

Families in Transition: Four Prominent Irish Families Abandon the ‘Inward Light’

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Abstract

This article follows the association and membership of four families of similar socio-economic status, through seven generations, with Irish Friends over a period of slightly more than 200 years, to around 1900. Using historical data, a model has been presented to explain the key elements of their respective journeys through recruitment, engagement, and eventual abandonment of the Religious Society of Friends. The model had been supplemented with the results of a quantitative analysis of data related to membership and with generation as the principal cohort. Aspects considered included male and female longevity of membership, rates of membership attrition, child mortality and children’s contribution to membership, and an attempt to determine whether social mobility and occupational status contributed, in some measure, to declining rates of membership.

The results of the quantitative analysis were much in accord with the model; each family, while journeying towards the same destination, progressed slightly differently but with some common characteristics. Child mortality was high in all four families as were rates of membership attrition, and females tended, on average, to have longer longevity of membership than men. And while social mobility was limited, all the families managed to consolidate their positions in middle-class society, many members comfortable with respectable titles in what became known as the Irish ‘Squirearchy’. By that time Friends had become a distant memory. It remains to be seen whether the model proposed here is applicable to Quaker families that belonged to other socio-economic denominations.

Keywords

Irish Friends, membership attrition, socio-economic status, occupational status, social mobility, membership, longevity of membership, child mortality

Introduction

This article is an adjunct to a recent study of four relatively wealthy Quaker families—the Watsons, Coopers, Ducketts and Leckys—all of whom at one time resided in County Carlow and were originally members of the Newgarden Meeting, County Carlow, Ireland (Coutts 2015). The project focused on demographic profiling with the objective of identifying and documenting temporal changes in family size, marriage practices, life span and family planning strategies. The purpose of this article is further to examine aspects of process from the time the families first became involved with Friends. More specifically it is to recognise patterned behaviour, review recruitment into membership, longevity of membership and retirement from Friends and to identify the links, if any, between these processes and social status and occupation. Elsewhere the families have been placed in historical context and, to pursue this project, these data have been deployed with relevant demographic data.

Research Approaches

The results of the demographic study suggested that, although the four families journeyed towards similar destinations, they followed slightly different pathways to get there. Transition or change was documented, manifested in the guise of temporal changes to the demographic profiles of each family. The families first embraced the 'Inward Light' towards the end of the seventeenth century, merging into a vibrant and active Society that was still evolving doctrinally and administratively. Thereafter, up until the late nineteenth century, the progress of transition involved the gradual loss and rejection of the 'Inward Light' by most family members.

This project has been divided into two parts, historical and quantitative. The first part involved sifting through the published data pertaining to the four families. The two main objectives of the exercise were firstly, to identify the individuals who belonged to each family, together with their history of involvement, if any, with the Religious Society of Friends, and secondly to identify patterned behaviour.

The second part is quantitative, heavily reliant on the results of family reconstitution for completion (Vann and Eversley 1992: 23ff.). It too was conducted in two parts, Firstly, for comparative purposes, aspects pertaining to membership of the Religious Society of Friends were quantified for both male and female members, by family and generation, inclusive of composition, infant/child mortality rates, rates of attrition from the Society and longevity of membership. Secondly, social mobility within each of the families was examined. Part of the process of documenting how, when, and why members of our families gradually abandoned Friends to re-enter mainstream society invites us to look at social mobility and changing social status as contributing and/or mitigating factors. Fortunately, there is ready access to a reservoir of relevant data, although some of this information is ambiguous and can be difficult to interpret.

Membership

Before launching the analysis, it is pertinent to briefly review the concept of membership, but recalling that the focus of this article is more on process than causation.

The Concept of Membership

In the early years of the Quaker movement there was no 'club' or formal organisation to which one could enrol or apply for membership (*Rules of Discipline etc.* 1834: 59–61, Vann 1969a: 122ff.). The so-called 'Society' simply comprised an association of persons who shared common beliefs and who were prepared to accept the consequences of association regardless of hardships and penalties that might arise because of membership. To become a Friend a person needed to be 'convinced', recruited and/or enticed into membership, having considered and accepted the merits of Friends' religious tenets and after pledging to follow and engage with an emerging set of rules that governed social and religious behaviour (Vann 1969a: 39ff.). A person became a Friend by the common consent of those who were already Friends and remained so throughout their lives unless they resigned, died, or were disowned by fellow Friends. All first-generation members of our four families were, by definition, recruited into the world of Friends.

Once a person was convinced and accepted into membership, if and when he/she married and had children, the membership status of their children became an issue that required resolution (*Rules of Discipline etc.* 1834: 137–38, Holman 1939: 102–10). In the early years of the Society, children of parents who were both members were not regarded as bona fide members, but they were encouraged to attend meetings for worship and educated in the ways of Friends. As they approached adulthood, having constantly been under observation by the membership, children were assessed as to whether they had integrated spiritually and otherwise into the Quaker community. When children passed this assessment, they could be invited to participate in meetings for business, but otherwise they were left to decide whether they wished to be regarded as members. From 1737, starting with the London Meeting, the concept of birthright membership was formally introduced into Quaker communities. This meant that all children born to Quaker parents automatically became members of the father's meeting. Later, rules were formalised for other situations. For example, if a person made an application to become a Friend and he/she already had children, the children did not qualify for automatic membership. However, such children could be accepted into the community by application of a parent and at the behest of the relevant meeting, with the proviso that the marriage had been in accordance with the rules of the Society, for example the couple were not first cousins and so on. Sometimes members resigned or were disowned but this did not preclude the possibility of rejoining later, by application.

In respect of this project, all first-generation members of each of the four families became members of the Society by means of convincement and their children, for purposes of this exercise, have been treated as birthright members.

Exiting Membership

The reasons why members left or abandoned the Society of Friends are well documented (Greaves 1997: 332ff., Vann 1969a:128ff.).¹ Members of the Cooper, Lecky, Duckett and Watson families who were Friends, as with those in other Quaker families, left for a variety of reasons. Some resigned, others, through non-participation, opted out without notice. Many were disowned by their meetings because they infringed rules of the Society. Those who were disowned due to serious offences included: Friends marrying first cousins; those 'marrying out', that is, marriage to a person who was not a Friend and formalising it by utilising a priest of another denomination; likewise, Quaker couples who chose to marry utilising priests from other denominations; Friends who were in serious debt; Friends who were prone to drunkenness and poor public behaviour; and those who consistently failed to attend meetings of worship. While disownment was generally enacted quickly for marriage offences, meetings tended to be less inclined to evict members for other types of infringements, especially where they nurtured hope that the person or persons charged with the infringements could be redeemed. In many cases the process of eviction could take several months during which time the meetings to which the accused belonged appointed members to work towards his/her redemption.

Historical Resources

Summary histories for each of the four families from their first appearance in County Carlow have been published elsewhere.² Data from these resources suggest that the families experienced changes spanning a period of 250 years that can be formalised into a series of stages or processes, although not chronologically synchronous for each family (Table 1). The first stage is characterised by disillusionment with the social and religious conditions of the time that led to recruitment and the opportunity for change and relief through membership of the Religious Society of Friends; secondly, there was a period of engagement where the families fully adopted and practised Quaker theology, and, as a consequence, some members suffered persecution from the civil and religious authorities; but

1 Wight and Ratty (1751: 428ff.) catalogue a list of 'sins' that could result in disciplinary actions against the guilty parties, including expulsion.

2 Summary histories for the Cooper, Watson, Lecky and Duckett families will be found in Coutts (2015: 9–13; 2016b: 182–262); a detailed history of the Watson family is available in Coutts and Watson (2019) and a discussion of their origins in Coutts (2016a; 2017); origins of the Lecky family are detailed in Coutts (2019). Results of research on the Cooper family conducted by Tom LaPorte are summarised in LaPorte (2016, 2018).

Table 1. Processes of change summarised for the four families. c. = *circa*

Process	Means/symptom	Cooper	Duckett	Lecky	Watson
Recruitment		c. 1687	c.1680	c.1680	1673
	Visiting minister				*
	Application/invitation				
	Birthright				
	Through marriage			*	
	Unknown	*	*		
Engagement					
	Active on committees	*	*	*	*
	Attend meetings for worship	*	*	*	*
	Recipient of charity				
	Serve as trustee	*	*	*	*
	Serve as officer		*	*	*
	Refuse to pay tithes	*	*	*	*
	Contribute financially to Society	*	*	*	*
Detachment					
	Resignation	*	*	*	*
<i>and</i>	Disownment	*	*	*	*
	Death	*	*	*	*
	Completed by	c. 1780	c. 1825	c. 1870	c. 1835
Reintegration					
	Rejection of Society of Friends	*	*	*	*
	Joined mainstream churches	*	*	*	*
	Held official appointments E.g. magistrate, juror, sheriff etc.	*	*	*	*
	Paid tithes	*	*	*	*
	Married outside of Friends	*	*	*	*
	Abandon frugality/ostentatious houses	*	*	*	*
	Abandon Societies basic tenets, e.g. no-doffing of hats, rejection of Christmas etc.	*	*	*	*
	Abandon arbitration in favour of courts to settle disputes	*	*	*	*
	Engage in sports and amusements, e.g. foxhunting & horse racing	*	*	*	*

Table 1. *continued*

Process	Means/symptom	Cooper	Duckett	Lecky	Watson
Economic & social turbulence	Enrol in military & clerical offices	*	*	*	*
	Indulge in extravagance	*	*	*	*
	Make poor investments				*
	Accumulate debt through land transactions	*		*	*
	Family disputes over land/inheritance		*		*
	Land redistribution tenant/landlord Acts	*	*	*	*

in general family members who were Friends enjoyed prosperity and economic growth; thirdly, there was an extended period of detachment and reintegration where family members left the Society in increasing numbers to join mainstream society for a variety of reasons, abandoning Quaker tenets and adopting the manners, customs and morals of the gentry; fourthly, periods of economic and social turbulence that were manifested by bankruptcy, downsizing of estates, embezzlement, family feuds, extravagance and ostentatious displays of wealth, and reclassification of social status.

Quantitative Analysis

'Reconstituting' the four families was part of the first step in the analysis. The process of reconstitution, that is, the development of a genealogical record for a specific family, together with some of the difficulties that one can encounter when undertaking this kind of project, are generally well known (Vann and Eversley 1992: 23ff., Wrigley et al. 2005: 12ff.).³ Access to the appropriate records is a prerequisite for success. Until quite recently it would have been difficult and expensive to pursue this line of research because records were available only at the Friends' Historical Library, Dublin or from microfilm copies that are held by the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, Salt Lake City. Today, Friends records are readily available online through the genealogical website, *Find My Past*.⁴ To complete this important first part of the project, the website was used

3 An example for an Irish meeting will be found in Coutts and Moriarty (2017).

4 <https://www.findmypast.com.au/familyhistory>.

in conjunction with records copied by the author from the Friends' Library in Dublin and digitised in 2004.

For each of the four families, reconstitution focused on the males of each generation and their descendants as well as the first generation of children born to female family members who married, as illustrated in the chart below (Fig. 1). The analysis did not include family descendants represented in *italic*.

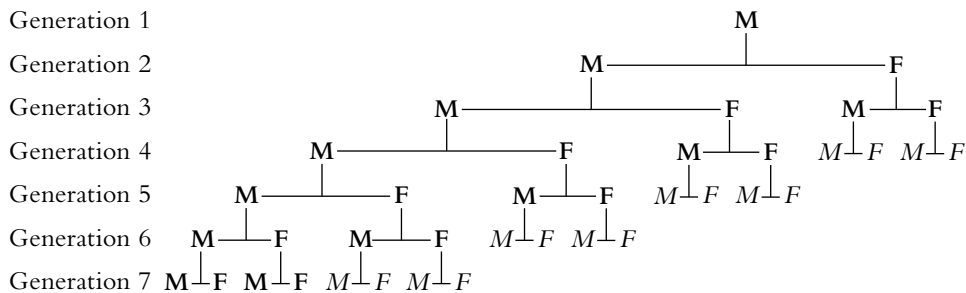


Fig. 1. Data restrictions summarised.

Key: M = married male F = married female Unmarried persons not included in the chart

There were a few instances where birth dates were available for birthright members but thereafter no information of any kind could be found in Friends' resources for them. In these instances, it has been assumed that the persons in question had either died young and had been omitted from Quaker registers or they had opted to forego their status as birthright members without formal resignation. Having said that, disappearing quietly from Friends' influence was not easy as the membership was vigilant and encouraged youngsters to attend meetings for worship. Where repeated absences were noted, the parents of the children were usually called to account, admonishments sometimes being recorded in the minutes of the meetings for business.

Longevity of Membership

The next step was to determine how long family members remained within the compass of Friends. Pursuing this aspect can be challenging as there it is no easy way to establish the facts. A member could terminate membership in the following ways: death, resignation, disownment, and immigration from Ireland. In respect of immigration, while many Friends who migrated remained Friends, for the purposes of this study loss of a member from an Irish meeting because of migration is considered in a national context so that what one nation lost another gained.

There are several approaches to the problem of confirming membership. Firstly, the Friends' Library in Dublin holds an alphabetical list of members who were disciplined and/or disowned with a description of the offence and the date when

actions were taken. The list can be consulted but serves only as a guide. It is not complete; and the names in the list are not attached to a secondary source (e.g. a father or wife) making it difficult to identify family associations.

Next, when the date of death for the person-of-interest is known, one can consult the Friends' death and burial registers for his/her meeting. The last column in these registers was supposed to have been used by the clerks of the meetings to enter a note if the person was a non-member at the time of death. The problem with this is that clerks sometimes did not make the appropriate note and, even when they did, there was no indication when the person ceased to be a member. Well might we ask why non-members were sometimes listed in Quaker death records and buried in Quaker cemeteries? In fact, anyone could apply to a meeting responsible for administering a Quaker burial ground for permission to be buried there. It was up to the membership of that meeting to decide whether to allow the burial. In practice, most applications from non-members were submitted by persons who had been members previously and they were generally looked on kindly (*Rules of Discipline etc.* 1834: 226).

Where there is a 'non-member' entry in the register of deaths and burials, we still need to determine if the person had been a member and, if so, when he/she had left the Society. This is done by searching the congregation notes, generally a long and tedious process. If there is an entry for a person of interest in the Friends' Lists of Disownments one can use the date to narrow the search.⁵ When the person-of-interest has no entry in the last column of the list of deaths and burials, we still cannot assume that he/she died in membership. The clerk may have omitted to make the appropriate entry in the record book, or the person-of-interest may have emigrated and, if so, we need to know when and to where. Once again, the congregation notes need to be checked starting with a search of the records for the decade preceding the persons-of-interest's death. If there are records for the person-of-interest in this cohort then it is fairly safe to assume that he/she died in membership. If there are no records for him/her in that decade, then the search must proceed until the issue is resolved.

Documentation for Friends who migrated is available in the form of migration notes in the congregation minutes. They may turn up using the 'migration' search option in *Find My Past*, but not always. Many migration notes remain hidden as notes in the minutes of the meetings for business and must be sought from the congregation minutes using the name search option.

Data Processing

Having gathered the requisite basic data for individuals comprising each family within each generation, they were tabulated prior to analysis. To have some measure of the relative degree of family participation in Friends' affairs

5 Disownments MDB, FLD.

an index has been created, based on the average length of time individual families remained within the compass of Friends. For an individual in family A, if X_n = the length of time he/she was in membership then the average time of membership for his/her family would be $(\sum X_n)/C$ where C = the number of qualified members of the family and where n ranges from 1 to C . The rub here is in choosing who were the qualified candidates and how one goes about calculating X_n . As we will see shortly, the survival rate of birthright children in many of the families was poor, children dying in infancy or in early childhood. If they were included in the data used to calculate the indices, the results would be heavily biased downwards. Rather, priority has been given to members who were of sufficient age to contribute to their respective meetings, those who were 18 years and over. Thus, members who died before they turned 18 years have not been included in the index calculations. Likewise, members who migrated overseas were excluded where their status as members offshore could not be reliably established or estimated.

Results of the Analysis

The major aims of this part of the project were to assemble and summarise the demographic data for each generation, determine the attrition rates associated with each of the four families, and to gain some idea of the longevity of membership by calculating average years of membership, for each generation, for both male and female Friends. The analysis produced copious data: for example, the Watsons family consisted of some 210 persons belonging to 30 families spanning seven generations. Likewise, 281 persons belonging to 47 families of the Lecky family were processed. For purposes of presentation the results of the analysis have been summarised in graphical form by generation.

Membership by Sex and Generation

Results for each of the families are presented in Figs 2–5. The data in these graphs comprise numbers of persons, by generation, in each family, who were Friends either by convincement and/or by birthright. Taking the Watson family as an example, the total numbers of Friends in Watson-related families, in say the third generation, was 80. The first entry in each of the graphs is for a person or persons who were 'convinced', and thereafter everyone incorporated into them were birthright Friends.

Clearly there is no patterned behaviour in these graphs. What one can conclude is that there was little difference in male and female representations for each generation although, in the case of the Cooper family, male representation predominates during the last generation. Peak representations occur in the third generation for the Watson families, the third and sixth generations for the Lecky families, and the fourth generation for both the Duckett and Cooper families. And while there is an upward trend in population numbers for Lecky, Duckett

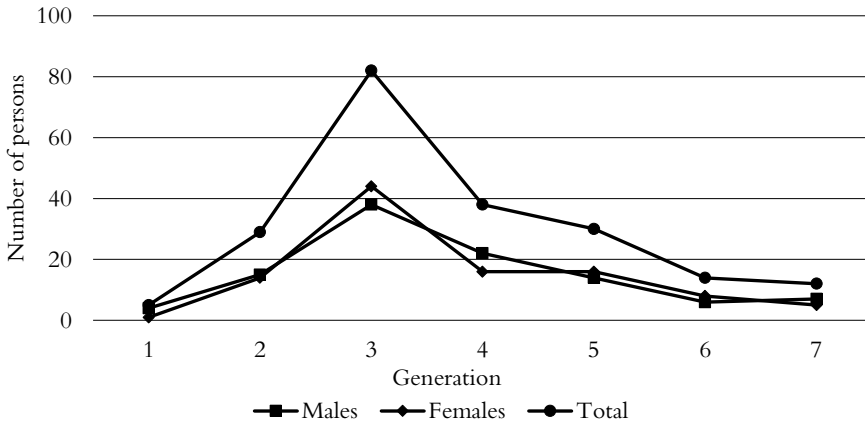


Fig. 2. Numbers of persons associated with each generation of the Watson family.

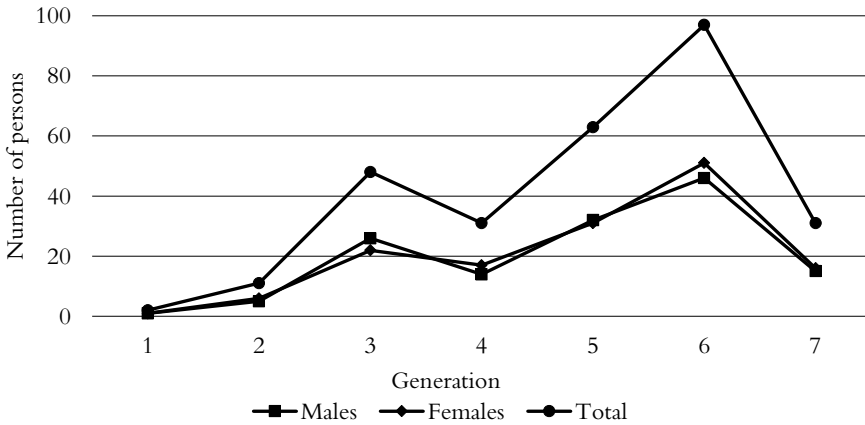


Fig. 3. Numbers of persons associated with each generation of the Lecky family.

and Cooper families, the opposite is true for the Watson family. Three of the four families have strong downward trends in their last generations, reflecting the progressive attrition of members from the bosom of Friends. But, in terms of population numbers, we conclude that each family had its own unique demographic footprint.

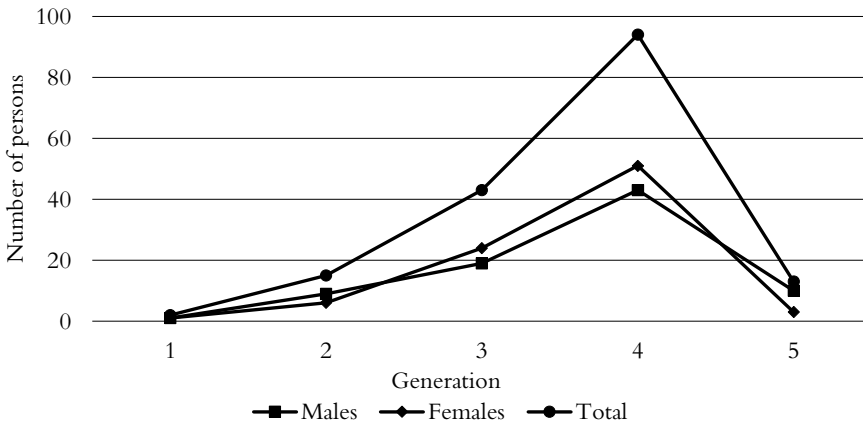


Fig. 4. Numbers of persons associated with each generation of the Duckett family.

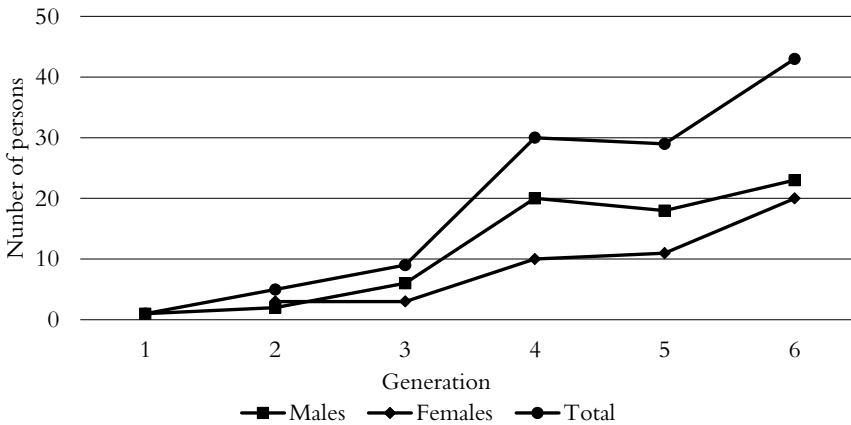


Fig. 5. Numbers of persons associated with each generation of the Cooper family.

Child and Youth Morbidity

Results are presented in Figs 6–9. The percentages were calculated as follows: if $N = (M + F) =$ total no persons in each generation where $M =$ no males and $F =$ no females; and if $M1 =$ total no males who died under the age of 18 and $F1 =$ total no of females who died under the age of 18, the calculation for males $= (M1/M) * 100$, for females $= (F1/F) * 100$ and Total $= ((M1 + F1) / N) * 100$.

Like the previous series of graphs each family has a unique footprint. What can be said is that the mortality rate for the under-18 cohort was significant for all four families: above 20% for both males and females of all families for most generations. Again, we see that the mortality rate for males was generally higher than for females except for parts of the Watson profile where females just surpassed males during the second generation and ran in concert with males

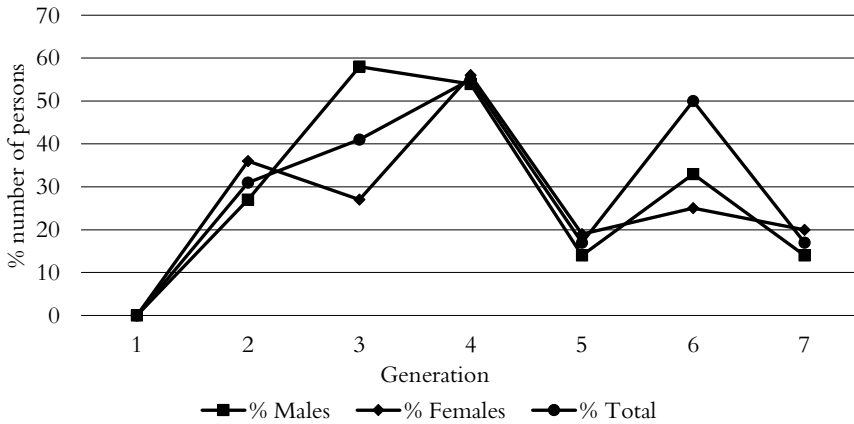


Fig. 6. Percentage number of persons who died under the age of 18 years in the Watson family, by generation.

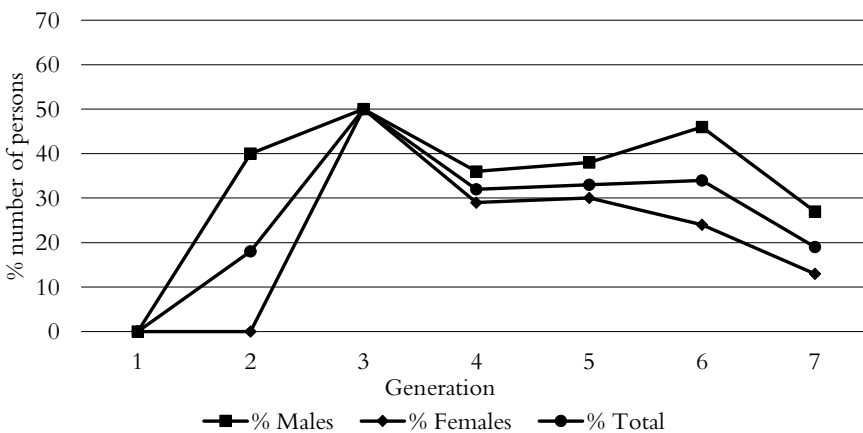


Fig. 7. Percentage number of persons who died under the age of 18 years in the Lecky family, by generation.

during the fourth and fifth generations. Notably mortality rates appear to have been at their worst during the third generation, particularly for males, for all four families.

Rates of Attrition

The attrition rate R can be calculated by simply dividing the number of persons who left or were disowned by the Society by the number of eligible persons who were members in his/her generation. However we know that a significant number of Friends died before the age of 18 years, Friends who never played a role in meeting governance. As mentioned above, it would seem prudent to exclude this

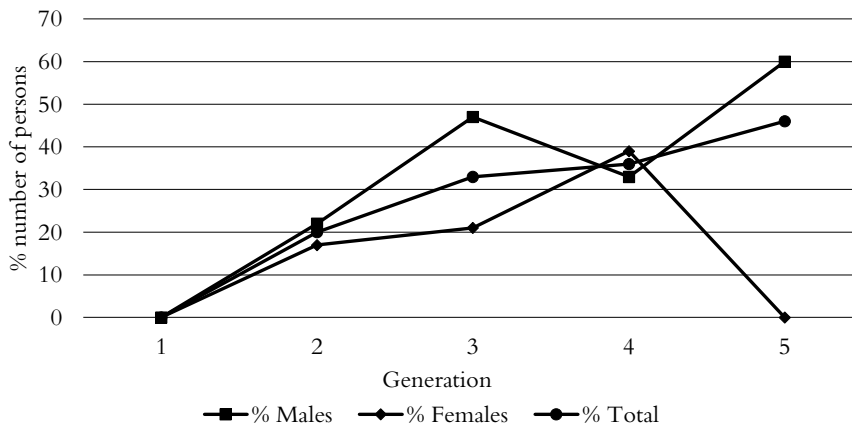


Fig. 8. Percentage number of persons who died under the age of 18 years in the Duckett family, by generation.

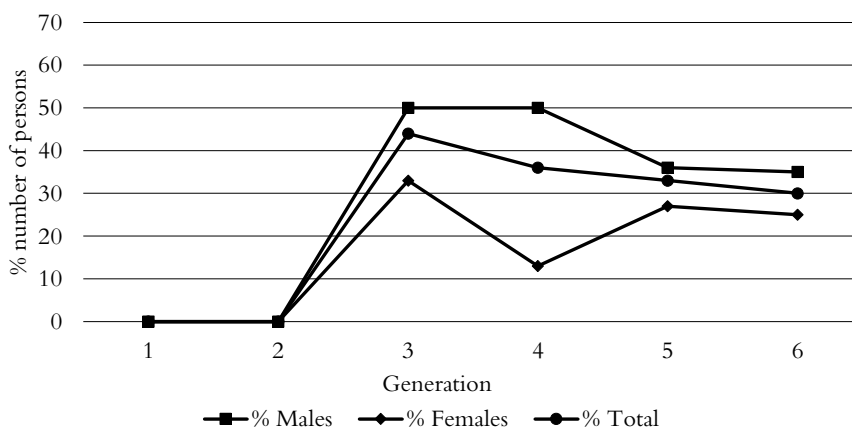


Fig. 9. Percentage number of persons who died under the age of 18 years in the Cooper family, by generation.

cohort from the attrition calculations. Thus, if AM is the number of males who left (or who were denied by) their meeting, AF the number of females then the membership eligible for the attrition calculations will be, for males $M - M1$, for females $F - F1$, totals $N - (M1 + F1)$. The attrition rate for males, expressed as a percentage becomes $(AM / (M - M1)) * 100$, for females $(AF / (F - F1)) * 100$ and for totals $((AM + AF) / (N - (M1 + F1))) * 100$. The results of these calculation are depicted in Figs 10–13.

While the patterns for each family have their own character, we see that in general the rates of attrition for both males and females for the Watson, Lecky and Duckett families tend to increase over time, although there is some attrition

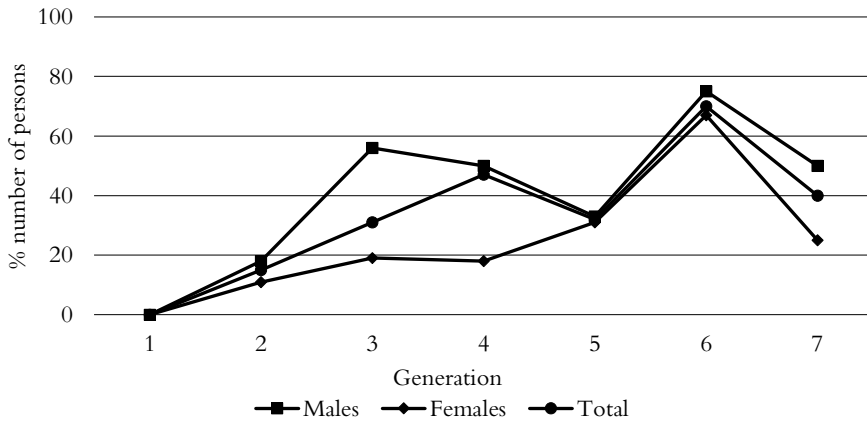


Fig. 10. Percentage number of persons over the age of 17 who left or were disowned by Friends and who were members of the Watson family, by generation.

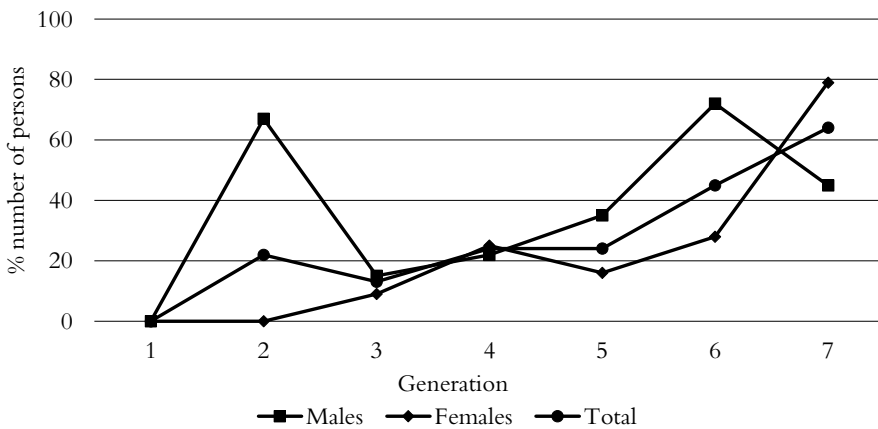


Fig. 11. Percentage number of persons over the age of 17 who left or were disowned by Friends and who were members of the Lecky family, by generation.

downwards in the last generations of the Watson and Duckett families. In general the rates of attrition are consistently lower for females than males. Given the evidence that we have from historical sources, the behaviour of the Watson, Lecky and Duckett curves are in line with what one would expect. Attrition increases over time as individuals abandon Friends and enter mainstream society.

The behaviour of the Cooper chart is similar. Here we see generally increasing rates of attrition to the fourth generation, though the rate of loss is much higher for males than their female counterparts. What these graphs suggest is that the attrition rate for all families was ongoing and consistent towards complete abandonment of Friends. This process proceeded differently for each family.

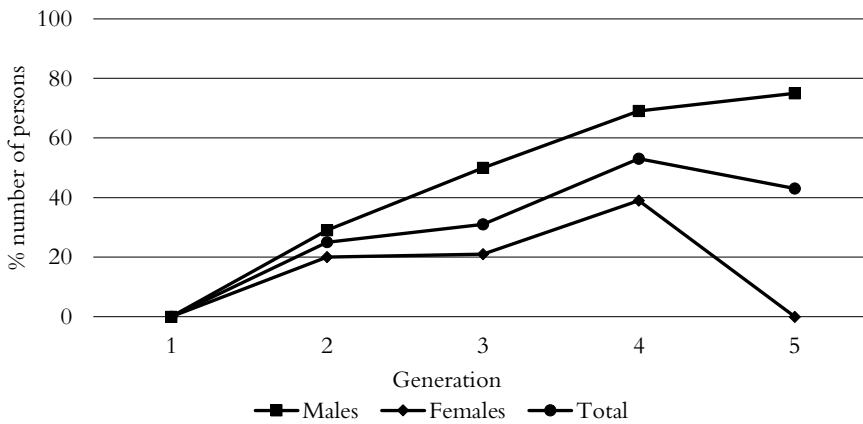


Fig. 12. Percentage number of persons over the age of 17 who left or were disowned by Friends and who were members of the Duckett family, by generation.

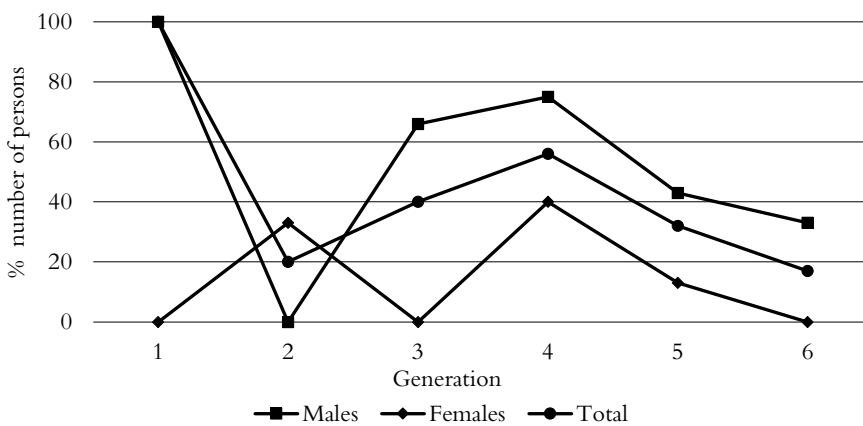


Fig. 13. Percentage number of persons over the age of 17 who left or were disowned by Friends and who were members of the Cooper family, by generation.

Thus, for the Watson and Lecky families abandonment was particularly dramatic in the sixth generation while the peaks occurred in the fourth generations of the Cooper and Duckett families. During the sixth generation the Watsons lost some 70% of its members. Those who left rejoined the established church, mingled with the aristocracy, became magistrates and served in the armed forces, as did members of the other families around the same time.

Once through the evangelistic period and into the early eighteenth century, Friends turned inwardly to beef up their numbers, relying increasingly on their children to become members and/or to maintain membership. As it turned out this strategy failed in the long term and it certainly failed in respect of our four

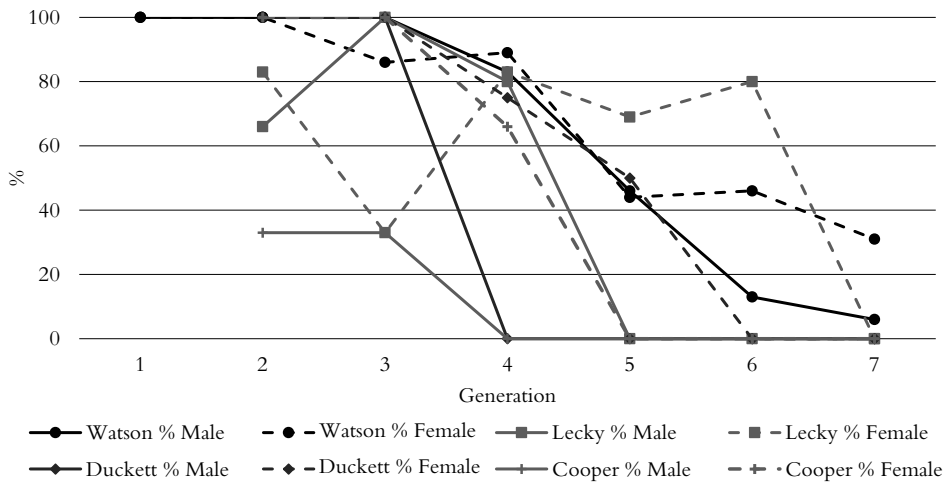


Fig. 14. Member replenishment through Friends' children, by generation.

families, as illustrated in Fig. 14. The data derives from Tables 3–6 below. The number of children born into each generation who stayed with Friends has been expressed as a percentage of the total number of children from that generation who were eligible to be Friends. These data have been divided between male and female for comparison. The results tend to reflect what happened in the broader Quaker community. Replenishment of membership through children of Friends generally plummeted from the third generation, though there were differences in the rates of decline between males and females, as we have seen, females tending to be more persistent.

It is not clear why women folk appear to have been more reluctant than males to abandon Friends. Possibly it may be attributed to their economic and social status, being in the main more sedentary and at the behest of a society shaped by males and who had undue influence over their destinies. Extreme conservatism may have been another factor, though there was plenty of conservatism among their male counterparts.

Longevity of Membership

The average lengths of memberships in years, by generation, for each of the families are depicted in Figs 15–18. This time we have four graphs that have some similarity with one another though, once again, the Cooper chart is slightly at variance with the others. The Watson, Lecky and Duckett charts are fairly horizontal, with the averages for the Watsons ranging between 30 and 59 years, those for the Lecky and Duckett charts, between 40 and 50 years. The trend is generally upward initially for the Cooper chart for both males and females, but

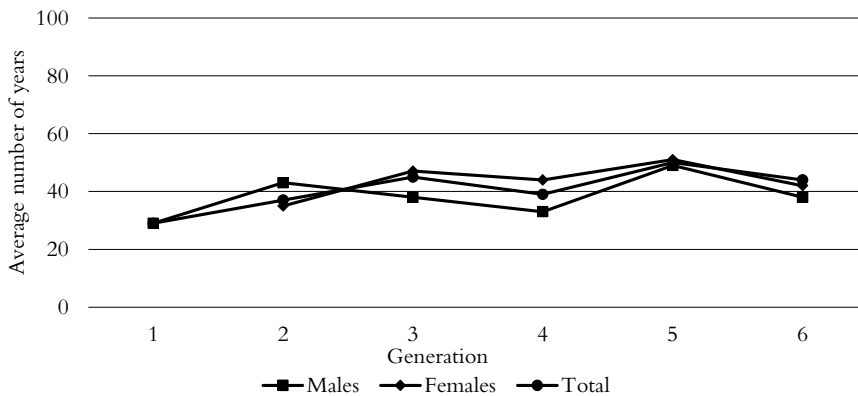


Fig. 15. Average length of time, in years, Friends of the Watson family spent in membership, by generation.

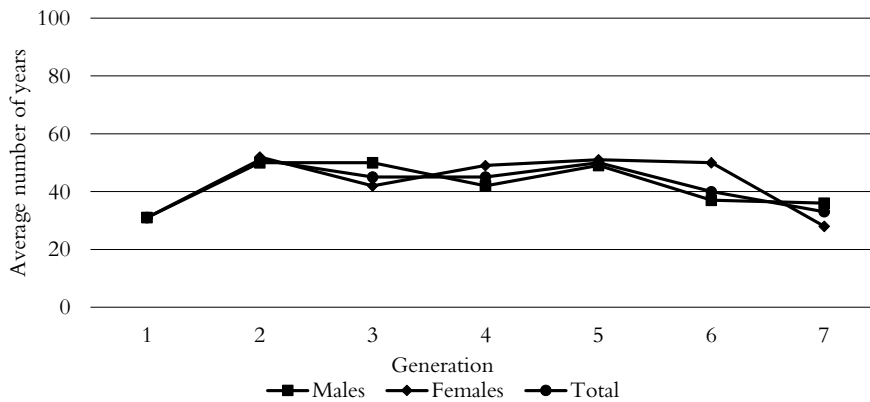


Fig. 16. Average length of time, in years, Friends of the Lecky family spent in membership, by generation.

diverges from the third generation, females dropping away sharply and then rising again, males falling away towards the fifth generation. Downward trends for both males and females in the later generations of the Watson and Lecky families are also in evidence. Notably females from all the families, for most generations, had on average greater longevity than their male counterparts. There were still members of the Watson and Lecky families in membership long after there were none left in the other two families, though by the middle of the nineteenth century the four families were completely divorced from the Religious Society of Friends.

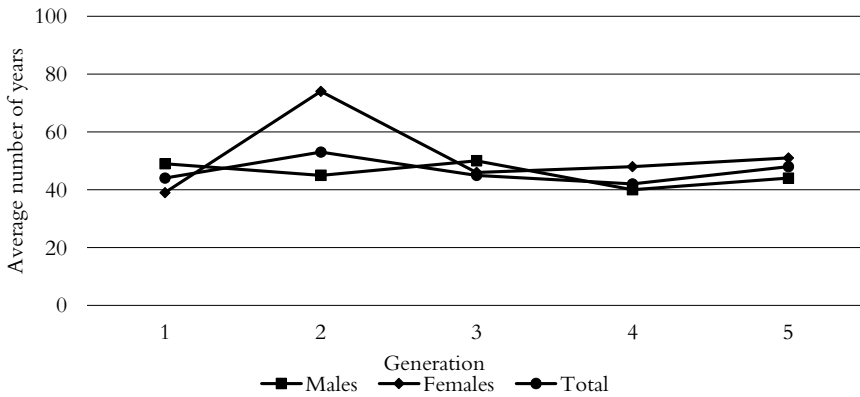


Fig. 17. Average length of time, in years, Friends of the Duckett family spent in membership, by generation.

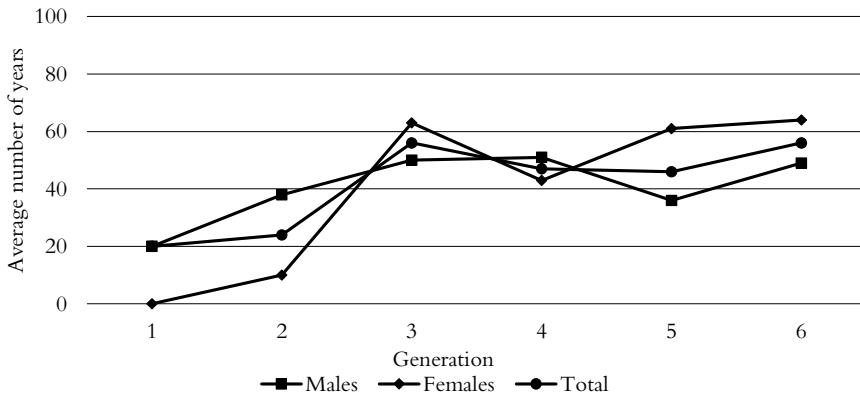


Fig. 18. Average length of time, in years, Friends of the Cooper family spent in membership, by generation.

Social Mobility

Before tackling this thorny subject, we need first to define the term ‘social mobility’ as it can be applied to an Irish context. The phrase is usually applicable to a society that was/is stratified. Each stratum has implied social status identified by a bundle of characteristics that differentiate it from component strata while the strata themselves are hierarchical with respect to social status. Thus, the stratum with the most respected status sits at the top of the pyramid, for example aristocrats, and the one with least status is relegated to the bottom, e.g. for example menial workers. This model, at a general level, is a blanket description of how Irish society was structured throughout the period we

are dealing with.⁶ Social mobility involved the movement of persons and/or families between strata.

While social stratification is widely recognised as a characteristic of Irish society the definitions of the strata themselves have always been a matter of debate compounded because of the significant and evolving socio-economic and political changes that occurred in Ireland.

Secondly, how do we define social status? The most obvious and ready indicator of social status is occupation (Glass 1954: 5–6, Isichei 1970: 172). Occupational records are available from a variety of sources including wills, land records, marriage agreements, newspapers, census and taxation records. However there has never been a universally accepted taxonomy of occupations. Consequently, descriptions of occupations can be and are often misleading and/or ambiguous. Some examples will suffice to illustrate the problem. The oft-cited terms 'gentleman' and 'esquire' do not describe occupations; they are social status descriptors. No one appointed gentlemen or esquires: the titles evolved to their owners through social mobility and a general recognition of the titles by their peers (Vann 1969a: 61, Keenan 2002: 22–24).⁷ In fact, anybody, in theory at least, could give themselves these titles, but in practice the impetus to do so was kept in check by those that already had them (Barnard 2004: 53). Again, the term 'gentleman', as it applied to some who claimed the title, was sometimes regarded with disdain by others who held the same rank and who considered themselves 'real gentlemen'. Indeed, in Ireland 'gentlemen' fell into categories such as 'half-mounted gentlemen', 'gentlemen every inch of them' and 'gentlemen to the backbone' (Maxwell 1949: 30, Barnard 2004: 70).⁸

The occupation of 'merchant', a term bandied around in the literature, was used to describe a broad range of businesses. There were wholesale and retail merchants, and merchants who mixed both. Wholesalers generally identified themselves by prefixing their occupation with their specialty such as 'tea merchant' or 'corn merchant'. Some merchants were extremely wealthy and claimed one or other of the title's 'gentleman' or 'esquire'.⁹ In the manufacturing domain, once again some mixed the manufacture of goods with retail shopkeeping.

6 Keenan (2002: 22) described the social structure of Ireland at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a 'hierarchical aristocratic society'.

7 An interesting and explanative view of how the terms 'gentleman' and 'esquire' could be or were perceived in the context of a stratified society were penned by an anonymous author in the *Carlow Morning Post*, 23 February 1818 and 8 July 1822. Accordingly, 'all Noblemen are Gentlemen, though all Gentlemen are not Noblemen' and 'all Esquires are Gentlemen'.

8 These included *shoneens*, *buckeens* and *half-sirs*, who aped the airs and manners of gentlemen (Keenan 2002: 24).

9 Barnard (2004: 52) cites one such example, a wealthy merchant Daniel Mussendon, active in the 1740s, who was sometimes addressed as 'esquire'. He also noted it was common practice during and presumably from the mid eighteenth century for men of business to assume the title 'esquire'.

Among descriptions of rural occupations, one finds terms such as ‘rural worker’, ‘farmers’, ‘husbandmen’, and ‘yeomen’, but these are not always differentiated and are sometimes used indifferently, making it difficult to apply social ranking except at a base level.¹⁰

Sometimes one finds multiple but differing descriptions of occupation/social status for individuals. If the descriptions are consistent enough, they can be used as evidence of social status and/or social mobility during the person’s lifetime, otherwise stability of social status; but equally, inconsistent data can prove difficult to interpret without deployment of common sense.¹¹ Extravagant use of terms such as ‘Esquire’ occur occasionally and invite confirmation from other sources. Such an instance occurs in the 1858 edition of *Burke’s Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry etc.*, where individuals cited in the Duckett and Lecky genealogies are generously peppered with the term (Burke 1858: vol. 1, 321–22; 677).¹²

Establishing the veracity of occupational/social status allocated to family members remains a priority, but it is equally important to ensure the reliability and accuracy of the family genealogies. Those utilised in the current exercise are derived from a variety of sources. While Friends’ records are widely recognised as being accurate and reliable, they do not have universal coverage of the period we are dealing with. Burke’s publications include genealogies for all four families and, collectively, they bring us up and into the twentieth century. Unlike Friends’ records, Burke’s renditions need to be regarded with caution as they are not devoid of personal bias and factual errors (Coutts and Watson 2019: 4–5). Thus, in the case of the Watson family there was an aborted attempt at one stage to link the family with the aristocracy (Coutts 2016a: 328), and notably there has been a reluctance on the part of some of the family biographers to admit their links with Friends.¹³

10 A case in point is the list of Hacketstown infantry, County Carlow for 1798 where 49 persons are described or presumed to have been ‘yeoman’ (Ryan 1833: 381). See also Reay (1980: 58) about defining the terms yeoman and husbandman.

11 Some examples follow: John Lecky (1302) farmer (1712), gentleman (1709, 1711, 1713, 1715, 1728); James Lecky (1303) farmer, yeoman (1720), gentleman (1709, 1713, 1722, 1725, 1727); Samuel Watson (5) farmer (1714, 1723, 1728), Robert Lecky (3) miller (1681), gentleman (1703, 1704); John Duckett (3187) farmer (1703, 1723), gentleman (1711, 1723, 1728); Edward Cooper (3317) farmer (1703, 1723, 1728), gentleman (1710, 1712, 1723, 1731, 1734, 1739) and so on.

12 The overuse of the term was corrected in latter issues of the series for the Ducketts; e.g. Burke (1898: vol. 2, 124–25).

13 For example, the Cooper genealogy published in 1898 makes only one reference to a family member who was a Friend, William Cooper (3319) (Burke 1898: vol. 2, 83). There is no mention of Quakers in the Duckett genealogies (Burke 1858: 321; 1898: vol. 2, 124–25) or in the 1858 and 1898 genealogies for the Lecky family (Burke 1858: vol. 1, 677; 1898: vol. 2, 249).

The *Burke's* genealogy for the Duckett family provides us with another example, perhaps not dissimilar to what the Watsons attempted to do in trying to establish links with the aristocracy. The Duckett genealogy has been regurgitated, and circulated widely in the historical literature, without, it seems, critical evaluation. Thus, in the *Burke's* renditions we are told that Thomas Duckett (3215) of Philipstown, married Judith, daughter of Pierce de la Poer or Power, while Friends' records have him marrying a person called Anne.¹⁴ The *Burke's* versions, from 1842, have the authority of no other than the well-known Irish genealogist Sir William Betham. However, in December 1920, Philip Crossle, another Irish genealogist, working with the de la Poer genealogy on behalf of a client, consulted the will of Pierce de la Poer (dated 1668).¹⁵ He discovered that Pierce had only one daughter called Ruth and a yet-to-be-born child at the time the will was made. A year later Pierce was dead (will proved May 1669). This, together with other misgivings, led him to question the veracity of this part of the *Burke's* genealogy. In fact, we know from Friends' records that Thomas had his first child in 1660, so that he married long before the death of Pierce and the birth of Pierce's second child. Thus Judith, or for that matter Ruth, were and are not part of the Duckett genealogy. Instead, it seems preferable to accept that Thomas's wife was Anne, as per Friends' records.

Another approach to rank individuals is to use their annual incomes for the purpose of measuring social standing. This method has limited application because, firstly, financial data are not available for most persons that belonged to the middle and lower ranks of society; and, secondly, wealth was not necessarily an indicator of social status; it was, in general, more determined by birthright and peer acknowledgement. It has been suggested that an annual income of £40 a year would qualify a person to assume the status of 'gentleman', but in fact many so-called 'gentlemen' resident in Ireland were penniless and unable to support the lifestyle that accompanied the title.¹⁶ More readily acceptable as a 'gentleman' was a person who was settled in a rural environment, lived in a house of large size with associated demesne, and who paid attention to such things as dress, conversation, hospitality and who participated in public duties (Barnard 2004: 55).

14 In the 1858 publication, Pierce is said to be the grandson of the Honourable Pierce de la Poer of Killowen, brother of Richard first Earl of Tyrone (Burke 1858: vol. 1, 321). This piece of information is not repeated in the 1898 publication.

15 <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/record/browse?id=s2%2fire%2fnai%2f007634842%2f00026>, FMP.

16 Barnard (2004: 59–60). Keenan (2002: 22) suggests that at the end of the eighteenth century an annual income of £200 would be sufficient to qualify a person to claim the title of 'gentleman'.

Social Hierarchy Table

For purposes of analysis, we need to adopt or create an occupational taxonomy that can be used to infer social status. Ideally, we would like to be able to allocate an occupation/social status tag to each member of the families we are dealing with in this article, as well as to the families of their spouses. A literature review was conducted to search for an appropriate methodology, applicable to the Irish Friends. Several authors have addressed the problem of relating occupations of Friends to social status, but interest has tended to focus on Friends resident in England who were among the earliest members of the sect (Cole 1957, Vann 1969a, 1969b, 1970, Hurwich 1970, Isichei 1970, Anderson 1979, Reay 1980, Vann and Eversley 1992). The authors have approached the issue from different perspectives and utilised a variety of data sets promoting much debate about the relative merits of their analyses (Reay 1980: 56ff.). Vann and Eversley were the first to include Irish Friends with their English counterparts in a broader analysis of Quaker demography, spanning some 200 years from 1650; but finding a deficiency of occupational information in Friends records for Ireland they did not attempt to analyse the Irish data (Vann and Eversley 1992: 48). In summary, while none of these studies provide a tailored template for analysing the Irish data, they are of assistance in enabling an appropriate model to be engineered to process them.

Vann, with some serious reservations, devised a taxonomy for the occupations of early English Quakers, placing them into one of nine hierarchical categories: 'gentlemen', 'agriculture', 'professional', 'wholesale traders', 'retail traders', 'worsted weavers', 'woolcombers', 'artisans and laborers' and 'unknown' (Vann 1969: 60). He was acutely aware of the difficulties of defining occupations and relating them to social status, ensuring that each category was carefully described. Gentlemen he saw as those who were eligible to hold office, such as mayor or JP, members of the military holding the rank of captain or above and those who had obtained university degrees. He distinguished between wholesale and retail traders, and he arbitrarily decided that yeomen were those who made their living by working at least 20 acres of their own lands. Farmers were persons who worked leased land and husbandmen were those who worked the land but were neither lessee or landowners (Vann 1969: 64–65).¹⁷ We learn from Vann's experiences, reinforced by Isichei elsewhere, that allocating occupation and/or social status based on a single source can be tenuous and that corroborative evidence is best sought before tagging is finalised (Isichei 1970: 177).

Isichei looked at the relationships between occupation and social status for Quakers during the Victorian era and, like Vann, encountered similar nomenclature problems. Her hierarchical lists are simpler and more inclusive. She proposed that occupations be divided between four classes. For example, Class 1,

¹⁷ This definition does not work for Irish farmers who, in general, did not own their land, but worked leased parcels.

for the period 1840–41, included gentlemen, bankers, merchants, professionals, landowners, brewers, maltsters, millers, and tanners. Class IV included unskilled workers, agricultural labourer's, machine maker and sailors (Isichei 1970: 288).

Twenty years later Vann and Eversley revisited the problem of analysing occupations. This time they went part way by grouping separately occupations of English Quakers resident in rural and urban environments, each under seven major headings, but without direct reference to social status. Their categories included agriculture, textiles, food, leather, professional and commercial spanning the period beginning in 1650 to 1849 (Vann and Eversley 1992: 70–71). In their taxonomy gentlemen, members of the clergy, merchants, physicians are all included under the heading 'Professionals', while wholesale and retail are listed under 'Commerce'.

For purposes of this exercise, and while guided by what has been done before, no attempt has been made to devise a universal nomenclature. Instead, a limited version has been selected that specifically addresses the occupational data available for each of the four families. Wherever possible multiple sources have been located to infer occupation/social status for individuals. Again, it has been assumed that single females held the same or similar social status to that of their fathers. The taxonomy displayed in Table 2 below is tentative, subject to revision as new data becomes available.

Table 2. Occupation and social status for Irish Quaker and Quaker-related individuals from the four families implied from the occupational and miscellaneous data available for them

Category	Occupation/social status
1	Baronet, knight, baron, lord
2	Esquire
3	Gentleman, senior clergy, banker, miller, military officer, major landowner, brewer, maltster, stockbroker, distillers
4	Wholesale merchant (tea, timber, seed, wool, linen, etc.), manufacturers (tape, rope etc.), tanners
5	Farmers, yeomen, husbandmen (lease holdings)
6	Professional (medical, clerks, actors, theatre managers, teachers, accountants, engineers etc.)
7	Retail merchants, shop keepers, independent craftsmen (saddler, sculptor etc.)
8	Skilled and semi-skilled workers (wool-comber, weaver, skinner, etc.)
9	Persons engaged in manual labour for wages

While our sample comprises individuals who were Quakers or Quaker-related, the social status allocations set out in the table are those that were likely

to have been recognised by members of the wider community. There was social stratification within the Quakers communities, based essentially on wealth, and Table 2 would no doubt look quite different if it had been created based on an introspective view of how Friends perceived social status (Isichei 1969: 174).

Occupations have been divided into nine social status categories based on information derived from contemporary resources. However, the boundaries are not set in stone and allocation of a few individuals to specific categories remains problematical. Farmers, yeomen, husbandmen have been treated as a single entity (Category 5) as there appears to be no rational basis for distinguishing between them in Ireland. Individuals who were allocated to Category 5 were, in general, leaseholders of lands more than 50 acres and oft times much larger allotments entitling them to vote and thereby giving lessees a voice in local politics.¹⁸ A so-called 'landowner' could be a person who held lands by way of freehold, either directly from the Crown or after 1850, by means of an Act of parliament where, upon application, leasehold could be converted to freehold. Alternatively, he could be a leaseholder securing his tenure by way of 'lease for lives', usually in perpetuity, but where income was derived by sub-leasing the lands.¹⁹

Quaker ministers, while held in high regard by members of their sect, received little or no recognition or respect from members of the wider community until the nineteenth century. Consequently, what they or their parents owned, leased, or did by way of occupation tended to determine their social status.

Again, it is evident from Quaker tithe data that some Friends who have been classified as 'gentlemen' or 'esquire' (based on reliable documentary evidence) could equally be classed as 'farmers'. And in some instances, there appears to be little differences in social standing between 'gentlemen' and 'wholesale merchants', where they are defined as such. Further, the term 'merchant' is often used without descriptive details, so that it is uncertain whether they were wholesale and/or retail merchants. In such instances other sources of information and/or consideration of established social context were utilised to resolve these types of issue.

Results of the Analysis

The occupational and social status data for each married individual belonging to the four families, as far as they can be determined, are summarised in Tables 3–6. They are arranged with males on the left, females on the right. Thus occupational/social status data pertaining to husbands of female members of the families are included with male family members, those for the fathers of the wives of male

18 For example: John Watson (2) 170a PM; John Russell (3866), 150a PM; Joshua Clibborn (1013), 276a PM; Ephraim Heritage (6204), 118a PM; Joseph Russell (759), 94a PM; John Watson (17), 237a PM.

19 For example: Edward Cooper (3317), 200a PM of Clonegah County Carlow; James Lecky (1303) Cappagh County Carlow 355a PM & Ralaheen County Carlow 206a PM; Samuel Watson (14), Ballinakill, County Laois 14a PM & Ballydarton County Carlow 173a Plantation Measure.

family members will be found on the female sides of the tables. In considering the social status of female family members, as noted in the foregoing, we have assumed that before marriage they would have held a similar status to that of their fathers. Using these data, the occupational/social status for the married males of each family have been summarised by generation as percentages (Tables 7). In this form one can observe, firstly, the predominant occupations associated with each generation, secondly how these changed through time and, thirdly, the attrition rates, shown in **bold** script together with growing numbers of persons who were never Friends (shown in *bold italics*).

Women family members who married have been divided between three status categories, namely those who improved their social standing, preserved the status quo, or diminished it through marriage. The results are presented as percentages by generation (Table 8).

The data from the marriage charts suggest that, for all four families, the drift from Friends began in the fourth generation of each family, intensifying thereafter, so that by the seventh generation divorce was complete. Following the male lines of each family, we perceive that from early on the Coopers, Leckys and Ducketts enjoyed superior social status, either as esquires or gentlemen, though the Leckys diversified a little, some members aligning with mercantile, manufacturing and professional categories. Members of the Watsons, by contrast, were much more diversified in social ranking, but during the fifth to the seventh generation they too, consistently, moved to join the 'the quality', the upper echelons of society as 'gentlemen' and 'esquires'.

While it cannot be said from these data that the move to abandon Friends was promoted from a conscious desire by the families to elevate their social rank, there is little doubt that, in practice, each family did manage to either maintain and, in some instances improve, their social status during the process of abandoning Friends. What is evident from the review of the historical sources is that by the middle of the nineteenth century members all four families were comfortably established in the rural squirearchy of Ireland, complete with 'big houses', servants, tenants, and they held positions of authority such as magistrates, plus, in some instances, kennels where they kept their sporting dogs for the local hunts (Table 9). The four families had always been among the wealthiest in their Quaker communities and, true to form, they followed an established pattern of abandoning Friends and gravitation to the established church (Isichei 1970: 142).

Table 3. List of members of the Cooper family who married, together with their occupation/social status

Key: names in roman = Friends; in **bold** script = persons who had abandoned Friends; in *bold italics* = persons who had never been Friends

Gen	Groom				Father of Groom		
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
2	Cooper	Edward	3317	Gentleman	Thomas	3313	Gentleman
	Butler	Joseph	3325	?	Henry	14717	Gentleman
	Webb	John	13076	Gentleman	?		?
3	Strettle	Abel	4272	Merchant	Abel	5375	Merchant
	Penrose	John	2741	Merchant	William	3899	Merchant
	Cooper	William	4212	Gentleman	Edward	3317	Gentleman
4	Clibborn	Joshua	2489	Gentleman	Robert	2487	Merchant
	Cooper	Edward	2495	Esquire	William	4212	Gentleman
	<i>Barclay</i>	<i>John</i>	5397	Merchant	John	5396	Merchant
	Clibborn	Barclay	5644	Esquire	James	2496	Gentleman
	Cooper	Thomas	4217	Esquire	William	4212	Gentleman
5	Cooper	William	4214	Esquire	Edward	2495	Esquire
	<i>Cavendish</i>	<i>Richard</i>	8477	Baron	<i>Henry</i>	14721	Baronet
6	<i>Cooper</i>	<i>Robert</i>	6846	Clergy	William	4214	Esquire
	<i>Cooper</i>	<i>Henry</i>	6847	Captain (army)	William	4214	Esquire
	<i>Fishbourne</i>	<i>Joseph</i>	6852	Esquire	<i>Robert</i>	14718	Esquire
	<i>Hamilton</i>	<i>Richard</i>	6859	Clergy	?		
7	<i>Cooper</i>	<i>William A.</i>	6865	Esquire	<i>Robert</i>	6846	Clergy
	<i>Cooper</i>	<i>Robert T.</i>	6867	Doctor	<i>Robert</i>	6846	Clergy

Table 4. List of members of the Watson family who married, together with their occupation/social status

Key: names in roman = Friends; in **bold** script = persons who had abandoned Friends; in *bold italics* = persons who had never been Friends

Gen	Groom				Father of Groom		
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
1	<i>Watson</i>	<i>John</i>	2	Yeoman	?		
2	<i>Corfield</i>	<i>Thomas</i>	2322	Farmer	?		
	Watson	Samuel	5	Farmer	<i>John</i>	2	Yeoman
	Watson	William	6	Shopkeeper	<i>John</i>	2	Yeoman

Bride			Father of Bride			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
Inglefield	Anne	3318	John	4167	Chandler	1697
Cooper	Mary	3324	Thomas	3313	Gentleman	
Cooper	Elizabeth	8943	Thomas	3313	Gentleman	1687
Cooper	Sarah	4221	Edward	3317	Gentleman	1719
Cooper	Anne	3898	Edward	3317	Gentleman	1733
Strettle	Experience	4171	Abel	5375	Merchant	1730
Cooper	Lydia	2490	William	4212	Gentleman	1752
Clibborn	Sarah	2494	Robert	2487	Merchant	1754
Cooper	Anne	4218	William	4212	Gentleman	1761
Cooper	Sarah	4219	William	4212	Gentleman	1761
<i>Brown</i>	<i>Juliana</i>	8445	<i>William</i>	14390	Esquire	1762
<i>Cope</i>	<i>Susan</i>	6841	<i>William</i>	6842	Merchant	1789
<i>Cooper</i>	<i>Juliana</i>	8446	<i>Thomas</i>	4217	Esquire	1789
<i>LeHunt</i>	<i>Isabella</i>	6862	<i>William</i>	6863	Esquire	1838
<i>Boughton</i>	<i>Jane</i>	6848	Robert	14847	Esquire	1843
<i>Cooper</i>	<i>Elizabeth</i>	6851	William	4214	Esquire	1825
<i>Cooper</i>	<i>Charlotte</i>	6858	William	4214	Esquire	1837
<i>Caldwell</i>	<i>Anne</i>	14298	?			1861
<i>Byng</i>	<i>Mary</i>	6868	<i>John</i>	8472	Military	1870

Bride			Father of Bride			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
?	<i>Sarah</i>	2044	?			?
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Sarah</i>	1375	<i>John</i>	2	Yeoman	c. 1688
Thompson	Elizabeth	125	<i>Oliver</i>	244	?	1676
Thompson	Phebe	1787	<i>Oliver</i>	244	?	1787

Table 4. *continued*

Gen	Groom			Father of Groom			
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
	Watson	John	4	Farmer	<i>John</i>	2	Yeoman
3	Ridgeway	Henry	61	Gentleman	Henry	8689	Gentleman
	Pike	Richard	62	W/merchant Draper	Henry	2728	?
	Lecky	James	1303	Gentleman	Robert	3	Miller
	Watson	Samuel	14	Gentleman	John	4	Farmer
	"	"	14	Gentleman	John	4	Farmer
	"	"	14	Gentleman	John	4	Farmer
	Carleton	Mark	719	Farmer	Thomas	721	Farmer
	Parks	Richard	1793		?		
	Fincher	John	3243		?		
	Watson	Solomon	127	Gentleman	Samuel	5	Farmer
	"	"	127	Gentleman	Samuel	5	Farmer
	"	"	127	Gentleman	Samuel	5	Farmer
	Russell	Henry	1291	Farmer	John	3508	?
	Watson	Samuel	129	Linendraper w/merchant	Samuel	5	Farmer
	Taylor	William	1290		?		
	Watson	William	130	Farmer	Samuel	5	Farmer
	Watson	Oliver	715	Merchant/ landholder	Samuel	5	Farmer
	"	"	715	"	Samuel	5	Farmer
	Wyley	Robert	1258	Farmer	Alexander	2632	?
	Watson	William	724	Q. minister	William	6	Shopkeeper
4	Godwin	Thomas	1067	Gentleman	Thomas	8744	?
	Watson	John	134	Gentleman	Solomon	127	Gentleman
	Watson	Solomon	136	Gentleman	Solomon	127	Gentleman
	Watson	John	895	Silk weaver	Samuel	129	Linendraper
	Watson	William	906	Miller	William	130	Farmer
	Tomlinson	Josiah	3550	Migrated	Stephen	8207	?
	Haughton	Isaac	8470	?	John	7646	Farmer

Bride			Father of Bride			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
Tomlinson	Anne	7	James	245	?	1673
Watson	Anne	8	John	4	Farmer	1694
Watson	Sarah	9	John	4	Farmer	1695
Watson	Mary	10	John	4	Farmer	1699
Nicholson	Susanna	15	Jonathan	232	Wool dealer	1710
Craven	Abigail	234	James	7085	Merchant/ landowner	1734
Barcroft	Deborah	235	John	1369	Q Minister	1754
Watson	Susannah	707	Samuel	5	Farmer	1699
"	"	707	Samuel	5	Farmer	1713
"	"	707	Samuel	5	Farmer	1735
Boles	Abigail	131	John	132	Gentleman	1708
Bevan	Elizabeth	889	Evan	2427	Skinner	1718
Fennell	Deborah	890	Joshua	4169	?	1737
Watson	Sarah	128	Samuel	5	Farmer	1706
Brocklesby	Jenepher	891	Thomas	1946	Gentleman	1714
Watson	Elizabeth	692	Samuel	5	Farmer	c. 1710
Watson	Mary	735	Thomas	725	?	1720
Heritage	Elizabeth	952	Ephraim	6204	Farmer	1741
Boardman	Margaret	2306	Joseph	948	Farmer/ landholder	1731
Watson	Ruth	717	Samuel	5	Farmer	1724
Fuller	Elizabeth	982	Jacob	983	Farmer	1714
Watson	Sarah	135	Solomon	127	Gentleman	1727
Pim	Sarah	137	John	138	Wool comber	1733
Saltmarsh	Susannah	879	?			1746
Russell	Mary	3255	John	3866	Farmer	1750
Evans	Margaret	907	Thomas	2240	Farmer	1747
Watson	Elizabeth	1145	William	130	Farmer	1744
Watson	Mary	1146	William	130	Farmer	1745

Table 4. *continued*

Gen	Groom			Father of Groom			
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
	Knott	Joseph	1942	Merchant	?		
	Watson	Samuel	771	Gentleman	Oliver	715	Merchant/ landholder
	Russell	Joseph	759	Farmer	John	3866	Farmer
	Bell	Gamaliel	1135	Timber Mer.	Thomas	1159	Timber Mer.
	Carleton	Jonathan	4349	?	Caleb	902	?
	Jacob	Isaac	155	?	Richard	1373	Cutler
	Stephens	Samuel	156	Q. Minister	Thomas	3309	Q. Minister
	Bell	Isaac	2165	Migrated	?		
	Elly	Samuel	157	W/merchant timber ?	John	4132	?
	Watson	John	17	Gentleman	Samuel	14	Gentleman
	Watson	Samuel	25	Farmer	Samuel	14	Gentleman
	Watson	Jonathan	21	Gentleman	Samuel	14	Gentleman
5	Watson	John	66	Gentleman	Samuel	25	Farmer
	Watson	Samuel	69	Gentleman	Samuel	25	Farmer
	White	Henry	158	Esquire	?		?
	Watson	John	144	Esquire	John	134	Gentleman
	Watson	Solomon	145	Esquire	John	134	Gentleman
	Robinson	John	2223	Gentleman	Joseph	14730	Gentleman
	Sproule	William	2222		?		
	<i>Unknown</i>		11551		?		
	Watson	John B.	881	Theatre Mg.	Solomon	136	Gentleman
	Watson	John B.	881	Theatre Mg.	Solomon	136	Gentleman
	Watson	John B.	881	Theatre Mg.	Solomon	136	Gentleman
	Howell	John	2224	Sadler	?		
	Watson	Samuel	909	Gentleman	William	906	Miller
	Watson	Mark	916	Esquire	William	906	Miller
	Watson	Mark	916	Esquire	William	906	Miller
	Watson	William	935	Tape Mf.	William	906	Miller
	<i>Walsh</i>	?	5819		?		

Bride			Father of Bride			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
Watson	Olivia	958	Oliver	715	Merchant/ landholder	1782
Trenor	Jane	1255	James	14724	Gentleman	1767
Watson	Anne	758	Oliver	715	Merchant/ landholder	1757
Watson	Elizabeth	951	Oliver	715	“	1760
Watson	Phebe	902	Samuel	129	w/merchant	1764
Watson	Susanna	16	Samuel	14	Gentleman	1732
Watson	Anne	18	Samuel	14	Gentleman	1744
Watson	Anne	18	Samuel	14	Gentleman	1754
Watson	Phebe	22	Samuel	14	Gentleman	1743
Clibborn	Jane	26	Joshua	1013	Gentleman	1738
Beale	Mary	63	John	64	Gentleman	1739
White	Dorothy	60	Thomas	1012	Gentleman	1759
Deaves	Dinah	71	Henry	72	Merchant	1779
<i>Brewster</i>	<i>Anne</i>	159	<i>Samuel</i>	160	Gentleman	1789
Watson	Susanna	68	Samuel	25	Farmer	1765
<i>Keating</i>	<i>Anne</i>	146	<i>John</i>	144	Gentleman	1764
Hill	Mary	151	James	738	Tanner	1769
Watson	Sarah	876	John	134	Gentleman	1765
Watson	Elizabeth	877	John	134	Gentleman	1759
Watson	Mary	6569	John	134	Gentleman	?
<i>L'Epinoit</i>	<i>Mile</i>	882	?		Aristocrat	1771
<i>Withington</i>	<i>Henrietta</i>	4113	?			1775
<i>Wilkinson</i>	<i>Bell</i>	4237	?			
Watson	Abigail	886	Solomon	136	Gentleman	1770
<i>Russell</i>	<i>Margaret</i>	1783	Solomon	3521	Farmer	1783
Freeman	Mary	917	Robert	2245	Skinner?	1785
Jackson	Rachel	2259	Josiah	2260	Tallow chand.	1798
Wright	Margaret	936	John	1247	Farmer	1793
Watson	Mary	944	William	906	Miller	1775

Table 4. *continued*

Gen	Groom			Father of Groom			
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
	Webb	Richard	2243	Linendraper/ merchant	James	2830	Weaver
	Doyle	Peter	7615	Gentleman/ grazier	Benjamin	7245	
	Godwin	John	5826	Gentleman	?		
	Watson	John	30	Gentleman	John	17	Gentleman
	Watson	Robert	32	Merchant	John	17	Gentleman
6	<i>Baillie</i>	<i>Richard</i>	84	Major, Milit.	Arthur	4727	Gentleman
	<i>Butler</i>	<i>Richard</i>	85	Esquire	?		
	<i>Lawe</i>	<i>Robert</i>	229	Esquire	Alexander		Captain
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>John H.</i>	79	Esquire	John	66	Gentleman
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>John H.</i>	79	Esquire	John	66	Gentleman
	Watson	Henry D.	80	Esquire	John	66	Gentleman
	Watson	Joshua	81	Esquire	John	66	Gentleman
	Williamson	Jonathan	231	Distiller	William	11339	?
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>Thomas H.</i>	162	Esquire	<i>Samuel</i>	69	Gentleman
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>John</i>	149	Gentleman ?	John	144	Gentleman
	<i>Law</i>	<i>Robert H.</i>	2219	Minister	<i>Robert</i>	14797	Minister
	Robert	Roberts	14635	W/merchant	Robert	14607	?
	Forbes	James	2220	W/merchant	James	4335	?
	Watson	William	153	Banker	Solomon	145	Esquire
	Sturge	Henry	2221	Esquire	Young	6575	?
	Watson	Joshua	154	Corn merchant?	Solomon	145	Esquire
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>John J.</i>	883	?	<i>John B.</i>	881	Theatre Mg.
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>John B.</i>	4115	Theatre Mg.	<i>John B.</i>	881	Theatre Mg.
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>John B.</i>	4115	Theatre Mg.	<i>John B.</i>	881	Theatre Mg.
	<i>Richer</i>	<i>John O.</i>	4137	Actor/Mg.	?		
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>Samuel E.</i>	911	Esquire	Samuel	909	Gentleman
	Neale	Richard	914	Shopkeeper	William	2628	?
	Waring	Joseph	2244	Linendraper/ farmer	Joseph	14743	?
	Lamb	John	1985	Seeds Mcht.	Thomas	1986	?
	Watson	John	37	Esquire	John	30	Gentleman

Bride		Father of Bride			Date Marr.	
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No		Occupation/ social status
Watson	Sarah	943	William	906	Miller	1794
Watson	Margaret	946	William	906	Miller	1793
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Elizabeth</i>	947	William	906	Miller	?
Penrose	Anne	36	Samuel	3999	W/merchant	1773
Fothergill	Mary	58	Joseph	1015	Medical Dr.	1771
Watson	Sarah	74	John	66	Gentleman	1810
Watson	Maria J.	76	John	66	Gentleman	?
Watson	Susannah	77	John	66	Gentleman	1810
<i>Garrett</i>	<i>Mary</i>	86	<i>James</i>	2679	Esquire	1811
<i>Gray</i>	<i>Elizabeth</i>	87	<i>Robert H.</i>	92	Esquire	1819
<i>Maunsell</i>	<i>Emily</i>	88	<i>George</i>	89	Dean C of I	1811
<i>Medcalf</i>	<i>Sarah</i>	230	Francis	1250	Esquire	1823
Watson	Dinah W.	83	John	66	Gentleman	1812
<i>Walker</i>	<i>Anne</i>	163	<i>Daniel</i>	164	Builder?	1815
<i>Gordon</i>	<i>Anne</i>	150	<i>Thomas</i>	14737	Esquire	1781
Watson	Sarah	870	Solomon	145	Esquire	1813
Watson	Sarah	870	Solomon	145	Esquire	1794
Watson	Elizabeth	871	Solomon	145	Esquire	1792
<i>Newenham</i>	<i>Elizabeth</i>	740	George	741	Banker	1801
Watson	Anne	873	Solomon	145	Esquire	1815
<i>Polito</i>	<i>Annette</i>	865	<i>Stephan</i>	14741	Menagerie	1823
<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Maria T.</i>	884	<i>Anthony</i>	2130	Esquire	?
<i>Blake</i>	<i>Frances M.</i>	4147	?			1816
<i>Inglis</i>	<i>Mary A.</i>	5150	?			?
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Louisa B.</i>	4136	<i>John B.</i>	881	Theatre Mg.	1800
Doyle	Margo	912	Peter	7615	Gentleman	1811
Watson	Anna	913	Samuel	909	Gentleman	1805
Watson	Margaret	939	William	935	Shopkeeper	1817
Watson	Abigail	940	William	935	Shopkeeper	1822
Lecky	Eliza	42	John	1299	Gentleman	1800

Table 4. *continued*

Gen	Groom				Father of Groom		
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
	Grubb	Joseph	1018	Miller	Thomas	1944	Miller
	Watson	Robert	40	Gentleman	John	30	Gentleman
	Watson	William P.	41	Accountant	John	30	Gentleman
7	Harvey	George N.	5353	Esquire	Thomas	10935	?
	Watson	George N.	797	Minister	William S.	153	Banker
	Watson	Solomon	743	Bank Agent	William S.	153	Banker
	Morrison	Robert	2226	Esquire	?		
	Watson	John P.	839	Esquire	William S.	153	Banker
	Farrington	Benjamin	2225	Minister	Thomas	14803	?
	Schonberb	Augustus	2134	Aristocrat	Friedrich	14805	Aristocrat
	Strangman	Joshua	2247	Esquire	John	1990	
	Grubb	Samuel	242	Miller	Richard	9617	Miller
	Watson	John L.	45	Esquire	John	37	Esquire
	Watson	Robert	47	Landed Prop	John	37	Esquire
	Watson	William P.	48	Labourer	John	37	Esquire
	Watson	John R.	55	Esquire	Robert	40	Gentleman
	Quinton	Samuel	250	Clergy	Thomas	2373	?
	Fishbourne	Joseph	2976	Esquire	William	2391	?
	Bathe	John W.	215	Esquire	?		
	Watson	William	213	Gentleman	John	79	Esquire
	Watson	William	213	Merchant	John	79	Esquire
	Watson	John	214	Esquire	John	79	Esquire
	Watson	Robert G.	94	Esquire	John	79	Esquire
	Watson	Henry S.	95	Lawyer	John	79	Esquire
	Watson	George J.	96	Gentleman	John	79	Esquire
	MacDougall	William	210	Lawyer	Henry	2434	QC
	Gray	John C.	258	Esquire	John	2682	Esquire
	Litchford	Edward B.	5828	Esquire	Edward	5829	Clergy
	Watson	Francis M.	253	Minister	Joshua	81	Merchant
	Gray	John C.	258	Esquire	John	2682	Esquire
	Watson	Henry	256	Esquire	Joshua	81	Esquire

Bride			Father of Bride			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
Watson	Anne	39	John	30	Gentleman	1812
Pim	Sarah	54	Samuel	1017	Merchant/ freeman	1817
<i>Bryan</i>	<i>Ellen</i>	2634	<i>William</i>	14799	Sculptor	1840
Watson	Sarah	861	William S.	153	Banker	1834
<i>Phillips</i>	<i>Amy A.</i>	798	<i>William</i>	14801	Solicitor	1835
<i>Sargent</i>	<i>Ellinor</i>	744	<i>Henry</i>	2227	Tailor	1841
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Eliza</i>	862	William S.	153	Banker	1838
<i>Symes</i>	<i>Katherine</i>	840	<i>George</i>	2292	Stockbroker	1855
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Deborah N.</i>	864	William S.	153	Banker	1853
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Elizabeth</i>	2133	<i>John J.</i>	883	?	1829
Watson	Elizabeth L	43	John	37	Esquire	1826
Watson	Anna	44	John	37	Esquire	1834
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Sarah L.</i>	166	<i>Thomas</i>	162	Esquire	1836
Stephens	Eleanor	248	John	14751	Rope Mf.	1848
<i>Liardet</i>	<i>Imogene</i>	1020	<i>Wilbraham</i>	14752	Publican	1832
Watson	Sarah A.	49	John	37	Esquire	1844
Watson	Charlotte	50	John	37	Esquire	1857
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Dinah</i>	211	<i>John</i>	79	Esquire	1842
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Jane M.</i>	212	<i>John</i>	79	Esquire	1833
<i>Bailey</i>	<i>Joanna</i>	216	<i>Thomas</i>	328	Liquor merchant	1854
<i>Raymond</i>	<i>Catherine</i>	294	<i>George</i>	340	Landed Prop.	1876
<i>Shillabeer</i>	<i>Jane</i>	217	<i>H.B.</i>	13667	Engineer	1848
<i>Steele</i>	<i>Margaret</i>	208	<i>Henry</i>	259	RN, Esquire	1848
<i>Lees</i>	<i>Mary</i>	102	<i>John H.</i>	2047	Esquire	1857
<i>Townsend</i>	<i>Saran</i>	209	?			1850
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Elizabeth</i>	97	<i>John</i>	79	Esquire	1838
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Mary A.</i>	100	<i>John</i>	79	Esquire	1864
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Thomasina</i>	101	<i>John</i>	79	Esquire	1867
Lecky	Mary E.	257	John J.	1019	Esquire	1853
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Sarah L.</i>	254	Joshua	81	Merchant	1856
<i>Lawe</i>	<i>Helena S.</i>	1992	<i>Alexander</i>	4568	Esquire	1867

Table 4. *continued*

Gen	Groom				Father of Groom		
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>George</i>	255	Esquire	Joshua	81	Esquire
	<i>Deane</i>	John	273	Esquire	Joseph	4569	Esquire
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>Samuel H.</i>	174	Esquire	<i>Thomas</i>	162	Esquire
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>Thomas H.</i>	175	Minister	<i>Thomas</i>	162	Esquire
	<i>Brady</i>	John C.	274	Esquire	John	2136	Esquire
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>Robert L.</i>	173	Brewer	<i>Thomas</i>	162	Esquire

Table 5. List of members of the Lecky family who married, together with their occupation/social status

Key: names in roman = Friends; in **bold** script = persons who had abandoned Friends; in *bold italics* = persons who had never been Friends

Gen	Groom				Father of Groom		
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
	Orig <i>Lecky</i>	<i>Thomas</i>	141	?	?		?
1	Lecky	Robert	3	Miller	Thomas	141	?
2	<i>Hunt</i>	?	2474	?	?		?
	Clibborn	Joshua	1013	Gentleman	John	2438	
	Pemberton	Henry	2470	Merchant	John	2545	
	Gee	John	1374	Farmer?	Thomas	14825	?
	Morris	William	2471	Shopkeeper	?		?
	Beale	John	64	Merchant	Joshua	8679	Merchant
	Lecky	James	1303	Gentleman	Robert	3	Miller
	Lecky	John	1302	Gentleman	Robert	3	Miller
	Lecky	Thomas	2386	L. draper	Robert	3	Miller
3	Lecky	Robert	2166	Gentleman	James	1303	Gentleman
	Lecky	John	2321	Merchant	James	1303	Gentleman
	Lecky	George	2525	Merchant	James	1303	Gentleman
	Davis	Richard	4139	?	Richard	12621	?
	Robinson	John	2384	Farmer	Joseph	14827	?

Bride			Father of Bride			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
<i>MacDougall</i>	<i>Isabella</i>	993	<i>William</i>	14754	Esquire	1871
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Emily L.</i>	167	<i>Thomas</i>	162	Esquire	1843
<i>Roberts</i>	<i>Sarah S.</i>	275	<i>Samuel</i>	994	Minister	1854
<i>Rowley</i>	<i>Frances J.</i>	283	<i>Thomas</i>	243	Minister	1862
<i>Watson</i>	<i>Elizabeth S</i>	168	<i>Thomas</i>	162	Esquire	1853
<i>Leir</i>	<i>Constance</i>	999	<i>William</i>	1000	Minister	1873

Bride			Father of Bride			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
?	<i>Dorothy</i>	142	?			?
Watson	Mary	1	John	4273	Farmer	1670
Lecky	Mary	2375	Robert	3	Miller	?
Lecky	Sarah	1014	Robert	3	Miller	1694
Lecky	Elizabeth	2469	Robert	3	Miller	1707
Lecky	Jane	1305	Robert	3	Miller	1714
Lecky	Dorothy	1304	Robert	3	Miller	1707
Lecky	Rebecca	65	Robert	3	Miller	1713
Watson	Mary	10	John	4	Farmer	1699
Clibborn	Ann	2441	John	2438	Gentleman	1706
Morris	Joyce	2381	Fortunatus	4501	Merchant	1706
Maddock	Jane	4340	Joseph		L. draper	1721
Arley	Rebecca	2167	?		?	1740
Elly	Deborah	2380	John	4132	?	1746
Fennell	Hannah	2393	Joshua	4169	Gentleman	1730
Deaves	Sarah	2601	John	2602	Gentleman	1733
Lecky	Jane	4138	James	1303	Gentleman	1744
Lecky	Jane	2383	John	1302	Gentleman	1733

Table 5. *continued*

Gen	Groom			Father of Groom			
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
	<i>Adamson</i>	<i>Charles</i>	5228	Farmer	?		?
	Lecky	William	2387	Esquire	John	1302	Gentleman
4	Lecky	James	2377	Esquire	Robert	2166	Gentleman
	Lecky	John	1299	Gentleman	Robert	2166	Gentleman
	Lecky	Robert	4140	Merchant	John	2321	Merchant
	Lecky	James	4148	Merchant	John	2321	Merchant
	Morris	John	4505	Maulster	John	14829	?
	Poole	Richard	5434	Chandler	Joseph	5436	?
	Doyle	Thomas	7601	Gentleman	Peter	8180	?
	Davis	Jonathon	4166	Ironmonger	John	4174	?
	<i>Murphy</i>	?	12456		?		?
	Walpole	William	3378	Farmer	John	8003	Farmer
	Lecky	Robert M.	4508	Gentleman	William	2387	Esquire
	Lecky	William	4134	Doctor	William	2387	Esquire
5	Watson	John	37	Esquire	John	30	Gentleman
	Russell	James F.	2153	Esquire	Samuel	3531	?
	Phelps	James J.	2658	Merchant	Joseph	2659	?
	Christy	John	2157	L. merchant	James	4172	?
	<i>Goff</i>	<i>Richard</i>	2160	Esquire	?		?
	Lecky	John J.	1019	Esquire	John	1299	
	Lecky	John	4141	Banker	Robert	4140	Merchant
	Lecky	William	4145	Esquire	Robert	4140	Merchant
	Dudley	Joshua	4143	?	John ?	14817	?
	Jacob	Thomas S.	3934	Merchant	Joseph	1980	?
	Hanks	Joseph	4152	Merchant	Joseph	14336	?
	Smyth	George	4157	?	James	4148	?
	<i>Clancey</i>	<i>William</i>	4154	?	?		?
	Lecky	John	4512	Esquire	Robert	4508	Gentleman
	<i>Fitzmaurice</i>	<i>Harman</i>	4514	Esquire	?		?
	Mason	John	4164	Miller	Arthur	4255	?
	Pim	Joseph R.	4233	Esquire	Jonathan	4234	?
	Lecky	William R.	4515	Esquire	William	4134	Doctor

Bride			Father of Bride			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
Lecky	Sarah	2472	John	1302	Gentleman	1736
Anne	Ridgeway	2413	William	2312	Merchant	1740
Beale	Sarah	3376	John	64	Merchant	1759
Pike	Mary	2378	Ebenezer	2738	Banker	1792
Goff	Elizabeth	1296	Jacob	2149	Gentleman	1780
Harvey	Margaret	4087	Thomas	3233	L. draper	1763
Scamaden	Margaret	4516	Thomas	4517	Farmer	1768
Lecky	Mary	4188	John	2321	Merchant	1760
Lecky	Hannah	4191	John	2321	Merchant	1779
Lecky	Mary	11334	William	2387	Esquire	1776
Lecky	Miriam	4165	William	2387	Esquire	1790
Lecky	Elizabeth	12455	William	2387	Esquire	1795
Lecky	Jane	3377	William	2387	Esquire	1777
Smith	Mary P.	4509	William	4510	Farmer	1770
Elly	Blessing	4135	Samuel	157	Merchant	1784
Lecky	Eliza	42	John	1299	Gentleman	1800
Lecky	Mary	2152	John	1299	Esquire	1802
Lecky	Anne	204	John	1299	Esquire	1814
Lecky	Sarah M.	2156	John	1299	Gentleman	1815
Lecky	Lydia M.	2159	John	1299	Gentleman	1842
<i>Smyth</i>	<i>Sarah L.</i>	1300	John	1299	Gentleman	1825
Jacob	Susannah	4291	Joseph	1980	Merchant	1796
Fennell	Sarah	4146	William	4529	Wool merch.	1809
Lecky	Susannah	4142	Robert	4140	Merchant	1795
Lecky	Hannah F.	3925	Robert	4140	Merchant	1787
Lecky	Constance	4151	James	4148	Merchant	1792
Lecky	Mary A.	4156	James	4148	Merchant	1798
Lecky	Hannah	4153	James	4148	Merchant	1812
<i>Hartpole</i>	<i>Anna M.</i>	14555	<i>Robert</i>	5427	Esquire	1795
Lecky	Susannah	4513	Robert	4508	Gentleman	1796
Lecky	Sarah	4163	William	4134	Doctor	1819
Lecky	Anna J.	4183	William	4134	Doctor	1831
<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Susannah</i>	4519	<i>Arthur</i>	14821	Esquire	1854

Table 5. *continued*

Gen	Groom				Father of Groom			
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
6	Lecky	John F.	1301	Esquire	John J.	1019	Esquire	
	<i>Watson</i>	<i>Francis M.</i>	253	Dean	Joshua	81	Esquire	
	Lecky	Robert J.	4298	Shipbuilder	John	4141	Banker	
	Pim	Joseph R.	4293	Esquire	Jonathan	9125	?	
	Beale	Joseph	4295	Esquire	William	10682	?	
	Beale	James	4297	Iron mercht	George	14823		
	Elly	William R.	4342	?	Samuel	5237	Esquire	
	<i>Lecky</i>	<i>J. H.</i>	4533	Esquire	John	4512	Esquire	
	7	<i>Lecky</i>	<i>John R. R.</i>	2138	Military	John F.	1301	Esquire
		<i>Lecky</i>	<i>Frederick B.</i>	2143	Military	John F.	1301	Esquire
<i>Lecky</i>		<i>Frederick J.</i>	2144	Military	John F.	1301	Esquire	
<i>Lecky</i>		<i>Robert St. C</i>	2148	Military	John F.	1301	Esquire	
Lecky		John	4319	Tea mcht	Robert J.	4298	shipbuilder	
<i>Lecky</i>		<i>William E.</i>	4535	Historian	<i>John H.</i>	4533	Esquire	

Table 6. List of members of the Duckett family who married, together with their occupation/social status

Key: names in roman = Friends; in **bold script**= persons who had abandoned Friends; in *bold italics* = persons who had never been Friends

Gen	Groom				Father of Groom		
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
Orig	<i>Duckett</i>	<i>James</i>	5623	Esquire	<i>Anthony</i>	8579	Esquire
1	Duckett	Thomas	3215	Esquire	James	5623	Esquire
2	Duckett	Thomas	3179	Gentleman	Thomas	3215	Esquire
	Duckett	Thomas	3179	Gentleman	Thomas	3215	Esquire
	Harvey	Henry	3219	Farmer	Henry	3237	?
3	Duckett	John	3187	Gentleman	Thomas	3179	Gentleman
	Russell	Thomas	3198	Linen draper	John	3508	?
	Hutchinson	James	3182	Gentleman	James	8636	Gentleman

Bride			Father of Bride			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
<i>Brady</i>	<i>Frances B.</i>	2135	<i>John</i>	2136	Gentleman	1853
Lecky	Mary E.	257	John J.	1019	Esquire	1853
White	Sarah M.	4526	Samuel	4527	Esquire	1860
Newsom	Mary	4299	John	4524	Esquire	1834
Lecky	Hannah	4292	John	4141	Banker	1819
Lecky	Elizabeth	4294	John	4141	Banker	1824
Lecky	Susannah	4196	John	4141	Banker	1826
Lecky	Abigail	4341	John	4141	Banker	1831
<i>Talent</i>	<i>Mary A.</i>	4534	<i>William E.</i>	5429	Gentleman	1837
<i>Wilmot</i>	<i>Isabella E.</i>	4539	<i>Edwin</i>	5431	Military	1841
<i>Pendleton</i>	<i>Florence M.</i>	2139	<i>Frederick</i>	2140	Rev.	1884
<i>Butler</i>	<i>Edith A.</i>	7249	<i>Sir Thomas</i>	14833	Bart.	1921
<i>Roberts</i>	<i>Haidee S.</i>	2145	<i>Col. E.</i>	2146	Military	1889
<i>Goldney</i>	<i>Murial E.</i>	2854	<i>John</i>		Military ?	1900
<i>Collier</i>	<i>Sarah</i>	5212	<i>Henry</i>	14835	Esquire	1876
<i>Dedem</i>	<i>Catherina</i>	4536	<i>B. Van Dedein</i>	4537	Baron	1871

Bride			Father of Groom			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
<i>Walker</i>	<i>Elizabeth</i>	5627	<i>Christopher</i>	5628	?	c. 1645
?	Anne	3216	?			?
Bunce	Jane	3180	<i>John</i>	3213	?	1687
Zackary	Elizabeth	3212	Thomas	14854	Physician	1715
Duckett	Anne	3218	Thomas	3215	Esquire	1681
Devonsher	Jane	3188	Thomas	5634	Merchant	1714
Duckett	Elizabeth	3197	Thomas	3179	Gentleman	1714
Duckett	Anne	3181	Thomas	3179	Gentleman	1712

Table 6. *continued*

Gen	Groom				Father of Groom		
	Surname	F_Name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status
4	Searly	Robert	3196	Merchant	Richard	7936	?
	Duckett	Abraham	3193	Gentleman	John	3187	Gentleman
	Duckett	Jonas	3192	Gentleman	John	3187	Gentleman
	Duckett	William	3190	Farmer	John	3187	Gentleman
	Fuller	John	2464	Gentleman?	Henry	2425	Gentleman?
	Penrose	George	4001	Merchant	William	3899	Merchant
	Braithwaite	Summers	7943	Merchant	Isaac	7944	Merchant
	Irwin	Thomas	14608	Merchant	?		
	Duckett	John	4200	Gentleman?	Abraham	3193	Gentleman
	White	Walter	4280	Merchant	Thomas	1012	Gentleman
5	Robinson	John	9699	Merchant	Anthony	10783	?
	<i>Blakeney</i>	<i>John</i>	14613	?			
	Fuller	Thomas	7265	Esquire	John	2464	?
	Boake	Thomas	7589	Esquire	Ephraim	11630	
	Hant	James	9700	Gentleman	?		
	Duckett	William	4203	Esquire	Jonas	3192	Gentleman
	Duckett	John	6796	Gentleman	Jonas	3192	Gentleman
	Duckett	Thomas	9701	?	Jonas	3192	Gentleman
	Duckett	John D.	7358	Esquire	William	4203	Esquire
	Duckett	William	7360	Esquire	William	4203	Esquire
6	<i>Steuart</i>	<i>William R.</i>	9719	Esquire	?		
	<i>Madden</i>	<i>Samuel</i>	9706	Minister	?		
	<i>MacDonnell</i>	<i>James R.</i>	9707	Gentleman	<i>Edward</i>	14851	Military
	Eustace	Hardy	9335	Esquire	James H.	9338	Esquire
	<i>Bolton</i>	<i>Arthur N.</i>	10165	Military	?		
	<i>Kelly</i>	<i>William H.</i>	11324	Military	<i>William</i>	11325	Esquire
	<i>Duckett</i>	<i>William</i>	9695	Esquire	John D.	7358	Esquire
	<i>Duckett</i>	<i>William</i>	9695	Esquire	John D.	7358	Esquire
	<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Stewart J.</i>	9712	Esquire	William	7360	Esquire
	<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Charles E.</i>	10158	Esquire	William	7360	Esquire
7	<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Charles S.</i>	10163	Military	<i>Thomas</i>	14843	?

Bride			Father of Groom			Date Marr.
Surname	F_Name	ID No	F_name	ID No	Occupation/ social status	
Duckett	Jane	3195	Thomas	3179	Gentleman	1717
Jessop	Mary	4199	Samuel	3241	Clothier	c. 1741
<i>Evanson</i>	<i>Martha</i>	12779	?			c. 1757
Alloway	Hannah	4201	William	6794	Merchant	1759
Jennet	Summers	4274	Samuel	7944	Merchant	1740
Duckett	Sarah	3239	John	3187	Gentleman	1745
Duckett	Elizabeth	3217	John	3187	Gentleman	1749
Duckett	Jane	4198	John	3187	Gentleman	1751
Duckett	Jane	4198	John	3187	Gentleman	1761
Hutchinson	Anne	9344	Thomas	8639	Gentleman	1771
Duckett	Jane	4206	Abraham	3193	Gentleman	1775
Duckett	Anne	7244	Abraham	3193	Gentleman	1778
Duckett	Susannah	4208	Abraham	3193	Gentleman	1766
Duckett	Mary A.	4204	Jonas	3192	Gentleman	1791
Duckett	Hannah	4205	Jonas	3192	Gentleman	1804
Duckett	Jane	6799	Jonas	3192	Gentleman	1801
Coates	Elizabeth D.	7357	John D.	7357	Banker	1790
Stephens	Mary	10149	Samuel	10150	?	1801
<i>Madden</i>	<i>Catherine</i>	10149	<i>Arundel</i>	9703	Esquire	1801
Hutchinson	Sarah S.	9388	William	8712	Esquire	1819
<i>Gordon</i>	<i>Harriet I. H.</i>	9708	<i>Lt. Col. C. E.</i>	9709	Military	1843
<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Elizabeth</i>	9718	William	4203	Esquire	1843
<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Hannah T.</i>	9705	Thomas	9701	?	1822
<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Hannah T.</i>	9705	Thomas	9701	?	1839
<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Anna</i>	9334	John D.	7358	Esquire	1856
<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Victoria H.</i>	9697	John D.	7358	Esquire	1863
<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Victoria H.</i>	9697	John D.	7358	Esquire	1871
<i>Morony</i>	<i>Anna M.</i>	10166	<i>Thomas H.</i>	10167	Esquire	1868
<i>Cumming</i>	<i>Maria G.</i>	10169	<i>Robert G.</i>	10170	Military	1895
<i>Dick-Lauder</i>	<i>Catherine S.</i>	10152	<i>Sir John</i>	10153	Bart	1871
<i>Seymour</i>	<i>Anne</i>	10159	<i>B.</i>	14845	Senator	1873
<i>Duckett</i>	<i>Harriet E.A.</i>	9714	William	7360	Esquire	1869

Table 7. Estimated percentage numbers of male family members belonging to defined social status categories, by generation, for each of the four families

Cooper family

Gen	% No persons in each status category									No of persons	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1											
2			100								1
3			100								1
4		100									2
5		100									1
6			50			50					2
7		50				50					2

Watson family

Gen	% No persons in each status category									No of persons	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1					100						1
2					66		33				3
3			33	33	17		17				6
4			75		13			13			8
5		30	40	20		10					10
6		55	27			18					11
7		42	16	11		26			5		19

Lecky family

Gen	% No persons in each status category									No of persons	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1			100								1
2			66	33							3
3		25	25	50							4
4		17	33	33		17					6
5		75	25								4
6		66	33								3
7			67	16		16					6

Duckett family

Gen	% no persons in each status category									No of persons	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1	100										1
2			100								1
3			50		50						2
4			33	33	33						3
5		25	75						25		4
6		100									2
7		100									4

Table 8. Estimated cumulative changes of social status for female family members following marriage, by generation, expressed as percentages: plus = an upward movement in social status; even = no change in social status; minus = downward movement in social status

Cooper family

Gen	Status after marriage			% No not allocated	No of persons
	% Plus	% Even	% Minus		
1					
2		50		50	2
3			100		2
4	33	33	33		3
5	100				1
6		50	50		2
7					

Watson family

Gen	Status after marriage			% No not allocated	No of persons
	% Plus	% Even	% Minus		
1					
2		100			1
3		38	38	25	8
4		55	18	27	11
5		33	11	56	9
6	17	58	25		12
7	24	53	24		17

Lecky family

Gen	Status after marriage			% No not allocated	No of persons
	% Plus	% Even	% Minus		
1					
2		17	83		6
3			66	33	3
4	17	17	50	17	6
5	38	23	31		13
6	40		40	20	5
7	No relevant data available				

Duckett family

Gen	Status after marriage			% No not allocated	No of persons
	% Plus	% Even	% Minus		
1					
2			100		1
3		33	66		3
4		25	75		4
5	34	16	34	16	6
6		33		66	3
7		25	75		4

Table 9. Country seats of the four families during the nineteenth century

Family	Seats
Cooper	Cooper Hill, County Laois
Watson	Kilconnor, Ballydarton, Lumcloon, County Carlow; Summerville, Clonbrogan, Ballingarrane, County Tipperary, Stowlin in County Galway
Lecky	Ballykeally, Kilnock, Kilmeany, County Carlow
Duckett	Duckett's Grove, County Carlow

The data pertaining to the social status of women family members who married are limited, making it difficult to generalise and to identify patterned behaviour. Certainly, there is no evidence from these data that marriages were deliberately arranged to elevate social status. Indeed, many of the marriages resulted in social devolution, slight in most instances, as with women members of the Duckett family. Of the four families the Watsons seems to have managed more marriages

where social status was balanced between the families of bride and groom. However, there is no evidence currently to determine whether this was deliberate or fortuitous behaviour on the part of the family.

Conclusion

The results of the quantitative analysis suggests that each of the four families cast off Friends in their own unique manner, influenced, no doubt, by a wide range of reasons resulting from the vagaries of social, political and economic factors. The families did share high mortality among children under 18 years of age, females slightly less so than males. Likewise we have seen that the attrition rate from Friends was relatively high among those who succeeded in reaching the age of 18, men more so than women, generally increasing over time, until eventually the Society was devoid of family members. Certainly if the families were expecting to replace lost members, if not to increase membership through their children, they were destined to be disappointed.

Longevity of membership varied slightly between families and generations, generally fairly static, but favouring women, who oft seemed to have maintained membership for longer periods of time, on average, than men. In the case of the Watson and Lecky families there appears to have been a tumble in average longevity for both sexes in the later generations, occasioned most probably by concurrent, enhanced levels of attrition.

The results of the social mobility analysis mirrors the patterns observed in the historical records for the families, In fact social mobility was quite limited. All four families could be described as 'middle class' and were relatively wealthy from the start. Wealth tended to dictate where the families ended up or could end up on the social ladder, as well as creating opportunities for advancement. But in most instances the families started well up the social scale. Thus, advancement could be static or restricted to a step or so. Once accepted as 'gentlemen' and/or 'esquires' they were absorbed into mainstream society, with its worldly obligations and temptations, in sobering contrast to the rules and requirements that applied to members of the Religious Society of Friends.

The origins of all four families remain obscure, despite best efforts to discover them. Soon after arriving in County Carlow some family members succumbed to Quaker influence and were exposed to the 'Inward Light'. We have seen that all four families seem to have had had socio-economic advantage. We also know that those family members who did join Friends prospered. From the late seventeenth century, the same Light remained strongly embedded within members of consecutive generations, although the faith and conviction needed to maintain the Light was not there; it began to splutter and gradually fade as did memories of the families within the populace of County Carlow. Indeed, all four families eventually relinquished their estates to others. Today it is their houses that are recognised and remembered not the individuals who used to live in them.

It remains to be seen whether the transition model proposed in the foregoing (Table 1) is applicable to other Irish Quaker families and, indeed, whether it can be adapted and applied to describe the transition processes experienced by Quaker families of more modest socio-economic means.

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