambell Stewart, *Quakers and education* (London, 1953), p.33.

It was not cultural in the sense that interests could be pursued for their private and personal intimations or pleasure or enrichment. Only if those interests had moral or religious ends were they to be followed. So those things in which one had personal pleasure or elation because they were beautiful or because they deepened human understanding, or because they enriched emotional experience or gave intellectual satisfaction, were not to be taught. For a long while this was so.⁵⁴

Crafts which were considered useful or vocational were promoted, but the arts were excluded. Drama was forbidden because it was not 'in the truth', as was fiction, because it was drama in the imagination, a non-existent world. Laudable though the aims of Quaker education may have been, there can be no doubt that the rejection of the arts resulted in a genuine impoverishment of the human spirit. The tragic flaw in Quaker thinking was highlighted by Rufus Jones with his critical comments on the exclusion of music from the curriculum:

It is true that music has a sensuous basis, but so, too, has almost everything else in a normal person's life. Sense and emotions are not to be despised. It is a fact, as was insisted, that music was often put to low uses, but so, too, is money often put to low uses, and many other things which the Quaker prized. It would have been more fitting to have discriminated between the high and the low uses, and to have trained the character to balance and restraint.⁵⁵

As the nineteenth century progressed, Quaker schools, while continuing to transmit the Society's Quaker values and beliefs, had to face the challenge of the changed and changing times. Increasingly, Quaker schools were seen as not providing adequate educational opportunities to meet the demands of the outside world. As Campbell Stewart has stated, 'Just as mass society drew Friends in daily affairs into commercial, social, civic and political interrelation with non-Quaker elements, so the Friends' schools were drawn into comparison with non-Friend's schools, while trying to preserve their Quaker values'.⁵⁶ Declining membership of the Society meant the schools could not hope to survive without admitting pupils who were not of the Quaker persuasion. Inevitably, the curriculum in Quaker schools was broadened. These schools gradually developed curricula which extended beyond the scope of elementary education. By the end of the century Newtown, the only provincial Quaker school then in existence, was providing an

⁵⁴ *ibid*, p. 44.

⁵⁵ Rufus Jones, *The later periods of Quakerism*, (London, 1921), p. 192.

⁵⁶ W. A. Campbell Stewart, *Quakers and education*, p. 220.

education to equip its students for entry to the professions. As this took place, manual work for the pupils was dropped and the neglect of the arts was rectified.

Apprenticeship

Friends were advised to bring up their children in some useful and necessary employment that they might not spend their precious time in idleness. Quakers insisted that when children 'were of an age fit for employment, both male and female, they should be kept at suitable work and labour. The Quaker boy or girl had therefore to pass directly from school to apprenticeship'.⁵⁷ Those in poor circumstances were advised to put their children out to service, if there was not sufficient employment for them at home. While it was felt that those in affluent circumstances could become inured to industry they were warned not to allow their children to become too dependent on the services of domestics. Even the wealthiest Quakers saw the value of this practical training for their children. In 1829, when Richard Lalor Shiel was being given a guided tour of Suir Island corn mill in Clonmel by David Malcomson he saw 'a young man shovelling the flour with his own hands into a large tube, and covered with its particles'. David Malcomson identified the young man as his son, and made the comment that 'he will teach others, by having first practised his business himself'.⁵⁸

While the better-off members found apprenticeships for their own children, assistance was readily available for the children of less well-off members. Local records show that the responsibility for the maintenance of education of orphans or the children of poor Friends was cheerfully borne. Every meeting expected to raise an 'apprentices stock' from which masters of poor Friends might be paid. The respective monthly meetings paid the apprenticeship fees and provided clothing for the children of their poorer members. Often when sufficient masters could not be found locally, appeals were made to other meetings. In 1706, County Tipperary Friends asked other Munster Friends for an apprentice for wool-combing, and two years later also sought an apprentice saddler.⁵⁹ Where apprenticeships could not be secured with Quaker tradesmen, children

⁵⁷ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900* (London, 1927), pp. 82,93.

⁵⁸ Richard Lalor Shiel, 'A glimpse of industrial Clonmel in 1829' in *Catholic Record* (Dublin, 1918), p.116.

⁵⁹ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers and industry before 1800* (London, 1929), p.74.

were apprenticed to non-Quakers. It was not uncommon for parents to send their children to other Quaker families far from home to give them the opportunity of securing suitable apprenticeships. George Grubb of Clonmel sent his sons Francis and John as apprentices to Moate in 1795, and another son, Thomas, to Dublin two years later.⁶⁰ However, it was preferable that the masters and mistresses chosen by the meetings were themselves Quakers because they could be disciplined by the local Friends if they used their apprentices and servants unfairly.

Great care was taken by meetings in the selection of apprentices and masters and strict rules were laid down governing the relationship between master and apprentice. An indenture entered into by James Mason with George Grubb from Clonmel outlines the conditions of apprenticeship which prevailed, not just among Quakers, at the time. The term of the apprenticeship was for a period of seven years, during which time the apprentice pledged not to commit fornication or contract matrimony. Furthermore, he agreed not to play cards or dice or frequent taverns or ale-houses. On the other hand his master, George Grubb, agreed to provide food, lodgings and clothes as well as providing instruction for the apprentice in his chosen craft.⁶¹ Indentures could be cancelled if the apprentice proved unruly or if the master failed to teach him his trade. The period was generally five years, often seven, and occasionally eight or nine. At the end of his term, the former apprentice either returned home to enter the family business or set up in business for himself, in which case his former master was obliged to render him every assistance possible.

A letter sent by William Malone of Dublin to William Going of Cahir concerning the possibility of securing an apprenticeship for his son, Thomas, indicates the importance of safeguarding the moral welfare of the young apprentice. It is also a typical example of Quaker networking, and illustrates that every effort was made to ensure that the prospective apprentice was suited to the position on offer:

⁶⁰ R.T.M. Minutes of men's monthly meeting 1787-1804 (F.H.L.D., MM X A4), p.29.

⁶¹ Indenture between James Mason and George Grubb, 28 day of third month, 1782. Legal documents, D II 8 65 (F.H.L.D.).

I now write to say that having, today, heard that Robert Grubb Gatchell wanted an apprentice I immediately waited on him, and mentioned thy wish to obtain a place for Thomas. RGG is a wholesale retail ironmonger in a rather extensive business. He is a steady Friend. His wife (daughter of John Tolerton), is a nice, kind woman. I believe they are watchful over the lads. I know that they have a house in the environs in summer and that RGG brings all the lads in the house out to sleep there. AG had great influence over the youths, who are much attached to her that speaks much for the mistress. Now for business. I told RGG that I believed Thomas was sixteen years of age, of active habits and agreeable manners. He wishes should he take him, to come for a month or two on trial. Would require a £50 fee, time to be of five years or till he is of age and should not like to bind him, of course the trial time should be allowed off the remainder. He wishes to have a specimen of Thomas's writing, considering a good hand a necessary qualification - the ironmongery business is a business requiring a close application and great attention to keep things in order, clear and right - more than hard work but the hours of business I think are not long hours. RGG, I believe, starts at 8 o'clock. RGG also thinks it desirable that a lad coming to the business should have an inclination for it. I do not remember that there are any other matters to mention except that RGG would like a reply soon. There are some other youths wanting places. I know having been spoken to for them.

Thou canst communicate direct to RGG if thou prefer it. I shall not think it troublesome to have it done. I believe that the usual fee in that business is from £100 to £200.⁶²

The local meeting always made a point of notifying the meeting to whose care the young apprentice had been entrusted, by issuing a certificate of removal, for example:

To Limerick Monthly Meeting of Friends

Dear Friends,

Alfred Dudley a member of this meeting having moved into the company of yours and nothing appearing to prevent the issuing of a certificate on his behalf he having gone in the capacity of an apprentice. We accordingly recommend him to your Christian care and remain with love your friends.

Signed on behalf of the Mountmellick Men's Meeting for meeting held in Mountrath

21st day of 11th mo 1838. James Pim (clerk).⁶³

Furthermore, the meeting to whose care the apprentice was entrusted assumed responsibility for his moral welfare. A minute of a meeting which took place in 1761 records Benjamin Grubb giving an account of the misbehaviour of an apprentice who had been frequenting ale-houses.⁶⁴

⁶² Letter dated 24 day of 6 month 1843 among a collection of Going family letters in the possession of Tom Shanahan, the Bell, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.

⁶³ R.M.M. Minutes of men's monthly meeting 1836-1856, 21st day 11th mo. 1838 (F.H.L.D., MM X K4).

⁶⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting 1761-1787, 25th day 1st mo. 1761

A letter written by William Leadbeater of Ballitore on placing his only son as an apprentice with Richard Grubb of Clogheen gives an interesting insight into a parent's perspective. He entreats his son's employer to ensure that his son will not 'make or be led into any improper connections' and 'that he be constantly employed, & never be suffered to absent himself from his business without leave.' He is at pains to point out that he had instilled in him a spirit of industry making him 'copy over accounts neatly and correctly' and 'never allowed him to write out anything carelessly', with the result that he acquired 'neat, clean writing.' He went on to say that his son was brought up on 'homely living' which he hoped would continue. His daily diet had consisted of bread and milk for his breakfast, one meat dish at dinner and bread or potatoes and milk for supper, and 'by no means either wine or punch to be allowed, except in sickness.' He concludes by saying, 'I now give thee full power & authority over him as thy own child, being confident that thou will exercise it with tenderness & affection, & further I am perfectly easy in my mind at his going under thy care, I am much obliged to thee for taking him'.⁶⁵

As a constituent of the Munster Quarterly Meeting, Tipperary Friends were involved in the creation of the Munster Female Bounty Fund which was set up in 1775. Its aim was to promote industry in young people and to induce the daughters of Friends in poor circumstances to go out to service. Well-off Friends subscribed a sum of money which was invested, the interest being applied to the use of this institution. The rules stated that every woman born within the limits of the quarterly meeting of the Society 'who shall have lived a Servant in one or more Friends families in Ireland for three years and received wages for that period and who shall marry agreeable with the rules of said Society .. shall be entitled to and receive from the income or interest money arisen from the Capital Stock of this institution' on the occasion of her marriage.⁶⁶

Employment

Tipperary's early Quakers, as has been previously stated, were composed of artisan/farming stock with a sprinkling of ex-army officers. A century later, many had

(F.H.L.D., MM A A3).

⁶⁵ Leadbeater Collection. Letter to Amy and Elizabeth Grubb, 26th day 4th month, 1813 (Kildare County Library, Newbridge, Co. Kildare, PP1/12, p. 229).

⁶⁶ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting 1761-1787, (F.H.L.D., MM X A4).

become respected members of the middle classes, dominating the woollen and milling industries and emerging as successful traders and shop-keepers. A number of families such as the Watsons and Fennells continued in farming. Although the Tipperary community was becoming increasingly urbanised, not all Quakers were on the same social level. As has been stated earlier, poorer Quakers found employment with their well-off brethren who had set up in business for themselves, and were generally employed in a managerial or supervisory capacity. These included such people as Richard Baker, who worked for the Clonmel grocery firm of Davis & Co., and Richard Shaw, who became manager of the Malcomson cotton plant in Portlaw. By the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that any of the Tipperary Quakers were of the labouring class. Whereas in the early days numerous cases were recorded of members receiving financial and material assistance from the meeting, the only case recorded in minutes of nineteenth century monthly meetings, and which has already been referred to in this chapter, was the assistance given to the widow Elizabeth Grubb to enable her to send her son, James, to the provincial school in Mountmellick.

As the nineteenth century advanced, an increasing number of Tipperary Quakers were drawn to the professions or sought employment outside the confines of the family business. They became teachers, doctors and engineers. Others found work in the public service. As has been noted in chapter 6, Robert Grubb served as governor of Clonmel gaol, while his cousin, Thomas Milner Grubb, was clerk of the petty sessions. A number of the Fennell family secured employment with the Clogheen Poor Law Union. Both Samuel Jellico⁶⁷ and Nicholas Chaytor⁶⁸ of Cahir became estate agents. Nicholas, son of Joseph Chaytor was employed as a sub-agent for the Bank of Ireland.⁶⁹ There are also a number of references to Quaker doctors, including Andrew Lucas and William Bell, who practised in Clonmel, James Beale of Cahir and Jonathan Dudley of Roscrea.

The involvement of Tipperary Quakers as teachers can be traced back to the establishment of Quaker-run schools referred to above. In addition to these, they

⁶⁷ C.C., 8 Aug. 1877.

⁶⁸ C.A., 19 Oct. 1825.

⁶⁹ C.C., 15 April 1871.

provided teaching services for the Clonmel charity schools, referred to in chapter 6, which were conducted by Quaker women for the poor children of the town. There are a number of references to Quaker schoolmasters and mistresses who conducted their own private schools for all denominations. In 1771, Susannah Lowe, who later moved to Waterford, kept a little school in Clonmel.⁷⁰ The same source indicates that Thomas Chaytor had a small boarding school in the town at that time which was taken over after his death, in 1803, by his widow Elizabeth and his son, Thomas.⁷¹ In 1835, a government report indicates the presence of three further Quaker-run schools in the town. These included a day school run by a Miss Strangman who charged thirty-five girls £6 per annum to learn reading, writing, arithmetic, needlework and accomplishments; Miss Proctor who charged eight boys and twelve girls 10s. to 20s. per quarter to learn reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history and needlework; and a school patronised by Miss Strangman, which appears to have been a philanthropic venture and where reading, writing and needlework were taught free of charge.⁷² There is also an isolated reference to another Quaker-run school in Clogheen in the early nineteenth century.⁷³

Marriage

Since Quakers had from their foundation dispensed with the services of an ordained clergy, they took particular care to ensure that marriages should be orderly and simple and above reproach. As Richard Greaves notes, 'the vigour of their religious commitment suffused them with a sense of social responsibility characterised by the upholding of high standards of conduct. This is readily manifest, for example, in the care with which they approached marriage etc.'⁷⁴ Greaves argues that the basic structure to ensure orderly marriage was in place by 1672, when the national half-yearly meeting laid down formalised procedures which were probably already in place. Marriages within the

⁷⁰ J. William Frost (ed.), *The records and recollections of James Jenkins* (New York, 1984), p. 60.

⁷¹ C.G., 15-18 June 1803.

⁷² *Report of the commission of public instruction, Ireland 1835*, H.C., 23c.

⁷³ Grubb Collection. MS. box 57, letter no H/122 (F.H.L.D.).

⁷⁴ Richard Greaves, *God's other children. Protestant dissent and non-conformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland 1660-1700* (California, 1997), p.341.

Society were strictly supervised, and intending couples had to receive parental approval and the consent of the Meeting. Those contemplating marriage were required to follow strict rules of procedure before being permitted to proceed. They had to give at least six months notice to the local meeting and were expected to appear in person and declare their intentions in the local business meeting, which in turn appointed committees of both men and women Friends. The committee appointed by the men's meeting made discreet enquiries regarding the would-be bridegroom, while the women's committee acted in a similar manner regarding the bride. They had to ensure that parental consent had been obtained, and that both parties were free from other engagements. The committees reported back to the monthly meeting and final consent was given by the quarterly meeting.

These committees remained in being until after the wedding. They were obliged to ensure that the wedding was carried out with due moderation and decorum, especially taking care to see that the marriage certificate was signed and witnessed. The wedding ceremony took place during a meeting for worship specially appointed for the purpose. No one officiated at the marriage and it was left to the bride and groom to rise when they felt the time was appropriate to make their commitment to each other. At the close of the meeting the couple signed a certificate which included the wording of the declaration they had made, and all present were invited to sign the certificate. The subsequent festivities took place in the bride's house. It was advised that provisions should 'bee cold and very moderate both in meat and drink'.⁷⁵ Two members were appointed to ensure that the ceremony was conducted with due decorum.

The following is a copy of the certificate of marriage concerning Joseph Grubb of Clonmel and Lydia Jacob of Waterford which took place in the Clonmel meeting house on 6 Dec. 1804:

Joseph Grubb, son of Benjamin Grubb, late of Clonmel in the County of Tipperary deceased and Susanna, his wife, and Lydia Jacob, daughter of Joseph Jacob of the city of Waterford and Hannah his wife both deceased, having declared their intention of taking each other in marriage before the monthly meeting of the people

⁷⁵ R.D.M. Minutes of Dublin monthly meetings 1691-1701, April 1700. (F.H.L.D., D 12).

called Quakers of the County of Tipperary, the proceedings of the said Joseph Grubb and Lydia Jacob after due enquiry and deliberate consideration thereof were allowed by the said meeting, their intention having been twice published in the meeting to which they belong and they appearing clear of all others and having consent of parent and relations concerned.

Now these are to certify all whom it may concern, that for the accomplishing of their said marriage this sixth day of the twelfth month in the year one thousand eight hundred and four they the said Joseph Grubb and Lydia Jacob appeared at a publick meeting of the aforesaid people in their publick meeting place in Clonmel aforesaid, and he the said Joseph Grubb taking the said Lydia Jacob by the hand did openly declare as followeth:

In the presence of this assembly I take Lydia Jacob to be my wife promising through Divine Assistance to be unto her a faithful and loving husband until death shall separate us.

And the said Lydia Jacob did then and there in the said Assembly declare as followeth:

In the presence of this Assembly I take Joseph Grubb to be my husband promising through Divine Assistance to be a faithful and loving wife until death shall separate us.

And the said Joseph Grubb and Lydia as a further confirmation thereof did then and there to these presents set their hands as husband and wife.

Joseph Grubb

Lydia Grubb

And we who were present at the aforesaid marriage have also subscribed our names as witnesses thereunto that day and year above written.

Appended to the marriage certificate were the signatures of the ninety-six members who witnessed the marriage. A record of the marriage was later entered into the register of marriages for the meeting in question.

When the Grubb family established themselves in Cahir and Clogheen in the early nineteenth century a new form of life as country gentry opened up for them. Family weddings became lavish occasions far removed from the austerity which marked such events in previous generations. Geoffrey Watkins Grubb who remarked on the reputation the Grubbs had gained for giving first class weddings to their daughters writes:

The Grubb-Ridgway wedding in 1833 marked the peak of Richard and Susan Grubb's life at Coolville, Clogheen. So successful was the organisation of the event, and so widely talked about in the county, that whether they liked it or not

creating a closer bond between two families engaged in the timber trade. The movement of Grubb merchandise established connections with fellow Quakers in the port of Waterford, and led to marriage into the ship-owning families of Jacob and Strangman has been discussed in chapter 5. This broad network of family connections, both in Ireland and England, often led to Quaker businesses being run by extended families.⁸⁹ This was illustrated after the death of Sarah Grubb, when the mills at Anner continued to be operated by her son-in-law John Barclay Clibborn. The importance of these family networks cannot be overestimated, and were, for the Quakers, a major factor in their commercial success.⁹⁰

Power has suggested that 'the Quakers, the Fennells for instance, exhibit a pattern of alliances with co-religionists from outside the county'.⁹¹ Of the thirty six marriages contracted by members of the Fennell family to other Quakers, only six were to members of the Tipperary meeting. Marriages into such prominent Quaker families as the Marks, Pearses and Lucases of Limerick, and the Newsoms, Harveys and Leckys of Cork are indicative of the Fennell's status within the Quaker community. This is also reflected by marriages into the leading families of the Tipperary meeting, such as the Cooks and the Phelps.

Clothes

Quakers insisted on appropriate standards of dress, imposing strictures on fabrics, colours and style. Testimonies were issued in relation to plainness and simplicity against the wearing of clothes which conformed to the passing fashions of the world. In 1699, the yearly meeting advised members to avoid 'costly attire, foolish dresses and new fashions, ruffling periwigs, needless buttons, wide skirts, and long flat-sleeved clothes - which appear to answer the fashion rather than service.' A meeting of the Tipperary women's meeting held in 1730 advised members 'to be exemplary in plainness of apparel'.⁹² For Quakers, extravagant dress manifested an earthly spirit and was seen to

⁸⁹ Helen Hatton. *The largest amount of good* (Montreal, 1993), p.21.

⁹⁰ Robert Jacob. *Quakers in industry and engineering in Ireland in the nineteenth century* (Dublin, 1988), p.5.

⁹¹ Thomas Power, *Land, politics and society*, p. 160.

⁹² R.T.M. Minutes of Tipperary men's six weeks meeting 1724-1760, 6th day 7th mo.

be productive of vanity and pride. Consequently, eye-catching colours and clothes which appeared to answer fashion rather than service were not considered in keeping with the humility of a Christian life. Moderation and plainness became the hallmarks of Quaker dress. Vann stated that:

the simplicity in dress which the first Friends adhered to was the simple, unadorned garb of the men of George Fox's generation, and it was exactly the same standard which Friends a century later were still prescribing that dress thus became, for all intents and purposes, a uniform.⁹³

The men wore a plain, collarless, cuffless coat of sombre grey with a matching shovel hat, a plain white stock and knee breeches. The women wore long grey dresses with a fichu, jacket, shawl and high bonnet. While it should be stated that the adoption of plain dress was an important factor in marking their identity, it should be noted that there was no precisely defined Quaker costume, and their traditional garb was also subject to constant, slow, modification.

Implementation of this dress code was reinforced by frequent epistles and advices condemning conformity to the world, and also through the protective methods employed by the local meeting to maintain group identity by rejecting any elaboration of lifestyle. The minute books of the Tipperary Meeting show that the elders were not slow to voice their disapproval at what they deemed inappropriate dress behaviour. The Tipperary women's meeting in 1730 issued the following advice that they expected the members 'to be exemplary, at all times, in plainness of apparel'.⁹⁴ In 1736, it was felt that the marriage of Robert Higgins and Elizabeth Simmons 'was not according to good order' because a number of young men and women engaged in the 'drinking of healths and wearing ribbons on their heads and breasts according to the fashions of this world'. The meeting decided to appoint Sarah Chandlee and Ann Boles to speak to the women.⁹⁵ The following year, the minutes record that Sarah Chandlee and Anne Boles duly advised

1730 (F.H.L.D., MM X A2).

⁹³ Robert Vann, *The social development of English Quakerism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 194.

⁹⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of women's six weeks meeting, 6th day 7th mo. 1730 at Kilcommon, (F.H.L.D., MM X A2).

⁹⁵ R.T.M. Minutes of women's six weeks meeting, 13th day 12th mo. 1736, (F.H.L.D., MM X B2).

the 'young women to be more careful of their behaviour and dress in future'.⁹⁶ Later that year there was cause for further disquiet when it was stated that 'It is a concern for us to see so many young women here with their Cambric aprons. It is hoped that they will be condescending to avoid wearing them at those meetings'.⁹⁷ A family anecdote concerning Samuel Grubb of Clonmel, who, in 1776, married Margaret Shackleton of Ballitore indicates how seriously Margaret's mother regarded the dress code. When Samuel presented himself at Margaret's home, Margaret's mother, although suitably impressed by him, was disconcerted by the number of buttons on his coat. Her husband, on the other hand, was reputed to have taken the more liberal view by remarking that Samuel 'would do to the button'.

A century later, the author of an article in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, published in 1836, made the observation that Clonmel's Quakers were 'generally prosperous and somewhat aristocratic,' and the author noticed 'among the Quakeresses, more smartness of dress, and a greater disregard of the strict costume than in any other place I visited'. This was a sign, perhaps, of their identification with Irish Protestant merchants in general, who had a reputation for grandeur from the eighteenth century onwards.⁹⁸ Early nineteenth century portraits from the period of such notable Quakers as David Malcomson and members of the Grubb family in Clogheen show how far some of the more affluent Friends had departed from the dress code as laid down by the Society. Even many young people were finding it difficult to conform to a strict discipline which advocated a withdrawal from the fashions of the world. For them, the wearing of the plain Quaker dress was a constant grievance, especially to children who went to a mixed school, and by the middle of the nineteenth century it had been more or less discarded.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ R.T.M. Minutes of women's six weeks meeting, 27th day 1st mo. 1737, (F.H.L.D., MM X B2).

⁹⁷ R.T.M. Minutes of women's six weeks meeting, 25th day 9th mo. 1737, (F.H.L.D., MM X B2).

⁹⁸ Edward Mc Lysaght, 'Longford papers' in *Analectica Hibernica*, xv, (1944), p. 120.

⁹⁹ Marjorie Hall Lamb, *Little Quaker girl* (Roscrea, 1989), p. 12. In this short personal memoir the author tells of her embarrassment having to wear the traditional Quaker garb, and listen to her 'parents talking to "outsiders" and using the plain language'. She was born in Utah in 1951 into an extremely conservative Quaker family. Later she came to Ireland and married Charles Lamb of Roscrea. At present, the Lambs are the only

Susanna Fayle (1828-1896) was the daughter of Clonmel hardware merchant, Samuel Fayle. Around 1885, she settled in Limerick, and later that year departed for America where she died. Her photograph, in her Quaker bonnet and plain silk dress, can be seen in the Friends' Historical Library in Dublin. She was reputed to have been one of the last to wear the traditional garb and her passing, in many respects, could be said to mark the end of an era.¹⁰⁰ Commenting on the changes that had taken place in Quakerism by the end of the nineteenth century Isichei remarked, 'All the barriers which marked Friends off as a "Peculiar People" - the distinctive dress and speech, the embargo on marrying outsiders'¹⁰¹ had gone.

Houses and furnishing

In the early days, most rural Quakers lived in one-roomed dwellings with basic furniture which was often home-made. Throughout the Tipperary minutes of the first hundred years, houses are frequently referred to as cabins. Initially, Quaker town traders lived over or adjacent to their businesses and, where possible, provision was made for a coach house, orchard and garden. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, many successful Quaker farmers began to build more substantial fine residences, many of which are still in existence to-day. These include the Jackson houses at Tincurry and Millgrove, the Watson house at Clonbrogan, and the Thomas Samuel Grubbe's house on New Quay in Clonmel. Although exceptionally well-built, they are plain in appearance. The expense spared on outward appearances was directed to the quality reflected in the internal fittings. In many cases the original doors, windows, staircases and plaster work are still evident. Another feature of many of these houses is the number of small rooms they contain. This is understandable when we realise that the household often consisted not only of parents and children, but also other relatives, servants and apprentices. Marriage patterns, family size and other demographic matters have been dealt in chapter 2. Even though Anner House was a building of impressive proportions, Elizabeth Clibborn yearned for 'the want of a sitting room or quiet apartment to retire from the

Quaker family in Tipperary.

¹⁰⁰ Ernest H. Bennis, *Some reminiscences of Limerick Friends* (Limerick, 1930), p. 15.

¹⁰¹ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford, 1970), p. xxv.

nursery'.¹⁰² This striving for simplicity of appearance was reflected in the design of local meeting houses which were plain, unadorned buildings. This is evident in the construction of the Cahir meeting house which still stands. A fine cut, sandstone rectangular structure, well-proportioned and aesthetically pleasing, it is devoid of any ornamentation or ostentatious detail.

Quaker insistence on plain furniture was founded on principles similar to those on dress. Homes were expected to provide life's domestic essentials in simple and functional terms. Quakers were expected to restrict themselves to items of furniture essential for eating and cooking and to refrain from decking their rooms and their kitchens with needless pewter and brass. This testimony was reflected in the will of James Hutchinson of Knockballymaher, one the county's most wealthy Quakers. Drawn up in 1689 it contained the following inventory of his household goods valued at £15 11s. 3d. Among the items listed were 3 feather beds, curling and bedding; 3 flock beds, bedding and a copper pan; 6 iron-hooks and hangers; 3 brass candlesticks; 10 pewter dishes; 3 old silver spoons; 1 dram cup; 1 standing cupboard; 1 small cupboard; 1 chest of drawers; 12 winged chairs; 10 wicker chairs; 5 beds sheets; 1 settle bed; 2 folding tables; 2 small tables; fire-shovel and hanging spit; grid iron; pestle and mortar; a ghill; a flagin (sic.); a warming pan; a frying pan and a copper cup.¹⁰³

In the early days, the Society was not content merely with giving advice but, in 1708, appointed men and women Friends to visit every Quaker family in the country to make sure they had no excessively ornate furniture or clothing, and that their lives were conducted in conformity with Quaker principles. In the same year, Munster Friends were inspected by Joseph Pike and Samuel Randall. Before setting out on this mission they put all superfluities out of their own houses. In his Journal, Pike gave the following account of what this entailed:

it is with me here to mention, as a memorial to my children, some particulars of the fine and superfluous things which, for Truth's sake, we were made willing to part with; and our dear wives also joined in spirit with us, by putting away their silk

¹⁰² Elizabeth Clibborn's diary (F.H.L.D., p. 2.)

¹⁰³ R.M.M. Will of James Hutchinson 6th day 9 mo.1689 (F.H.L.D., MM V K 1), pp. 30-31.

garments, instead of which they got plain stuffs. As to our own clothing, we had but little to alter, having both of us been pretty plain in our garb.... But my dear cousin, being naturally of a very exact and nice fancy, had things in more curious order as regards household furniture than I had; and therefore as a testimony against such superfluities and that spirit which led to it, he not only altered or exchanged (as I did) several articles that were too fine, but even destroyed some of the things he had ... Our fine veneered and garnished cases of drawers, tables, stands, cabinets, scrutories etc., we put away or exchanged for decent plain ones of solid wood without superfluous varnishing or ornamental work; our wainscots or wood-work we had painted of one plain colour, our large mouldings or furnishings or panelling, etc., our swelling chimney pieces, curiously twisted banisters, we took down and replaced with useful plain woodwork, etc., our curtains with valances, drapery and fringes that we thought too fine, we put away or cut off; our large looking glasses with decorated frames we sold or made them into smaller ones; and our closets that were laid out with many little curious or nice things were done away.¹⁰⁴

In 1796, the extremes to which the Society went to achieve conformity with their concept of plainness was illustrated by the Committee for the Munster Provincial School at Newtown in Waterford city. The thirty-strong committee, a third of whom were members of the Tipperary meeting, decided that Sir Thomas Wyse's former residence, which was to become the new school building, would have to undergo substantial alterations. This meant having all ornamental extravagance removed including the decorative stucco work, two chimney pieces, a white marble hearth, four doors which were covered with green cloth, the escutcheons off the parlour doors, a looking glass, closets, the iron-entrance gates and the gilded banisters of the staircase which were to be painted over in some more sober hue.¹⁰⁵

However, Irish Quakers were noted for their hospitality. Attendance at quarterly and yearly meetings, business activities and the presence of travelling ministers meant that members who had the means provided food and accommodation for their travelling brethren. In examining the inventory of James Hutchinson, mentioned above, one is struck by the numbers of beds that were included. Among the distinguished visitors to the Hutchinson household were George Fox and William Edmundson, on the former's visit to Ireland in 1669. Almost two centuries later the following reference to the family home in Clonmel was inserted in a draft of John Barclay Clibborn's will drawn up in

¹⁰⁴ Joseph Pike, *Some account of the life of Joseph Pike*, (London, 1837), pp. 65, 66.

¹⁰⁵ Maurice Wigham, *Newtown School, Waterford: A history 1798-1998* (Waterford, 1998), p. 13.

1845. He wished that it be 'kept in the simplicity and with the hospitality which has marked its character for generations'.¹⁰⁶

Louis Cullen remarked that visitors from England commented on the great variety and profusion of food in most Irish households.¹⁰⁷ Quakers were no exception when it came to enjoying a rich and varied diet. As Isabel Grubb remarked:

Lavish hospitality was typical of all Friends but Irish Quakers seem to have gone to excess in the furnishings of their tables and the number and variety of dishes before their guests. William Savery thought that some of them lived 'too much like princes'; other American visitors were astonished at the sumptuousness displayed on such occasions as wedding breakfasts.¹⁰⁸

Sarah Grubb (1746-1842), describing her youthful experiences in London where she mixed in fashionable Quaker society, said that the English Quakers loved finery whereas the Irish retained the 'plain dress' but entertained lavishly. Through her marriage to John Grubb, the proprietor of Anner mills, she entered the circle of wealthy Quaker families who controlled Clonmel's milling industry in its golden age. Although some in this circle lived 'like princes of the earth', the Grubbs choose to live plainly and their comfortable home, Anner House, for years provided hospitality to numerous travelling Quaker ministers, ranging from Catherine Phillips and William Savery, through Thomas Shillitoe to Elizabeth Fry. Judging from her household accounts, the Grubbs had a rich and varied diet. There are frequent entries concerning the purchase of meat, poultry and fish, while beverages consisted of beer, wine, cider and rum.¹⁰⁹ It should be stated that the predilection for alcoholic drinks occurred at a time before tea and coffee were popular beverages. With the spread of the temperance movement in the nineteenth century many Quakers, as a matter of choice, became teetotalers.

As such cases suggest by the end of the eighteenth century, there are indications that at least some of the Irish Quaker community had adopted a more opulent life-style. An examination of a number of contemporary wills shows how far the standards of living

¹⁰⁶ R.T.M. Ministers and elders, folder c (F.H.L.D., MM X C1).

¹⁰⁷ Louis Cullen, *Life in Ireland* (London, 1979), p. 104.

¹⁰⁸ Isabel Grubb 'Quakerism and home life' in Howard H. Brunton (ed.), *Children of Light* (New York, 1938), p. 289

¹⁰⁹ Grubb collection. Ms box 52 S.C. 6 (F.H.L.D.).

of the deceased were at variance with the strictures of the Society. One such example concerns the will of Eleazor Dudley of Roscrea who died in 1797. His house contents contained various pieces of silverware and mahogany furniture.¹¹⁰ In 1798, William Savery, a travelling minister from America, noted that 'Friends in Ireland seemed to live like princes of the earth, more than in any country I have seen - their gardens, horses carriages, and various conveniences, with the abundance of their tables, appeared to me to call for much more gratitude and humility, than in some instances, it is feared is the case'.¹¹¹ The situation appeared to have been no different in Clonmel. Savery viewed Richard Sparrow's house as 'a very sumptuous establishment indeed, which I did not omit to tell him was quite too much so', and that his stables were those fit for a nobleman.¹¹² In 1809, when Margaret Harvey moved from Dublin to set up house in Clonmel she obviously felt that she had to maintain a certain standard of living: 'Persons cannot make a little furniture answer here as in America, for if there is not some degree of gentility kept up the common order will think nothing of you'.¹¹³

As the nineteenth century opened, Samuel Grubb (1750-1815) and his wife, Margaret, had settled for a life among the country gentry in Clogheen. Their home at Clashleigh 'provided the space, the comfort, the feeling of elegance that formed the perfect background to family life'.¹¹⁴ In adapting to their new social role they took to themselves a coat of arms emblazoned with the motto 'bonne et assez belle'. Geoffrey Watkins Grubb adds:

in keeping with this new crest, which was later to be worn on signet rings by his descendants, Samuel and Margaret ordered two large canteens of cutlery in Dublin for use by the family at Clogheen, and on their marriages, his children were each presented with George III silver mint-marked with the Grubb crest.¹¹⁵

Similarly, Richard and Susan Grubb at their home in Cooleville, Clogheen 'beautiful pieces of furniture into the drawing room and halls. Oil paintings adorned the dining

¹¹⁰ Will of Eleazor Dudley. R.D., 636/104/435974.

¹¹¹ W. & T. Evans, *The journal of William Savery*, i (Philadelphia, 1837), pp. 327-481.

¹¹² F. R. Taylor, *The life of William Savery* (New York, 1925), p. 282.

¹¹³ Anon. 'The journal of Margaret B. Harvey' in *J.F.H.S.*, xxiv (1927), p. 20.

¹¹⁴ Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972), p. 111.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

room walls. Grubb-crested silver and china - gifts from Cork - were in use; a far cry from the plainness of Quaker life in Clonmel'.¹¹⁶

Edward Wakefield, writing in 1809, highlighted the social changes that had taken place in Quakerism:

Throughout the South of Ireland, and particularly in Clonmel, Cork, Bandon and Limerick, many of the commercial men are opulent Quakers, who are in possession of great quantities of ready money. Brought up in industry and frugal habits, they acquire fortunes; but these habits relax as their riches increase, and they frequently lay aside much of that reserve which is so peculiar to their sect, and participate in the enjoyment of society.¹¹⁷

This departure from the strictures regarding simplicity and plainness can also be seen in many of the houses wealthy local Quakers erected. Throughout the nineteenth century, more affluent members of the Society were no longer content to live in the simple abodes of their predecessors. Increasing prosperity enabled them to erect more ornate residences in the more salubrious suburbs. These included Alta Villa, the Going residence, outside Cahir; the Grubb houses at Clashleigh and Castlegrace in Clogheen and Mount Dudley, the home of the Dudley family in Roscrea. The Gothic villas of Roseville and Ashbourne in Clonmel for the Murray and Davis families were built to the designs of the celebrated local architect, William Tinsley. The most striking examples of this new extravagance include Melview House, affectionately referred to as the 'tea-caddy', which David Malcomson built in 1813. It was described as 'elaborately plain' where some 'lurking indications of luxury only thinly veiled by ostentatious simplicity' were evident.¹¹⁸ Another imposing edifice was Joseph Malcomson's neo-classical mansion at Minella in the southern outskirts of Clonmel which was built in 1863. Designed by John Skipton Mulvany, it was described as having 'a pair of full-height bows on the garden elevation, overlooking the river Suir. The main rooms are arranged around an elongated central hall which rises to roof level'.¹¹⁹ Commenting on this new departure Geoffrey Watkins Grubb has stated:

¹¹⁶ *ibid*, p. 123.

¹¹⁷ Edward Wakefield, *An account of Ireland, statistical and political*, ii (London, 1812), p.774.

¹¹⁸ Bill Irish, *Shipbuilding in Waterford 1820-1882* (Bray, 2001), p. 115.

¹¹⁹ Frederick O'Dwyer, 'The architecture of John Skipton Mulvany (1813-1870)' in *The*

it was a period in the history of the Quakers in Ireland when large numbers of their families were giving the impression that they were too busy and occupied in worldly cares and building up family homes, to be as zealous as their forefathers for the plainness and simplicities of their beliefs.¹²⁰

Birth and family names

From womb to tomb all Quaker activities were to be governed by plainness and moderation. The joyous occasion of a birth was not to be marked by a surfeit of food and drink, and strict behavioural standards were supposed to be observed. As early as 1680 a minute of a meeting of Quaker midwives and nurse-keepers advised against the use of much beribboned and "laced linen" for infants, and against gossips' feasts.¹²¹ Thomas Henry Webb, in his examination of that Christian names which the early Irish Friends gave their children said:

we find indications of the peculiar circumstances under which the society came into being. It is characteristic of the autobiographies of the early Friends that they in many instances, while relating their early history, make little allusion to their parents. Names are not given. A writer says, 'My father was -' so and so; but omits his father's name. Doubtless, in many cases, the joining of the new sect was followed by repudiation by the parents and relatives. Hence the reticence in alluding to family history.¹²²

Consequently, family names were not adopted in the beginning, but instead Quakers showed a preference for names with a puritan or scriptural flavour. Thus we find at the end of the seventeenth century biblical names such as Abigail, Abraham, Caleb, Deborah, Rebecca and puritan names like Obedience in use. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the quaint scriptural names had disappeared, with certain exceptions. Consequently, the range of choice became restricted and many Christian names were adopted as family names.

The giving of family names where larger family units such as the Grubbs and Fennells were concerned led to a certain amount of confusion, since there were several relatives with the same name. Among the former, there was an almost bewildering number of Josephs, Roberts and Thomases, while the Fennells displayed a predilection

Journal of the Irish Georgian Society, iii (2001), p. 64.

¹²⁰ Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972), p. 124.

¹²¹ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p. 89.

¹²² Thomas Henry Webb, 'Irish Quaker records' in *J.F.H.S.*, iii (1906), p. 13

for such names as William and Joshua. As numbers increased, it sometimes became more difficult to distinguish between the various Grubbs and Fennells. One solution was the use of the father's name as an additional first name. It was appended to the existing first name as in Robert Samuel Grubb or William Joshua Fennell. Sometimes the first name appeared after the surname as in Joseph Grubb Benjamin. Others resorted to the use of the mother's name. Thus, we have Thomas Milner Grubb and John Christy Fennell. In some cases the grandparent's name was employed, giving rise to Thomas Cambridge Grubb and John Barcroft Grubb. Thomas Samuel Grubbe offered a novel solution to the confusion by appending an extra 'e'.

Webb, writing in 1906, declared that this limited use of first names in the early period arose from the stagnant state of the Society:

and from the iron discipline which encouraged introversion and discouraged all liberty to the imagination. Its dullness is most markedly seen in contrast with the saturnalia in nomenclature which came in when the old trammels of plainness of speech, behaviour, and apparel became relaxed, some fifty years ago. Then the pages of fiction and romance would seem to have been ransacked to get fancy names. Perhaps it was not so much to get away from the old associations as to enjoy an innocent liberty hitherto forbidden, with the usual result of running to the other extreme.¹²³

The increasing popularity of non-biblical names reflected a gradual identification with the outside world. Some names which became popular in the nineteenth century include Augustus, Oscar, Malcolm, Victor, Matilda, Arabella and Isabel. While many names reflect the fashions of the day, others such as William, Henry, Albert, George and Richard have royal connotations. While in the early days each child received one name, double names began to appear towards the end of the eighteenth century. Such examples include Joseph Henry Grubb and William Frederic Fennell. Another common custom of former times was when a child died in infancy, a younger child would receive the same name, a practice which was not exclusive to Quakers. The records of the Tipperary meeting supply many instances of this practice and, in some cases, that same name was conferred on a third child. It might also be added that throughout the entire period there is a complete absence of Irish Christian names.

¹²³ Thomas Henry Webb, 'Irish Quaker records' in *J.F.H.S.*, iii, (1906), p. 15.

Leisure

We can assume that the Tipperary Quaker pupils at Ballitore school shared the leisure pursuits of their colleagues. The boys were permitted to keep caged birds and were allotted garden plots where they grew flowers and vegetables. Among the games they played were handball, spinning tops and marbles, although the last mentioned was discouraged as it was deemed to produce a mercenary and covetous disposition.¹²⁴ Writing in 1886, Joseph Thompson recalled memories of schooldays at Mountmellick where the boys:

played all the usual boys' games, such as prisoner's base, rounders, fives, for which we had a large alley; swimming, sliding and skating, in their seasons; cricket and football were not very much indulged in, probably because the school was too small to make two good sides to play these games properly. Another form of amusement was catching gudgeon in the Owenass.¹²⁵

He also goes on to state that while these activities were legitimate, others were not so:

I may mention bathing above the weir, going out of bounds, either into town or beyond the school-fields ... the points of danger being the probability of meeting a teacher in the street or being seen from the parlour windows coming back ... Indoors, there were bolster fights and night expeditions down the lobbies and staircases.¹²⁶

In adulthood, Quakers indulged in many of the popular pursuits of the day. Both sexes spent a great deal of time walking, riding and visiting. In the long winter evenings, while most of the women would be engaged in needlework of various kinds, one of the company would read aloud. Most of good current literature, other than novels, found its way after publication into well-to-do Quaker households. In 1805, Susanna Moore of Clonmel, on her deathbed, desired 'her children to be educated in plainness and guarded in their reading'.¹²⁷ Friends were well read in history and travel. Although works of fiction were banned, poetry, provided it was edifying, was permissible. In 1810, Robert Fayle in a letter to his aunt, Mary Leadbeater, wrote that 'poetry should not only be

¹²⁴ Michael Quane, 'Ballitore School' in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, xiv (1964-1970), p. 178.

¹²⁵ Michael Quane, 'The Friends' Provincial School, Mountmellick' in *Royal Society of Antiquaries*, lxxxix, part 1 (1959), p. 89.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 2, no. 53.

moral but beyond the reach of suspicion to the contrary. Poetry has much power over the imagination as it is so deeply impressed in the memory'.¹²⁸ The writing of poetry of varying degrees of merit was practised by some. Samuel Fennell, Charles Dudley and Mary Strangmen were among those who chose to express themselves through this medium. As can be imagined, a great deal of this poetry was religious in character. Quoted below are the opening verses of a poem written by Mary H. Strangman of Mellbrook, Clonmel on the death of Miss Eliza Clibborn, daughter of John Barclay and Elizabeth Clibborn, Anner mill, Clonmel, and dated 12 June, 1829:

As we sat by the late patient sufferer's bed,
And gazed on the cold form of death that was there,
Were they tears of cold anguish that o'er it were shed,
And the sighs that were breath'd were thy sighs of despair?

Oh! no, it might be that a tear drop was falling,
At the thought that a dear loved companion was gone,
As memory past scenes and enjoyment recalling,
Dimm'd the eye, as it dwelt the pale relics upon.

But peace, holy peace, shed its influence round,
As we sat 'neath Thy canopy Heavenly Love!
It seemed as if listening to catch the glad sound
Of praises - high praises, ascending above.¹²⁹

Letter writing and diary keeping were two favourite pursuits of the more cultured Friends. Their correspondence reflects the same principle of plainness that was reflected in other spheres of their lives, whereby they attempted to discard every superfluity and every taint of flattery from their speech. According to Wigham, 'Language at home and school had to be watched with a great deal of care if the child was to keep to the singular 'thee' and 'thou' of the old English and not to lapse into the 'you' which had become general'.¹³⁰ They refused to use the traditional names for the days and months, as previously stated, as they were considered to smack of pagan deities. Instead, Quakers resorted to calling them 'first day', 'first month' and so on. Deborah Grubb, in a letter

¹²⁸ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 5, no. 58.

¹²⁹ Clibborn papers in possession of Gwen Gray, Stradbally, Co. Waterford,

¹³⁰ Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992), p. 46.

addressed to her aunt, Mary Leadbeater in 1821 gives an interesting insight into her attitude to this testimony when she wrote:

we will take up quarters with thee on the 6th night - for we must use the awkward phrase and must not only pass it off with the best grace we can - yet we should not quarrel with a language that supplies us with a brilliant medium of transferring our ideas - and which now has arrived at a pitch of elegance that I think we will never surpass.¹³¹

Although these practices were still evident in the correspondence between John Grubb and his brother Joseph, dating to the 1820s and 1830s,¹³² letters of Going family members, dating from 1846, indicate that they had abandoned this practice.¹³³ Although this traditional phraseology may have been discarded by individual Tipperary Quakers by this time, the Quaker notation for the days and months of the year was still in use up to the time that the Tipperary monthly meeting ceased to exist in 1912.

Quakers have been convinced that one of the chief ways of showing reverence to God was by studying his creation. The recreational activities of many Quakers in adulthood, both men and women, especially their interest in the natural sciences, was a direct consequence of the education they received. George Fox had proposed that 'teachers should teach "whatsoever things was useful and civil in creation", and that languages should be taught along with the "the nature of herbs, roots, plants and trees."' ¹³⁴ The school library at Ballitore was well stocked with books of a scientific nature, to which, at the request of his son, who was a pupil there, an unnamed Grubb parent presented a twelve volume work on *The wonders of nature and art*.¹³⁵ 'The study of botany, and the collection and naturalization of rare plants and trees, became a favourite hobby of several Quakers, and the gentle science of horticulture appeared to them as a harmless relaxation'.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 5, no. 80.

¹³² J. F. Carroll & Olive Goodbody (eds.), *Extracts from the letters of John Grubb to Joseph Grubb 1768-1844*, (Dublin, 1966)

¹³³ Going papers in possession of Tom Shanahan, the Bell, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.

¹³⁴ Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in science and industry* (New York, 1950), p. 244.

¹³⁵ Michael Quane, 'Ballitore School' in *The County Kildare Archaeological Journal*, (1964-1970), p. 203.

¹³⁶ *ibid*, p. 243.

Gardening could be said to be a hereditary occupation among Quakers. It was encouraged in all Quaker schools since it promoted skill, neatness and order. Richard Grubb of Cahir was one of those whose lifelong love for his gardens and hot-house plants dated back to his schooldays at Ballitore.¹³⁷ It was agreed that gardening tended to the formation of industrious habits and taught the value of time.¹³⁸ Wigham observed that 'wherever land and opportunity allowed, Friends set out orchards and gardens',¹³⁹ and it is hardly surprising that many of them were experts in the cultivation of flowers and herbs. In the interest of plainness, members were warned about 'superfluity and too great nicety in gardens',¹⁴⁰ and that they should endeavour to 'plant or sett profitable things rather than to make fine knotts, or make needless things only to satisfie a vain curious mind'.¹⁴¹ An examination of the grounds of the former homes of Tipperary's affluent Quakers would indicate that this advice was largely ignored. They were carefully landscaped with rare shrubs and exotic trees, the fruits of their husbandry being still visible to-day. Among others, the former Malcomson residences in Clonmel at Melview and Minella and the former Grubb houses at Coolville and Clashleigh are particularly fine examples of arboreal splendour. As Walvin notes 'though they (Quakers) disliked the use of colour in their dress and their homes, they were at ease with the natural beauty of a cultivated garden'.¹⁴² The Watson garden at Summerville, on the outskirts of Clonmel, which was laid down by Watson Quaker forebears, is still a showcase of floral excellence and aestheticism.¹⁴³ Similarly, Anthony Whitten of Elmville, Clonmel had his garden suitably landscaped.¹⁴⁴ Among those who had botanical interests were Joseph Grubb, who served as a trustee of the County Tipperary Horticultural Society,¹⁴⁵ and John Barcroft Grubb, an expert on roses and plants, who built a great expanse of glasshouse

¹³⁷ Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972), p. 122.

¹³⁸ Mary Leadbeater, *Annals of Ballitore*, i (London, 1862), p. 209.

¹³⁹ Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992), p. 46.

¹⁴⁰ National meeting, 1705.

¹⁴¹ National meeting, 1706.

¹⁴² James Walvin, *The Quakers: money and morals* (London, 1997), p. 119.

¹⁴³ 'Conserving a treasure' in *C.N.*, 28 April 2001.

¹⁴⁴ 'The Clonmel connection' in *C.N.*, 21 Sept. 2002.

¹⁴⁵ Miscellaneous Bagwell Papers (Tipperary S.R. County Museum, Loan no. 40 item 329).

near Clonmel gaol.¹⁴⁶ Joseph Ernest Grubb, in addition to being a keen gardener, was a keen botanist who took a delight in searching for rare plants.

It is scarcely surprising, that some members such as George Shaw,¹⁴⁷ Peter Taylor¹⁴⁸ and Jane Lucas,¹⁴⁹ all of Clonmel, choose to earn their living as nurserymen, selling seeds and other garden necessities. Quaker leisure interests were not confined to plants. Some indulged themselves in the systematic collections of shells, fossils, rocks etc. In 1846, the curator of the museum of the Clonmel Mechanics' Institute publicly acknowledged having received a case of moths from Miss Fennell of Rehill.¹⁵⁰

Some Tipperary Quakers were also interested in other branches of science. Ernest Grubb, in addition to being a keen botanist and gardener, was a member of various historical and archaeological societies, including the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Meteorology was another of his life-long interests. Isabel Grubb writing of him stated that:

he kept a meteorological diary as a young man, and again regularly after 1899. One of the first things he did when he was free from business was to arrange with the Meteorological Office to supply them with weekly and monthly observations. Besides the rain-gauge, thermometers, and barometers, he had a sunshine recorder, the only one in the south-east of Ireland.¹⁵¹

Joseph Ernest's interest in meteorology was shared by his cousin, Joseph Henry, who, for over forty years, supplied the local press with interesting records and statistics on rainfall and other local climatic conditions.

Another outstanding member of the Tipperary Society of Friends was the daughter of Joseph Ernest Grubb, Isabel Grubb (1881-1972), the noted Quaker historian, of whom her contemporary Olive Goodbody wrote:

there has been no Irish Quaker historian of the calibre of Isabel Grubb since the time of John Ruddy (1697-1774). Her grasp of the essentials of Quakerism enabled her to place it in the varying Irish scene with its historical background, and her

¹⁴⁶ G. W. Grubb. *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972), p.86.

¹⁴⁷ *C.A.*, 22 March 1815.

¹⁴⁸ *Commercial Directory 1818*, p.161.

¹⁴⁹ *C.G.*, 21 to 23 Feb., 1803.

¹⁵⁰ *T.F.P.*, 21 Feb., 1846.

¹⁵¹ Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (Dublin, 1928), p. 23,24.

works are consulted by scholars of many countries in their search for a knowledge of Irish Friends.¹⁵²

Apart from numerous articles on various aspects of Irish Quaker history, Isabel Grubb's most important works include *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900*, *Quakerism in industry before 1800*, an M.A. thesis, 'Social conditions in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as illustrated by early Quaker records' and a biography of her father, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir*. She also took a keen interest in the Historical Library of the Society of Friends, and was responsible for much of the cataloguing in the library, in addition to donating her large collection of manuscripts to it.

In 1805, Henry Tuke, a Yorkshire Quaker who spent most of his life in Ireland, laid down three rules relating to amusements. He stated that Quakers 'should avoid all those pursuits which tended to oppress and injure any part of the animal creation, to abstain from such as were connected with a spirit of hazardous enterprise and to avoid those as exposed unnecessary temptations'.¹⁵³ The Society issued frequent testimonies with a view to regulating the behaviour of the members with respect to gaming and horse-racing, and the frequenting of ale houses, 'practices which were considered inconsistent with the gravity and sobriety required of the professors of Christianity'. Hunting, shooting and fishing were considered vain sports. Leisure was not to be employed in distressing the creatures of God for amusement. Play acting, music and dancing were all regarded by Tuke as pursuits belonging to the vain and giddy world, which projected ideas of a perverted morality and stirred up malevolent passions.

Throughout the history of the Tipperary meeting, the Society experienced difficulty in enforcing such measures. Monthly meeting minutes provide many examples of members being disowned as a result of their involvement in such practices. These included Benjamin Fennell for 'keeping bad company, frequenting ale houses, playing cards and gaming' (1709); Nicholas Grubb, for having 'acted in a stage play' (1836) and William Greer for 'the practice of hunting and attending horse races, and engaging in a

¹⁵² Olive Goodbody, 'Isabel Grubb' in *J.F.H.S.*, diii, no. 1 (1972), pp. 3-8.

¹⁵³ Henry Tuke, *The principles of religion as professed by the Society of Christians* (Dublin, 1805), pp. 132, 133.

feat of horsemanship with an officer on which wagers were placed' (1850).¹⁵⁴ Non-Quaker sources provide further examples. As been stated in chapter six, some Tipperary Quakers indulged in hunting game, a pursuit which according to Harrison was 'a vain activity constantly condemned in the Friends' *Minutes*'.¹⁵⁵ An illustration, dating from mid-nineteenth century, depicting '60 Grubbs out hunting together in the Golden vale of Tipperary' appears in Geoffrey Watkins Grubb's work, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, while, in 1881, the Clonmel brewer, J. M. Murphy, held the position of Master of the Clonmel Hounds.¹⁵⁶

Music was regarded as another of these 'hurtful and injurious tendencies' which incurred the censure of the Society. As far back as the 1780s, the Polish born concert violinist, Jozef Boruwlaski, entertained members of the Clonmel Society of Friends on his tour of Ireland, an event which did not meet with the approval of all local Friends.¹⁵⁷ Some thirty years later, one Clonmel member who was not loath to express her antipathy to this practice was Sarah Grubb. She addressed a letter expressing her disapproval of some un-named Clonmel family who allowed music in their home.

My dear young Friends,

You will, I trust, excuse my assuring you that I was troubled of the sound of music in your shop the evening I called to enquire after the health of your family. I did not intend to expostulate by letter as I had not verbally but I have not been at ease in my mind without assuring you that I believe our religious society when gathered out of the vanities of the world had also to relinquish music and I much desire that your dear youths and children may not practise it. I have long felt interested in the welfare of your family and can truly say I love you and in love I can subscribe myself your friend. S.G.¹⁵⁸

In 1838, a minute of the Tipperary monthly meeting¹⁵⁹ noted that 'the practise of music and dancing was encouraged by the heads of a family and attendance at other places of worship', and it was felt that the matter was of sufficient concern to 'extend a needful

¹⁵⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of men's six weeks meeting 1694-1724; Testimonies of disunion, 1797-1825 (F.H.L.D., MM X 01; 1825-95 MM X 02).

¹⁵⁵ Harrison, *Cork city Quakers*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁶ C.C., 9 May 1784.

¹⁵⁷ 'Shut out from a busy world?' in *Clonmel Nationalist*, 8 Jan. 2000.

¹⁵⁸ Grubb Collection, Box 44, S.B.G. 2, letter dated 27th day 6 month, 1814. (F.H.L.D.).

¹⁵⁹ R.T.M., Minutes of men's monthly meetings, 1818-1849 10th day 5 mo. 1838 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

care.' It was also brought to the attention of the quarterly meeting which had the minutes printed and distributed.¹⁶⁰ A subsequent monthly meeting recorded that the practice had been abandoned by the individuals in question,¹⁶¹ but it would appear that this optimism was misplaced.

Differences in social life became more marked among Friends than in the previous century. While many remained devoted to the teachings of the Society and continued to live sober and industrious lives, others were dedicated to a rich pleasure-seeking existence:

In the South, Friends were landowners, millers, farmers and shopkeepers. Some were very wealthy and indulged in ostentatious luxury. A great number, especially the younger generation, were nominal Quakers, spending their time in a round of social engagements.¹⁶²

One such family was that of Richard Grubb of Cahir Abbey and proprietor of Cahir mills. John Grubb Richardson of Lurgan who married Helena, Richard's daughter, said of her that she was 'brought up in a gay family, and loved and admired by the fashionable circle which surrounded her'.¹⁶³ Years later Helena's daughter's experiences at Cahir Abbey were recalled:

I grew up among my rollicking uncles at Cahir Abbey. It was an atmosphere in which practical jokes were the order of the day. The 'Cahir Abbey Laugh' won for itself a name throughout the county. It was long and hearty. One day my grandfather was waiting in his carriage outside the front door for his youngest grand-daughter, who did not appear. At last she came demurely down the steps and took her place in the carriage with the rest. Not until they reached their destination was it discovered that an uncle had dressed up in the gown, bonnet and cloak of his niece, and left her in bed in the Abbey.¹⁶⁴

In contrast with the former owner, Joshua Fennell, the younger Grubbs indulged themselves in hunting, riding, dancing, music, and amateur dramatics, in addition to patronising various hunt balls. A crisis came when Richard Grubb Jr. (1812-1886) purchased a piano and built on a room to his house for the purpose of holding musical

¹⁶⁰ *ibid*, 8 mo. 1838.

¹⁶¹ *ibid*, 10th mo. 1839.

¹⁶² *ibid*, p. 124.

¹⁶³ James M. Richardson, *Six generations of Friends in Ireland* (London, 1893), p. 224.

¹⁶⁴ C. F. Smith, *Life of James N. Richardson*, (London, 1925), pp. 9,10.

evenings. As a young man, born with an innate love for singing and music, he was appalled to hear a minister at meeting 'extol the burning of viols and virginals and other forms of music as a sacrifice for conscience sake, well pleasing to God'.¹⁶⁵ He was reputed to have said, 'That's not the God I want to follow and love'. Later, he was to acquire a collection of Wesley hymns which were to have a great influence on developing his spiritual life. He found their poetry and rhythm uplifting in contrast to the 'often dispiriting prose he was accustomed to hear in so many Quaker circles'.¹⁶⁶

Visitations from individual members and a deputation from the local meeting failed to dissuade the Grubbs to relinquish and remove their piano, and to cease attending balls and dances. On 28 November 1844, the Tipperary monthly meeting issued the following certificate of disownment:

Whereas it has been the care of the Society of Friends, or people called Quakers, to endeavour to guard its members from all amusements or entertainments of a hurtful and injurious tendency, AND the practices of music and dancing are pursuits belonging to the vain and giddy world, being utterly at variance with our principles, the Society has declared its entire disunity with them. And whereas Richard Grubb, Jnr., and Maria his wife, who had their birthright and were educated in the said Society, have introduced and encouraged the practices of Music and Dancing in their house, and have also attended those hurtful and injurious entertainments called Balls at which Music and Dancing form a chief part of the amusements, they have therefore been the subjects of much concern to the body, and have repeatedly been visited by appointment of this Meeting, and much affectionate labour used to persuade them to relinquish these things, and to convince them of their hurtful tendency.

But the care thus extended not having produced the desired effect, as they declined to discontinue the practice of Music nor would they agree to refrain from attending Balls, WE therefore feel it our duty to testify against their conduct, and WE DO HEREBY DISOWN the said Richard Grubb Jnr., and Maria his wife to be members of our religious Society; yet we desire they may be favoured to see the inconsistency of these practices with the Christian character, and that by submitting to the visitations of Divine Love they may be led into that live of self-denial and devotedness to their Creator, which is acceptable in His sight.

Signed by William Davis (clerk).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972), p. 136.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ R.T.M. Minutes of men's monthly meeting held in Clonmel, 28th day 11 mo. 1844 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

Writing about the events which led up to their disownment, Isabel Grubb stated that 'about 1836 an attempt was made to check the tendency to find pleasure in music' and 'it was this increased stringency that resulted in a break which proved to be one of the "regrettable incidents" of Quakerism'.¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately, she does not qualify this assertion, and while this may have been an over-statement, the incident typified the polarisation which was taking place in the ranks of Tipperary Quakers. It is difficult to say what implications this disownment had for the local Quaker community. In the years that followed there was a marked increase in the number of resignations, most notably among the Grubb families, but it is unlikely that all of these can be attributed to this 'regrettable incident'. There would appear to have been a certain degree of bias exercised against the family. Twelve years previously, a Stanhope piano, the property of Charles Going, a neighbour of Richard Grubb, was publicly auctioned,¹⁶⁹ an event that passed without comment. The fact that the Grubbs of Cahir were one of the most prominent Quaker families in the county meant that their 'frivolous' behaviour, which they refused to abandon, was seen as a grave source of scandal with conservative elements within the Society. The consensus of the meeting was that it was duty-bound to uphold the reputation of the Society; consequently they were expelled.

Leaving Home

When a member decided to move elsewhere, the meeting issued a certificate of removal on behalf of that member which was sent to the meeting where the member intended to take up residence. These certificates of removal were similar to those issued by Irish trade guilds down to the 1840s. These were important documents. In the case of adults they acted as testimonies for the bona fides of the individual concerned, while in the case of children or minors they served to remind the meeting to which they were moving of its responsibility for their moral welfare. When Anne Grubb left her home in Mountmellick to take up an apprenticeship with her uncle Robert George Grubb in Clonmel, the following certificate of removal was sent to the Clonmel meeting:

¹⁶⁸ Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900* (London, 1926), p. 126.

¹⁶⁹ *C.A.*, 27 Dec. 1832.

Anne Grubb, daughter of John and Elizabeth Grubb, having a considerable time since removed to reside within the company of your meeting, we certify that she is a member of our religious society and from her young tender age when leaving us it seems unnecessary to say more than recommend her to your Christian care and oversight - and remain your friends.

signed on behalf of the Mountmellick men's and women's meeting held on 23rd day of first mo. 1823

Nathan Neale, Jr.

Anne Beale

(Clerks).¹⁷⁰

Certificates also served to forewarn that the individual concerned had not honoured his or her obligations. Two years later, when the bakery business of John Grubb, Anne's father, collapsed in Mountmellick, he decided to take up residence in Clonmel. Since he left without putting his affairs in order, the Mountmellick meeting refused to issue him with a certificate of removal. It stated that 'John Grubb is not entitled to a certificate of removal unless he has been dealt with by this meeting for his misconduct and such condemnation received from him' as was to the satisfaction of the Mountmellick meeting.¹⁷¹

Burial

The principle of plainness also governed Quaker burial practices which were generally marked by a lack of finery and display. Sarah Lynes Grubb, commenting on the burial customs in Clonmel, speaks of the corpse being placed in a neat, plain coffin and then placed in a neat convenient carriage so as not to be at all visible. It was expected that burials, apart from scripture readings, should manifest 'as much stillness as may be', and excessive expressions of grief were frowned upon. Elizabeth Clibborn records how mourners disapproved of Mary Dudley's behaviour at the burial of Hannah, Mary's daughter. 'The interment was remarkably solemn. Her dear mother kneeled on the coffin and supplicated, to the surprise of many'.¹⁷² All unnecessary displays of mourning and all ceremonial pomp were discouraged. Mourning clothes were proscribed on the grounds

¹⁷⁰ R.M.M. Removal certificates 1798-1827 (F.H.L.D., MM V K2).

¹⁷¹ R.M.M. Minutes of men's monthly meeting, 1818-1836, 29th day 12th mo. 1825 (F.H.L.D., MM V A8).

¹⁷² Elizabeth Clibborn's diary, Anner mills, Clonmel (F.H.L.D.), p. 25.

of unnecessary expense at a time when the mind should be left as much as possible undisturbed, and also on the grounds that the will of providence should be accepted with cheerful submission. The graves of many of those whose remains lie in Tipperary's Quaker graveyards are unmarked. This is because, in the early days of Quakerism, tombstones were forbidden on the grounds that they were displays of unnecessary ostentation. In the words of Wordsworth:

A heaving surface, almost wholly free
From interruption of sepulchral stones
The lingering gleam of their departed lives
To oral records and the silent heart.¹⁷³

However, during the nineteenth century it became necessary to adopt such stones in order to define the position of the grave, with a view to satisfy the surviving relatives and to safeguard against an inadvertent opening. In 1880, it was ordained that every headstone was to consist of a rectangular limestone slab, uniform in respect of the materials, height, size and lettering, to guard against any distinction being made in that place where 'rich and poor meet together'. The stones were to be 36" in height, plain on top and 24" in breadth. Only the name, age and time of death of the individual in plain roman numerals was recorded.¹⁷⁴ All eulogistic inscriptions were forbidden. They are visible reminders of a wider testimony which advocated simplicity and plainness in all aspects of living.

A changing world

An examination of the records of Tipperary meetings indicates that the efforts made by the local Quaker community to preserve their distinctive lifestyle met with increasing difficulties. From 1694 on, the minutes regularly contain references to members being censored or disowned for unacceptable behaviour. As Walvin has observed, 'During the course of the eighteenth century, popular and high-brow culture was enhanced, like social life in general, by the diffusion of new material artefacts. The proliferation of books, commercial theatres and music, of spa towns, assembly rooms,

¹⁷³ *The excursion* - the churchyard, ll.603-610 in John Morley (ed.), *The complete works by William Wordsworth* (London, 1888), no page number.

¹⁷⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of men's monthly meetings, 18th day 3rd mo. 1880 (F.H.L.D., MM X A8).

racecourses and other commercial delights all provoked fresh Quaker instructions'.¹⁷⁵

The yearly meeting of 1793 felt obliged to issue the following advice:

it appears that a spirit of libertinism is rushing in, and laying waste the testimony which we have been called to bear against the attendance of vain sports, places of diversion and gaming, as well as the unnecessary frequenting of taverns, and other public houses, and excess of drinking; amongst these veils enumerated, hunting and sporting with dogs and guns seems to have increased among the youth and others.

The meeting also adverted to the hurtful aspects of such practices as stage-plays, gaming and horse-races.

In the following century as the world experienced rapid industrial change, commercial and philanthropic activities brought Quakers into contact with a wider world. Some became increasingly rich and experienced growing difficulties in adhering to the frugal lifestyle demanded by the Society; others felt they were entitled to enjoy a standard of living commensurate with their new-found wealth. Furthermore, the hardcore Quaker definition of the world as a corrupt place and the belief that the Society was the only refuge from evil, was not shared by all its members, especially its youth. From the very beginning, members were disowned for adopting a lifestyle at variance with Quaker principles, a matter which will be discussed further in chapter 8. Exercising the ultimate sanction of expulsion apparently had little effect in quelling such practices. After the reforms of 1860, the regulations in relation to leisure pursuits and the dress code were discontinued. It was an admission that the younger members no longer considered them relevant in a changing world. However, some of these reforms were only grudgingly accepted. In 1879, when the sub-committee of the Mountmellick school recommended that music be taught, a minute from the Munster quarterly meeting the following September said: 'Much regret has been expressed at the information of music being introduced at Mountmellick School, and the reconsideration of it by the committee'. In reply, the committee stated that the matter had received serious consideration and that

¹⁷⁵ James Walvin, *Quakers: money and morals* (London, 1997), p. 36.

the teaching of music was necessary for the welfare of the school.¹⁷⁶ The teaching of music was not introduced to the Newtown school until 1890.¹⁷⁷

Some prominent Tipperary female members

The power that women had within the Quaker organisation was one of its striking elements. As Brannigan observed the doctrine of the inner light encouraged 'an attitude of individuality and responsibility',¹⁷⁸ while the Society's egalitarian principles gave them the necessary confidence to overcome the inequalities of their sex in society. George Fox and his wife, Margaret Fell asserted that women had every right to testify to God's word, and also advocated a women's business meeting permitting women greater participation within their community.

From its beginning, Quakerism renounced formal worship and a professional clergy:

The elimination of an ecclesiastical hierarchy meant the absence of any institutionalized authority whose agents might enforce a gender ideology within the community. Both early decisions to forego dogma and a clergy, helped establish a climate of acceptance for women among the Quakers virtually unique in European life in the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁹

Walvin has pointed out that:

Women had been prominent in their ranks from the founding days - indeed, their enemies were quick to point out how numerous and vocal Quaker female preachers were. Statistics confirm this presence. Wherever historians have analysed data, women formed a substantial part of the active community. They shared the miseries of persecution, bore a comparable burden of social disgrace and worked vigorously in local meetings.¹⁸⁰

They had to withstand the ridicule and scorn which sometimes greeted their efforts. Their public preaching was often a source of entertainment for the bemused onlookers. Dr. Johnson's quip delivered in 1763, reflected a widespread attitude - 'Sir, a woman's

¹⁷⁶ Maurice Wigham, *Newtown School, Waterford. A history 1798-1998* (Waterford, 1998), p.68

¹⁷⁷ *ibid*, p. 77.

¹⁷⁸ Cyril Brannigan, 'Quaker education in 18th and 19th century Ireland' in *Irish educational studies*, iv (1984), p. 57.

¹⁷⁹ Susan Mosher Stuard 'Women witnessing: A new departure' in Elizabeth Potts Brown and Susan-Mosher Stuard (eds.) *Witnesses for change. Women over three centuries* (Rutgers State University Press, 1989), p. 12.

¹⁸⁰ James Walvin, *The Quakers: money and morals* (London, 1997), p.39

preaching is like a dog's walking on its hind legs. It's not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all'. Worst still, many of these early ministers suffered persecution, physical abuse and imprisonment.

Tipperary Quakerism produced or was associated with some of the most remarkable ministers in the history of the movement in these islands. One of these was Abigail Boles (1684-1752).¹⁸¹ Her most ambitious undertaking took her to America in 1726, where she ministered extensively in the eastern states.¹⁸² The close of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of three ministers, who according to Rufus Jones 'did much to bring depth to the spiritual life of the Society'.¹⁸³ Mary Dudley (1750-1823),¹⁸⁴ Sarah Tuke Grubb (1756-1790)¹⁸⁵ and Sarah Lynes Grubb (1773-1842)¹⁸⁶ were all English-born, and all three married prominent Clonmel Quakers. Participation in the affairs of the Society 'offered a magical escape, for an able woman, from the narrow confines of domesticity. As Elizabeth Clibborn, an overseer of the Clonmel meeting whose duties included overseeing the discipline of the members, candidly admitted. such journeys were a relief from domestic pressure. 'I have hesitated about leaving my little

¹⁸¹ She was born in Limerick in 1684, one of sixteen children by James and Dorothy Craven. In 1719, she became the third wife of John Boles of Woodhouse.

¹⁸² John Grubb (ed.), *Annals of Limerick from the first convincement of Friends in 1655* compiled by Joseph Richard Gough (Limerick, 1996), unpaginated.

¹⁸³ Rufus Jones, *The later periods of Quakerism*, i (London, 1921), p. 100.

¹⁸⁴ She was born, Mary Stokes, in Bristol. In her youth she was a friend of John Wesley and an ardent Methodist, who tried to dissuade her from joining the Friends. She also met with the disapproval of her mother, who was later reconciled having heard Mary speak at a meeting. At the age of twenty, when keeping school, she met Robert Dudley. Dudley was a thirty-five year old prosperous Clonmel miller, who had been twice married and the father of six surviving children.

¹⁸⁵ Sarah was born at York in 1756. She was the daughter of William and Elizabeth Tuke, members of a well-known Quaker family. Her father was a prominent tea merchant who was instrumental in setting up the York Retreat for the treatment of the insane. Sarah became involved in missionary work in the north of England and Scotland. In 1782, she married Robert Grubb of Suir Island, a Clonmel miller.

¹⁸⁶ She born in 1773 at Wapping near London and educated at Islington by the Friends' school and orphanage of Islington, where she was one of its brightest pupils. At the age of fourteen she was recommended by the school to help in the care of the children of the widow, Sarah Grubb of Anner mills. She returned to England in 1793 and remained there until 1803, in which year she returned to Clonmel and married John Grubb, who ran a successful grocery, in partnership with his brother, in the town.

flock as they have been poorly but the prospect brightens'.¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the call to minister was a demanding one. Allowing no domestic or feminine duty to deter them from their high calling 'these remarkable women left the comfort of their homes and the companionship of their husbands and family to face the hazards and hardship of the roads'¹⁸⁸ for long periods. As has been stated, in 1725 Abigail Boles embarked on a two year visit to America,¹⁸⁹ while, in 1788, Sarah Tuke Grubb, despite her frail health, accompanied by Mary Dudley and some others set off on 'a journey in honour of the great cause' visiting Holland, France, Germany and Switzerland. Nearly twelve months later they returned to Clonmel, 'after a journey of 2,500 miles attended by many difficulties'.¹⁹⁰

Their travels were often undertaken without regard for their physical well-being or the strain placed on their domestic responsibilities. It would appear that the strain of her prolonged travels on the continent proved too great for Sarah Grubb, since she died some months after her return. An arduous journey to the continent, referred to above, was undertaken at a time when Mary Dudley was in very delicate health, and her youngest child was a mere ten weeks old. Between the years 1779 and 1789, she was to give birth to eight children. Although she was continually plagued with guilt from being parted from her young family, she embarked upon a sequence of onerous and unrelenting travels in the ministry.¹⁹¹ After the death of her husband in 1806, she moved to England with her family, where she continued her ministry. Jones considered her as one of the greatest and most influential of the women preachers of the eighteenth century.¹⁹² He claimed that her ministry throbbed with an evangelical passion and that 'she brought with her into the Society of her adoption a fervour and a dynamic quality in every way like that which marked the founders of Methodism'.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁷ Elizabeth Clibborn's Diary, 1807-1813 (F.H.L.D.), pp. 18, 27.

¹⁸⁸ Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 91.

¹⁸⁹ Anon. 'Friends travelling in Ireland 1656-1765' in *J.F.H.S.*, x (1913), p.227.

¹⁹⁰ Lindley Murray (ed.), *Some account of the life and religious labours of Sarah Grubb* (Dublin, 1782), p. 180.

¹⁹¹ Elizabeth Dudley (ed.), *The life of Mary Dudley* (London, 1825).

¹⁹² Rufus Jones, *The later periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), p. 198.

¹⁹³ *ibid*, p. 278.

The most famous of all was, arguably, Sarah (Lynes) Grubb. In 1794, she was accepted as a minister by the Clonmel meeting and in the same year, in the company of Mary Dudley, she paid a visit to different parts of the Leinster province. In the succeeding fifteen years, she continued her ministry throughout Ireland, during which time she became one of the most noted preachers in the Society. By 1818, her religious calling impelled her to return once more 'to an English locality which seemed distinctly pointed out to her.'¹⁹⁴ Together with her husband, who abandoned his partnership in the grocery, and her three children, she set up residence in Suffolk. On 16 March, 1842, she died having been a minister for fifty-two years. She was a very much in the quietist tradition of Friends, and although she was initially reluctant to accept her calling, she overcame her hesitancy to establish a reputation as an outstanding minister.

Many Quaker women who were active in the affairs of the Society as ministers and overseers were plagued by feelings of spiritual inadequacy. The biographies of Mary Dudley and Sarah Tuke Grubb,¹⁹⁵ are full of the 'deep baptisms of spirit'.¹⁹⁶ Mary Dudley tells of her first experience of speaking in meeting in the following words:

My spirit bowed in reverence before the God of my life and a few woes so settled (on my thoughts) that I could not in any way shake them from me. I sat and trembled exceedingly and desired to be excused, till a valuable Friend from America, then on a religious visit stood up and spoke so encouragingly to my state, that when he closed, I stood on my feet and the words impressing my mind seemed to run through me as through a passive vessel.¹⁹⁷

Mary Dudley was not alone to be beset by agonising doubts. Likewise, Sarah Tuke Grubb spoke of suffering days of 'deep probation' and frequent desertions of spirit'.¹⁹⁸ Sarah Lynes Grubb also experienced much spiritual anguish. Writing of her work in Ireland she says, 'the meetings here have been times of great digging; the spring of life

¹⁹⁴ Rufus Jones, *The later periods of Quakerism*, p. 94.

¹⁹⁵ Elizabeth Dudley (ed.), *Mary Dudley* (London, 1825); Lindley Murray (ed.), *Some account of the life and religious labours of Sarah Grubb* (Dublin, 1782).

¹⁹⁶ Edward Grubb, 'The evangelical movement and its impact on the Society of Friends' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, no. 229 (1929), p. 7.

¹⁹⁷ Isabel Grubb, 'Quaker ministry in Ireland' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, dxiii, no. 251, pp. 261, 62.

¹⁹⁸ Lindley Murray (ed.), *Some account of the life and religious labours of Sarah Grubb* (Dublin, 1792), pp. 47, 48.

lies low, and that of the ministry in union with it; but through a great deal of labour, the power made its own way, even into some dominion, in each meeting'.¹⁹⁹

Margaret Grubb (1751-1829), wife of Samuel Grubb of Clogheen, frequently referred to the 'tediousness' of family visits. In 1811, writing of her ministry to Dublin she stated that by May of that year she had visited some fifty families, and that if the remainder received a visit the number would reach an estimated one hundred and thirty in total. She also appears to have had reservations about the efficacy of this practice when it appeared to her 'like a long journey and a wilderness travel'.²⁰⁰ Elizabeth Clibborn felt herself ill-equipped for the office of overseer, a position which has been explained in chapter 1. The stress of answering queries in the preparative and monthly meetings was a source of 'mortification' to her but, nonetheless, regardless of her own ill-health and that of her children she was prepared to accept the arduous undertaking of travelling to meetings.²⁰¹

Stuard states that 'women extended the voice they had gained as ministers of the spirit with the practical skills learned in their own local meetings'.²⁰² In Ireland the first National Women's Meeting was held in 1678 and continued annually until after 1903, following which men and women always met together.²⁰³ The position of the women's meeting, as has been pointed out in chapter 1, was a subordinate one. Nonetheless, women's meetings managed their own agenda and selected their own priorities.²⁰⁴ Meetings provided them with considerable practical and administrative skills. They chaired meetings, wrote reports, kept accounts, distributed funds and made decisions. Some of these women, on the death of their husbands, continued to successfully operate the family business. The most striking example was Sarah Pim Grubb (1746-1832) who,

¹⁹⁹ *A selection from the letters of the late Sarah Grubb (formerly Sarah Lynes)* (Sudbury, 1848), p. 207

²⁰⁰ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 1, no. 53.

²⁰¹ Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 95.

²⁰² Stuard, 'Women witnessing: a new departure' in Elizabeth Potts Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard (eds.), *Witnesses for change. Women over three centuries* (Rutgers State University Press, 1989), p. 15.

²⁰³ Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, p. 36.

²⁰⁴ Quinlan, 'Genteel revolutionaries etc.', p. 10.

when her husband, John, died in 1784, undertook the onerous responsibility of operating a huge concern such as the Anner mills.

Hempton and Hill argue that 'for a time Quaker women in Ireland were changing roles in society this came about because Quakerism was new and tentative for some years before it settled down, became institutionalised and reverted to the patriarchal norms and expectations of society'.²⁰⁵ It has been argued that 'the phenomenon of women preachers was a transient one...and by the middle of the nineteenth century women were directed away from areas of influence in the policy making or debates on the doctrines of the Church towards what were considered more female areas of teaching and background supportive work'.²⁰⁶ This observation reflected the situation in Tipperary. While no subsequent female minister achieved the same degree of prominence as the above mentioned,²⁰⁷ the nineteenth century offered further opportunities for Quaker women to render service in the broader community. In her work on Victorian feminism Phillipa Levine has written that 'many of the best known feminists of the period were the daughters of small but active communities of Quakers ... known for their radicalism and interest in social conditions and welfare'.²⁰⁸ Their Irish counterparts were recognised as being to the fore in philanthropy, suffrage and women's activism. According to Dora Mellone, 'the Society of Friends was as prominent in the history of suffrage in Ireland as it was in every good work'.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ David Hempton and Myrtle Hill 'Women and Protestant minorities in eighteenth century Ireland' in Margaret Mac Curtain and Mary O'Dowd (eds.) *Women in early modern Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1991), p. 192.

²⁰⁶ Mac Curtain and O'Dowd (eds.), *Women in early modern Ireland*, p. 9.

²⁰⁷ The last member to hold such a position was Rebecca Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir who died in 1907. The last Tipperary-born Quaker to hold this position was Rebecca's granddaughter, Isabel Grubb. Her career in the ministry lies outside the scope of this study.

²⁰⁸ Phillipa Levine, *Feminist lives in Victorian England: private lives and public commitment* (Oxford, 1990), p. 32; Maria Luddy, *Women in Ireland, 1800-1918* (Cork, 1995), p. 240.

²⁰⁹ cited in Cliona Murphy, *The women's suffrage movement and Irish society in the early twentieth century* (New York, 1989), p. 17; also Maria Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth century Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 1995); Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy, *Women, power and consciousness in 19th century Ireland* (Dublin, 1995); Carmel Quinlan, 'Genteel revolutionaries: The lives of Thomas and Anna Haslam', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (U.C.C., 1999).

The extensive work of Tipperary women Quakers in philanthropy has been discussed in chapter 6. Their most notable achievements included such worthwhile ventures as the Clonmel Charity School, the Clonmel Lying-in Institution and their dedicated work during the great famine. Benefactors to such worthy endeavours included the wives and daughters of all the town's leading families.²¹⁰ Apart from administering various charities, providing teaching and nursing services, Tipperary Friends also gave financial support to a variety of causes from the abolition of the slave trade to the Dublin Women's Suffrage Association. Rebecca Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir (1821-1907) typifies the contribution made by many such Quaker women. She devoted herself to helping the poor of the town, giving medical advice, and, for many years, running a charitable maternity association. She was also interested in 'modern intellectual movements' becoming particularly interested, as has been previously stated, in the temperance movement.

Carmel Quinlan, while conceding that Elizabeth Clibborn experienced a conflict between the duties to husband and children and the desire to minister at meetings, nevertheless, feels that she was 'indicative of how far the Quaker women succeeded in expanding their roles seemingly within the boundaries of contemporary society'.²¹¹ As has been shown, the same could be said of many others who made a significant contribution to promoting the aims of their own Society and the welfare of others. However, as Isichei points out 'the equality of men and women in Quakerism was more apparent than real, but the powers open to women were so large compared with their restricted role in other religious - or, for that matter, secular organisations'.²¹² Walvin supports this view when he states that 'the Society of Friends did not offer women genuine equality, but it certainly granted more autonomy than could be found

²¹⁰ Among those mentioned were Anne Maria Baker, Rebecca Banfield, Elizabeth and Margaret Clibborn, Elizabeth, Rebecca and Susanna Davis, Anna and Elizabeth Fayle, Anne, Elizabeth, Hannah, Jane, Sarah, Lydia and Susanna Grubb, Elizabeth Greer, Hannah Hancock, Sarah and Jane Jacob, Charlotte and Eliza Malcomson, Anne B. Murray Sarah Strangman, Anne Taylor and Margaret and Sarah White.

²¹¹ Carmel Quinlan, 'Genteel revolutionaries: The lives of Anna and Thomas Haslam', unpublished Ph. D. thesis (U.C.C., 1999), p. 13.

²¹² Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 107.

elsewhere'.²¹³ In the opinion of Hempton and Hill such women 'were generally willing participants in a religion which offered both domestic piety and new avenues of public service'.²¹⁴

Contrasting lifestyles

As has been stated in chapter 1, Tipperary's original Quakers were predominantly former soldiers, yeomen and artisans, the majority of whom lived in humble circumstances. By the nineteenth century they had, for the most part, become comfortable and successful members of the middle classes, with no members drawn from the aristocracy and few from the working classes. Unlike early Friends, wealthy Quakers lived in large houses, were tended by numerous servants, and enjoyed a high standard of living. Not all enjoyed financial success. A number failed in business and their dependants were in receipt of financial assistance from the meeting. The community consisted of those who clung to Quaker values, while others, to a greater or lesser extent, had abandoned Quaker testimonies.

So little is known of most Tipperary Quakers that it is not possible to present a comprehensive picture of their lifestyles. Among the few exceptions are John Ashton (1662-1741), a farmer, who was born in Chester, and Joseph Ernest Grubb (1843-1927), a merchant, of Carrick-on-Suir. Born almost two hundred years apart, while their lifestyles reflect the changes that had taken place in the intervening period, they also illustrate the consistency of Quaker religious practice. Whereas John Ashton was one of the first generation of Quakers to settle in the county, Joseph Ernest Grubb's family was the last of five generations to live there. John Ashton, like many of his contemporaries, including John Grubb, the progenitor of the Grubbs in Ireland, was not a Quaker when he came to Ireland. Ashton was educated in the Church of England, but was converted in his fortieth year when he and his wife attended a Quaker meeting at Birr; on the other hand, Joseph Ernest was raised in a strong Quaker tradition. Coincidentally, both lived approximately the same distance from their place of meeting. While Joseph Ernest rode

²¹³ Walvin, *The Quakers: money and morals*, p. 39.

²¹⁴ Hempton and Hill, p. 208.

to meetings in his gig from his residence at Seskin, near Kilsheelan, John Ashton and his wife attended the meeting held at Birr, twice in the week:

They generally walked thither, seven miles, along a very bad road, and had a river to wade through. This river, in winter, was often frozen, and they were obliged to break the ice to admit them to pass it; and he has wept to see his wife's legs wounded and bleeding, on coming out of it.²¹⁵

Both were dedicated members of their Society and did much for the less fortunate. While Joseph Ernest's philanthropic activities have been referred to in chapter 6, according to Mary Leadbeater, John Ashton's 'increase of wealth enabled him to indulge the natural benevolence of his heart in acts of generosity and hospitality.'²¹⁶ At the age of sixty two, John Ashton became a travelling minister. In 1733, he attended the yearly meeting in London, and paid a visit to several meetings in England and to Friends in Scotland. Although Joseph Ernest never had the distinction of serving as minister, a position which has been described in chapter 1, he was nevertheless a member of international standing in the Society of Friends. He was in his eighty-fourth year when he travelled to London to attend a Friends' conference. While descending a stairs in the meeting hall, he suffered a fractured hip from which he never fully recovered.

Both lived through periods of political turmoil and were prepared to make sacrifices and take risks in pursuit of their principles. John Ashton endured imprisonment in Clonmel gaol for non-payment of tithes, while the staunch pacifist, Joseph Ernest, extended the hospitality of his house to members of the opposing forces during the war of independence of 1919-21 .

Both were hardworking and industrious. During Ashton's confinement in prison he learned to make garters and laces, while Joseph devoted his energies to promoting the commercial traffic on the river Suir. Initially, John Ashton eked out a meagre existence from farming. It was said that when he joined the Society he was 'in low circumstances' but 'his circumstances grew better, his industry being blessed',²¹⁷ whereas Joseph Ernest

²¹⁵ Mary Leadbeater, *Biographical notices* (London, 1823), pp. 202, 203.

²¹⁶ *ibid*, p. 203.

²¹⁷ *ibid*, p. 202.

came from a secure, comfortable background, inheriting considerable commercial property in Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel.

Circumstances allowed Joseph Ernest to play a much wider role in the society in which he lived. As has been stated in chapter 6, he served as a member of various statutory bodies, was appointed a justice of the peace for Tipperary, and was elected a member of the Carrick-on-Suir urban district council and the Tipperary S. R. county council, having the honour of being its third chairman. Both John and Joseph Ernest were men of boundless energy and robust health and they dedicated their lives to their religion and to the society in which they lived.

To summarise, Tipperary's Quakers, like their brethren elsewhere, adopted a distinctive manner of behaviour, speech and dress in an attempt to safeguard their religious beliefs. Their efforts were reinforced by advices from the yearly meetings and through the scrutiny of the local meetings. Their distinctive lifestyle set them apart from the world, and while they lived in the county, it could be said they were not wholly of it.

The provision of a Quaker education was one of the priorities of the Society of Friends. In addition to transmitting religious values, all Quaker schools had a vocational element, designed at imparting skills that would help them earn a living. The Tipperary Quaker community made a distinguished contribution to education. They set up a school for the children of their own members, while Sarah Grubb was the founder of an exclusive school for girls which won a reputation for excellence. Tipperary Quakers were also instrumental in establishing the Munster provincial school at Newtown, providing financial support and forming part of its administrative committee. In addition to these ventures, local Quakers ran pay-schools and their philanthropy led them to set up and support the Clonmel charity schools.

Every effort was made to secure apprenticeships for the children of Tipperary Friends, providing financial assistance for those who needed it, looking after their spiritual and physical welfare, and later assisting them to find suitable employment. The occupational profile of Tipperary's Quakers changed radically over the centuries. In the early days its members consisted chiefly of humble artisans and small farmers but by the

beginning of the nineteenth century there was a preponderance of factory owners, traders and shop-keepers. Some found employment chiefly as supervisors or in a managerial capacity with their more successful Quaker brethren, while others opted for a career in the professions, in such fields as teaching, medicine and the public service.

Preparations for marriage were carefully regulated and supervised by the Society. Parents had the responsibility of ensuring that the children married within the Quaker fold. In many cases that union was subject to financial arrangements which helped to provide additional capital for business ventures, and to make provision for the wife and any subsequent children. The primary role of parents was to rear their children as staunch, upright Quakers, and to instil in them a spirit of industry. Quaker values were transmitted through daily family worship, bible reading and books of a religious nature, the last mentioned being purchased in bulk by the monthly meeting for distribution to its members.

Simplicity and plainness were the hallmarks of the Quaker dress code. The frequent admonitions issued by the monthly meetings to members who were in breach of this testimony indicates the difficulty they had in ensuring conformity. Their houses and furnishings, like their clothing, were also expected to comply with the same lack of ostentation. The humble dwellings and functional furniture of early Friends were replaced by the more ostentatious residences erected by the more affluent members of Tipperary's Quaker community which began to make their appearance towards the end of the eighteenth century. The declining popularity of biblical names and the acceptance of those with a more popular currency also reflected the growing identification of many Quakers with the outside world. By the nineteenth century fewer efforts were being made by the meetings to enforce these standards.

Leisure activities were largely influenced by schooling. Many Quakers enjoyed exploring the practical sciences and the wonders of the natural world. The moderation with which Quakers celebrated the rituals of birth and death was further evidence of their efforts to achieve plainness and simplicity. The many unadorned headstones in Tipperary's Quaker graveyards stand in silent testimony to such ideals in all aspects of their lives. However, the broadening of popular cultural activities in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries proved irresistible attractions for many of Tipperary's young Quakers. Frequent admonitions and disownments illustrated the difficulties of maintaining their self-imposed isolation in a changing world. In addition to greater social opportunities, the Society's difficulties were compounded by their increasing wealth. By the middle of the nineteenth century, testimonies advocating simplicity and plainness had become outmoded. Those who continued to practise them may have felt it was the Quaker thing to do and any deviation from past customs was felt to be disloyal.

The opportunities that women enjoyed were far greater than could be found elsewhere and was one of the notable features of Quakerism. While the life of John Ashton and that of Joseph Ernest Grubb, some two hundred years later, exemplify the consistency of Quaker practices, changing circumstances dictated the manner in which these were expressed.

Chapter 8

The fluctuating fortunes of the Tipperary Quaker community 1655-1924.

The chapter examines the factors which led to the decline of the Quaker population within the county which, as will be shown, resulted from inherent weaknesses within Quakerism itself and the movement's inability or unwillingness to confront and adapt to a changing world.

While demographic factors help to quantify the rate and provide chronological evidence of the decline of Tipperary's Quaker community, in order to comprehend the factors underlying this development, the changing nature of Quakerism itself and the administration of its discipline must be examined. As has been stated, the Quaker population in Ireland peaked at the end of the seventeenth century, after which it entered a period of decline. Quakerism in England was suffering a similar fate. By the 1850s, the crisis within the Society became a matter of growing concern. A gentleman in England, lamenting the loss of numbers, offered a prize of one hundred guineas for the best essay respecting the causes of this change. The winning entry was written by John Stephenson Rowantree, an English Quaker, and published in 1859 under the title *Quakerism, past and present being an inquiry into the causes of its decline in Great Britain and Ireland*. This work is recognised as the most searching analysis of the decline in Quaker numbers in these islands.

As has been noted in chapter 1, when the evangelical fervour of the first generation had passed, the Society from the eighteenth century onwards became ultra conservative in its efforts to maintain a social order that was becoming increasingly out-moded. Edward Grubb claimed that 'their horizon narrowed, from a whole world to be sown with the word of Christ within, to the cultivation of their own little freehold. They became content to be "a peculiar people" enclosed from the world within a rather thorny hedge, and devoted to maintaining their own particular "testimonies"'.¹ The failure of

¹ Edward Grubb, 'Introduction' to Reginald L. Hine's, *A mirror for the Society of Friends*

Quakerism 'to adapt its religious conventions and practices to the changing times meant that Quakerism for many of its adherents became outdated and irrelevant'.² Central to Quaker belief and practice were the meetings for worship and discipline. O'Haire states that:

Fox's programme of church organisation succeeded in imposing uniformity and church discipline throughout Ireland and England. What he did not do, however, was to provide an equally effective charter on Quaker beliefs and practice; thus leaving the Society vulnerable to attack from both within and without.³

As will be shown below, indications of deep-rooted problems in Quakerism in Tipperary were reflected in meeting records from the early decades of the eighteenth century. This was symptomatic of what was happening the Society in these islands as a whole. However, it was only in 1860, almost a century and a half later, shortly after the publication of Rowantree's analysis that the Society embarked on a programme of reform. The reluctance to confront the difficulties facing the Society in the intervening period can be attributed to the conservative nature of the quietist tradition. As the evangelical movement gained momentum in the first half of the nineteenth century the advocates for change found their voice. Unfortunately, it came too late to arrest the decline of Quakerism in Tipperary and many other areas. A combination of factors which began to manifest themselves in the eighteenth century were destined to rock Quakerism to its very foundations. Among the most significant were the questions surrounding the primacy of silent worship, the role of the ministry, and what many perceived as the oppressive nature of the discipline.

For Quakers, meeting for worship is the kernel of their religious experience. Friends gather in silence believing that God will lead them to worship him in spirit and truth, although during the silence a worshipper may feel moved to speak about some aspect of his or her experience, or to pray aloud. Rowantree, writing in the 1850s, felt that Friends had greatly erred in maintaining that silent worship was the only form of worship acceptable to God or to human needs,⁴ and that what was considered suitable

(London, 1929), p. 17.

² *ibid*, p. 106.

³ O'Haire, 'A community in decline etc.' pp. 105/106.

⁴ Rowantree, *Quakerism, past and present etc.*, p. 31.

for the 'early Friends, with their earnest piety, was not necessarily fit, or even desirable, for later generations'.⁵ A century later, a similar view was put forward by Sykes who argued that the absence of vocal instruction was responsible for making the worship of God distasteful to the young and the unconverted. Silent worship, in his opinion led, in the long term, to the stagnation of meetings, or what he termed 'the drying up of Quaker meetings'.⁶ In 1801, Margaret Grubb from Clogheen, a travelling minister, wrote of attending 'a trying silent meeting at Lurgan'.⁷ Isabel Grubb also claimed that, 'the Quietist attempted to block out all human effort and to recognise the Divine command only when it came as little through human channels as was possible; this tended more to exalt the benefits of silence than to allow in the meetings a freedom in which at one time silence might be best, and at another vocal utterance'.⁸ She stated further that:

in parts of the eighteenth century meetings were held in complete silence week after week. Only if a travelling minister was present, and not always then, was the silence broken by sermon or by prayer. The strain of these silent meetings without the natural result, the vocal ministry, was heavier than the bulk of the Quaker community could bear, so that many meetings passed from inaction to lethargy, and finally to extinction.⁹

From the records of the Tipperary meeting it would appear that a pattern of largely silent worship had become established towards the end of the eighteenth century. The records of the Clonmel ministry from 1788 to 1838 indicate that many meetings were held in silence with very little ministry.¹⁰

However, from as early as the 1730s, a number of Tipperary Quakers' meetings were considered to be lifeless, and low morale was reflected in poor attendance. The small congregation at the Cashel Meeting was 'a trouble to honest minds',¹¹ while by the

⁵ *ibid*, p. 29.

⁶ John Sykes, *The Quakers, a new look at their place in society* (London, 1959), p. 36.

⁷ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 1, no. 54.

⁸ Isabel Grubb, 'Quaker ministry in Ireland' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, dxiii, no. 251 (1929), p. 255.

⁹ Isabel Grubb, 'Quaker ministry etc.', p. 255.

¹⁰ Grubb collection. MS. box 55, 13a. MSS. record of vocal ministry in Clonmel meeting, vol. i (F.H.L.D.).

¹¹ R.T.M. 6-weeks' meeting minutes and accounts, 8th day 3rd month 1737 (F.H.L.D., MM X B2),

1730s there was 'a small appearance of friends at the Clonmel meeting. None from Cashel or Tipperary'.¹² In 1763, at a women's meeting held in Clonmel, it was stated 'As there was no women's meeting held in Cashel in its usual course, a few friends met here but no friend from other meetings'.¹³ Morale in north Tipperary was no better. In 1770, the minutes of the Mountmellick meeting record that there were no Friends from Kilconihinmore attending the last monthly meeting and the 'same neglect appearing' from the Knockballymaher and Roscrea meetings which was 'a cause of sorrow to see such backwardness in the attendance of our meetings of discipline by which omission the necessary business of the meeting is retarded'.¹⁴ Mary Dudley, the famous travelling minister, on a visit to Roscrea in 1786-87 found it 'a place of extreme suffering' where 'things were so low'. The situation in Knockballymaher appeared equally distressing to her, 'This is a poor spot - the members of the meeting far scattered from one another as to place of residence ... and I think such situation unfavourable to right growth'.¹⁵

A contributory factor to the stagnation of meetings was the changing role of the ministry. Rowantree, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, while emphasising the spiritual character of early Quakerism, criticised its subsequent failure to develop creatively its early preaching and, particularly, the failure to produce a ministry that could instruct and inspire.¹⁶ Fox had laid down no guidelines for the instruction of the ministry. Having received no training, they were totally reliant on their own spiritual convictions when attempting to seek converts or to foster the growth of spirituality among their own members. O'Haire argues that in approaching meetings for worship:

no preparation of texts was allowed either by ministers or participants....silence became the essence of Quaker worship. Ministers, though they sat apart, were not predestined to speak, only if they felt the movings of the spirit within them. Their presence was viewed by some as a distraction, as some Friends persisted in the belief that they had the authority to speak. This excessive emphasis on the 'inward teacher', as Brayshaw indicated, had detrimental effects on the ministry, as the spiritual dimension of man became divorced from the intellectual, human side.¹⁷

¹² *ibid*, 26th day 12th month 1737.

¹³ Records of the Tipperary meeting, 29th day 5th mo. 1763. (F.H.L.D., MM X B2).

¹⁴ R.M.M. Minutes of men's monthly meeting, 25th day 2nd mo. 1770 (F.H.L.D., MM V A2).

¹⁵ Elizabeth Dudley (ed.). *The life of Mary Dudley* (London, 1825), pp. 36, 42.

¹⁶ Rowantree, *Quakerism, past and present etc.*, p. 33.

¹⁷ O'Haire, 'A community in decline etc.', p. 120.

The most notable aspect of quietism on Quaker ministry in Ireland was its effect on the ministers themselves. Edward Grubb argued in 1929 that the 'special weakness in the presentation of early Quaker thought' was a result of the light within being exalted to the exclusion of human thought and reason.¹⁸ This spiritual anxiety, referred to in chapter 7, was experienced by such notable Tipperary ministers such as Sarah Tuke Grubb, Mary Dudley and Sarah Lynes Grubb. Hence it is little wonder that the general spiritual life burned low.

Lloyd, while paying tribute to the contribution made to the Society by an active and committed ministry, pointed out the change that took place in the ministry by the opening decades of the eighteenth century:

It was the 'common' or public preaching meeting rather than the silent meeting which was typical of Quaker ministry throughout our period. The records throughout the country bear witness to the tireless energy of men and women preachers without whose help the Society would have declined into insignificance. The ministers both men and women were from the first the most potent influence within the fellowship and their marked decline in spiritual power by the middle of the eighteenth century is an unmistakable index of the failure of the Society to fulfil the high hopes of the 1650's.¹⁹

An over-active ministry created its own problems for certain Tipperary Friends. It was customary when a minister arrived from another part of the country that he be provided with a local guide to accompany him on his travels throughout the county. Such requests became so frequent that some members complained that it disrupted their domestic duties. Consequently, in 1745, County Tipperary Friends decided that all who undertook to act as guides were entitled to spend at least a week at home, until they could be called on again.²⁰

Isabel Grubb stated that at its lowest Quietist ministry 'consisted of a long string of texts, sometimes very strangely applied, and delivered with a peculiar intonation or chant which was probably emotional in origin'.²¹ Consequently, it was often the manner of speaking the message rather than the content which moved people. There is an

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker social history 1669-1738* (London, 1950), p. 124.

²⁰ R.T.M. Minutes of six week's meeting, 1724-60 (F.H.L.D., MM X A2).

²¹ Isabel Grubb, 'Quaker ministry in Ireland' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, dxiii no, 251 (1929), p. 264.

interesting example of this from Cashel meeting, related by Robert Dudley of Clonmel, where one man sobbed while a minister was preaching. On being asked afterwards why he was so affected the man answered, 'It was no words which I heard, that had such affect on me, but it was the holy twang which the good man used that was too much for me to bear'.²²

Another difficulty concerning the Quaker ministry was that it was not a full-time vocation. It gradually became a middle class calling for those who could absent themselves from their domestic and commercial engagements, a situation which was far from satisfactory. Long absences sometimes led to a neglect of secular responsibilities. Mary Dudley was continually plagued with the guilt of being parted from her young family, while Samuel Grubb's travels in the ministry resulted in the collapse of his business.

The dogmatic nature of quietism was reflected in a discipline which became a substitute for the inner spirit,²³ and led to a conventional repressiveness. As Rowantree stated:

their policy was purely defensive; they placed great reliance on penalties, as means for preventing misconduct, and they endeavoured to erect external barriers against the contamination of the world. They created a public opinion which enforced conformity to a costume in dress and to the use of a set phraseology - 'peculiarities' which, having originated in the endeavour to maintain those legitimate requirements of religion, simplicity in dress and truthfulness of language, degenerated into agents for maintaining an ascetic isolation from the rest of mankind.²⁴

Gráinne O'Flynn has written 'Members of the Society, who travelled on itinerant ministries during that century, can be seen most clearly as builders and preservers of Quakerism, not as convicers of others'.²⁵ Ministers such as Deborah Bell and Margaret Oliffe of London, who visited County Tipperary in 1717, were 'much

²² William J. Frost (ed.), *The records and recollections of James Jenkins* (New York), p. 87.

²³ Thomas Hancock, *The peculium: an endeavour to throw light on some of the causes of the decline of the Society of Friends especially in regard to its original claim of being the peculiar people of God* (London, 1859), p. 132.

²⁴ Rowantree, *Quakerism past and present*, p. 181.

²⁵ Grainne O'Flynn, 'Aspects of concern in the Religious Society of Friends with education in Ireland, 1627-1812' in *Capuchin Annual* (1975), p.322.

concern'd to stir up members to do their duty'.²⁶ Tipperary Friends were exhorted 'to diligence and more circumspection in conversation', and advised to 'quit themselves of the world as much as possible', that they 'should keep in plainness' and shun 'the vain custom many have got of wearing Periwigs'.²⁷ Such sentiments were typical of the Quietist concern for outward form. This message was reinforced by members from the settled Quaker community in Tipperary who travelled in the ministry during this period. These included James Hutchinson from north Tipperary and Charles Howell of Clonmel, and two husband and wife teams, Solomon and Abigail Watson from Clonbrogan, near Cashel and Joshua and Elizabeth Fennell from Cahir.²⁸

The exacting and puritanical nature of the Society's discipline, which was part of the Quietist philosophy, was clearly illustrated by the case of Anne, wife of John Grubb. In 1727, during her husband's absence in America on business, she was left in impoverished circumstances with responsibility for eight children, including twins not yet a year old. At the time she:

resided some time at Coleman, about five miles from Clonmel where her family being pretty large, and her outward circumstances low, she experienced at times great difficulties; yet in that distressed situation, and burdened with nursing two infants, her zeal for attending meetings was such that one time having omitted to attend a week-day meeting in Clonmel she came under sharp judgement for the same.²⁹

Although Anne Grubb continued as a member of the Society, the records of the period reveal that others were not prepared to accept a discipline that would appear to be so lacking in compassion and understanding. It could be said that adherence to Quaker values demanded a degree of commitment that only the most earnest could give.

By 1760, the Society at national level having become concerned about the slackness among Friends, decided on a thorough-going review of the discipline. This resulted in a tightening of discipline to ensure closer conformity with what they considered to be

²⁶ Manuscript presented to Cork Monthly Meeting in 1900. 'Friends travelling in Ireland 1656-1765' Reproduced in *J.F.H.S.*, x (1913), p.217.

²⁷ *ibid*, *passim*.

²⁸ *ibid*, pp. 169, 174.

²⁹ Some account of the family of Grubb. MS. in the possession of Louis Grubb, Beechmount, Fethard.

authentic Friends' doctrine. This renewed vigour did not meet with the approval of all members. In 1791, Samuel Neale, a travelling minister from Cork, who paid a visit to Clonmel, later wrote in his journal that the 'meeting for worship was solemn but that for discipline was very exercising, the wit and wisdom of the creature being too prevalent, and the innocent life not being enough kept to, which is the crown of our meeting for discipline'.³⁰ It is hardly surprising that such measures did little to arrest the decline but caused the Society to lose many members and attract few newcomers.

Throughout the history of the movement in Tipperary there were continuous disownments and resignations, while others simply left. Unfortunately, the records do not cover the entire period. Those concerning the Mountmellick meeting cover the periods 1681-1767³¹ and 1795-1857.³² while those concerning the Tipperary meeting cover the periods 1692-1714,³³ 1797-1895.³⁴ These records also include letters of condemnation, whereby offending members acknowledged and regretted their action and had their membership restored.

Marriage to non-Quakers was the principal reason why membership was revoked. Out of a total of 132 disownments for the periods listed above, 55 of them were for 'marrying out' as it was called. Furthermore, it was the main cause throughout all the periods for which records are available. In the Mountmellick records it accounted for 14 of the 23 disownments from 1681 to 1767, and for 6 of the 11 disownments from 1795 to 1857. Similarly, in the Tipperary records it accounted for 6 of the 14 disownments between 1692 and 1714, and 29 of the 84 disownments from 1792 to 1895. It should be stated that the prohibition against marrying non-Quakers did not apply at the beginning and even William Edmundson had a non-Quaker wife. However, from the end of the seventeenth century onwards it would appear that the marriage question had become a

³⁰ Joslyn T. Pim (ed.), *Some account of the lives and religious labours of Samuel and Mary Neale* (London, 1845), p. 221.

³¹ R.M.M., Testimonies of disunity 1681-1767 (F.H.L.D., MM V F2).

³² R.M.M., Disownments 1681-1767, Testimonies of disunity 1795-1857 (F.H.L.D., MM V 01, MM V F2).

³³ R.T.M., Copies of removal certificates 1692-1714 (F.H.L.D., MM X K1).

³⁴ R.T.M., Testimonies of disownment 1797-1825, Disownments and resignations 1825-1895 (F.H.L.D., MM X 01, MM X 02).

problem for the Society as a whole for, in 1718, the London meeting advised parents and guardians to act 'to put a stop to an undue liberty in contracting marriages with such as are not of our Society'.

This trend of 'marrying-out' was not exclusive to Tipperary Quakers. Rowantree maintained that throughout the early part of the eighteenth century in Ireland marriages between Friends and others became increasingly frequent.³⁵ Writing in 1858, Rowantree stated that in the previous fifty years one third of all those Friends who had been married had been disowned for marrying contrary to the rules.³⁶ This compares favourably with figures for Tipperary Quakers for the same period, when twenty nine of the ninety seven disownments resulted from marriages to non-Quakers. It would appear that some English meetings were turning a blind eye to Quakers marrying outside the Quaker fold by refusing to take action against those involved. Margaret Grubb of Clogheen, an upholder of traditional Quaker values, viewed such developments with alarm. She wrote that 'some meetings in England are taking a liberty about marriage that many sensible Friends there do not approve. I hope our little church in Ireland may stand firm'.³⁷

Members who condoned the practice of Quaker marrying non-Quaker were also liable to be expelled. In 1752, monthly meetings had been empowered to extend disownment as well to 'parents and guardians encouraging mixed marriages, as to the parties actually concerning in them'.³⁸ In 1816, as has already been mentioned in the chapter 7, Robert Grubb, guardian to his cousin Mary Grubb, was disowned for attending her wedding to non-Quaker, John Power.

From the beginning, the prohibition of marriage to non-Quakers - or 'marriage out', in Quaker terminology - was often justified by the biblical injunction against being yoked with unbelievers. It reflected Friends' traditional concept of themselves as a peculiar people. Later, when evangelicalism became dominant among them, they came to

³⁵ Rowantree, *Quakerism. Past and present*, p. 149.

³⁶ *ibid*, p. 149.

³⁷ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 5, no. 15.

³⁸ *Rules of discipline of the yearly meeting of Friends in Ireland*, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1841), p. 100.

recognise the extent of their basic agreement with other evangelical Christians and to have doubts about the applicability of Paul's injunction. But the ruling, like the one which expelled first cousins who married each other, forced out members who would otherwise have remained devout Quakers for a life-time, and caused a painful crisis in many a Quaker family. Such was the case of Richard Davis Grubb who married his first cousin Margaret Grubb in 1851. 'Persons cast out of a church for such a reason, having committed no moral offence, it may even be for an act that has added greatly to their happiness are not usually eager to return to a community which so curtails the religious liberty of its members'.³⁹ Whether or not the rigorous procedures, discussed in the chapter 7, which accompanied permission to marry, sometimes influenced those concerned to leave, is a matter of conjecture. In 1859, the Society amended its marriage regulations, allowing the union of Quakers with non-members. Ironically, the amendment of the marriage rule did little to staunch the exodus for, by this time, the Society was engulfed by a wave of resignations, discussed below, which became more noticeable in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Others were disowned for a variety of reasons which were considered to be at variance with Quaker principles.⁴⁰ Nineteen Tipperary Quakers were expelled for business failure and five for joining the army. Eighteen out of the nineteen disowned for business failure occurred during the nineteenth century, as did the five others who joined the army. Sometimes the reasons for removal were couched in vague terms, the 'miscreants' being found guilty of what was quaintly termed as 'disorderly walking'. This included anything from playing cards, gaming, drinking, being guilty of 'reproachful and scandalous living' or for having children born out of wedlock.

Among those who had their membership revoked were Samuel Webber 'for disorderly living' (1700); George Baker who 'for many years past lived a reproachful and scandalous life' (1702); Susanna Rudd for having 'been guilty of carrying on a scandalous intrigue with a married man' (1797); Samuel Fennell for having 'relapsed into a state of dissipation and folly' (1801); John Malcomson for having shown 'a great

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 155/56.

⁴⁰ R.M.M. (F.H.L.D., MM X K1, MM X 01, MM X 02, MM V 01, MM V F2).

coolness and indifference in religious concerns by seldom attending meetings (1813); Martha Jellico who 'took to drink' (1818); Elizabeth Power for 'keeping unsuitable company at unreasonable hours' (1819); John Walpole 'for general misconduct' (1820); John Grubb for drinking alcohol to excess (1835); John Malcomson Greer for joining the Freemasons and for also being connected with the practice of hunting and horse races (1849); Mary Whitten for becoming the mother of an illegitimate child (1849) and Sarah Hughes for not attending meetings and her subsequent refusal to receive visits from members (1849). The minutes of the Mountmellick meeting reveal a similar pattern. Benjamin Hutchinson was disowned for wagering on horse racing (1751); Large Dudley for 'keeping in his house a woman not of our persuasion to whom he had given a promise of marriage in writing,' (1752) and in 1806, Edward Dudley for failing in business (1806).

All strands of Quaker society reacted against the imposition of such discipline. By the end of the eighteenth century both the nature of society and of Quakerism had changed.⁴¹ According to Wigham, by the end of the eighteenth century, the Society had two classes. Firstly there were the members of the well-to-do Quaker families, 'which formed an interrelated series of clans each based on some business or industrial enterprise.....and it was largely the members of these families who ran the Society'.⁴² Among the Tipperary Quaker community the positions of ministers, overseers and elders tended to be held by the economically dominant family at the time. These offices were held by the Cooks, Cherrys, Colletts, Fennells and Hutchinsons in the early days; the Grubbs, Clibborns and Malcomsons of the middle period and, in the latter years of the nineteenth century, by the Davises and Fayles.⁴³ It was customary in every Quaker meeting for ministers and elders to form a select meeting of their own. The existence of such meetings underlined the social divisions within the Society, consisting as they did of those from wealthier mercantile or artisan backgrounds. As Isichei has pointed out, the wealthy naturally dominated the work of a church with no professional clergy and

⁴¹ Riana O' Loughlin, 'The sober duties of life: the domestic and religious lives of six Quaker women in Ireland and England 1780-1820' M.A. thesis (U.C.G., 1993), p. 26.

⁴² Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992), p. 58.

⁴³ R.T.M. Ministers and elders (F.H.L.D., MM X C1; MM X C2).

practically no secretariat.⁴⁴ Often these notable families could be influential beyond their numbers. It was these same members who represented the meeting at quarterly and yearly meetings. Since members attended at their own expense, they were governed, in effect, by those who could afford the cost of the journey. These same individuals were also in the position to absent themselves from their businesses.

Isichei has suggested that up to the nineteenth century many a Quaker with a flair for administration must have found a real satisfaction in guiding the affairs of meetings. But as wider spheres of action became readily available through increased recreational outlets and the removal of much social and political discrimination brought about by various legal changes, the scope of Quaker organisation naturally seemed limited.⁴⁵ These changes allowed Friends to move into a range of institutional positions once denied their forebears,⁴⁶ resulting in less attendance at meetings and a reluctance to take office. In 1826, Margaret Grubb said that the Tipperary meeting was 'wanting elders'.⁴⁷ Many of those, mentioned in chapter 6, who became members of representative bodies or took up positions in the public service, in time, left the Society.

Prosperity was often accompanied by a weakening of the Quaker character. Hence the old adage, *the carriage did not stop for long at the meeting house door*. This point was made by Wakefield, writing in 1812, when, as has already been stated, 'brought up in industry and frugal habits, they acquire fortunes, but these habits relax as their riches increase, and frequently lay aside much of that reserve which is peculiar to their seat, and participate in the enjoyments of society'.⁴⁸ Furthermore, their commercial activities brought them into close contact with members of the established church. One of the most striking examples of how their new-found affluence and social aspirations made them acceptable to the higher echelons of local Protestant society, is illustrated by the membership lists of the Donoughmore Club in Clonmel. This exclusive institution

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford, 1970), p. 77.

⁴⁵ Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 75.

⁴⁶ James Walvin, *The Quakers: money and morals*, p. 193.

⁴⁷ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 3, no. 95.

⁴⁸ Edward Wakefield, 'An account of Ireland: statistical and political, ii (London, 1812), p. 774.

was set up in the early part of the nineteenth century under the patronage of Lord Donoughmore, one of the leading landlords in the area. It became a meeting place for the local Protestant landowners and businessmen. By the 1850s, almost every prominent Quaker in Clonmel, Clogheen and Cahir was listed as a member. These included individuals from such notable families as the Grubbs, Clibborns, Malcomsons, Fennells, Murphys, Murrays and others. It is also significant that all of those listed were destined to leave the Quaker fold.

Their wealth also enabled them to provide dowries and made it easier for them to find marriage partners for their children, but, moving in a broader social circle, an increasing number were not content to find marriage partners within the borders of their own community. As has been stated, this is clearly illustrated by the lists of disownments compiled by the Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings⁴⁹ which indicates that marriage to non-Quakers was the greatest cause of membership rights being forfeited.

Richer members were in a better position than their poorer brethren to absorb the demand for tithes and many must have paid rather than face the rigours of the law. The case of Samuel Jellico illustrates the ambivalent attitude that many must have entertained. In 1843, it was reported in the *Kilkenny Journal* that:

The quarterly meeting of the Society of Friends assembled in Cork, has on appeal confirmed the decision of the Clonmel monthly meeting in suspending Mr. Samuel Jellico of Cahir, agent to Earl of Glengall, because he paid the rent charge on his lordship's property to the parochial incumbent, the Friends being obnoxious to all ecclesiastical demands.⁵⁰

Apart from the wealthy members, another group of Quakers 'unconnected with the large families and probably less well off, some small traders or farmers, some craftsmen or workers often employed in Quaker businesses'.⁵¹ Wealthier members, although charitable to their less fortunate brethren, were conscious of the social gulf that divided them. In 1824, when James Shaw of Clonmel died, Margaret Grubb took in his

⁴⁹ R.T.M.. Copies of removal certificates and disownments 1797-1825, 1825-1895; R.M.M. Disownments 1681-1767, 1795-1857 (F.H.L.D., MM X 01, MM X 02, MM V 01, MM V F2).

⁵⁰ *Kilkenny Journal*, February 1843.

⁵¹ Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, p. 58.

daughter, while at the same time describing the Shaws 'as a family of low stature'.⁵² O'Loughlin has pointed out that the discipline itself tended to drive away these poorer elements. She claims that:

the importance of attending meetings meant that those without servants to take care of home, business and children while they were gone, and without the transport to get there, were automatically in contravention of the rules if they failed to show up. Concerns were expressed in individual meetings that if poverty was the cause of non-attendance, then assistance should be given to poor members to get to meeting, but many members might not be willing to rely on the charity of the meeting in this instance.⁵³

For poorer Quakers who wished to organise marriages for their children, especially daughters, there may have been little alternative than to marry them to people outside the Society. Vann commented in respect of English Quakers in the first century of Quakerism that it was difficult to live in accordance with a Quaker conscience without the support of some sizeable community, especially when there were children of a marriageable age who had to find Quaker spouses. Also, the painful Quaker testimony against tithes was a further deterrent to embracing Quakerism, or remaining faithful to it.⁵⁴

While the Society did try to look after its own, there would not have been enough apprenticeships and employment opportunities for everyone. Even in the early days there are frequent references in the minutes requesting apprenticeships. The restrictions on social behaviour would have been too tight for anyone with ambitions to upward social mobility. The discipline in the Society had become exclusive, resulting in the emergence of a social hierarchy with the poorer members assuming the role of second class citizens.

Many poorer members must have felt themselves increasingly marginalised and alienated. There is no evidence to suggest what effect this had on numbers in the Tipperary meeting. Although Tipperary's early Quakers included many humble artisans

⁵² Grubb paper in the possession of Nicholas Grubb of Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 3, no. 70.

⁵³ Riana O'Loughlin 'The sober duties of life etc.', p. 26.

⁵⁴ R. T. Vann, *The social development of English Quakerism 1655-1753* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 145.

and small farmers among their members, the nineteenth century membership lists would suggest that members were almost exclusively middle class and quite a few of them were extremely rich. Whatever the case, the fear of disownment had not proved a sufficient deterrent, nor had the way of life proved sufficiently attractive, in both the spiritual and social sense, to prevent the haemorrhage of members the Society was suffering, and which became increasingly noticeable as the nineteenth century progressed.

The Society also had great difficulty in retaining the loyalty of its youth, the very life-blood of any organisation. O'Haire argues that, up to the end of the eighteenth century, there was 'too much influence of the home and private contemplation of the Bible at the expense of formal Biblical instruction and formal church teaching'.⁵⁵ Until the establishment of Quaker Provincial schools in the 1780s, no provision had been made for the formal instruction of children in their Quaker faith. Up to that time, Quaker youth had no official code of Church dogma with which to familiarise itself with the basic tenets of Christian faith, other than religious testimonies and documents written in defence of their Quaker traditions. Those were mainly of a prohibitive nature and were not directed towards spirituality.⁵⁶ However, subsequent events were to show that the provision of such instruction, in the long term, failed to halt the decline in numbers.

Unfortunately, the role of youth and its possible contribution was largely ignored by the Society, whose representatives were drawn from the older and wealthier members. Furthermore, the Quaker definition of the world as a corrupt place and the belief that the Society was the only place of refuge from evil, was not shared by all its members, especially its youth. They became increasingly frustrated with the dress testimony, and the restrictions relating to sports and various leisure activities. Rowantree stated that the affections of many young people were further alienated by the unreasonable requirements respecting matters of behaviour and attire, prompting them to leave the Society on attaining years of maturity.⁵⁷ Walvin suggests that 'it took no leap

⁵⁵ O'Haire, 'A community in decline etc.', p. 130.

⁵⁶ O'Haire, 'A community in decline etc.', pp. 116,117.

⁵⁷ Rowantree, *op. cit.*, pp. 181,182.

of the imagination to see how the younger generation were unhappy with the conflict of growing up in a world where enhanced consumption allowed them an ever greater variety of material pleasures, in stark contrast to the plain colours of clothing and subdued leisure moments of their faith.⁵⁸ For a people who claimed to pay no attention to 'outward forms of religion', the insistence on plainness as a badge of Quaker devotion seemed contradictory and perverse.⁵⁹

In a letter dated 14 April 1826, Margaret Grubb regretted the number of young men leaving the Society.⁶⁰ Contrary to this, in a further letter, dated 1 June 1826 which she addressed to the Youth of the County Tipperary Monthly Meeting, she stated that: 'Altho' things are low in our religious society, there is some prospect of revival even amongst our youth, some of whom are not ashamed to confess Jesus Christ before me, with earnest desires that the number may increase'.⁶¹ However, in the light of subsequent events this appeared to have been a case of wishful thinking.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a combination of factors was beginning to exert an influence on the fortunes of the Society. These developments could be said to mark the beginnings of a new phase in the Society's history. As has been seen above the affairs of the Society were being directed by a hierarchy composed of members drawn from wealthy families. It was this elite corps who were responsible for much of the spiritual dynamic which jolted Quakerism from its quietist principles into an increased awareness of the world outside its own borders.

They were enthusiastic attenders at provincial and yearly meetings. Correspondence with friends and relatives overseas and the receipt of foreign publications⁶² kept them in touch with current reform movements, such as John

⁵⁸ Walvin, *Quakers. Money and morals*, p. 146.

⁵⁹ Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, pp. 160-165.

⁶⁰ Grubb papers in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 3, no. 90.

⁶¹ Handlists/Portfolio collection. Portfolio 12 no. 34 (F.H.L.D.).

⁶² Samuel Grubb was in receipt of a publication entitled *Letters from America* which 'had been reaching him for some years from his relatives and friends, telling him of the growing discontent in the New World and of the apathy of successive English governments to do anything really constructive to improve the lot of the colonists'. cited in Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972), p. 103.

Woolman's anti-slavery campaign. This cause provoked an enthusiastic response in the form of a petition which contained 203 signatories advocating the abolition of slavery, and included the names of many Clonmel Friends.⁶³ Visiting 'Public Friends', like the American, William Savery, kept local Friends informed of developments outside their borders. Local contact was established with other important Quaker figures, such as Elizabeth Fry, the prison reformer, who was a guest of the Grubb family at Anner mills. As Braithwaite noted, 'they could not in that age of the world weave a complete isolation around their Society'.⁶⁴

This liberalism paved the way for a fresh spiritual impetus which found expression in the evangelical revival. The evangelical movement which was associated with the preachings of Wesley about the middle of the eighteenth century, and which in the end deeply affected the whole fabric of religion in these islands, did not penetrate the Society of Friends to any great degree before 1800. The quietist influence, which at that time was still in the ascendancy, reinforced the isolationist nature of Quakerism and left it less susceptible to outside influences, a fact which helps to explain the lack of response to the spirit of Methodism. Between 1750 and 1787, John Wesley was in Clonmel on no less than eight occasions.⁶⁵ On two of these, Joseph Grubb provided him with a room in one of his mills as a venue for his sermons. However, initially these new teachings made no impact on Quakerism. But 'slowly and indirectly a new approach from Wesley and the evangelical wing of the Anglican church came to Quakerism',⁶⁶ and, in time, brought about significant changes in the later history of Quakerism.

The evangelical movement did much to infuse life into the Society and free those who were prepared to accept its message from the bondage of a lifeless tradition. It was an evangelicalism which engendered, in some, a philanthropic concern towards the eradication of poverty and injustice. In others, it aroused a desire to win the world for Christ and, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the organisation of bible classes

⁶³ *Southern Reporter*, 3 June 1824.

⁶⁴ Rufus Jones, *Later periods etc.*, p. 243.

⁶⁵ G. W. Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary* (Cork, 1972), pp. 58-63.

⁶⁶ Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, p. 56.

and Sunday schools and the interest in foreign and home mission work became hallmarks of the evangelical movement.

Not all members were imbued with the evangelical spirit, some clung tenaciously to quietist principles. The clash between quietism and evangelicalism gave rise to much anxious questioning. The insistence that inner spirituality was the only way to find God was at variance with the more socially responsive trends within the Society. The quietists insisted that all should live in isolation from the world and eschew the very missionary and philanthropic work that characterised much Quaker effort of the early nineteenth century.⁶⁷ To them philanthropic work and the foreign missions smacked of creaturely activity. They were concerned that too much devotion to philanthropic concerns would displace, instead of complementing, the Quaker way of seeking a spiritual meaning of life through quiet contemplation.

Abraham Shackleton of Ballitore was the leader of a group who were disowned for advocating reliance on the inner light rather than the evangelical doctrines beginning to take hold of the Society.⁶⁸ These divisions were obvious in the contrasting attitudes of two of Tipperary's leading Quaker ministers. While Mary Dudley helped to steer the membership in the direction of evangelicalism,⁶⁹ Sarah Lynes Grubb,⁷⁰ at the yearly meeting of 1836, denounced these 'Babelbuilders'. Isabel Grubb writing in 1929, claimed that 'the influence of quietism remained strong among Friends in the south of Ireland to our own day.'⁷¹

Although the evangelical movement infused fresh vigour into the Quaker movement in the nineteenth century, it also had broader implications for the Society. Their evangelicalism combined with their commercial and philanthropic pursuits resulted in Quakers co-operating with other Christians in inter-denominational groups. As

⁶⁷ James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and morals*, p. 141; Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 2, 14, 15.

⁶⁸ Margaret Hope Bacon, 'Quaker women in oversea ministry' in *The bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, vol. dxxvii no. 2 (Fall, 1988), p. 107.

⁶⁹ Punshon, *A short history of the Quakers*, p. 150.

⁷⁰ Edward Grubb, 'The evangelical movement and its impact on the Society of Friends' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, no. 229 (First month, 1924), pp. 28, 30, 31.

⁷¹ Isabel Grubb, 'Quaker ministry in Ireland' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, dxiii, no. 251 (1929), p. 264.

Wigham pointed out 'many Friends began to feel a closer kinship with members of other churches, with whom, for the first time, they seemed to be able to relate in matters of religion, and this, in turn, increased their sense of frustration with the rigid form which the society had taken'.⁷² As a result of such activities many Friends found a more comfortable home in Anglicanism. As Bowen states:

the prevailing Evangelical theology of the Church of Ireland gave those who might have been dissenters in England an acceptable spiritual home in the establishment. They were part of a united garrison, on the frontiers of a Protestant empire, daily at grips with the forces of Anti-christ intent upon displacing their ascendancy with that of the Scarlet Woman. There was no place in Ireland for the kind of English dissent which at times chose to attack the establishment even more fiercely than it did Roman Catholicism.⁷³

It should be noted that this trend had been observed in English Quakerism as early as 1734. Writing in that year, Voltaire, observing the results of Quaker's capacity to earn money through commerce, stated that 'their children, made wealthy by their father's industry, want to enjoy things, have honours, buttons and cuffs; they are ashamed of being called Quakers and become Protestants to be in the fashion'.⁷⁴ Perkin, writing about the English Dissenters, claimed that this gravitation towards Anglicanism was part of a logical social progression and as they rose higher in the social scale, they would be more likely to become Presbyterians or Quakers. Finally, when they became so successful as to be able to buy an estate and retire from business they would return to the Anglican fold.⁷⁵ As has been seen, such was the experience of Tipperary Quaker families like the Banfields, Clibborns, Dudleys, Fennells, Grubbs, Malcomsons and others.

The growing affinity between members of Tipperary's Quaker community and the Church of Ireland became more noticeable as the nineteenth century progressed. Such a transfer of allegiance was marked through marriage, as has been stated above, and through resignation, both of which severely depleted Quaker numbers. During the period 1797-1825 only four out of forty nine who forfeited their membership rights, for one

⁷² Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, p. 56.

⁷³ Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant crusade in Ireland, 1800-70* (Dublin, 1978), p. 38.

⁷⁴ Leonard Tancock (trans.) Francois Voltaire, *Letters on England* (London, 1980), pp. 35, 36.

⁷⁵ Harold Perkin, *Origins of modern English society* (London and New York, 1969), p. 204.

reason or another, resigned, but there were fifty resignations out of eighty nine names recorded in the period 1825-1895.⁷⁶ The vast majority joined the Anglican church; there was only one instance of a member becoming a Catholic. In Clonmel, between 1802 and 1905, thirty six members of the local Quaker community, both adults and children, were baptised in the local Protestant church.⁷⁷ In Cahir, between 1849 and 1892, a figure of twenty three was recorded.⁷⁸ In a census of Protestant parishioners taken between 1864 and 1880 in the parishes of Shanrahan and Tullagherton, County Tipperary, the local vicars Rev. Phineas Hunt and Rev. W. H. Oswald indicated that their congregations in Clogheen and district contained the names of thirty-two former Quakers,⁷⁹ most of them becoming members of the Church of Ireland between 1845 and 1875. Similarly, the records of the Church of Ireland, Roscrea, covering the period 1784-1872, contain many Quaker names such as the Dudleys, Hutchinsons, Shepperds, Whittens and Rhodes.⁸⁰ Gaps in the records of the Mountmellick meeting prevents one from determining the number who were Quaker-born. Although the subsequent activities of such converts in the affairs of their adopted Church lies outside the scope of this study, a number of them became prominent in its administration as vestrymen, while others such as Sheldon Dudley, William Going and Percy Grubb became clergymen.

Apart from those who were officially recorded as having resigned or being disowned, others left without going through the formality of resigning. Among those were five of Richard Grubb's elder children who, between 1859 and 1863, chose as adults to be baptised in St. Paul's Church in Cahir. In the death register of the Tipperary meeting and also in the national register,⁸¹ thirty two members who died between 1813 and 1859 were listed as non-members.

⁷⁶ R.T.M. Disownments and resignations 1797-1825; 1825-1895 (F.H.L.D., MM X 01, MM X 02).

⁷⁷ Baptismal registers (Old St. Mary's, Clonmel).

⁷⁸ Baptismal registers, (St. Paul's Church of Ireland, Cahir).

⁷⁹ Rev. Iain Knox (ed.) 'Census of Protestants in the parishes of Shanrahan and Tullagherton, Co. Tipperary in 1864-1870' in *Irish Ancestor*, xvi, no. 2 (1984) pp. 61-67; 'Census of Protestant parishioners in Clogheen Union, Co. Tipperary in 1873, 1877 and 1880' in *Irish Ancestor*, xvii, no. 1 (1985), pp. 25-30.

⁸⁰ N.A., MFC1, no. 3; M 5222.

⁸¹ After 1859 all births, marriages and deaths were recorded on a national register.

Another significant factor in the decline of Quakerism was not only was the Society able to contain existing members but more alarmingly it failed to attract converts. In the early phase of Irish Quakerism their ministers directed their efforts at winning converts among the Cromwellian soldiers and the newly arrived English settlers. There is nothing to suggest that they made any concerted effort at winning over the native Irish. Whether or not language proved an insurmountable barrier, or the Irish viewed them as a hostile colonial presence, is a matter of conjecture. As the eighteenth century advanced, quietism had replaced the earlier evangelical phase and the Quakers retreated behind their own borders. When their attention was directed to the concerns of the outside world in the nineteenth century under the influence of the evangelical revival, they were mainly preoccupied with the spiritual well-being of their Society, rather than attempting to expand numbers. Even their philanthropic activities had no suggestions of proselytisation. As McMahon states 'Irish Quakers were not overtly engaged in the business of winning souls for themselves but rather could be described as spiritually benevolent rather than spiritual despots'.⁸²

Punshon pointed out that, 'Friends were trusted, respected and admired, but they were not followed'.⁸³ There are only three recorded conversions to Quakerism in the records of the Tipperary meeting. Nothing is known of the racial origins or religious persuasion of these converts. The first case concerns the above mentioned Gibbs family, who lived in Kiltinan, some ten kilometres north-east of Clonmel, who were converted or convinced in 1717. The only references to them in the records is that they appear to have been continually in receipt of relief from the meeting, which leads one to suspect that their conversion may have been prompted by self-interest rather than religious conviction. In the same year William Winsloe was admitted to membership.⁸⁴ The final case concerns the Harris family who were accepted as members of the Carrick meeting in 1885.⁸⁵ Other sources reveal that Clonmel miller, Robert Dudley left the church of

⁸² Dorren Mc Mahon 'The Irish Quaker community 1870-1925' M.A. thesis (U.C.D., 1985), p. 95.

⁸³ Punshon, *A short history of Quakers*, p. 103.

⁸⁴ R.T.M. Minutes of the six week's meeting, 16th day 4 mo. 1717 (F.H.L.D., MM X A1).

⁸⁵ R.T.M. Minutes of monthly meeting 4th day 5 mo. 1885 (F.H.L.D., MM X A10).

Ireland to become a member of the Quaker community. While there may have been others, numbers would have been small.

The Society was to be further weakened in these islands by the introduction of hereditary membership in 1737. Acceptance was based on birthright without any evidence of personal piety or commitment. All children of members were to be admitted to membership without having, in later life, to make any further application or profession. Apart from further separating them from their non-Quaker neighbours, it also resulted in the existence of a merely technical membership which made no contribution to the Society. In the opinion of Vann 'when nineteenth century Friends reflected on the languishing condition of Quakerism, many of them blamed the rules of settlement for having allowed children who had no real attachment to Friends' principles to remain Friends, out of mere inertia'.⁸⁶ This was reflected in the records of Tipperary meetings when the death of a parent was often followed by their children resigning en bloc. Such was the case of the two Clibborn sisters and their brother, and also three Malcomson sisters, all of whom resigned in 1889.⁸⁷

While all children born of practising Quakers were entitled to membership of the Society, it would appear that the privilege of hereditary membership did not always apply to children who were born subsequent to one or other parent being disowned. Such was the case of Thomas Moore Grubb and his sister, Susanna, who were born after their father George Grubb of Clonmel was disowned in 1819. In 1833, George's wife, Hannah, as a result of making representations to the Tipperary monthly meeting, was successful in having them admitted to the privilege of membership.⁸⁸ It is difficult to determine how widespread this practice was since this was the only case of this nature to be recorded in the minutes. However, it could be said that if this was not an isolated incident it would have adversely affected numbers. Not all parents like Hannah Grubb would have insisted on membership rights for their children. Ironically, in later years,

⁸⁶ R. T. Vann, *The social development of English Quakerism 1655-1753* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 145.

⁸⁷ R.T.M. Disownments and resignations 1825-1895 (F.H.L.D., MM X 02).

⁸⁸ R.T.M. Minutes of men's monthly meeting, 10th mo. 1833 (F.H.L.D., MM X A6).

both Thomas Moore and Susanna Grubb were to be disowned for marrying non-Quakers.

According to Rowantree, hereditary membership cultivated exclusivity and had a powerful influence amongst the Friends during the nineteenth century in making them indifferent to the obtaining of proselytes.⁸⁹ It also led to the retention of numerous nominal adult members having a right to assist in church government and generally to influence policy of the body.⁹⁰ The number of non-committed members is borne out by the membership lists for both the Tipperary and Mountmellick meetings for 1861 which include the names of those categorised as non-attenders. These could be regarded as nominal Quakers. They had not formally severed their links with the Society but had ceased to attend meetings. The printed list of members issued by the Society in 1888⁹¹ gives some indication of the scale of non-attendance. In that year, out of 77 resident members in the Tipperary meeting, 15 were listed as having withdrawn from attending meetings.

Failure to win converts was not helped by the introspective nature of the Society and an organisation system which, unlike Methodism, was 'seclusive' rather than 'expansive'. Rowantree considered the meeting structure 'as having been a powerful cause of the Society's first stationary, then retrograde condition - one that has been in operation almost from its origins to the present time.'⁹² He went on to argue that:

In the Society of Friends the executive power, as already stated, rests in the monthly meetings - not in the central body; and consequently neither the evils nor the benefits of a system of centralized authority have been felt. History proves that such a system is best fitted for the prosecution of an active propagandism: the Quaker polity is the reverse of this, hence a main reason of its failure as an instrumentality for obtaining proselytes.⁹³

Kilroy points out that 'although Friends never sought to live in isolation from the rest of society, much of their existence was separatist in intent. They married in their own

⁸⁹ Rowantree, *Quakerism. Past and present*, p. 113.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 114.

⁹¹ Printed list of members for County Tipperary monthly meeting, 1888 (F.H.L.D.).

⁹² Greaves, *God's other children etc.*, p. 315.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 65.

unique way, educated themselves as much as possible, distinguished themselves by the plainness of their living, and buried their dead in grounds of their own'.⁹⁴

Apart from religious and social factors, economic changes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, which have been discussed in chapters 4 and 5, were a contributory factor to the loss of members. The principal commercial interests of Tipperary's Quakers centred on milling and, to a lesser extent, cotton. With the collapse of these enterprises in the latter part of the nineteenth century, there were no replacement industries. In 1877, the Malcomson family went bankrupt, while others, like the Grubbs, had businesses which were contracting. Existing family businesses were failing to either attract sufficient commitment or produce the necessary expertise, as increasing numbers were attracted to careers in the professions. Able families were not replaced and many of those who left took their wealth with them. There was little scope for the more energetic of the younger people seeking a career. The prospect of better opportunities no doubt influenced many of those who migrated or emigrated.

In evaluating the status of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland during the 1840s, Harrison has argued that it 'may be assumed to have been at a peak of financial success and social confidence'.⁹⁵ This was certainly true of the Tipperary community, like their contemporaries elsewhere, which could be described as a small exclusive middle-class group closely connected by mutual commercial interests and marriage ties. Most of its members were inter-related, and could claim generations of Quaker ancestry. They could only marry their fellow Quakers, and were cut off from the rest of society by their distinctive formulae of dress and speech. The community embraced some families of great wealth and had won a reputation for their philanthropic activities. Their participation in such activities had brought them a wide network of social and political contacts. Their compassion, integrity and pacifist beliefs won for them the respect of many.

⁹⁴ Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland*, p. 30.

⁹⁵ Richard Harrison, 'Irish Quaker Records' in J. G. Ryan (ed.) *Irish church records*, (Dublin, 1992), p. 19.

By 1841 Quaker population had peaked. In spite of their success and the renewed spiritual energy which permeated the Society, Quakerism in County Tipperary was facing serious problems. The birth rate had been falling for some time. Smaller family size, increasing celibacy and migration, and an increasing number of disownments and resignations all contributed to reduce numbers. It has been said that the tragedy for Quakerism was that the evangelical awakening not only appeared to have come too late but also lasted too short a time to check the decline that had previously set in. In 1860, the ban on Quakers marrying non-members was lifted and the peculiarities of speech and dress were made optional but these reforms were already too late to save the Tipperary community. From the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the perfunctory nature of the monthly meeting records were indicative of the growing crisis within Quakerism in County Tipperary.

The Grubb map of meeting houses in Ireland for the period 1650-1750 indicates the presence of eighty-eight meetings,⁹⁶ the highest number ever recorded. It should be stated that many of these were quite small meetings and that some meeting houses were not contemporaneous. After this date, there was a continual decrease in the number of meeting houses. A map dated 1794 shows that there were 54 meeting houses in Ireland.⁹⁷ In 1872, there were 40 meeting houses, dropping to 30 in 1917.⁹⁸ McMahon claims that between 1850 and 1926 18 meeting houses closed.⁹⁹ In Tipperary, Roscrea was closed in 1885¹⁰⁰ as was Cahir in 1892. In 1899, it was reported that Knockballymaher meeting could not be kept up any longer and that the building was in good order.¹⁰¹ In 1902, it was reported 'uas having been 'unused for some time'.¹⁰² In 1911, Tipperary Quakers came under the care of the Waterford monthly meeting. While meetings for worship continued to be held in Clonmel and Carrick, in 1924 both meeting

⁹⁶ Isabel Grubb, 'Social conditions in the 17th and 18th centuries etc.', Appendix 1.

⁹⁷ A map of Friends meetings in Ireland 1794 (F.H.L.D.).

⁹⁸ Printed list of meetings and members for 1873, 1917 (F.H.L.D.).

⁹⁹ Dorren McMahon, 'The Irish Quaker community 1870-1925' M. A. thesis (U.C.D., 1985), p.127.

¹⁰⁰ Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Irish Quaker records 1654-1860* (Dublin, 1967), p. 39.

¹⁰¹ Box, 77/27 (F.H.L.D.).

¹⁰² Dublin yearly meeting, 1902.

houses were sold; the building in Carrick was sold for £100 and altered into a dwelling house called Castlefield House, while the Clonmel building was purchased by the Nationalist Newspaper Company for £560.¹⁰³ By 1924, there were eight Quakers living in Tipperary, five resident in Clonmel and three in Carrick.¹⁰⁴ As has been shown in chapter 1, this collapse was in keeping with Quaker numbers on the island as a whole. After two hundred and sixty six years, the Quaker presence in Tipperary had effectively come to an end.

To conclude, the decline of Quakerism can be attributed both to its inherent weaknesses and its inability to withstand the pressures of outside forces. These included the lack of an inspirational ministry, the mistaken supposition that none other than silent worship was acceptable to God and the deadening traditionalism of other religious practices. The abandonment of social visits by the Society, the reliance on private contemplation of the bible and religious books, instead of a more vigorous form of religious instruction, had further detrimental effects. Many of the tensions within the Society were reflected in the clash between the quietist tradition and the evangelical movement, the latter advocating a more active engagement with the outside world. Their philanthropic and commercial activities, in one way or another, influenced many into seeking their spiritual home in Anglicanism. Falling numbers were counteracted by a more rigorous implementation of discipline which was to prove a further cause of alienation, while the threat of disownment did not prove a sufficient deterrent to prevent the haemorrhage in membership. The most common cause of disownment was marriage to non-Quakers, followed by such unacceptable practices as joining the army, incurring insolvency or indulging, in what was termed, 'disorderly living'. The removal of the marriage ban did little to avert declining membership, the Society being faced with an

¹⁰³ R.W.M. Minutes of the mens' monthly meeting 1911-1953, 19 Nov. 1924 (Newtown meeting house, Waterford).

¹⁰⁴ List of the members and attenders of the Munster Quarterly meeting, 1922 (F.H.L.D.).

The Tipperary members were Sophia Beale, Susanna Clibborn, Elizabeth Anna Grubb, Caroline and Lizzie Malcomson in Clonmel and Joseph Ernest, Louis and Gertrude Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir.

increasing number of resignations. The Society became an elitist group with the concentration of power in the hands of elders, ministers and overseers and the inordinate influence of its wealthy members. Eventually, many of them found the social strictures of the Society at odds with the style of life that prosperity made possible. On the other hand, poorer members felt marginalised, while the youth felt excluded from making a possible contribution and increasingly frustrated by the official insistence on antiquated forms of dress, speech and manners. The Society's failure to integrate with the native population was primarily responsible for its inability to win converts. This weakness was compounded by the introspective nature of its organisational structures and the introduction in 1737 of hereditary membership.

Quaker commercial interests contracted dramatically in the latter half of the nineteenth century, compelling many to seek employment elsewhere. The physical signs of decline were evident in the closure of meeting houses, and in the membership statistics issued by the Society. In conclusion, a combination of religious, social and economic factors led to the eventual disappearance of Quakerism in Tipperary.

Conclusion

This study has focused on a group of Quakers who, while never numbering more than four hundred made a significant impact on their adopted county. It traces their experiences from 1655 over a period of two hundred and seventy years. In doing so, it has been necessary to outline the principles which shaped them as a religious community and to evaluate the contribution they made to County Tipperary. It has been shown that although Tipperary Friends were a microcosm of the broader Quaker community, they also had a number of identifiable regional differences.

The origins of Quakerism into Tipperary can be traced to 1655. Their militant evangelicalism and their revolutionary doctrines incurred the wrath of church and state, leading to persecution. The records show that Tipperary Quakers suffered fines, confiscation of property, and imprisonment. They fought these injustices by publicising their 'sufferings' as they called them. Tipperary members served on the parliamentary committee set up by the Society to make representations about their grievances to those in power. They also kept a watching brief on any legislation prejudicial to their interests. Despite their difficulties, for them the period 1655-1719 was one of continuous growth, due largely to the inspirational force of a determined ministry and the organisational genius of their founder, George Fox. He set up a series of meetings with democratic structures through which the care of the individual became the responsibility of the whole group. Quakers employed a variety of institutional devices to govern their affairs including epistles, certificates, published works, schools, meeting houses, graveyards and travelling ministers. They aspired to high ethical standards of behaviour, based on a strict moral code, which was, in general, rigorously enforced. Disownments ensured that no shame would come the way of the Society because of the personal failings of individual members. Espousing strong convictions and a distinct lifestyle, they cultivated frugal and sober ways, while, at the same time, establishing a reputation for integrity, prudence and industrious habits. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Tipperary Quakers consisted of a small but cohesive group, with a number of members becoming

increasingly prosperous. Although, by 1719, they had won the right to freedom of worship, the disabilities concerning judicial oaths and tithes remained. There were also disconcerting indications that the spiritual welfare of the Society was being threatened by the introverted spirit fostered by quietism.

By 1700, there were forty two known Quaker families in County Tipperary, giving an estimated population of two hundred and twenty-three. Isabel Grubb estimated that the Quaker population of Ireland had reached its highest point at this time, after which it progressively declined. The situation in County Tipperary was somewhat different. Although the first half of the eighteenth century saw a decrease in numbers, from the closing decades of the century the Quaker population rose and peaked in 1841. This was at variance with the experience of most Quaker communities in the country and can be attributed to the expansion of the corn industry which led to a fresh influx of numbers. However, by 1873, a process of irreversible decline was already evident.

The analysis by Vann and Eversely shows that Irish Quakers married earlier and had larger families than their English colleagues. This is also true of Tipperary Quakers. Furthermore, the study of Tipperary Quakers echoes the findings of Vann and Eversley in other respects. It shows that nineteenth century Quakers in Tipperary enjoyed lower mortality rates and an improved life expectancy. They also produced smaller family units, decreasing marriage rates and increased celibacy, factors which contributed to the decline of Quakerism in the county. These trends were reflected in the demographic history of the Fennells and the Grubbs, two of the county's most prominent Quaker families.

The first generations of Tipperary Quakers consisted of a few adventurers and former Cromwellian soldiers, the majority being yeomen and artisans in search of a better living. They were drawn from people of 'British stock' and were predominantly from, what might be called, the middle-class entrepreneurial class. The origins of Tipperary Quakers differed from those of other Irish Quaker settlers in that the majority of them came from the midland and southern counties of England, rather than from the north of England where Quakerism originated. This undoubtedly was a result of the available shipping routes. It is also apparent that Tipperary was not the first choice for many of

these new arrivals. From the available evidence the first generation of Quakers came from no particular part of Ireland and the settlement pattern within the county was a widely dispersed one. They never penetrated the central areas of the county favouring instead regions close to the county border. From the beginning the Tipperary Quaker community had both urban and rural roots. While a number took up residence in the towns of Clonmel, Cashel and Tipperary, the majority were rural-based. Another feature of the early settlement was its fluid nature. Some families came to Tipperary from other parts of the country, remained but for a short period, and then moved elsewhere. The number of Quaker families whose names disappear from the records within a generation is quite striking. This demographic fluctuation may be attributed to religious and political persecution, compounded by the upheaval caused by the Williamite wars. In spite of such difficulties, others succeeded in establishing a small, cohesive community, growing in prosperity. Much of early Quaker history was characterised by evangelical zeal and refusal to compromise their principles in the face of persecution.

During the period 1700-1756, Quakerism in Tipperary was in a state of transition. The fluidity of settlement which governed the earlier period was still in evidence, most notably on the marginal lands in north of the county. The most striking example of demographic fluctuation during this time was the emigration of a number of Tipperary families to the newly-established Quaker colony in Pennsylvania. In geographical terms, there was a re-alignment of Quaker population within the county. Quakerism had disappeared from the west of the county, contracted in the north, while still remaining relatively static in the Clonmel and Cahir/Clogheen districts. The most notable feature was the emergence of the Woodhouse settlement which can be attributed to the enterprise of John Boles.

The most dramatic changes took place in the subsequent period 1757-1841 when, as has been stated, Quaker numbers in the county peaked, reaching a figure of approximately four hundred. The increase in Quaker numbers was at variance with the experience of Quakers in most parts of Ireland and can be attributed to the success enjoyed by Tipperary Friends in the woollen and corn trades. This period was also marked by increasing urbanisation. The community in Cashel and Woodhouse had

disappeared with the remaining families seeking employment with their colleagues in Clonmel, which emerged as one of the most flourishing Quaker centres in the country. The growing importance of Clonmel was marked by the opening of a new and larger meeting house in 1792. This period also saw an influx of Quaker families into the Cahir/Clogheen district, albeit on a reduced scale. By 1800 the Quaker community in County Tipperary was confined to three areas, the most important and numerous settlement being in the town of Clonmel, followed by the Cahir/Clogheen district, with a handful in Roscrea and the surrounding area.

From 1861 onwards, Quaker numbers in the county declined dramatically, notwithstanding the emergence of a small community in Carrick-on-Suir. The reasons for this decline can be attributed to a combination of social, religious and economic forces. Apart from the perennial factors of migration and emigration, the Society's numbers were severely depleted by increasing resignations and disownments, and various demographic factors. In addition to this, following the collapse of the corn and cotton industries, which had been the flagships of local Quaker industrial endeavour, no alternative enterprises were established. There were also growing signs of an increasing disengagement by the Quakers from the commercial life of the county. The drive and energy that characterised Quaker business activities prior to the famine was gone. Living on the investments of their forebears, some were content to join the rentier classes. For many young Tipperary Quakers, careers in the professions became more popular than life in the family business. The ensuing crisis of morale was accompanied by the loss and support of the extended family, which had formerly contributed greatly to the success of many Quaker businesses. From the closing decades of the nineteenth century the remaining meeting houses gradually closed, and, by 1924, there were no more than nine Quakers left in the county.

Initially, the majority of marriages contracted by Tipperary Quakers resulted from contacts made at the monthly and provincial meetings. Subsequently, as commercial activities, increased the marriage field broadened. Local Quakers found partners in increasing numbers from all parts of Ireland and, in some cases, England.

These dynastic marriages, brought about by the mutual business interests of the families concerned, were often subject to lengthy nuptial contracts.

All the early Tipperary Quakers were involved in agriculture, to one degree or another. Apart from the handful of adventurers and ex-Cromwellian soldiers, there is no indication of the conditions of land tenure they enjoyed, nor is there any mention of when or from whom they received their holdings. By the end of the seventeenth century, despite the depredations and confiscations suffered during the Williamite war, and the constant demand for tithes, a number of them had become successful farmers. The Society devised various schemes to help the less fortunate ones. Detailed records of goods confiscated in lieu of tithes, indicate a mixed farming economy based on pasture and tillage. This pattern continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the emphasis shifting from one to the other as market forces dictated. Although the first half of the eighteenth century, marked by periodic bad harvests and sporadic famine, was a difficult one for Irish agriculture, it is hard to determine what impact these adverse conditions had on the Tipperary Quaker community. Fluidity of movement, which had marked the earlier period of Quaker settlement in the county, continued to prevail. A number of families emigrated to the newly-established Quaker settlement in Pennsylvania, while others moved to larger urban areas in Ireland. On the other hand the availability of long term leases enabled many of those who stayed to achieve a greater degree of permanence and stability. Such conditions contributed to the creation of the Quaker community at Woodhouse, east of Cashel and the expansion of the Fennell interests in Cahir. However, while Quakers in the south of the county were consolidating and expanding their holdings, many areas farmed by the first generation of settlers in the north had been abandoned. This decline was, at least in part, due to the fact that much of the land in these areas was poor in quality.

From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, Tipperary agriculture was increasingly drawn into diversification and commercialisation by the market economy. Tipperary Quakers were to monopolise the woollen and corn industries, the two pivotal areas of this industrial development. Many became exceedingly wealthy, and the nineteenth century saw a number of these successful entrepreneurs purchasing country

estates. As farmers, they prided themselves on producing livestock and crops of the highest quality, and in promoting various agricultural societies within the county. Their pursuit of excellence was typical of Quaker vocational endeavours. Although many Tipperary Quakers became involved in commerce, a number of them continued to earn their living from farming. This combination of rural and urban interests is one of the striking features of the Quakers in Tipperary.

Declining to see any vital distinction between things religious and secular, Quakers believed that economic morality could not be divorced from their spiritual life. Although Quakers did not set out to succeed in business, their adherence to a code of principles which governed their dealings in the marketplace won for them the respect and trust of the commercial world. Quaker success in business is inextricably linked with the impact of their religious beliefs and high moral standards on their business affairs. Fox preached the need for prudence and probity in all of their business dealings. Nurtured in the ways of upright business, honesty and plain-dealing became synonymous with Quaker enterprise. They prided themselves on producing reliable goods at a reasonable price. By the late eighteenth century, their system of education and apprenticeship provided a literate and skilled workforce. Participation in the affairs of the Society acquainted them with records and accounts. Their business lives were subject to public scrutiny. Advice and help were forthcoming for those in difficulty. Failure to rectify matters led to disownment which had the positive result of safeguarding the Society's reputation for honesty. Before the nineteenth century, discriminatory legislation excluded them from university education and from seeking employment in the public service and obliged them to be independent and self-sufficient. It encouraged them to establish economic support systems, almost wholly confined to their own religious grouping, buttressed by family links. Business interests were cultivated through carefully arranged marriages of sons and daughters into other appropriate families, a system which also provided a fresh infusion of capital. Contacts nation-wide and beyond, through meetings, informed them of new developments, enabled ideas to be shared and provided them with opportunities to seek out new markets. They were suitably poised to exploit the subsequent demand for bay yarn when the Suir valley became one of the leading wool

centres in the country. With the decline of the wool industry in the 1770s the Tipperary Quakers were quick to transfer their resources into an expanding corn industry. To a lesser extent they became involved in the cotton and linen industries with varying degrees of success.

From their farming background, Tipperary Quakers moved easily into the butter and bacon trades and began their involvement with the brewing and tanning industries. Much of their success can be attributed to trading in stable commodities, for which there was a constant demand. Clonmel Quakers were well represented as grocers, clothiers and hardwaremen. Firms like Murphys of Clonmel introduced innovative and experimental production methods, while the Malcomsons pioneered a system of industrial paternalism. They fostered an enterprise culture which branched into a host of directions. Constantly seeking new avenues of investment they were ever-ready to diversify their interests. Being involved in one line of business did not prevent them from pursuing another when the opportunity arose. This is exemplified by the varied interests of many Tipperary Quakers, who became boat-owners, iron founders, insurance agents, bankers and other pursuits. They invested surplus profits in land and property, as well as in financing housing developments. They promoted gas companies, railways, road projects and river transport and other infra-structural developments in the 19th century. They served on boards, such as the Waterford Harbour Commissioners, and were instrumental in establishing the Suir Navigation Company. Quaker entrepreneurs were characterised by their willingness to enter into partnerships with one another. Their large families provided them with sufficient manpower to run the businesses, and enabled them to carry on from one generation to the next.

As pacifists, Tipperary Quakers did not hesitate to condemn injustice. The issue of bearing arms was a complex one. While they took action against those members who failed to dispose of weaponry and refused to sell materials that might be employed to produce armaments, they appear to have tolerated those who possessed guns for the purpose of hunting. There is some evidence to suggest that, in times of conflict, they were prepared to render assistance to all victims of violence, whatever cause they served. During the war of independence 1919-21, Joseph Ernest Grubb, regardless of personal

risk, went so far as to try to dissuade soldiers from both sides of the divide to lay down their arms. Initially, Quakers shunned direct involvement in the political process, confining themselves to seeking redress for their grievances through the parliamentary process. By the end of the eighteenth century they began to voice their opinion on political affairs and, in the following century, they became members of such bodies as the Clonmel Corporation, while serving as guardians of the local poor law unions. Some functioned as rate collectors and magistrates, while Thomas Milner Grubb became clerk of petty sessions and his relative, Robert Grubb, governor of Clonmel gaol.

Not alone did Tipperary Quakers look after the welfare of their own members, but there is some evidence to show that they extended this charity to the outside community. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, their new-found wealth and their increasing awareness of the injustices in the world around them gave them the means and the motivation for philanthropic activities. Their increasing engagement with the world was reinforced by the influence of the evangelical movement, which had a profound influence on nineteenth century Quakerism. The objects of their concern ranged from prison reform to slavery. Tipperary Quakers also promoted education, health schemes and saving incentives; rendered assistance to the poor and imprisoned, and helped the victims of famine.

To Quakers, a lifestyle of simplicity and plainness was consistent with their religious beliefs. Every aspect of their lives was subject to the scrutiny of the meeting, from the rituals governing birth and death, to schooling, apprenticeship, marriage and leisure activities. Those who breached the code, as laid down by the Society in these matters, were admonished. This was reflected in the minutes of the Tipperary monthly meeting records. Their educational system highlighted both the strengths and weaknesses of Quakerism. It prepared them for the world of work, and exposure to the world of science brought many benefits. Quaker education, while inspiring the interest of Joseph Henry Grubb in meteorology, enabled others to be at ease in the beauty of a cultivated garden. However, the exclusion of the arts on the grounds that they fostered immorality, and their narrow-minded attitude to many popular leisure activities could be regarded as a shortcoming. It is hardly surprising that Quaker youth viewed these values as a

curtailment of personal liberty and, as the records of the Tipperary meeting show, some rebelled against their imposition. While austerity may have been an important ingredient in their rise to prosperity, the material and social trappings which inevitably arose from their growing affluence lured some away from the older, stricter dictates of the Society. Contemporary portraits, and the elegant residences of prominent Tipperary Quakers show how far they had departed from the plain living of their humble forebears. Furthermore, Quakerism introduced a concept of gender equality into both the ministry and the conduct of church business unparalleled by other religious groups.

The quietist era which dominated eighteenth century Quakerism had disastrous consequences for the Society. While Fox developed highly sophisticated structures, he placed the spiritual welfare of his flock in the hands of untrained ministers who, in addition to their religious duties, had secular responsibilities. Deprived of any evangelical function they were restricted to merely visiting existing meetings. At meetings they were neither encouraged or expected to speak in case it would detract from the members 'inward communion' with God. This also accounts for the reluctance some ministers felt in exercising their gifts. Such notables as Mary Dudley and Sarah Grubb spoke of the spiritual anxiety that afflicted them.

Discipline became a substitute for the inner spirit. Quakerism for many became concerned with the externals of speech, dress and codes of conduct. The emphasis was placed on maintaining group discipline at the expense of the spiritual welfare of its members. Monthly meeting records and the observations of various ministers during the eighteenth century reflect the state of Quakerism in the county. There are continuous references to poor attendances at meetings, to various members being reprimanded for transgressions, and a number of disownments. A review of the Society's discipline in 1760 led to its more rigorous implementation. This resulted in an ever increasing number of disownments and resignations which increased further throughout the following century. In Tipperary, as elsewhere, marriage to non-Quakers was the principal cause of the forfeiture of membership. Despite this, favourable economic circumstances resulted in an increase in numbers in the latter decades of the eighteenth which continued on into the opening decades of the following century.

The Society in Tipperary, as happened elsewhere, became increasingly dominated by the wealthier members, while the poorer ones were marginalised and the youth felt excluded. Further, Quaker youth were denied any formal programme of religious instruction prior to the establishment of the Quaker provincial schools at the end of the eighteenth century.

By the last decade of the eighteenth century the Society was beginning to experience the influence of the evangelical revival, but its full impact was not felt until the middle of the following century. While the more conservative members clung to quietist principles, others were prepared to accept the challenge of adopting a more creative engagement with the outside world. Ironically, their evangelicalism combined with their philanthropy and commercial success, resulted in closer contacts with members of other churches. Failure to adapt its religious conventions and practices to the changing times meant that Quakerism for many of its adherents became outdated and irrelevant. Rebelling against the Society's outmoded practices many of Tipperary's Quakers inevitably found a more comfortable home in the Anglican church. Although the reforms of 1860 saw the acceptance of marriage to non-Quakers and the abandonment of the strictures governing plainness, it was too late to halt the exodus. Membership in Tipperary was further depleted by a combination of demographic factors, emigration, the failure to win converts and the decline of Quaker-run industries. By 1924, little more than a handful were left and Quakerism in Tipperary had effectively come to an end.

It should be said that not all Quakers were models of propriety. Among Tipperary members were individuals who abused the conditions of their tenancy; traders who went bankrupt or were found guilty of unethical business practice, and those whose personal behaviour was far from exemplary. In pursuit of their cherished ideals they were often misguided and short-sighted. While demanding the utmost liberty of conscience from the civil power, they did not always allow it to their own followers. Instead they made obedience to the regulations of the yearly meeting an essential of fellowship - even when these regulations were destitute of direct spiritual authority.

It is generally accepted that the contribution made by the Quakers in Ireland was out of all proportion to their numbers. The same can be said of Tipperary's Quaker

community. Though the industries they founded and the charities they supported have long since vanished, their links with the county have been preserved in place names such as Quaker's Bridge and Grubb's Court, and in the numerous testimonies to deceased Friends which appeared in local papers. While two of their former meeting houses can be still seen in Cahir and Carrick-on-Suir, their burial grounds, with the exception of those at Clonmel and Knockballymaher, have been sadly neglected. A number of enormous ruined mills are reminders of their commercial greatness, while many of their still-elegant houses adorn the landscape. The Quaker experience in Tipperary may have failed in numerical terms, but its impact on the economic and social life of the county was of the greatest importance.

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Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths. Register of Vestrymen.

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Tipperary County Library, Thurles

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Barony of Slieveardagh, Co. Tipperary.

Barony of Upperthird, Co. Waterford.

Miscellaneous Bagwell papers (uncatalogued)

Tipperary S.R. County Museum, Clonmel

Bagwell papers: loan no. 40, item 329.

Grubb papers: 1991.613, 1991.618.

Lismore estate papers: 1985.170; 1985.171; 1985.176.

Maps of Earl of Glengall's holdings, Cahir - 1854.

Records of Clonmel Gas Company: 1984.486; 1984.511.

Records of Presbyterian church, Clonmel 1760-1923. d. 169.

Town Hall, Clonmel.

Leases in relation to Grubb corn mills on Suir Island, 1774, 1810.

Cork

Cork County Library

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U.C.C.

Microfilm no. 677. Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages of Co. Tipperary Monthly Meetings.

Waterford

Mount Melleray Cistercian Abbey, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford

Canon Burke Papers:

- W. S. Mason, Survey of Clonmel 1809
- A minister's money account for Clonmel, 1703.
- Minute books of Clonmel Annuity Company, 18th and 19th century.

Waterford Quaker Meeting House

A collection of property deeds and sundry records of the County Tipperary Meeting of the Society of Friends.

Dublin

Dublin Friends' Historical Library

Meeting records:

- Records of the Society of Friends for County Tipperary Meeting, 1654-1910
- Records of the Society of Friends for Mountmellick Meeting, 1655-1889
- Register of births and deaths for Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Carlow, meetings.
- Minutes of the half-yearly national meeting, 1687, 1705, 1706.
- Minutes of yearly meetings, 1672, 1675, 1692, 1699, 1702, 1704, 1808, 1819.
- Dublin Yearly Meeting of the religious Society of Friends in Ireland 1916, 1923.
- Minutes of Dublin monthly meeting 1691-1701, April 1700 (F.H.L.D., D 12).
- Minutes of Munster provincial meeting.
- MS. National Sufferings 2 vol. A.II YM G1.
- MS. The great book of tithes 1680 YM G4.

Demographic and genealogical materials:

- List of members of Munster Quarterly Meeting 1873, 1898, 1916 and 1922.
- List of members of Leinster Quarterly Meeting 1873.
- Webb's family pedigrees.

Collections:

- Fennell collection MS. box 24, letters 5 & 6.
- Grubb collection, MS. boxes 44, 45, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57 and 59.
- Jacob-Lecky letters, MS. box 59.
- Handlists/Portfolio collection

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Diaries:

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Genealogical Office

List of freeholders for County Tipperary MS. 442.

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Clibborn and Simmons family papers: M 5451.

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Fennell and Jackson family papers: D 17,138-77; T 7097-8.

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Grubb Papers MSS. 1451 and 8409.

Fifteenth report of commission of public records Ireland (1925).

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Malcomson Papers MS. 8146.

Papers of Joseph Haughton L1, 576.

Papers of Richard Shackleton of Ballitore. MS. 94.

Cork and Tipperary counties - statistical survey for 18th and 19th centuries MS. 96.

Survey of Tipperary MSS. 8146/47.

Registry of Deeds

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110/189/76502, 111/100/75729, 111/100/75778, 115/399/80945, 123/190/84151,
124/24/83637, 183/278/12281, 236/518/155344, 261/547/172735, 261/548/172736,
261/550/1728737, 271/151/175412, 279/675/185804, 288/271/190521,
315/493/215765, 346/252/231775, 347/217/231805, 361/435/245322,
497/97/317966, 498/422/320341, 503/155/322073, 503/507/325288, 529/203/346502,
529/203/346902, 533/542/355387, 540/452/356238, 559/18/371474,
561/328/377365, 583/118/395114, 583/341/397710, 603/181/410696,
603/182/410697, 615/44/4199447, 636/104/35974, 753/44/572182,
862/349/574849, 885/312/586312, 885/312/586313, 885/312/586314,
1836/7/298, 1842/5/250, 1842/15/152, 1845/17/78, 1852/2/169, 1854/7/149,
1856/26/56, 1858/2/169, 1858/5/261, 1858/5/62, 1858/8/282, 1858/5/261,

1858/30/120, 1859/3/84, 1859/33/65, 1859/39/231, 1860/1/234, 1860/21/86,
1862/27/158, 1863/15/149, 1864/31/55, 1864/27/158, 1868/36/249, 1874/10/132,
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Royal Irish Academy

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Kildare

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Belfast

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