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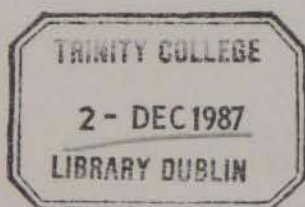
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Ph.D. Degree Awarded  
2 December 1987



THESIS  
1382.2



AbbreviationsAH = Analecta Hibernica

BL = British Library

Brady, Press = J.Brady, Catholics and catholicism in the eighteenth century press  
(Maynooth, 1965).Burke, Clonmel = W.P.Burke, History of Clonmel (Waterford, 1907).CA = Cork Advertiser

CDA = Cashel Diocesan Archives, Thurles

CEP = Cork Evening PostCG = Clonmel GazetteCH = Clonmel HeraldComms. Jnl.(Ire.) = Journal of the Irish House Of CommonsCS = The Civil Survey : Co.Tipperary 2 vols.CSPI = Calendar of State Papers Ireland

DG = Dublin Gazette

EC = Ennis Chronicle

FDJ = Faulkner's Dublin JournalFJ = Freeman's JournalFLJ = Finn's Leinster Journal

GO = Genealogical Office

HC = Hibernian Chronicle

HMC = Historical Manuscripts Commission

IESH = Irish Economic and Social HistoryIHS = Irish Historical StudiesJCHAS = Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological SocietyJWSEIAS = Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological SocietyLC = Limerick ChronicleLJ = Leinster JournalLords Jnl.(Ire.) = Journal of the Irish House of Lords

Mic. = Microfilm

NLI = National Library of Ireland

n.d. = not dated

n.p. = no place of publication

OP = Official Papers

P. = Positive

PP = British Parliamentary Papers  
PRIA = Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy  
PRO = Public Record Office  
PROI = Public Record Office of Ireland  
PRONI = Public Record Office of Northern Ireland  
RCB = Representative Church Body Library  
RD = Registry of Deeds  
RP = Rebellion Papers  
Rutland Ms = HMC Rutland  
SCP = State of the Country Papers  
SPI = State Papers Ireland  
SPO = State Paper Office  
TCD = Trinity College Dublin  
WC = Waterford Chronicle  
WHM = Walker's Hibernian Magazine  
WM = Waterford Mirror

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Unless stated otherwise acres are Irish plantation acres.



NOTES

1. D.O. Keogh, *The O'Riordan Family* (Dublin, 1976) p.113. The number of members was 211.
2. W.J. Lynch, *Land values, the market and population patterns in Co. Tipperary 1600-1800* (1971) p.10. See also L.M. Cahill and P. Lynch (ed.) *Irish and London, 1700-1800: Migration and the making of rural Ireland* (1982) pp.19-21, 1974, *Wages, property, population and population: re-examining the human geography of rural Ireland with special reference to W. Nolan (ed.) *Irish Land: History and Society* (1985) p. 109-110.*
3. Lynch, *Land values*, pp. 20-74, 1800, *Tipperary* pp. 110-5.
4. CS 111 papers.
5. CS 1, pp. 203, 217, 218, 245; 2, p. 22; 3, p. 203; 4, p. 203; 5, p. 203. The cost of work and land is listed in CS 1, pp. 203, 217, 218, 245.
6. King's Inns Library, *Proceedings of the Court of the King's Bench in Tipperary 1600-1800*.
7. Below pp. 1-3.
8. Below pp. 13-4.
9. N. Canny, *Migration and opportunity: Britain, Ireland, and the New World 1600-1700* (1976) pp. 7-31 at p. 29. Another example of a Catholic family coming to Ireland at this period were the Souths of Oriskany, who emigrated through the period of the 1600s. Recent important members in Carrick in the eighteenth century (Cahill, *Oriskany*, p. 115).
10. See pp. 12-13, 16-17, 243-4.
11. W.A. Hurling, *The O'Riordan Family* (Dublin, 1976) p. 113. The cost of work and land is listed in CS 1, pp. 203, 217, 218, 245.
12. Below pp. 1-3.
13. Below pp. 13-4.
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97. Below pp. 1-3.
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100. Below pp. 1-3.

## Chapter I : Notes

1. J.G. Simms, The Williamite confiscation in Ireland 1690-1703 (1956) p.196 ; the number of proprietors from CS I, II.
2. W.J. Smyth 'Land values, landownership and population patterns in Co. Tipperary for 1641-1660 and 1841-1850 : some comparisons' in L.M. Cullen and F.Furet (ed.) Ireland and France 17th-20th centuries : towards a comparative study of rural history (1980) pp.59-68 ; idem, 'Property, patronage and population : reconstructing the human geography of mid-seventeenth century Tipperary' in W. Nolan (ed.) Tipperary : history and society (1985) pp.109-114.
3. Smyth 'Land values' op. cit. pp.68-74 ; idem, 'Property' op. cit. pp.116-8.
4. CS I,II passim.
5. CS I pp.203, 217, 218, 243 ; II p.42 ; NLI D3786 ; H.F. Kearney 'The court of wards and liveries in Ireland 1622-1641' PRIA 57 c (1955).
6. King's Inns Library, Prendergast Ms iii p.145 (Account of the rebellion in Tipperary written for Ormond 1680).
7. Below pp.6-7.
8. Below pp.13-4.
9. N.Canny 'Migration and opportunity : Britain, Ireland, and the New World' IESH XII pp.7-32 at p.29. Another example of a catholic family coming to Ireland in this period were the Smiths of Bristol, who progressed through the ormond household and became important merchants in Carrick in the eighteenth century (Burke, Clonmel p.316).
10. See pp.79-81, 160-63, 343-4.
11. W.H. Hardinge 'On the circumstances attending the outbreak of the civil war in Ireland on 23rd October 1641' Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy XXIV pt.vii (1866) p.418 ; T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne (ed.) A new history of Ireland iii : early modern Ireland 1534-1691 (1976) p.358. The total area forfeited in Tipperary was 809,211 statute acres, comprising 608,535 acres profitable and 200,676 acres unprofitable; the unforfeited area was 239,918 acres.
12. Smyth 'Property' op. cit. p.111.
13. The foregoing analysis is based on statistics compiled from the shedulaes presented in J.P. Prendergast, The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland (1922) pp.389-400. An

- instance of an adventurer estate being relinquished is that owned by Ursula Upton, widow of George Clarke of London, merchant in Clanwilliam barony which came into the possession of the Damer family (D.G. Marnane, Land and violence : a history of west Tipperary from 1660 (1985) p.12).
14. Leicester Archives Department, Braye of Stanford papers 23 D 57 / 718, 724-5, 728-34, 736-7, 739, 740-41, 745-6, 748 (Abstracted in National Register of Archives list 9254). On the basis of this evidence Otway acquired an additional 737 acres).
  15. Estimated from R.C. Simington, The transplantation to Connacht 1654-1658 (1970).
  16. Hardinge op. cit. p.416.
  17. Ibid.
  18. T. Larcom, The history . . . of the Down Survey by Dr. William Petty (1851) p.60.
  19. King's Inns Library, Prendergast Ms (Collections relating to Ireland) I pp.287-8. Four native Irish recently removed to Connacht were ordered to return to assist in the surveying of the barony. Cf. R. Dunlop, Ireland under the commonwealth (1913) II p. 465 where the barony concerned is given as Eliogarty.
  20. For the articles of surrender : CSPI 1647-1660 (1903) p.375 (Mathew) ; NLI D7403 (Fethard) ; Hardinge op. cit. p.418. Mathew successfully pressed his claim to retain lands in right of his wife Eleanor, late widow of Lord Cahir, and those of his ward the then Lord Cahir, a minor (CSPI 1647-1660 pp.475-6, 538-9,802 ; Prendergast Ms : Collections II pp.879-95). The Fethard articles, by which the inhabitants claimed that they were a people to be distinguished from the rest of the whole nation, were confirmed in 1653, 1655 and 1659 despite, in the latter year, its being forced to surrender its charter due to poverty (Prendergast Ms : Collections II pp.461-2, III pp.413-4 ; NLI D7404).
  21. Prendergast Ms : Collections I pp.634-5, II p.541 ; Prendergast, Cromwellian settlement op. cit. p.181 ; RIA Ms 4.A.42 (2h).
  22. Prendergast Ms : Collections IV p.24. Later the same year the Cromwellian authorities in Cashel resisted an attempt by the former catholic burgesses and freemen to re-establish their control in the corporation (CSPI 1660-1662 (1905) pp.113-4, 119).
  23. Prendergast Ms op. cit. IV pp.26-8.

24. NLI Ms 4908 (Clonmel assize book 1663-75) fol.4.
25. Ibid. fol.7v. For other cases see fols.16,22, 28.
26. Ibid. fols. 20v-21, 55, 94, 104v-105v.
27. T. Carte, Life of James first duke of Ormonde (1851) V pp.49-50. It is also evident from this instruction that Ormond was concerned about the activities of returning catholics rallying the county and laying claim to their former estates. For the court of claims proceedings see TCD Court of claims evidence and submissions (typescript by J.G. Simms ). For an instance of Ormond's intervention to facilitate the claims of Henry Prittie see NLI Ms 2511 pp.204-5.
28. HMC Ormond (ns) III (1904) pp.7-9. The two agents, Sir William Flower and John Blunden, visited Carrick, Clonmel, Cashel, Goldenbridge, Holy Cross, and Nenagh where they took possession of the castle from Col. Abbott. Ormond also appointed a new seneschal to manage the resumed estates in December 1660 (NLI Ms 11,044 untitled document in this unsorted collection of Palatinate records ).
29. CSPI 1660-1662 (1905) pp.73, 222, 307 ; Prendergast Ms : Collections IV p.521 et seq. printed in The Irish Genealogist IV no 5 (1972) pp.429-34.  
It was on Ormond's recommendation that Esmond's petition to be restored to lands at Grangemockler and Clonoulty was favourably advanced (NLI Ms 2511 p.163).
30. CSPI 1660-1662 pp.109,393 ; CSPI 1663-5 p.46 ; CSPI 1669-70 p.200. The Purcell property of over 11,000 acres was roughly the same value in 1663 (£863) as in 1640 (£878), but in 1663 total debts on the estate were £4,340 (RIA Purcell papers Ms 4 A 42 (2a)).
31. Prendergast Ms : Collections VII pp.583, 737-8. Ormond's half-brother, George Mathew, later married Hume's widow and eventually came into possession of these lands (Ibid and below p.80 ).
32. NLI Ms 4908 fol.14v.
33. Prendergast Ms op. cit. VII pp.596-7. The petition included the names of most of the prominent Cromwellian grantees and others in the north west of the county including Feltham and Minchin whose hostility had already been made apparent.
34. G. Hatchell, Abstract of grants of land under the commission of grace (1839) pp.6, 9, 10, 13, 17, 18.
35. What follows is based largely on an analysis of this source (RIA Mss H.3.2.,

H.4.2.).

36. For their cases along with that of John Cantwell see Prendergast Ms II pp.642, 689-91, VII pp.817-8. Mandeville and Lord Dunboyne experienced difficulties recovering parts of their lands and had to engage in expensive and prolonged lawsuits before their titles were established.
37. NLI Ms 2350 pp.161-4. In 1663 Egans received leases from Nicholas White and Lord Dungan (Sixth report of the deputy keeper of the public record office of Ireland (1874) p.80). It is evident that the Egans' resumption of possession was not entirely undisturbed. For example, there is the case of Cormack Egan trying to prevent Maurice Thomas establishing title to Tullyhedy whereby he was 'grievously vexed and disturbed of his possession and tittle' (NLI Ms 4908 fol.36v).
38. W. King, The state of the protestants of Ireland under the late king James's government (1691) pp.326, 329. Others were nominated to high office in the exchequer (Ibid pp.335-6).
39. J. D'Alton, Army list I pp.272-8, and for other commissions ibid pp. 78-9, 104-5, 133-6, 206-7, 215, 239-41, II p.402.
40. For membership of the corporations see W. Harris, The history of the life and reign of William Henry . . . (1749) pp. vii, xv. The most influential office, that of mayor or sovereign, was held by catholic Old English like James Butler (Clonmel), John Sall (Cashel), and Pierce Everard (Fethard). After the Williamite military success the catholic majority in the corporations was obliterated, e.g. Cashel (TCD Ms 1180 p.125).
41. New English such as Warter, Sadlier, Abbott, Sankey and others appear as sheriffs from the mid-1650s. The only concession to this pattern would appear to be Terence McGrath in 1690. For the full list : GO Ms 570 ; RIA Upton papers no. 28 fol 6.
42. NLI Ms 11044 document entitled 'Sr Robt Cole'.
43. NLI Ms 2445 p.354.
44. S.J.D. Seymour, Adventures and experiences of a seventeenth century clergyman (1909) pp.24,27.
45. NLI Ms 11044 document entitled 'Mr Lowe's evidence against Moore of Clonmell'. For those returned at Clonmel assizes in September 1683 for treasonable statements : NLI Ms 4909 fols 30, 34v.

46. NLI Ms 2445 pp.181-2 ; referred to by W. King op. cit. p.90 ; T. Crosby, The history of the English Baptists from the reformation to the beginning of the reign of King George I, 4 vols (1740), iii p.43. Those who spread the rumour were later charged at Birr assizes (NLI Ms 2445 p.185).
47. BL C 21 f 12 (14), proclamation dated 24 July 1685.
48. See note 50 below.
49. NLI Ms 2443 pp.309-310 ; Ms 2445 p.8. In 1686 Mathew did not endear himself to a clergyman in Tipperary town due to his dismissive attitude towards his claims to the tithes of Kilfeacle (Seymour op. cit. pp.34-5).
50. Evidence for the events of 1685-6 is to be found in the Ormond papers : NLI Mss 2443 pp.309-310, 377-81 ; 2445 pp.7-12, 181-5, 205-6, 435 ; 2446 pp.109-118, 163-8, 289, 375-6, 383-91 ; 2447 pp.167-8, 203-7 ; 2451 pp.33-7.
51. TCD Ms 847 fols 1-16 passim ; W. Harris op. cit. p.lv ; W. King op. cit. p.90 ; Prendergast Ms II p.549.
52. On the submission of the towns : W. Harris op. cit. pp.281, 336, 341 ; G. Story, The impartial history (1691) p.109 ; J.T. Gilbert, A Jacobite narrative (1971) p.108 ; HMC report XII appendix 7 ; Le Fanu manuscripts (1890) p.289 ; HMC : Finch manuscript II (1922) pp.371-2, 387 ; R. Caulfield (ed.) Journal of Rev Rowland Davies (1857) pp.132-3.
53. TCD Ms 749 iii 324 ; iv 423 ; viii 829 ; ix 912 ; xii 1203. For the effect of their depredations on the economic life of the county : PROI Wyche Ms 2 / 121-2.
54. BL Add Ms 28,939 fol 77. This was an issue of great importance at the time and the re-assertion of Ormond's legal rights in the matter were crucial. Ormond's right to the forfeitures for treason were conferred by the charter of 1662. Such rights could not, of course, have operated in relation to the forfeitures occasioned by the rebellion of 1641 as the Palatinate was out of the family's possession between 1621 and 1662. The only four pleas reserved to royal justice were willful burning of houses, rape, treasure trove, and forestalling the market. The fact that the burning of houses in Ireland was treasonable made it exceptional, but all the other treasonable offences came under the Palatinate jurisdiction. Ormond was entitled to all lands so forfeited, and it was within his power to grant pardons. Ormond and his legal advisers, Sir John Meade and Richard Nagle, won the point and indictments against the forfeiting proprietors in the

- county were proceeded with at Clonmel in April 1691 (BL Add Ms 28,877 fol 16).
55. NLI Ms 11,044 documents entitled 'Case D. Ormonde Liberty Courts & Sr. Jon. Meads opinion' n.d. ; 'The humble Peticon of James Duke of Ormond ' n.d. [c. 1690] (also in BL Add Ms 28,876 fol 255v).
  56. Thirteen persons with addresses in Tipperary were outlawed in Dublin City (TCD Ms 744 book i : outlawries fols 14, 14v, 16-7, 47v, printed in AH xxii (1960) pp. 32-65).
  57. Ibid fols 91v-92, 99v.
  58. Ibid fols 99v, 103v-150v passim.
  59. Ibid fols 91v-92, 99v. Cahir was outlawed by the Palatinate court, but this was reversed by special act of parliament, I Anne c.38, and a restriction on catholic inheritance was not apparently enforced in Cahir's case (Annesley Ms 22 fols 130-38 (NLI Mic P.264), and Simms op. cit. p.130).
  60. All the grants in the county were parts of larger grants elsewhere, making it difficult to ascertain precisely what segments were in Tipperary (TCD Ms 744 book vi nos. 2, 5, 44, 64, 69, 74). For one such grant see PROI Lodge Ms Rolls series ix pp.30-32. One grantee, Edward Brabazon, earl of Meath, was put out of possession by James Cantwell but was ordered to be restored by the house of lords in 1704 (Lord Jnl.(Ire.) ii pp.35, 52-3).
  61. NLI Ms 19904 pp.64-8.
  62. PROI M 2547-8. What follows is based on this source. Of the 166 claims 62 were 'allowed', 47 were 'dismist' or 'disallowed', 3 were partly allowed and partly rejected, and the outcome of 4 is uncertain.
  63. PROI M 2578 pp.101-131. What follows is based on this source.
  64. A list of the estates in Ireland of the Hollow Sword Blades with acres in each (1709). For sales of the company's land in the county : RD 11 / 304 / 4593, 12 / 116 / 4594, 15 / 478 / 8280 ; PROI Lodge Rolls series x pp.187-205.
  65. TCD Ms 821 fol 276 which states that there were 'about eleven score of men, women, & children'.It also had a minister at this time (Ibid. fol 202). Warter was head tenant to 2,780 acres in the area of which Cullen comprised 1,500 acres, the remainder being church lands ( CS II pp.56, 363-4).
  66. S. Pender (ed.), A census of Ireland c.1659 (1939) p.326 ; T. Laffan (ed.),

- Tipperary's families (1911) pp.60, 114. Those of English surname were the owners of houses with most hearths as were they of most ovens, kilns, and the forge. The only merchant named was Robert Young.
67. G. Story op. cit. p.135 ; Petworth House : Thomond papers, survey and maps of the Thomond estate 1703 (NLI Mic P.4767).
68. CSPI 1603-6 pp.378-9 ; CSPI 1611-14 p.222 ; CSPI 1625-32 pp.536, 558. The joining of the territory of Mac Ui Brian Arra to the county of the Cross c. 1606 may have been an attempt to extend royal authority in north west Tipperary as a prelude to plantation (Fifth report of the deputy keeper of the public record office of Ireland (1873) appendix pp.33-4).
69. BL Harleain Ms 2138 fol 35v (NLI Mic P.1417).
70. CSPI 1647-60 pp.150-152. Maps of the survey formed part of that conducted by Strafford for Connacht at this time, but the originals were destroyed in 1711. Only copies of maps for three parishes, Kilbarron, Ballingarry, and Uskane (part) survive in NLI 16. I. 17 (14 a, b). Wentworth, while favouring the plantation scheme, was not willing to alienate Ormond to achieve it (A. McClintock, 'The earls of Ormond and the role of Tipperary in the governing of Ireland c. 1603-41' pp.15-7). Some grants made by Ormond were questioned and were presumed to be at the disposal of the Crown (BL Harleain Ms 2138 fol 36 NLI Mic P. 1417).
71. CSPI 1633-1647 p.5.
73. CSPI 1660-1662 pp.153-4. Another projector in the plantation scheme was Sir Nicholas White (HMC Hastings Ms IV (1947) pp.57-8).
74. TCD Ms 821 fols 126, 145, 148, 163, 181, 187-8, 193-4, 197-9.
75. T.C. Barnard, Cromwellian Ireland (1975) p.39. Dineley's sketch of Silvermines is reproduced in Jnl of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society V (1864-6) p.272. Only four English are recorded for the 'Manes Royall' in 1659, and only two households with hearths are recorded for it in 1667 (Pender op. cit. p.321 ; Laffan op. cit. p.182). Hamilton received a new patent for working the mine in 1660-1, but the settlement came into Prittie's ownership who mined it for lead only, and he continued its working in the eighteenth century (CSPI 1660-1662 pp.154, 431-2).
76. Parish register society of Dublin IV : the registers of provost Winter and of the liberties of Cashel (1907) pp.27-51.



77. Prendergast Ms I pp.84-5.
78. For a note on this source see Appendix I.
79. NLI Ms 2344 pp.117-8, 121, 125.
80. Printed in Burke, Clonmel pp.247-55.
81. There is only one instance, Curraleigh, which might be considered in this category (Laffan op. cit. pp.23, 96).
82. Smyth 'Land values' p.76.
83. D.F. Gleeson, The last lords of Ormond (1939) pp.165-6.
84. Oxford, Bodleian Library Carte Ms 161 pp.161-2 (NLI Mic P.5452).
85. G. Story, A continuation of the impartial history (1693) p.181.
86. Below p.122.
87. PRO CO 388 / 85 / A 15 Ireland : exports from ports, 1626. Cork's main export items were pipestaves, hides, sheepskins, frieze, and butter ; Youghal : cows, herrings, iron, horses, pipestaves, kidskins, lambskins, and wool ; Waterford (and Ross) : frieze, rugs, mantles, tallow, wheat, butter, oats, hides ; Limerick : wheat, beef, hides, butter, and tallow.
88. D. Woodward 'A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades in the seventeenth century' in L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout, Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history 1600-1900 (1977) pp.147-64.
89. W. Knowler, The earl of Strafforde's letters and despatches (1739) I pp.104-5.
90. TCD Ms 821 fols 12v, 15-15v, 84 ; see also HMC Egmont Ms (1905) I pt I p.156 where every English gentleman in Clanwilliam and Kilnamanagh was reported to have lost his sheep and cattle. The office of the collector of customs on cattle passing through Clonmel was appointed to by the corporation as in 1641 (NLI Ms 19171 p.326 ; see also CS I p.388).
91. D. Woodward 'The Anglo-Irish livestock trade of the seventeenth century' IHS xviii no 72 (1973) p.514.
92. A. Burns, History of the British West Indies (1965) pp. 341, 349. Stapleton's son-in-law James Cotter was deputy governor of Montserrat and was later a prominent Jacobite leader in Ireland (A new history of Ireland op. cit. p. 445).
93. For the importance of cattle locally and individual herd sizes : NLI Ms 4908 fol 50v ; Ms 4909 fols 14, 60 ; TCD Ms 749 / 4 / 423.

94. TCD Ms 1180 p.39 (Exports from Ireland 1641, 1665, 1669). The shift to greater processing is evident from the following :

<u>Product</u>	<u>1641</u>	<u>1665</u>	<u>1669</u>
Beef (lb)	15,215	29,264	51,793
Butter (cwt)	34,807	26,413	58,041
Hides	134,121	106,344	217,046
Tallow (cwt)	20,135	21,003	38,183

95. C.L. Falkiner, Illustrations of Irish history and topography (1904) p.403 ; PRO CO 388 / 85 / A15. Of the total of 1286 barrels of butter exported from Ireland in 1626 Waterford accounted for 320, Limerick 243.

96. Burke, Clonmel p.102.

97. Falkiner op. cit. p.402.

98. HMC Egmont Ms (1905) I pt I p.156.

99. TCD Ms 821 fol 15.

100. Prendergast Ms III p.145.

101. Harding op. cit. p.415.

102. Ibid.

103. NLI Ms 4908 fols 22v, 23, 28, 102v ; Ms 11,044 document entitled 'Acct of Walcott goods from Mch Kearny 25 May 1687'. In 1664 Lawrence Parsons at Lisbrien in the extreme north of the county, had over 1,700 sheep taken ; in 1675 the servants of S. Barrett had 300 sheep rescued from them which they had distrained for arrears of rent ; and in 1584 Captain Walcott had 1,700 sheep stolen. For other examples, but for smaller numbers : NLI Ms 4908 fols 28v-30v, 39, 41-42v, 49v, 57, 59, 69.

104. PRO SPI 356 / 211 (NLI Mic P. 3273).The information was requested by the judges at the Lent assizes from the county's sheep rearers.

105. Burke, Clonmel p.102 ; Dublin Historical Record iii no 3 (1941) p.43. The activities of the sheep farmers may have occasioned a trend towards depopulation in the areas where sheep farming became intense. The hearth money returns for 1666-7 record a significantly high number of waste houses in iffa ans Offa (399), Slievardagh (85), Ileagh, Kilnamanagh and Kilnalongurty (182), making 666 in all. There is also a close correlation between areas mentioned as having mills in 1650 and areas returned

as having a high density of waste houses in 1667. Thus 361 of the 399 waste houses in Iffa and Offa were in parishes where mills were recorded in 1654, and 76 of the 85 similarly for Slievardagh. This trend may reflect the advance of sheep grazing into these districts as the primary agricultural enterprise. The 185 waste houses for the other three baronies are difficult to interpret. These were not baronies where a significant number of corn mills were in evidence in 1650 (Table XXVII). So the appearance of waste houses in 1667 can not be ascribed to a retraction in cereal production, but must be due to some movement of population or to some peculiarities in the return.

The combination of intensive grazing and low population certainly struck contemporaries. In 1672 the bishop of Waterford and Lismore, whose diocese included south Tipperary, remarked that 'the land is mostly used for the grazing of sheep and cattle, so that the country is almost uninhabited' (P. Power (ed.), A bishop of the penal times (1932) pp.29-30). His judgment was echoed by Clarendon who in 1696 travelled from Thomastown near Cashel to Clonmel, and who commented on that country that it was a 'very fruitful and rich land, but all pasture and employed in sheep walks and feeding black cattle. There is very little arable in the whole county and consequently not much people' (The state letters of Henry earl of Clarendon (1763) ii p.9).

106. That in war time conditions and periods of dearth the functioning and location of fairs could be subject to military expediency is exemplified in the case of Clogheen which had its fairs transferred to Castlegrace by the commonwealth army in the early 1650s (CS I p.374).
107. N. Canny, The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland (1976) p.8.
108. The seven fairs were at Inislounaght, Ballyclerihan, Clogheen, Clonoulty, Holy Cross, Pallice, and Portnacask.
109. Bourke's, Almanack (1685) passim.
110. Separate disputes are on record between Gamaliel Warter and Joseph Damer, agent to Erasmus Smith, over the patronage of the fair in Tipperary town in 1674, and in 1683 between Warter, Smith, and John Dawson over the latter's attempt to establish a fair at Ballynacourty to their prejudice. Both cases came before Ormond for adjudication, for as lord of the Palatinate he possessed the right of granting patents for

- fairs and markets (CSPI 1666-9 p.191 ; Oxford Bodleain Library Carte Ms 161 fols 159-159v (NLI Mic P.5452) ; Prendergast Ms II pp.391-6 ; NLI Ms 11,044 document entitled 'Copy of a war[ran]t for a writt of ad quod da[mnu]m' n.d.).
111. R. Gillespie 'Harvest crises in early seventeenth century Ireland' IESH xi (1984) pp.5-18.
112. TCD Ms 821 fols 84, 122, 165, 169.
113. CSPI 1647-1660 p.151.
114. HMC Ormond Ms (1902) I pp.140-142 ; see also PROI Co 580 for corn in the Clonmel area in the early 1650s. Some adjoining counties notably Cork, Kilkenny, and Waterford were slow to fulfil their requirements for the corn levy.
115. CS I p.332.
116. Hardinge op. cit. p.415.
117. See note 105.
118. CSPI 1666-9 p.297 ; TCD Ms 749 / 2 / 180, 749 / 4 / 406 ; A new history of Ireland iii op. cit. pp.458, 475. The number of barrels of wheat required from the county for payment of the subsidy in kind in 1667 is not specified. The baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, Owey and Arra were to contribute the equivalent of 1 1/2 subsidies at 14s. per barrel (Bristol) to the magazine at Limerick ; Middlethird, Iffa and Offa, Clanwilliam a similar amount at Waterford ; and Eliogarty and Ikerrin to the magazine at Clonmel.
119. L. Eachard, An exact description of Ireland (1691) p.96 ; W. Camden, Brittania (1695) p.983.
120. T. Birch, Collection of state papers of John Thurloe (1742) II p.404.
121. E. McCracken, The Irish woods since Tudor times (1971) pp.58-9.
122. Ibid. p.162.
123. CS I pp.123, 136-8, 140 ; II pp.23, 160, 185.
124. Ibid. I p.40.
125. For a comment on the effect the cattle acts had in inducing a greater concentration on sheep and wool : TCD Ms 1180 p.28.
126. The growth in wool exports from Ireland is evident from the following figures :

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wool (stones)</u>
1641	151,576

1669 254,760

1687 256,592

They continued upward until the act of 1699 (TCD Ms 1180 p.39 ; BL Add Ms 18022 fol 69 (NLI Mic P.506).

127. HMC Ormond Ms (1906) IV pp.665-76. The list, with the number of licences, includes : W. Vaughan (12), M. Head (11), J. Harrison (6), R. Carleton (1), and J. Pike (1). Since the 1630s the staple system was replaced by one of licences, combined with exportation through named ports. In 1678 25 ports were allowed to export wool to England, but by 1688 this had been reduced to 6 including Youghal, Cork, and Waterford (P.J. Bowden, The wool trade in Tudor and Stuart England (1962) p.207).
128. Information on Vaughan is in Burke, Clonmel p.102 ; C.L. Vaughan-Arbuckle 'A Tipperary farmer and Waterford tradesman of two centuries ago' JWSEIAS viii (1902) pp.80-89 ; NLI D 5235.
129. NLI D 4505 dated 13 January 1662-3.
130. NLI Ms 2357 p.147 ; Ms 2358 pp.33, 63-4, 118. At first Ormond considered deploying a convoy to escort the vessel containing the wool to either of the ports of Exeter, Barnstaple, or Bideford. Later his agent was in correspondence with a Dublin merchant in an attempt to dispose of the wool and he advised to ship the wool from Waterford, indicated what types of wool to consign to the different English ports, and named which factors to deal with in them.
131. CS I pp.41, 47, 64, 184, 220, 307, 322, 352, 388 ; II pp.8, 300, 321. All the mills were found in locations which also had grist or corn mills. Four of the 12 were demolished or in decay. At least one was erected by a recent Cromwellian that at Quartercross in Middlethird, being described as 'lately built by Captn. Jacob' (CS I p.184).
132. NLI D 4816.
133. O. Airy (ed.), Essex papers (1890) i, p.275.
134. NLI Ms 2360 pp.95, 99, 125. A capital stock of £30,000-£40,000 was also mentioned (Ibid. p.95). Sites at Carlow and Dublin were declined (Ibid. p.378).
135. G.L. Lee, The Huguenot settlements in Ireland (1936) p.117.
136. NLI Ms 2360 p.378 ; Ms 2362 p.221.
137. NLI D 4883.

138. NLI Ms 2394 p.163 ; Ms 2404 p.441. The industry was also established at Callan in 1674 (NLI Ms 2360 pp.346-51). It was also suggested that a company of brewers be brought to Carrick (NLI Ms 2394 p.163). The Dutch connection with the woollen manufacture in Carrick persisted in the persons of Vastardus Graenix and John Newport, the last being granted a renewal of a lease of his premises in 1697 (NLI Ms D 5287). For a note on the significance of the Dutch contribution to economic activity at this time see R. Loeber, 'English and Irish sources for the history of Dutch economic activity in Ireland 1600-89' IESH viii (1981) pp.70-85.
139. NLI Ms 2354 p.37 ; Ms 2356 p.379. Ormond was prepared to lease 500 acres adjoining the town at a reduced rent presumably for flax growing (Prendergast Ms VII pp.410-411). From as early as at least 1663 he had regularly appointed an official as clerk of the market and sealer of woollen cloth and linen, and leather for the county (Appendix to the sixth report of the deputy keeper of the public record office of Ireland pp.81, 82, 85, 86).
140. For a re-assessment of the political background to the passing of the act see P. Kelly, 'The Irish woollen export prohibition act of 1699 : Kearney re-visited' IESH vii (1980) pp.22-44. The act was accompanied by another measure (10 Will III c.5), which imposed heavy duties on woollen goods exported from Ireland.
141. PRONI Education Facsimiles No 228.
142. Tipperary County Museum : Minister's money account for Clonmel, 1703 (Edited by T.Power AH xxxiv 1987).
143. J. Bradley 'The medieval towns of Tipperary' in W. Nolan (ed.) op. cit. pp.34-59.
144. Ibid. pp.41, 42, 45, 48, 50, 52, 54. The liberties of these towns were, of course, of much wider extent Cashel being 2,760 acres, Fethard 1,369 acres, Clonmel 935 acres, and Carrick 200 acres (CSI pp.249, 261, 386).
145. C.A. Empey 'The transition from medieval to modern in Kilkenny and Tipperary' (Paper delivered at TCD 20 March 1985).
146. CSPI 1611-1614 pp.407-8.
147. Falkiner op. cit. p.402.
148. PROI M 3575 p.63. The charter remained suspended despite the efforts of two of the town's most prominent citizens to get it renewed (Prendergast Ms II pp.461-2). Fethard surrendered on advantageous terms to Cromwell in 1650 and its inhabitants

- were exempted from transplantation. The withdrawal of the charter may have been an attempt to deplete such advantages, though the dispensation from removal was confirmed. During the Williamite wars the town was stripped of money, plate, and goods by the army to the value of £2,000 (Harris, William III op. cit. p.324).
149. CS I p.385. The Civil Survey does not survive for Carrick, Cashel, or Fethard to allow comparisons of suburban size to be made (CS I pp.249, 260n).
150. CS II p.295.
151. NLI Ms 19171 p.29.
152. R. Caulfield, The council book of the corporation of Youghal (1878) pp.67-9. He gives the date as 1609, but in the sequence of documents presented it is more likely to be 1619. It was in 1617 that Youghal was made a staple port for the export of wool, thus explaining the granting of privileges to Clonmel two years later (Bowden op. cit. p.203).
153. For Waterford : JCHAS lii (1947) pp.27, 150 ; liii (1948) p.49 ; for Youghal : Caulfield op. cit. p.313.
154. P.McGrath (ed.), Merchants and merchandise in seventeenth century Bristol xix (1955) pp.232-3 ; Burke, Clonmel p.43.
155. L. Eachard op. cit. p.93.
156. NLI Ms 5575 fol 21v. The kind of industry is not specified.
157. Ibid. fols 13, 40, and unfoliated section at end (in reverse) : orders for blacksmiths 24 March 1673, tailors 28 March 1698, victuallers 29 August 1698.
158. Burke, Clonmel p.146.
159. As early as 1668, for instance, there is reference to 'an English plantation newly settled in ye towne of Tipperary' (Seymour op. cit. p.22).
160. Burke, Clonmel pp.105-9.
161. NLI Ms 5575 unfoliated section at end (in reverse).
162. Ibid. fols 56, 78.
163. NLI Ms 2410 pp.413-4.
164. E. Shee, S.J. Watson, Clonmel an architectural guide (1975) p.12 ; M. Craig, The architecture of Ireland (1982) p.202.
165. NLI Ms 2368 pp.15-6 ; Ms 2391 p.305 ; Ms 2410 pp.413-4. Travellers were impressed by the prosperity which the Restoration period brought to the town. In 1689

- Stevens commented that Clonmel was 'one of the prettiest towns I have seen, though small. It is walled . . . the principal streets are in the form of a cross with a handsome townhouse much about the centre of it, the streets clean, and the houses well built'. While Camden remarked that it was 'a market town of good resort and well fortified' (R.H. Murray (ed.), The journal of John Stevens (1912) p.48 ; Camden op. cit. p.983).
166. NLI Ms 5575 fols 7, 9v, 19, 32v, 35, 61v, 62, 132v, 133.
167. C.A. Empey 'The Norman period' in W. Nolan (ed.) op. cit. pp.89-91 ; Burke, Clonmel pp.424-43 ; C.A. Empey The Butler lordship in Ireland (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1970) chapters x, xii, xiii.
168. To the original grant of the liberty were now added the county of the Cross which contained church lands under the archbishop of Cashel but subject to royal jurisdiction, and the historic area of 'Dugh Arra', then included in the barony of Owey and Arra. Previously in 1606 the county of the Cross and Dugh Arra were joined as one county subject to a sheriff appointed by the crown. This was done without Ormond's knowledge or approval, but his attempts to get it reversed were unsuccessful (Burke, Clonmel pp.425-6 ; CSPI 1611-1614 pp.20, 541, 549-50).
169. Copy of the letters patent in NLI Ms 11,044 ; for the system as it functioned in 1621 : Appendix to the fifth report of the deputy keeper of the public record office of Ireland (1873) pp.34-6. A court of chancery issued writs in real, personal, and mixed actions, determined suits and cases, and discharged other functions proper to a chancery. This court was presided over by a chancellor appointed by Ormond. There was also a court of pleas of the crown over which a seneschal and justice presided, and in which presentments and indictments for treasons, felonies, and other crimes were heard and adjudged. These two officials also conducted a court of common pleas.
170. GO Ms 570 p.71 ; NLI Ms 11,044 untitled document relating to the agency of the Palatinate n.d. [c.1712 ?] ; Appendix to the sixth report op. cit. pp. 81, 82, 85, 86. Sheriffs were required to enter recognisances of £1,000 before entering office as a precaution to account for all sums entrusted to them while in office. A clerk of the markets was also appointed.
171. NLI Ms 2340 p.277 ; HMC Ormond Ms (1904) iii, p.92.



172. NLI Ms 11,044 document entitled 'The Duke of Ormonde's Title to Regalities in Tipperary' [1684].
173. PROI SP Press A2 / 3 / 18 (Index to Chancery pleadings in the Palatinate 1662-1690).
174. Appendix to the sixth report op. cit. p.46.
175. Ibid. pp.80, 82, 84.
176. Ibid. pp.83-4, 86, 87.
177. See above p.
178. Appendix to the fifth report op. cit. pp.41-81. The fees for a trial at nisi prius were 19s. 2d. (maximum 23s. 10d.), for levying a fine £5. 4s. 2d., and for suffering a recovery £10. 15s. 4d. (Ibid pp.36-7).
179. NLI Ms 2503 p.91 ; Ms 11,044 indenture between G. Mathew and R. Lowe, 2 May 1675.
180. NLI ms 11,044 document entitled 'Stat[e] of ye Duke of Ormonde's advantage by his Liberty Courts, 2 June 1673'.
181. Ibid.
182. Ibid., indenture between G. Mathew and R. Lowe 2 May 1675, and untitled document relating to the agency of the Palatinate n.d. [c.1712 ?]. The arrangement of the farm, which was to operate for a three year period (initially ?) up to 1 May 1678, was to give Lowe 4s. in every 20s. collected or a commission of 20%.
183. Ibid., document entitled 'State of the case as to the fines and forfeitures of the County Pallatine of Tipperary' n.d. [c.1700].
184. Ibid., untitled document relating to the agency of the Palatinate n.d. [c.1712?]. By c.1700 the cost of maintaining officials of the institution stood at £800 per annum ( Ibid, document entitled 'A state of the Palatinate of Tipperary in respect of forfeitures' n.d. [c.1700]).
185. King to Stanhope, 7 Oct 1715 (PRO SPI 63 / 373 / 149).

## Chapter II : Notes

1. The deficiencies are threefold. Firstly, that 32 persons had no stated income or it is not specified. In this category are persons like Maude, Cole-Bowen, and Hely-Hutchinson who would certainly be included in the higher, i.e. over £2,000 bracket of incomes (cf. Table VI). Secondly, some catholics in the list are described as 'very rich', and they also would have been included in the upper income group. This would particularly apply to McCarthy of Springhouse and Keating of Garranlea who each had incomes of £10,000 from rents in the mid-1770s (Young, Tour i pp.390-91). Thirdly, there are omissions from the list, most notably that of Thomas Mathew of Thomastown one of the county's leading landowners, though his son Francis is included with a yearly estate of £1,200. This, however, is his personal income as an elder son and does not reflect the full income-bearing capacity of the Mathew estate which he was to inherit in 1777 following his father's death.
2. RIA Ms 12.D.36. This list of freeholders contains 1,469 names in all, 282 of whom were non-resident, 263 were esquires (19 of whom were dead), leaving 905 freeholders of non-gentry status.
3. AH xii (1943) pp.134,136-7 ; PROI M 2571 ; Pearse Street Library : Robinson Ms 34 (3) p.181 ; Stewart, Almanack (1795) pp.91-2. An exceptional increase occurred as a result of the unrest of the 1798 period, so that the figure of 277 may be artificially high.
4. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xix pt.2 dcccclxiv-dcccclxix ; TCD : Donoughmore D 24/26.
5. E.M.Johnston, Ireland in the eighteenth century (1974) pp.1,13,18.
6. For the tenurial situation on the estate at this time see p.86.
7. BL Add Ms 28939 fols.237-241v.
8. 14,15 Chas.II c.16 ; An act for establishing a purchase of certain fee farms n.p., n.d. [1711 ?] p.2.
9. PROI : Lodge Rolls series ix p.489 ; A state of the value of the forfeited estate of James late duke of Ormonde n.d. [1720] (folio sheet).
10. NLI Ms 23787 fols 69-74v.
11. BL Add Ms 28877 fols 232-232v, 265-6.
12. See pp.87-9.
13. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) iii pt.1 p.53 ; Anon., The life of James late duke of Ormonde

- (1747) pp.153,155.
14. L.M.Cullen, Economic history p.30. The comment of one commissioner on the estate about the difficulty of bringing in rents was that 'soe great is the scarcity of money which is like to increase from the great quantities dayly transported into England' (BL Add Ms 28877 fol 276).
  15. BL Add Ms 28939 fol 341.
  16. BL Add Ms 28877 fols 384-5.
  17. Ibid. fols 280-81.
  18. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ii pt.1 pp.123,127,396,401.
  19. An act for the more speedy payment of the creditors of James late duke of Ormond and of the present duke of Ormond (1701) pp.1-2.
  20. NLI D.5379. The costs of obtaining the three acts were £231 (1695), £300 (1696), £350 (1701) (NLI D.5378).
  21. NLI Ms 23787 fols 67v-68.
  22. An act for the more speedy payment (1701) op.cit. p.6 et seq. Similar provisions applied to the earl of Arran's estate (ibid. pp.9-10).
  23. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ii pt.1 pp.396,401.
  24. An act for the establishing a purchase of certain fee farmes, lands and hereditaments in . . . Ireland made by Sir Alexander Cairnes n.p., n.d. [1711 ?] p.3.
  25. NLI D.5492.
  26. PROI M.6862 : An act for enabling Charles earl of Arran to purchase the forfeited estate of James Butler late duke of Ormond [1721 ?] pp.408-9. This purchase price was £5,000 less than that calculated a year previously (Table XVII). The sum was to be raised by mortgage and paid in four instalments over the succeeding four years. This accounts for the sales on the estate in the early 1720s.
  27. See pp.90-93 for a fuller treatment of this process.
  28. PRO Forfeited Estates Commission (hereafter FEC) I O.99, An account of the estate of James late duke of Ormond in the kingdom of Ireland [Lady Day and May, 1715].
  29. Archbishop W.King to Stanhope, 7 Oct.1715 (PRO SPI 63/373/149).
  30. For a general statement of the Armstrong title see PROI D.23404, M.5259 (2) ; and for the deeds of 1697 and 1702 : NLI D.5281 ; PROI D.23378.
  31. Roe : NLI D.5256-7 ; PROI D.20786-20788a,b ; Bayly : Nenagh : Bayly papers

- deeds of 13 Aug., 30 Nov.1697, 26 May 1699, 23 May 1720, 18 Sept.1732 ; PROI Lodge Rolls ix p.390.
32. For genealogical data on the Meades : M.Archdall, Peerage iii (1789) pp.295-8. On the land transactions : NLI D.5246,D.5273 (also summarised in PROI Lodge Rolls ix pp.113,116,395) ; PRO FEC I O.99 denominations 596,610,and 629 ; RD 44/40/27427.
33. NLI D.5269 ; PROI Lodge Rolls x pp.43-5.
34. PRO FEC I O.99 passim ; An act for the more speedy payment (1701) op.cit.p.7.
35. PRO FEC I O.99 passim.
36. Ibid. denominations 585,588,599,607,618,631,638,643-7,672. The purchase entailed the fee of certain Ormond lands and the fee farm rents issuing out of others in counties Kilkenny, Waterford and Tipperary. In the latter 3,043 acres in fee and £297 (including payments in lieu of accates) in fee farm rents.
37. NLI D.5416.
38. RD 74/501/52279.
39. PROI Lodge Rolls ix p.387.
40. RD 36/127/21789.
41. In 1815 3,439 acres producing a rental of £5,000 (including £785 from tithes) were advertised for sale (NLI Ormond papers, bundle for 1809-29, document for the sale of the fee simple estates of Walter, earl of Ormond in Co.Tipperary to be sold, 1 June 1815).
42. PROI Lodge Rolls ix pp.40-41. Everard was killed at Aughrim (Studies xxxii (1943) p.108).
43. NLI PC 46 (i) Barton papers, document entitled 'Abstract of title to the estate late belonging to Sir Redmond Everard' p.1. The trustees appointed John Butler and Richard Tisdal of Dublin to receive the rents , but they apparently engaged in underhand dealings involving the mortgaging of part of the estate without the knowledge of the trustees (TCD House of lords appeals ii, Case of Sir R.Everard versus Elizabeth Aston, 25 Feb.1717). Meanwhile in 1708 Richard Lowe advanced a claim for repayment of a mortgage on the estate, allowed by the act of parliament (NLI Ms 4917 (unfoliated), Case of Sir R.Everard versus [Richard] Lowe, Clonmel assizes, [Sept.] 1708).

44. He was sovereign of Fethard in 1707 (NLI Ms 5858 p.51).
45. *Historical studies* iv (1963) p.91 n.5 ; *Studies* xxxii (1943) p.108.
46. Clonmel Museum : O'Callaghan papers 1985/180, schedule of deeds relating to the Everard estate 1674-1721 (no.6) ; *HMC Stuart v* (1912) p.54.
47. NLI PC 46 (i) *op.cit.* 'Abstract' pp.1-2, marriage articles of Sir R.Everard and Mary Drake, Bucks., 30 May 1721 containing a schedule of his debts. The chief creditors were C.O'Callaghan (£7,500), Elinor Jolly (£4,000), Henry O'Brien, assignee of Elizabeth Aston (£4,000), R.Perry (£2,311), E.Marsh (£500), T.Butler (£3,000), J.Power assignee of G.Keating (£600), and G.Burdett assignee of P.Godfrey (£250), mostly in the form of mortgages.
48. TCD Private acts of parliament i : An act for vesting certain manors, lands, and hereditaments . . . the estate of Sir Redmond Everard in trustees [1727].
49. NLI PC 46 (i), Case in chancery of R.Dawson versus James Long Everard and others, 1750 pp.8,18,20. According to the agent, Richard Purcell, three of the main tenants R.Keating, R.Cooke, and D.Keating (recte Kearney) were heavily in arrear in their rents.
50. *Ibid.* pp.2,17.
51. *Ibid.* pp.2-3,18.
52. *Ibid.* pp.3-4.
53. *Ibid.* pp.28-37. The chancery order was dated 15 September 1750.
54. NLI PC 46 (i), Articles of agreement between James Long Everard, Robert Marshall, and Thomas Barton 8 Mar.1750-1 (Also in NLI Ms 5857 (copy) and RD 146/379/98027). Barton acted through Marshall, second serjeant at law, who had local connections (see pp.132-3). Barton later claimed that the purchase price was £36,000 (King's Inns : House of lords appeals *iva Barton v.Barton* 1765 appellant's case p.2).
55. *Barton v. Barton* *op.cit.* p.2.
56. *Historical Studies* iv (1963) p.91 n.5. He conformed again on 27 May 1728 the year before the fee simple of the Clogheen lands was finally conveyed to him (BL Egerton Ms 77 ; RD 61/332/41527). In 1709 O'Callaghan was providing his legal opinion for a catholic family on the best method of avoiding discovery (NLI reports on private collections no,167 p.1798).
57. RD 33/487/20997.

58. In the 1740s the firm was making an annual profit of £15,000 (Barton v. Barton op.cit.p.5).
59. It was felt that the son was not adequately provided for under the articles of trade agreed on in 1743. The father claimed the son was not sufficiently committed to these articles, and he encouraged him to marry. The estate was designed as a provision in order to exclude the son from the partnership, to which Thomas Barton had introduced a third party, his nephew Samuel Delap. The articles of trade were entered into to avoid French law which required that the effects of a protestant foreigner, trading and dying in France, be vested in the crown. Where there was more than one partner this law did not apply (Barton v. Barton op.cit.pp.1,4).
60. NLI PC 46 (i), 'Abstract' p.1 ; RD 60/52/39865, 64/33/42487, 66/418/47202.
61. NLI reports on private collections no.48 p.798 ; PC 260-261 Riall papers, deeds of 14 May 1681, 3 Sept.1684, 8,21 Oct., 1 Dec.1698 ; RD 17/269/8785. These sources suggest mortgage debts in excess of £2,300.
62. NLI PC 260-261, 'A list of judgments against Pierse (sic) & Edmund, Lord Dunboyne' in folder marked 'Lord Dunboyne'.
63. Ibid. 'Tipperary deeds, 1720-49', deed of 19 Sept.1729 (also in RD 61/333/41529).
64. See pp.254-5.
65. NLI PC 260-261, deed of 27 May 1736 (also PROI Lodge Rolls x pp.174-5). The purchase price for the Slattery property is not stated. The other vendors were R.Marshall and R.Hamerton for part of Lisronagh (182 acres), J.Carleton and W.Latham as trustees for another part of Lisronagh (148 acres). Bagwell's purchase was contiguous to the Kilmore property so that he had a compact estate. The third denomination was Garranrusty etc.(83 acres) bought from M.Leake in 1749 for £692 (NLI PC 260-261, statement of title of J.Bagwell to lands in County Tipperary reciting deeds of 28,29 Apr.1749).
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 'Certificates of judgments against J.Bagwell of Kilmore', 'Certificates of judgments being satisfied against J.Bagwell of Kilmore' in folder marked 'John Bagwell' ; and 'Tipperary deeds 1750-69', deed of 15 Jan.1778. between 1756 and 1776 John Bagwell of Kilmore incurred judgement debts of £32,640 about £12,650 of which was satisfied leaving £20,010 outstanding. This was partly satisfied by the sale

of the former Dunboyne property to Riall in 1778 for £11,800.

68. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) iii pt.1 pp.324,335-6,428,431 ; Lords Jnl.(Ire.) ii p.799 ; Dublin Weekly Journal 21 May 1726 ; PROI D.17058. One of the purchasers of the Pike estate was W.Wall of Coolnamuck Co.Waterford who paid £1,080 for Maganstown (183 acres).
69. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) iv pt.1 pp.342,392,395 ; Lords Jnl.(Ire.) iii p.428.
70. S.T.McCarthy, The Trant family [1924], p.14.
71. RD 22/178/11729, 260/93/166645. Thomas Ivers bought the Limerick lands and Thomas, earl of Meath those in Meath.
72. Philip Perceval, Templehouse, Co.Sligo disposed of his lands in Middlethird (obtained through his wife Mary Carleton), by act of parliament in order to pay debts on the Sligo property and to purchase lands contiguous to it (DG 4-8 Nov.1760 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.106,113 ; PRO SPI 421/175-6).

Daniel Rogers of Ballynevan, esq.applied in 1765 for an act to vest his Dublin lands in trustees for payment of debts on them and the rest of his estate (DG 27-30 Apr.1765).

In 1757 Sir William Parsons and his wife Mary nee Cleere sought to have the lands of Cloneen and others in Middlethird her inheritance, vested in trustees for the sale of the fee in order to pay the debts of her father to the amount of £6,000. The lands were 2,000 acres in extent (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vi pp.52-3,54,104,110 ; FDJ 10-13 May 1760).The Warter-Wilson estate , part of which lay near Cullen, was put up for sale in 1766 for the payment of the debts of Edward Warter-Wilson, deceased (DG 14-17 June 1766, FDJ 22-26 July 1766).

73. King to Stanhope, 7 Oct.1715 (PRO SPI 63/373/149).
74. Calculated from information in the Civil Survey by dividing the total value per barony by total acres. The averages per barony are : Iffa & Offa (30.08d.), Upper Ormond (25.34d.), Eliogarty (21.45d.), Clanwilliam (21.33d.), Kilnalongurty (20.06d.), Middlethird (18.31d.), Kilnamanagh (17.17d.), Ikerrin (13.34d.), Lower Ormond (12.28d.), Owey & Arra (11.45d), Slievardagh (10.23d.), Ileagh (9.83d.). This gives an overall county average of 17.38d.(cf.Table XXIX).
75. Based on schedules of leases for the estates in Smith-Barry papers DCN 1984/2/5, DCN 1984/10/52 ; PROI D.16339.

94. WM 11 May 1811.
95. NLI Ms 27571 entries for 24 Apr.1790, 17 Mar.1791.
96. [M.] Jacob to S.Heywood, 11 Mar.1792 (Derby papers DDK 1705 series, estate correspondence 1782-1806).
97. There was wide variation. A partial releasing of the Otway estate in 1801 shows average acreable rents to be 24s. In 1802 they ranged from 14s.to 45s.6d. on the Perry estate, averaging at 24s. In 1810 the land encompassed in the area joined by Roscrea, Templemore, Thurles, Littleton, Cashel, Killenaule, Urlingford, Johnstown and Borris-in-Ossory (an area of 22,240 acres), was let at £2 (or 40s.) or £3 (or 60s.) per acre. Wakefield records acreable rents in 1808 of 40s. (Roscrea), 3-4 guineas (Owney & Arra), and 1 guinea to 37s. in the Castlelough-Killaloe district. Lands in the diocese of Cashel c.1800 were considered to be let at from 20s.to 40s. per acre (Braye papers, Otway estate leases for 1801 ; CH 9 Oct.1802 ; PP Bogs (Ire.) appx. to the third report (1810) p.61 ; Wakefield, Ireland ii pp.398-9 ; Charles [archbishop of ] Cashel to the archbishop of Dublin, 22 Mar.[c.1800] in NLI Ms 8893 (3)).
98. Table XVIII. For the expectation of £20,000 on the Mathew estate in 1780 see An act for vesting in trustees . . . the estate of Francis Mathew [1780] p.29.
99. Table VI. The Toler estate income grew from £2,500 in 1775 to £8,000 in 1808/9 (AH xii (1943) p.139 ; Wakefield, Ireland i p.276). On the Prittie estate income rose from £6,000 in 1775 to £8,000 in 18000 (AH xii (1943) p.138 ; PRO HO 100/96/234 cf.Wakefield, Ireland i p.276).
100. Figures for the Stanley and O'Callaghan estates for 1826 and 1822/3 respectively excluded.
101. P.Roebuck, 'Rent movement, proprietorial incomes and agricultural development, 1730-1830' in P.Roebuck (ed.), Plantation to partition (1981) p.90 ; D.Large, 'The wealth of the greater Irish landowners, 1750-1815' IHS xv (Mar.1966) p.29.
102. An act [1780] op.cit.p.29 ; Tipperary County Library, Thurles : P.Leahy, Survey of the Thurles estate (1819) ; Rent roll for Roscrea, 1770.
103. See pp.244-5.
104. W.Hunt, The Irish parliament in 1775 (1906) pp.26-7 ; PRIA 71 c (1971) p.204 ; DNB xvii pp.981-3 ; W.J.Fitzpatrick, Ireland before the union (1867) p.14.
105. Marriage articles with main partners : A.Mandeville & K.Tobin, 5 Oct.1681 (PROI



76. Calculated from Derby papers DDK 1703/9,10.
77. Based on a conspectus of the evidence relating to the estate from the Registry of Deeds memorials.
78. High School, Dublin : Erasmus Smith papers, A book of maps of the estate by T.Moland, 1711.
79. TCD Mun P 23/1525, Mun/Me/4.
80. For the Meade, Damer, Maude, O'Callaghan, Pennefather, Perry, Mandeville estates see the Registry of Deeds memorials. Ryan : Ryan papers, rent roll 1724 ; Otway : NLI D.21871, 21874, PROI D.20356,20361 ; Bayly : Bayly papers, rental 1730 ; Butler (Kilcash) : NLI Ormond papers, Kilcash estate deeds ; Drysdale : NLI Dunalley PC 870, Drysdale deeds ; Parker : NLI Parker deeds (unsorted), 21.F.113 (7) ; Barker : TCD Barker Ponsonby especially P 1/6/5.
81. Young, Tour i pp.391,394,432 ; NLI Ms 14157 p.17.
82. Ibid.pp.400,401,451.
83. Ibid.pp.391,426. In the some areas, e.g.Johnstown (Holmes estate), in the north of the county they did not fall (Ibid.p.437).
84. TCD Ms 744 fols.91v-92,253 ; Young, Tour i pp.391,437,455. For a 21 year purchase on the Barker estate in 1776 see Bayly to [Barker], 17 Aug.1776 (TCD : Barker Ponsonby P 1/11/2).
85. TCD Ms 744 fol 91v ; AH xii (1943) p.143.
86. Young, Tour i pp.432,442.
87. Ibid.pp.426,432,442.
88. Ibid.p.451.
89. W.Seward, Hibernian gazeteer (1789) lx. The level is confirmed by the current acreable rent on the Parker estate in 1784 when it was 16s.81/2d. (NLI Ms 11416, document entitled 'An account of the tenants of Anthony Parker, 1784').
90. Ormond v.Lalor, 1810 reported in WM 1 Aug.1810, and Cahir v.o'Donnel, 1811 reported in WM 11 May 1811.
91. L.M.Cullen (ed.), The formation of the Irish economy (1969) pp.15,117 ; NLI Ms 14157 p.17 ; and see pp.219-20.
92. NLI Ms 27571 under the respective years.
93. McGuire to Derby, 27 May 1784 (Derby papers DDK 1705 series).

- Acc.1079/1/2/1) ; J.Kennedy & C.Latin, 1735 (NLI Reports on private collections no.11 p.287) ; R.Purcell & B.Comerford, 1684 (TCD Barker Ponsonby P 4/2a) ; C.Fogarty & M.Kearney, 28 Feb.1696 (GO Ms 171 pp.197-9) ; J.Mandeville & C.Green, 1 Apr.1725 (NLI Minchin papers Mic.P.5701) ; J.Mandeville & E.Kennedy, 20 Feb.1720-1 (PROI Acc.1079/1/2/2) ; Mathew : settlement of 11 Mar.1713 (PROI M.5302 p.4) ; J.Bayly & B.Holmes, June 1750 (Bayly papers) ; R.O'Callaghan & M.Bunbury, 16 May 1746 (RD 132/467/90048) ; H.Prittie & E.Harrison, 27 July 1720 citing deed of 2 Feb.1702 in NLI Dunalley papers) ; G.Mathew & I.Brownlow, 6,7 Aug.1745 (An act [1780] op.cit. p.10) ; C.O'Callaghan & E.Ford, 13,14 Aug.1733 (RD 85/136/59465) ; W.Barker & M.Quin, 16 June 1733 (TCD Barker Ponsonby P 1/4/24) ; J.Bagwell & A.Calwell, 27 May 1736 (NLI Riall papers) ; P.Minchin & H.Bunbury, 4 May 1749 (NLI Minchin papers Mic.P.5701) ; J.Butler & C.Moore, 17 Dec.1739 (RD 98/243/68283) ; Sir R.Maude & E.Cornwallis, ante 1723 (RD 39/499/26695).
106. See the relevant settlements cited in the previous note.
107. Marriage articles with main partners : P.Homes & E.Prittie, 3,4 Feb.1765 (A bill for vesting certain lands . . . the estate of Peter Holmes (1784) pp.4-5) ; D.Toler & R.Minchin, 28,29 Nov.1760 (RD 209/67/137591) ; W.P.Vaughan & M.Synge, 21,22 May 1764 (PROI M.4917 p.5) ; W.Barker & C.Lane 23 Jan.1760 (TCD Barker Ponsonby P 1/9/7-8) ; A.Roe & C.Mathew, 7 Apr.1767 (NLI Byrne papers) ; J.Butler & M.Keating, 26 Sept.1760 (RD 211/63/137570).
108. An act [1780] op.cit. p.20 ; PROI M.5306 pp.8-10 ; RD 547/539/361730.
109. RD 222/21/145209, 433/410/283766.
110. G.Ryan & A.Roche 1783 (PROI M.5306 pp.8-10) ; P.Holmes & E.Prittie 1765 (RD 244/296/157786) ; W.P.Vaughan & M.Synge 1764 (PROI M.4917 p.5) ; R.Read & E.Hall 1722 (PROI Lodge Rolls x pp.124-5) ; J.Brooks & A.Hunt 1758 (Ibid. x pp.314-5) ; E.Butler & M.Walsh 1766 (RD 239/362/158622) ; R.Butler & C.Roe 1755 (PROI D.17539) ; C.Hart & F.White 1765 (Roscrea Heritage Centre A 37/0/82).
111. Will of T.Butler, Kilcash 7 Oct.1730 (NLI Ormond papers, bundle 1729-30) ; will of J.Bayly, Debsborough 23 Jan.1776 (Bayly papers) ; Prittie : deed of 12 Oct.1726 (NLI Dunalley papers) ; Roe : deed of 18 Oct.1745 (PROI M.5427 (9)) ; Minchin :

- deed of 4 May 1749 (NLI Minchin papers Mic.P.5701) ; Vaughan : deed of 2,3 Oct.1738 (PROI M.4917 p.4).
112. P.Holmes & E.Prittie op.cit. ; Mathew : An act [1780] pp.30-31 ; Meade : An act for the sale of the estates of Rt.Hon.John, earl of Clanwilliam [1795] p.3 ; O'Callaghan : will of C.O'Callaghan, Lord Lismore, 4 Feb.1787 (Clonmel Museum Acc 1985/80).
113. J.Bayly to [W.Barker], 17 Aug.1776 (TCD Barker Ponsonby P 1/11/2).
114. Clonmel Museum : Acc 1985/80 ; RD 553/57/365286. Another instance of purchase was the case of Robert Jocelyn, Lord Newport who in 1754 paid £3,300 for 290 acres in Upper and Lower Ormond (PROI Lodge Rolls x p.293).
115. A bill for vesting certain lands in the King's County part of the estate of Peter Holmes (1784).
116. Below p.118.
117. An act for vesting in trustees [1780] p.26.
118. W.Maguire, The Downshire estates in Ireland 1801-1845 (1972) pp.69,76-7.
119. Below pp.120-26.
120. RD 312/57/207330 ; Young, Tour i pp.392-4.
121. T.Sheridan, The life of the Rev.Dr. Jonathan Swift (1785) pp.359-66 ; Correspondence of Henry Hyde, earl of Clarendon (ed.S.W.Singer) ii p.6.
122. Sheridan, Swift p.362. It was said the 'not a day passed without having all the accounts of the preceding day laid before him (ibid.p.362).
123. Ibid.p.359.
124. St.Patrick's College, Thurles : Skehan notebooks, Thurles parish ii p.90. Mathew's son and successor employed Richard Morrison in 1812 to carry out extensive enlargements to the castle, but these plans had to be curtailed because funding became exhausted (M.Bence-Jones, 'Thomastown Castle' Country Life 2 Oct.1969 p.822).
125. TCD Barker Ponsonby P 1/11/14.
126. W.Nolan (ed.), Tipperary : history and society (1985) pp.293-4. This total includes some but not all establishments owned by middlemen and some examples are present of more than one house maintained by an individual family (e.g.Mathew, Massy, Willington), which if excluded compares favourably with the number of 160

- advanced above as comprising the landed class in the 1770s.
127. Burke's, Guide to Irish country houses (1976) under the individual houses concerned.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid.
130. TCD Barker Ponsonby P 11/22/1. For the work of Richard Morrison at Kilcooley in 1796 see P 1/11/20 and W.G.Neely, Kilcooley : land and people in Tipperary (1983) p.81 et seq.
131. D.Marnane, Land and violence p.25 ; A.P.W.Malcomson, The pursuit of the heiress pp.3-4,39,41. The family's problems derived rather from the fact that its last direct representative George, second earl of Dorchester (1746-1808), and his sister Lady Caroline Damer (1752-1829) who was an heiress, both died unmarried and the estate passed out of the direct family line.
132. What follows is based on An act for vesting in trustees certain lands etc.the estate of Francis Mathew of Thomastown in the County of Tipperary esq.[1780], except where otherwise stated.
133. See p.71.
134. An act [1780] p.19.
135. RD 240/521/156651.
136. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) viii pt.1 pp.481-2. In 1775 it was said of Mathew that he 'has a large fortune but very much encumbered' (Hunt, Irish parliament p.35).
137. Ibid.x pt.1 pp.122,192. The trustees were C.O'Callaghan, J.Armstrong, Sir S.Smyth and J.Preston. A further modification was made by an act of 1784 whereby the jointure arrangements were made applicable to any future wife Francis Mathew might take, the death of his first wife Ellis (d.1783) not having been anticipated by the former act (An act to explain and amend an act for vesting in trustees . . the estate of Francis Mathew of Thomastown (1784)).
138. The sum was paid by Michael Aylmer, Lyons Co.Kildare who was one of the chief creditors (RD 348/219/233009 ; PROI M.5302 pp.21-2).
139. D.Scully to J.Scully, 16 Aug.1814 (NLI Ms 27488 (v)) ; Ms 27494 (i)).
140. Lanigan : PROI M.5331 ; Scully : NLI Ms 11422, bonds of 1 Oct.1802, 13 Aug.1814 ; La Touche : PROI M.5302 p.25.

141. NLI Ms 27494 (i).
142. Ibid. ; RD 682/121/469267, 694/333/476621.
143. For the negotiations between Llandaff and Scully for the purchase see NLI Mss 27488 (iii,iv), 27494 (i), 27571 pp.451-2.
144. An act for the sale of certain towns, lands etc.in the county of Tipperary the estates of the Rt.Hon.John earl of Clanwilliam and the Hon.Richard Meade, n.d.[c.1795] (For the date see Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xvi pp.141,154). Unless otherwise stated what follows is derived from this source.
145. RD 388/173/257411.
146. RD 395/535/262709, cf.400/228/263424.
147. RD 457/341/300308 ; CG 27-31 July 1793 ; cf.Malcomson, Pursuit pp.22,24.
148. CG 27-31 July 17793 ; PROI M.2197.
149. RD 481/8/300269.
150. PROI M.2197.
151. NLI Ms 27571 pp.340,368 ; J.Scully to D.Scully, p. 4 Feb.[18]09, S.Alleyn to [D.] Scully [1809] (NLI Ms 27485 (34)).
152. NLI Ms 27491 p.20.
153. One local commentator remarked that 'The family were formerly possessed of a good property . . . but I believe it has much decreased by law suits etc. and at this moment it is advertised to be sold under a decree' (SPO :SOC 1771/8). Of the three McCarthy brothers in 1816 Charles, though of good character lived abroad as did Thomas who was a gambling addict, while Denis was blind. For the sale notice for the estate, which passed to the Low family see CH 10 Jan.1816.
154. Petworth House : Thomond papers, survey of 1774 pp.127-8 (NLI Mic.P.4767) ; Marnane, Land and violence appx.I.
155. An act for vesting certain lands and premises the estate of Stephen Creagh Butler in trustees n.d.[c.1786/7] ; CG 9-12 July 1787. An additional 830 acres were up for sale in Queen's County giving a total of 2,520 acres.
156. CG 29 Mar.-2 Apr.1794. For the sale of a further 146 acres in 1815 see CH 14 Oct.1815.
157. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ix pt.1 p.515 ; PROI M.3927 (5).
158. CG 5-9 July 1788, 28 Apr.-1 May 1788 ; FDJ 25 Aug.1796.

159. CG 24-28 July 1802. It had a head rent of £770.
160. CH 20 Jan.1816.
161. Bloomfield : Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ix pt.1 p.82. In 1774 the earl of Roden applied for an act of parliament to raise £9,000 on the lands of Redwood etc. by sale or mortgage, and the outright sale of Ballymacegan to discharge the debts of John Bloomfield of Redwood deceased, according to clauses in his will. Rogers : FDJ 25 June 1799. The Rogers lands in Lower Ormond produced a rental of £800. Newenham : CH 13 Oct.1802. 2,470 acres of the Newenham estate near Nenagh were put up for sale to raise £6,000 in family charges. The lands had a rental of £556. Otway : PROI M.3391. This was to vest the estate in trustees to pay debts mainly family charges.
162. The following recount the evolution of the debt : RD 176/117/118008, 176/537/119855, 186/450/125405, 276/297/177346, 282/217/182849, 312/57/207330. Maude died in 1777 and as he was single no marriage settlements encumbered the estate.
163. Marnane, Land and violence p.173.
164. For the evolution of this debt : RD 138/580/96084, 178/161/118229, 190/569/128268, 312/524/210716.
165. See pp.106,108.
166. Malcomson, Pursuit pp.9,21.
167. Bayly papers, list of judgment debts against J.Bayly in the Exchequer 1745-88, endorsed by Lord Earlsfort, 10 Mar.1788.
168. Thurles : Ryan papers, rental account 1778-1805 pp.1-2.
169. PROI M.5306 p.6.
170. W.Woulfe to G.Ryan, 28 Dec.1779 (Ryan papers) ; see also J.Condon. 'Don Jorge Rian of Inch Co.Tipperary, 1748-1805' Irish Ancestor xvii no.1 (1986) pp.5-10. Of the total debts £6,750 were judgment debts and bonds.
171. L.Strange to G.Ryan, n.d. [c.1781] (Ryan papers).
172. Ryan papers : 'Sketch of title to the estate of Inch, May 1821' ; PROI M.5306 pp.8-10.
173. Ryan papers : Green pocket account book marked 'Danl.Ryan AD 1805', account for 1 Nov.1786.
174. Ibid.: rental and account May 1807 (loose sheet).

175. CH 20 Jan.1816 ; Ryan papers : 'Memorandum of debts due by D.Ryan and the estate' Apr.1816.
176. B.F.Barton, Some account of the family of Barton (1902) ; GO Mss 573 pp.6,7,11, 576 pp.97,157.
177. See pp.143-4.
178. TCD Donoughmore B 1/13 ; GO Ms 573 p.16.
179. Ibid. ; Malcomson, Pursuit pp.30-31.
180. For the dispute about the succession see Dublin Courant 14 Mar.1723-4.
181. GO Ms 169 p.137.
182. GO Ms 574 (22).
183. Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland (1958) pp.568-71 ; NLI Ms 22312 pp.5,8,9.
184. DG 17-21 Sept.1765, 14-17 June, 19-22 July 1766.
185. Malcomson, Pursuit p.32.
186. East Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich : Rous HA 11/D8/2,4 (PRONI Mic.253).
187. GO Mss 170 pp.209-210, 171 pp.213-22.
188. PROI M.1810 sub Hackett of Orchardstown.
189. A.M.Fraser, Joseph Damer a banker of Old Dublin' Dublin Historical Record iii no.3 (1941) pp.51-3 ; idem., 'The Damer family in Co.Tipperary' Clonmel Historical & Archaeological Society Jnl. i no.2 (1953-4).
190. C.Rogers. 'Notes in the history of Sir Jerome Alexander', J.P.Prendergast, 'Further notes in the history of Sir Jerome Alexander' Trans. Royal Historical Society ii n.s.(1873) pp.94-141.
191. TCD Barker Ponsonby P 1/4/2-4, P 1/9/7-8 ; RD 203/150/134580 ; GO Ms 113 pp.449-52 ; TCD House of lords appeals nos.112-4 (202.r.34). See also W.G.Neely, Kilcooley (1983) passim.
192. Derby papers DDK 1703/6.
193. Cheshire Record Office, Chester : Smith-Barry papers DCN 1984/25/9. Smith-Barry received a further 3,817 acres in Co.Louth and Stanley 3,727 acres in Louth and 183 acres in Meath.
194. See pp.113, 116, 117-8.
195. GO Ms 576 pp.36,94 ; PROI M.2196.
196. NLI : Byrne papers, documents entitled 'Memorandum of the Mathews', and 'The

- case of Edward Byrne esq. and Mary Ann Byrne his wife' ; W.J.Fitzpatrick, Ireland before the Union (1867) pp.156-83 for details of the litigation.
197. F.E.Ball, The judges in Ireland ii (1922) p.222.
198. Fitzpatrick, Union p.166.
199. Ibid.p.164 ; NLI Byrne papers, 'Memorandum' and 'Case'. The issue became a matter of litigation in 1800 in a case brought by Edward Byrne, a catholic and reputedly Dublin's richest merchant, and husband of a daughter of the marriage of Catherine Marianne and Philip Roe. Scott is also credited with appropriating lands belonging to the Mandeville family (Burke, Clonmel p.430n.). A jointure of £300 and £100 annual gift was payable by him to Mrs.Mandeville by which he hoped to gain the purchase of the Ballydine estate (The private diary of John Scott p.48). His son Thomas Scott was a large purchaser of the Mathew estate.
200. G.Taylor & A.Skinner, Maps of the roads of Ireland (1969) p.120 ; DNB xvii pp.981-3 ; Fitzpatrick, Union p.14.
201. Private diary of John Scott, Lord Earlsfort .
202. J.Pilkington to J.Hutchinson, 13 Nov.1759 (NLI Ms 8924 /4).
203. A.P.W.Malcomson, John Foster p.284n.
204. For his first attempt in 1753 see PROI Proclamation of 30 Mar.1753 ; Brady, Press pp.83,85 ; Marnane, Land and violence pp.26-7 ; Froude, History i p.419. For 1756 see DG 8-12,15-19,26-29 June,9-13Nov.1756 ; Froude, History i pp.420-421. Grady was a head tenant on the Damer estate.
205. RD 219/358/144037, 307/15/202752, 310/93/205644, 321/366/216825.
206. AH xii (1943) p.143. Susanna Grove was sister in law to William Russell the younger and he and Grady were in this year said to 'stand on bad terms'.
207. Phillips papers : Will of John Max, Killough, Co.Tipperary, 13 Aug.1769 ; Case for the opinion of the attorney-general, John Scott 28 Dec.1777. Before his death her father appointed £2,000 as her portion with an additional £1,000 available depending on certain clauses in his will. Both her brothers had, after their father's death, successively inherited the estate but both of them died unmarried and without issue.
208. NLI Ms 8797 (7). She was brought to France where they were married and became reconciled. They eventually returned to Ireland, by arrangement with his in-laws no prosecution was brought and upon challenging his mother-in-law's rights of



guardianship over her daughter, Phillips came to acquire a large property in right of his wife.

209. Southern Reporter (Cork) 6 June 1807.
210. This eventually, however, was in doubt at the time and appears only to have materialised through an appeal to Ormond (G.Mathew to Ormond, 31 Jan.1676-7 : NLI Ms 2365 pp.229-33).
211. RD 138/570/96083, 138/581/96084, 180/69/119543, 190/569/128268 ; WM 11 May 1811.
212. RD 312/515/210715-6, 365/61/243128, 363/88/243129.
213. RD 185/98/122373, 187/480/126091. In 1750 a royal pardon was granted to Thomas Butler, brother of James ninth Lord for unlicensed service under the French in the 1740s (PRO SPI 63/412/15-15v).
214. J.Lodge, Peerage iv (1754) pp.68-71.
215. TCD Ms 9865, diary of Samuel Cooper 1775 records social engagements with Lord Cahir.
216. Mount Melleray : Burke Ms will of James Lord Cahir, 31 Aug.1784 with codicils (copy). For a different account of the succession of Richard, tenth Lord see D.Herbert, Retrospections (1929) ii pp.308-9.
217. Ryan papers, 'Sketch of title to the estate of Inch May 1821' ; M.Callanan, Records of four Tipperary septs (1938) p.105 ; will of Daniel Ryan, 22 Apr.1692 (NLI Mic.P.5489). He purchased Inchiofogarty, later Inch, from Thomas Barker an adventurer grantee through George Mathew of Thurles in 1668, and later Ballypatrick and Killinleugh before 1692 all in Inch parish.
218. Callanan, Records p.105.
219. FLJ 24-28 Oct.1767 ; will of D.Ryan, 22 Aug.1757 (NLI Mic.P.5489).
220. PROI M.5306 pp.6-7 ; W.Woulfe to G.Ryan, 28 Dec.1779 (Ryan papers).
221. PRO SPI 63/412/15-15v.
222. Dalton to Prittie, 6 Jan.1796 (NLI Dunalley papers PC 870, correspondence file 1790-1811).
223. References to individual conversions throughout are derived from PROI Calendar of convert rolls i 1703-89 ii 1789-1838 ; Lodge Ms : Alphabetical list of converts ; BL Egerton Ms 77 ; E.O'Byrne, The convert rolls (1981).

224. RD 37/454/23458.
225. NLI Reports on private collections no.109 p.1096. By deed of 1 Aug.1671 the succession also included the family's Welsh estate in Glamorgan.
226. Will of Thomas Mathew, Annfield 13 Nov.1714 (NLI Mic.P.4546).
227. NLI Byrne papers, 'Memorandum on the Mathews' sub the recited deeds 5 July 1736 ; Reports on private collections no.109 p.1100.
228. Ibid. : 'The case of Edward Byrne and Mary Byrne his wife' gives details of the Annfield succession.
229. RD 122/214/83643.
230. PROI : Betham's genealogical abstracts of prerogative wills vol.47 pp.39-40. A child born to George Mathew's wife, after his death, died within nine days of birth.
231. NLI Ormond papers, bundle 1729-30 will of Thomas Butler 7 Oct.1730 (and codicil 7 Nov.1730). It mentions only one son John Butler suggesting that Richard and Walter were both dead by then.
232. Ibid. bundle 1743-7, certified copy of the conformity (dated 23 Dec.1747) of John Butler, 26 July 1739.
233. Brady, Press p.60.
234. The case of Thomas Butler of Kilcash esq., John Butler of Garryricken esq. and James Butler of Kilveleagher esq. n.d. [c.1720] (TCD 25 bb 22 no.21).
235. RD 239/88/156267 for his wife Briget Stacy on whom he settled an annuity of £1,000 in 1765 for the duration of their separation. There was concern about his obtaining a marriage partner and having heirs (G.Mathew to [J.Butler], 24 Oct.1754 in NLI Ms 2479 pp.291-6). For his insanity see WM 1 Aug.1810.
236. Lord Dunboyne, Butler family history (3rd.ed., 1972) p.17.
237. PROI Acc 1079/2/4/7.
238. PROI Acc 1079/2/4/15, 1079/2/6/1. There is an explicit statement in the bill that it was not in trust or for the benefit of catholics.
239. For a contemporary description and comment on the situation of the family : D.Herbert, Retrospections ii pp.409-410,419.
240. PRO SPI 63/363/250-250v, The case of liet.coll.Redmond Morres n.d.[1703].
241. PROI RC Exchequer decrees 12/5 pp.46-7,73-4,195-6,227-8,232-3 ; 12/6 pp.16-7,39,77-8 ; 12/7 pp.50-51,215-6 ; Chancery decrees 1685-1732 p.448.

242. PROI RC Exchequer 12/5 pp.194-5 ; RD 272/419/175557. The bill was filed in trust for Stephen Creagh Butler who in turn assigned all benefit from them to Pierce, Lord Dunboyne.
243. For the Butlers of Kilmoyler see below.
244. C. Costello, In quest of an heir : the life and times of John Butler (1978).
245. Ibid. pp.65,78,84-7,103-5.
246. Petition of Stephen Creagh Butler . . . (1786). This includes a statement that Creagh never married though the genealogy of the family (GO Ms 521/497) and the adoption of the surname Butler would suggest otherwise.
247. Ibid. ; RD 238/114/153170.
248. PROI RC Exchequer decrees 12/14 pp.152-6.
249. Petition (1786) op.cit.
250. GO Ms 171 p.203.
251. Details of discovery proceedings : PROI RC Exchequer decrees 12/7 pp.197-8 ; Chancery 1709-79 p.19 ; RD 101/151/70329, 101/154/70347, 110/253/77018 ; PROI : Lodge Rolls x pp.239-40 ; Brady, Press p.58.
252. Grace : Oliver Grace of Brittas, Thurles conformed in 1704 the year his father had his title confirmed, and in 1706 following his father's death Grace was ensured of an estate in tail. Grace became committed to his newly adopted religion if as much can be implied from the fact that in 1717 he was chosen as a churchwarden for Thurles Union and in 1718 and 1719 his children were baptised in the local church (Appendix to the fifth report of the deputy keeper of the public record office in Ireland pp.53-4 ; NLI Mic.P.4546 p.327). Egan : At least five members of the Egan family of Annameadle, Ballymacegan, and Uskane conformed between 1709 and 1736. Of these the two most important were Darby and Howard Egan. Darby followed a legal career so that his conversion may have been induced by professional considerations. In addition it may have been because he was an elder son who was anxious to secure the family interest in Uskane. It possibly facilitated a grant and confirmation of arms which he received in 1715. A number of members of catholic families also conformed but the exact context is not readily apparent. Thus John Keating, Garranlea gent. conformed in 1757 and Michael Keating, Castle Iny gent. in 1759, though the Keatings of Knockagh on the Cahir estate remained catholic. A similar pattern is evident in relation to the Lalor

family with the branch at Cranagh near Templemore remaining catholic and being prominent in the emancipation movement locally ; while individual members from other branches conformed like James Lalor, Clonmackoge (1763) gent., and Richard Lalor (1763) gent. Conformities of persons of gentleman or esquire status are also recorded for such families as Dalton (1731,1759), Doherty (Kedragh 1775), Dwyer (1768), Kennedy (1731), Long (1771), Purcell (1762), and Power (1740).

253. Fifty ninth report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland pp.52-63.

What follows is based primarily on an interpretation of this source.

254. Tour i pp.388-91.

255. See pp.101-2.

256. See pp.98, 101.

257. J.McCarthy to [James Smith-Barry], 24 May 1785 (Smith-Barry papers DCN 1984/2/5 ; see also same to T.Eccles, 24 Dec.1785 (ibid.)).

258. See p.319-20.

259. For a more detailed analysis of these two sources see p.98.

260. Conclusion based on a conspectus of information derived from genealogies of the following : GO Mss 576 p.22 (Bell), 573 p.7 (Cambie), 576 p.145 (Ledger), 574 p.6 (Rogers), 547 p.12 (Ely), 573 p.13 (Gason), 574 p.11 (Legge), 182 pp.255-6 (Bloomfield), 573 pp.18-9 (Faulkner), 573 p.14 (Dancer), 803(8) pp.170-72 (Hemsworth), 576 p.159 (Nicholson), 574 p.14 (Watson), 574 p.13 (Nisbitt); and for Poe, E.T.Bewley, The origin and early history of the family of Poe or Poe (1906) appx.pedigrees A,B,C ; and Carden : GO Mss 171 pp.551-4, 113 pp.241-2, L.E.G.Carden, Some particulars about the family and descendants of the first John Carden of Templemore Co.Tipperary and Priscilla his wife (1912).

261. See pp.143-4.

262. For Fennell see NLI Ms 10947.

263. A.H.Jacob & J.H.Glascott, Families of Jacob (1825) pp.108-112.

264. B.F.Barton, Some account of the family of Barton (1902) pp.60-76 ; GO Ms 139 pp.70-73.

265. James Nagle who conformed 1765 and died 1782 married in 1748 Elinor Long of Waterford.

266. HMC Stuart Ms i (1902) pp.146,160 and pp. 179,214 for others ; and certification

- of nobility of Timothy O'Neale 10 July 1724 (NLI Mic.P.5404).
267. GO Mss 103 p.18 ; 160 pp.158-60 ; 161 pp.81-4 ; 162 pp.48-9, 104-5 ; 165 pp.173-9,212-4,269-72,289-94. It would appear that in some cases some form of certification of status from the gentlemen of a county was required in advance of a grant of arms being made e.g. Fanning in 1775 (GO Ms 87 p.121).
268. Rutland to Sydney, 29 Sept.1785 (PRO SPI 100/17/159-159v).
269. Cambie : GO Ms 573 p.7 ; Hammersley : GO Ms 800 (19) ; Scully : Genealogy XI ; Grace : reconstructed from NLI Mic.P.4546 p.327 ; Lalor : NLI Ms 19822 pp.78-84.
270. PROI 1766 census Kilnerath parish, diocese of Cashel.
271. Ibid. union of Athassel, Relickmurry, Ballygriffin, Dangandargan, Brickendown and parish of Hore Abbey diocese of Cashel.
272. Ibid. parish of Newchapel, diocese of Cashel ; M.3585 (Killea diocese of Cashel) and Templemore (NLI Mis.P.4546 p.202).
273. By deed of 4 November 1629 George Mathew was to hold the lordship and manor of Thurles for 31 years at £200 rent after the death of his wife (NLI D.3739), but she did not die until May 1673. By deed of 8 July 1678 Ormond mortgaged Thurles and other lands to George Mathew for £2,000. This sum remained unpaid in 1690 when arrangements were made to allow Mathew to have the profits of the lands until it was repaid (BL Add Charter 19522, dated [ ] Nov.1690, but not signed or sealed). Given Ormond's financial straits at the time this seemed unlikely to be fulfilled. Thus the mortgage was the basis for the disposal of the Thurles estate in fee to Mathew in 1702 (PROI M.5302).
274. The original grant was to Lieut. William Moore of 1,281 acres in Lower Ormond, but after the Restoration he returned to England and the lands were granted to Hume in 1676. In 1680 947 acres of the original total were confirmed to Hume's widow Dame Anne and her husband George Mathew forever (Prendergast Ms vii pp.583,737-8).
275. HMC Report 13 appx. v (1892) p.242. After Mathew's death in 1689 she, as a protestant, sought redress by petition to parliament claiming that Mathew and his relatives were catholics who had intimidated her into agreeing to the arrangement. Her petition was rejected. However in 1697 an act (9 Will.III c.3) was passed prohibiting the marriage of protestants and catholics which apparently drew some of its inspiration

from the Hume case.

276. Details of the case are to be found in Marsh's Library Mss Z.1.13 (29), Z.2.26.(4) ; The case of George Mathew esq. n.d.[post 1709] (TCD 25 bb 22 no.30) ; The case of George Mathew jun.esq. n.d. [c.1711] (NLI Thorpe P 12 fol.45) ; PRO SPI 363/125 : Reasons humbly offer'd for the maintaining a clause in the Bill to prevent the further growth of popery in Ireland notwithstanding the endeavours and objections of George Mathews Esq. against it n.d. [c.1703] ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ii pt.1 pp.321,325,346, 426,438,444,448.

The case against Mathew was that as a catholic he had used his marriage to Eaton to supplement his own personal estate. Mathew's opportunism in making his wife's estate over to himself was recognised by his detractors who claimed that he should 'in reason be contented with the profits of such an estate, without grasping at the inheritance of it' (Reasons humbly offer'd op.cit.). It was also asserted that the marriage was skillfully arranged by Mathew's father.

In 1704 fines were levied and recoveries were suffered in the estate thereby settling it on Mathew and his heirs from the death of his wife without issue. On five successive occasions between 1703 and 1709 Chichester Phillips, MP for Askeaton who had claims on the estate, sought to have this settlement prevented and later revoked by public and private bills. Mathew's success in having Phillip's efforts frustrated initially may have owed something to the intervention of Ormond (PRO SPI 363/96-8). On his fifth attempt, however, Phillips was successful in having a clause inserted in the penal law of 1709 (8 Anne c.3 s.60, which in ex post facto fashion set aside the 1704 settlement by stipulating that any settlement entered into between 1 January 1703 and 1709 by a protestant woman on her marriage to a catholic in order to dispose of her estate, be null and void.

This had an important legal dimension centring on the question whether or not an earlier family settlement could be supersede or overruled by the transfer of an inheritance on the marriage of an heiress. On this basis Mathew argued firstly, that to set aside in a retrospective manner the perfectly legal practice of fine and recovery set a dangerous precedent for land title, in his case having the effect of reducing him from the status of tenant in fee to that of tenant for life only. Secondly, Mathew maintained that the reason given by Phillips for his promotion of the legislation, i.e. to protect and

advance the protestant interest by having inheritance of the estate limited to protestants, was inconsistent because the reversal of the 1704 settlement effectively meant that Mathew's son (though he should conform), could not inherit the estate. We have no direct reference to the outcome of this case, but presumably Mathew was successful in his defence since the lands brought to him by his wife, situated in Co.Cork, remained in the possession of the family.

277. George Mathew, the duke of Ormond's half-brother and a younger son, had very little solid interest in his own right before the 1660s. He married the widow of Lord Cahir, and his main income c.1650 came from an interest for life in real estate in right of his wife and, secondly, from the wardship of Edmund, Lord Cahir a minor and his lands (CSPI 1647-60 pp.538-9). Both these sources were sufficiently important to be included and confirmed in the articles of surrender made between Mathew and Cromwell at Cahir Castle in 1650, and both continued as sources of income for Mathew until the 1660s when a combination of factors (the death of his wife Elinor ; the abolition of the Court of Wards ; and the coming of age of Lord Cahir ), eliminated them (CSPI 1647-60 pp.375,802 ; Prendergast Ms ii pp.879-95). Then in 1671 Ormond used some of the supplementary land he gained at the Restoration to establish Mathew at Thomastown. Ormond proceeded to entrust Mathew with the management of his estates in Tipperary and Kilkenny. He was satisfied with his performance in this regard remarking in 1675 that he found him 'exceeding[ly] capable to manage my affairs . . . I have trusted him very far in the affairs relating to my estate with good success, and shall do still' (NLI Ms 2504 fol 6). Mathew was one of the catholics suggested for advancement as a privy councillor in the new administration in 1686 (S.W.Singer (ed.), The correspondence of Henry Hyde i p.468). Meantime the family had been consolidating its landed interest. The benefits of favourable leases, particularly from Ormond, contributed substantially to the evolution of the Mathew's landed interest, leading to the creation of two main estates at Thurles and Thomastown with subsidiary outliers at Annfiled and Borrisoleigh (NLI D.4838,D.5027, D.5061, D.5070, D.5071 ; PRO FEC I O.99 nos.598,602,648,662). The family benefited from fee farm grants on the Ormond estate (NLI Reports on private collections no.109 p.1099 ; RD 43/55/27352). It also purchased land from Cromwellian grantees who were selling out and from others (NLI D.4813 ; Reports on private colls. no.109

p.1097).

278. T.Bartlett, 'The O'Haras of Annaghmore c.1600-c.1800 : survival and revival' IESH ix (1982) pp.34-52.

279. Wakefield, Ireland ii pp.544-5.

280. W.J.Smyth, 'Land values, landownership, and population patterns in co.Tipperary for 1641-1660 and 1841-1850 : some comparisons' in Cullen & Furet op.cit. pp.59-84.



## Chapter III : Notes

1. NLI Ms 5575 fol 98v. The remark was made in the context of the circumstances of Cashel corporation, but it has a general application. Illustrative of the devastation was that in July 1690 the cattle in train with the Jacobite army were reported to have eaten all the grass for 14 miles around Cashel, leaving no forage (HMC Finch Ms ii (1922) p.387).
2. BL Add Ms 28877 fol 16v.
3. Guildhall Library, London : Christ's Hospital papers (unsorted Erasmus Smith material), document entitled 'A rentall of the lands . . . as they were lett in . . . 1688 with an account how it now stands', n.d. [c.1691].
4. Computed from NLI Ms 2561 : arrears of rents 1690-91. The cost of remitting what rents there were was costly because of a rise in the exchange in 1690. Valentine Smith remitted £300 to Ormond in November 1690 by bill of exchange at a cost of 5 1/2 % (BL Add Ms 28876 fol 249v).
5. BL Add Ms 28939 fol 162.
6. NLI Ms 2561 fols 25, 61.
7. Ibid. fols 44-5, 59. George Mathew, tenant to Thurles, declined to pay an arrear of £400 on the basis that he had always paid his rent from the interest on a mortgage made to Ormond, and when this was not forthcoming neither was his rent.
8. Ibid. fols 26, 44. D.Lawlor opted to surrender his lease rather than face total decimation of resources (ibid. fol 60).
9. Ibid. fols 20, 36-7, 44, 59-60.
10. NLI Ms 11044, document entitled 'A state of the Palatinate of Tipperary in respect of forfeitures', n.d. [c.1700].
11. BL Add Ms 28939 fol 67 ; above p. 33 ; and cf. [Anon.], The life of James late duke of Ormonde (1747) p.153, where the debts of the first duke at his death are given as £89,324.
12. BL Add Ms 28877 fols 232-232v. Longford later made it a rule that members of his commission not be permitted to lease parts of the estate to themselves or to their relations (ibid. fol 176).
13. Ibid. fol 176. Indulgence was also sought for those tenants upon whose premises the army quartered but who had not been compensated for the inconvenience.
14. Ibid. This view was endorsed by Valentine Smith who advised that if leases were set for above two or three years one third of the rent would be forfeited (BL Add Ms 28939 fol 162).

15. BL Add Ms 28877 fols 265, 269-269v.
16. Ibid. fols 269-269v.
17. Ibid. fol 286.
18. Ibid. fol 283. It is clear that prospective Irish tenants were mistrusted on this score.
19. Ibid. fols 176-7, 286-287v ; NLI Ms 2561 fol 61. Such conditions would have proved an obstacle to the attraction of new tenants but for the fact that Longford took a personal interest in the resetting of the lands in Ormond since they formed part of his wife's jointure estate.
20. BL Add Ms 28878 fol 21-2. The sub-tenants also came from Carlow, and the Bunburys were also migrants from that county.
21. Ibid. The security and the strength of the castles at Roscrea and Nenagh acted as a considerable inducement in attracting protestant settlers at this time and in agreeing to give such rents as they did ( Lords Justices to Nottingham, 28 Mar.1692, quoted in Nenagh Guardian 9 Feb.1935).
22. Templemore was left waste since Valentine Smith repossessed it, thus depriving the commission of the opportunity of treating with the tenants and inducing them to continue in their former leases at rent levels once considered the highest for any of Ormond's lands in the county.
23. BL Add Ms 28878 fols 384-5.
24. BL Add Ms 28877 fols 286-287v. The Egans were former owners in fee but in 1669 the family head took a lease from Ormond for 31 years at £16 rent of Uskane which, with adjoining lands, totalled 579 acres. Though this lease was unexpired John Egan, a recent convert, offered to surrender it in 1692 and take a new lease for 31 years at 3 lives at a graded rent (£16 for the first year, £20 for the second, and £31 thereafter). Longford considered this level of rent too low and not in proportion to the size of the holding, but his view may have been tempered by the fact that the land was waste and uninhabited and there was an acknowledged tradition in the Ormond family of showing favour to the Egans.
25. BL Add Ms 28877 fols 276, 286, 390, 392.
26. Ibid. fol 385.
27. The scheme is detailed in BL Add Mss 28877 fols 280-81 ; 28939 fols 341-2. Warburton maintained that it would be necessary to have a resident agent who could treat with the tenants in order that the scheme might be successfully implemented. It is evident from his report that he entertained hopes of being appointed to that office, but the commission to which he belonged was recalled by Ormond in March 1693 and the

- sole management of Ormond's landed interests was conferred on William Worth who ultimately carried the scheme into effect (BL Add Ms 28878 fol 81). Credit for its formulation and initiation, however, lies with Warburton.
28. Information on the pre-1690 leasing pattern is derived from T.B. Butler's catalogue of the Ormond papers (NLI Special list 165), covering NLI D 3579-5573.
  29. An act for the more speedy payment of the creditors of James late duke of Ormond and of the present duke of Ormond (1701) pp.1-4, which recites the contents of the 1696 act (8 Will.III).
  30. NLI D 5246, 5248, 5255, 5261-3, 5269, 5273-5, 5279, 5281, 5317 and 5321.
  31. An act for the more speedy payment (1701) pp.6-13. The act was originally intended to operate only up to 29 Sept.1703, but this was later extended to 29 Sept.1705 (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ii pt.1 pp.396, 401).
  32. Individual fee farm grants are recorded in PROI Lodge Ms Rolls series ix passim.
  33. For fee farm grants after 1715 : PROI Lodge Rolls x pp.52, 74-5, 89-93, 98, 106, 109, 112, 117, 130. For purchase of fee farm rents : RD 41 / 494 / 27041, 41 / 495 / 27044, 42 / 462 / 27042, 43 / 55 / 27352, 44 / 40 / 27427 ; PROI M 5259 (2). For the collection of the fee farm rents in the 1760s : NLI Ormond papers (unsorted), rentals for the Arran estate among file for 1759-64. In the early nineteenth century the Ormond family reverted to demanding the accates in the fee farm grants in kind rather than in cash as had been the practice in the eighteenth century, see for example the demand made on Lord Donoughmore in 1808 (Donoughmore D 85 / 8).
  34. BL Add Ms 28877 fol 280v.
  35. NLI Ms 11044, document entitled 'A state of the Palatinate . . . ' op.cit. ; J.Finlay, A treatise on the law of renewals (1829) p.3.
  36. Explicitly suggested by Longford on 23 Apr.1692 (BL Add Ms 28877 fol 283v).
  37. J.Finlay, Treatise pp.3,6. It is not clear whether he is referring to the first or second duke as the person primarily responsible.
  38. PRO FEC I / O.99 passim.
  39. BL Add Ms 28877 fol 280. He states that he had gone through 'a good part of ye county of Tipperary to Cashel and afterwards into other parts'.
  40. Ibid.
  41. See above pp.45-6 ; PRO SPI 355 / 157, 356 / 226. The total forfeited estate being let was 3,282 acres with most of it (2,125 acres) in Ikerrin. Those making proposals had to submit them in writing and give the names of their securities. As soon as contracts were made it was expected that leases would follow and bonds be entered

- into for performance of the covenants.
43. RD 138 / 570 / 96083.
  44. Conclusion based on Kilcash estate deeds for the period in NLI Ormond papers (unsorted). For the two lives leases : RD 37 / 495 / 23625, 51 / 372 / 34040.
  45. RD : Mandeville estate deeds.
  46. RD 97 / 158 / 67748, 127 / 429 / 87334, 126 / 350 / 87649, 128 / 31 / 85860, 141 / 547 / 99372, 138 / 189 / 92705, 199 / 246 / 132102 ; Clonmel Museum : Acc.1985 / 67-8, 76, 84, 91.
  47. Roscrea Heritage Centre : Mathew deeds (unsorted), G.Mathew and M.Bunbury, 28 Sept.1705 (copy).
  48. RD 39 / 499 / 26695 ; Dublin Courant 31 Dec.1723. About 950 acres were put up for letting.
  49. RD 63 / 520 / 44718.
  50. RD 26 / 11 / 14483, 73 / 504 / 52178, 79 / 282 / 55837.
  51. RD : Damer estate deeds.
  52. RD : Pennefather estate deeds.
  53. Dublin Courant 22 Feb.1719-20, 30 Oct.1720, 2-5 May 1747, DG 14 Sept.1726, Pue's Occurrences 22 Mar.1726 ; NLI Parker deeds (uncatalogued), deed of 14 Nov.1732 ; PROIM 3957, BR /CAV/ 17 / 12 ; Roscrea Heritage Centre : Maxwell papers A/1 / 1/ 5.
  54. In 1640 the largest of the See lands were at Cashel with 7,343 acres followed by Emly (2,504 acres), Waterford and Lismore (890 acres), and Killaloe (extent undetermined). The combined total of land held by other churchmen was 1,589 acres. In all there was in excess of 13,326 acres held by the church. This was supplemented after the Restoration with Cashel obtaining an extra 1,976 acres and Killaloe 2,881 acres. Since the See lands of Emly were united with those of Cashel since the sixteenth century, the whole constituted the largest in size of the three episcopal estates, its extent according to a rental of 1779 being 12,816 acres (CS II pp.358-412 ; Agar papers, 'A rent roll of the Archbishop of Cashel's esate . . . 1779'.
  55. For an example of this see the advertisement for the lands of Donaghmore (400 acres) on the Lismore see estate near Clonmel in 1721 for 21 years (Dublin Courant 22 July 1721).
  56. CS II pp.358-412 ; Agar papers, 'Rent roll . . . 1779' op.cit.
  57. Bolton was described by Agar , a later archbishop (1779-1802), as 'a notable ingenious man in renewing leases' (Agar papers, 'An account of Apb.Bolton's rule for

renewing the leases for the see of Cashel . . . 1780 ' fol 1v).

58. The method devised by Bolton was one whereby after two or three years expired the cost of renewal would be half the annual rent ; after 5 years the rent was raised by 5%, this increase being incorporated in the one year's renewal fine ; after 7 years the rent was raised by 10% and 2 years rent demanded as a renewal fine ; and thereafter one year's rent taken as a fine but the rent increased very considerably. This system of fines was intended to operate in such a way that the tenant was encouraged to renew his lease at the earliest possible stage in the 21-year term as the cost of renewal, particularly after 7 years, was considerable. In practice the tenants would have renewed after 2 or 3 years since only a fine was payable without an increase in rent.
59. The charter of King Charles the second empowering Erasmus Smith esquire to found grammar schools in Ireland (1897) pp.14, 16-7, 24-5.

The estate with an extent of over 1,570 acres in 1673 (nearly 1,800 acres by a resurvey of 1713), was divided into three blocks : one centred around Tipperary, the other two north of Cashel. The charter laid down that if the annual rent of the whole estate in Ireland (5,650 acres in 1673, 7,481 acres in 1713), did not exceed £300 then that amount was to be allocated to Christ's Hospital, London (£100), and to the support of three schoolmasters (£200). If £300 was exceeded the surplus was to go towards specifically designated purposes. In practice this sum of £300 was continuously exceeded after 1670 from which date most of the estate was set. Total rents grew from £580 in 1673 to £650 in 1693 to £1,100 in 1709, with Tipperary rents increasing accordingly from £125 (1673) to £137 (1682) to £230 (1721) to £510 (1750). By the early 1720s the surplus rent was so great (the total rental for 1721 was £1,255 representing a doubling in 50 years), that an act of parliament (1723) made further provision for its disposal. The Tipperary estate was first leased to tenants in 1672 and 1678, and thereafter the leasing history reveals a preference for resident local interests. The three denominations when first set were leased for three different terms : 21 years to J.Smith for Drumbane, 15 years to B.Foulke for Polevarly, and 31 years to Joseph Damer for lands near Tipperary. Damer received an extra ten years onto the term laid down by charter possibly as part of an arrangement for him becoming agent or rent receiver for the whole estate in Ireland . As a personal friend of Erasmus Smith, Damer appears to have acted informally in looking after his interests in Ireland since the 1650s. (Guildhall Library : 'A rent role of the lands granted to the trustees of E.Smith esq. for one year comencing 1 May 1762 and ending 1 May 1673' ; 'A rent role . . . received this 5th day of August 1682 from Mr.Joseph Damer' ; 'A short state

of the case relating to Esqr.Smith's lands in Ireland' ; 'A copy of some rent rolls . . . 20 Sept.1709' ; High School, Dublin Erasmus Smith papers : Tipperary deeds (from which rents of 1721 and 1750 computed) ; registry book i 1674-1732 (abstracted in NLI Ms 16929 p.133) ; The charter op.cit.pp33-47).

60. High School, Erasmus Smith papers : Tipperary deeds. Richard Maunsell had his lease of 2 July 1720 for 21 Years at £140 reset on 1 July 1729 for the same term at £140 for the first 12 years and at £150 for the remaining nine. This was an exception.

61. The extent of the College estate by the early eighteenth century was over 1,200 acres (over 1,400 acres by a resurvey of 1775), created from the late sixteenth century onward, initially from a grant of concealed lands and of lands forfeited by the earl of Desmond. It was supplemented by two grants in the 1660s : a private donation by E.Travers, and a grant under the acts of settlement and explanation. This completed the formative period of the estate, no further addition being made to it thereafter. The piecemeal nature of the evolution of the estate -- made up of grants essentially designed to complete or round off more sizeable units elsewhere, or fractions of lands divided with others -- is reflected in its dispersed location. Of the five denominations three were within a short radius of Tipperary town but not adjoining each other, and two were situated north of Templemore.

It is unclear whether the College lands in the county were set in the early seventeenth century. A statute of 1635 enacted that College leases were not to be more than 21 years in duration, at a rent not less than half the 'true value' of the land. The earliest evidence of systematic leasing comes from the mid-1660s. Up until the first decade of the eighteenth century College lands were leased to mainly outside interests who had no other concerns in the county, persons like Lieut.L.Sandes and Sir Boyle Maynard. There was a high turnover of tenants in the later seventeenth century, and only from the first decade of the eighteenth does a more continuous body of tenants become evident . The choice of tenant was influenced by the desire or willingness of local interests, whose own lands were adjacent, to take College leases. Damer took a lease of Farrancliff in 1747 because it rounded off his estate in the area ; and Baker leased Drumnamarky from 1723 attracted by the high quality of the land. The presence and proximity of local interests meant that some families remained College tenants for long periods. Baker's lease of 1723 was renewed in 1745 and again in 1766, for instance. The Baker lease is the only where the full 21-year term ran its course. In other leases the timing of renewals tended to coincide with the expiry of the first period of graded rent increase. Thus a lease of 21 years made to K.Willington in 1728 for Ballycahill at

- £60 rent for the first ten years and at £80 thereafter, was renewed to his widow in 1735 at £60 for the first three years (to 1738 by which date the original level of rent as specified in 1728 would have concluded), and £80 thereafter. Damer's lease of 1747 was renewed in 1762 before its expiry. For College tenants leases were renewed from the period when the first phase of the graded rent increase expired. This gave the College a steady annual rent and an assured increase over time, and it facilitated the tenant who by virtue of the renewal arrangement had a more secure interest. On these points : TCD MUN / P / 22 / 139, P / 23/ 485, 706, 838, 1525 ; MUN D 174 / 322, 511, 526-7 ; MUN V / 78 / 4 / 4-5; V / 80 / 1 / 62-5, 153-9, 160-66, 338-41, 354-7, 562-5, 609-12 ; V / 81 / 1 / 507-9 ; MUN ME / 4 / 53-6.
62. Anon.[T.Dawson?], A letter from a country gentleman in the province of Munster to his grace the lord primate of all Ireland (1741) p.2.
63. Fitzgibbon (647 acres), Bagwell (597), Butler x 2 (565), Ross (504), Nash (373), and Downing (300 ). Two of the holdings of over 100 acres were partnerships : Cooke and partners (101) and Mullany and partners (356).
64. Irish Geography ix (1976) p.39.
65. Based on the leases for the estate for the period 1710-60 from RD, NLI PC 12501 (Ormond), NLI Ormond (unsorted) bundles for 1729-30, 1752-4, 1756-7, and one marked 'miscellaneous old deeds'.
66. Based on Mathew (Thomastown) leases in RD and Roscrea Heritage Centre.
67. Butler (Kilcash) : T.Butler and M.Keating, 15 Apr.1713 (RD 12 / 151 / 4671), lease to J.Keating, 29 Oct.1755 (NLI Ormond papers, bundle 1756-7). Everard : In 1735 or 1736 Richard Keating was given by private agreement Knockelly, said to be 'the most valuable farm on said estate', by Sir Redmond Everard for £500 fine and £200 rent, but he paid neither and remained in possession for 5 or 6 years. After this he continued to remain in forcible possession and it cost Everard's heir over £1,000 to gain repossession by ejection, representing a net loss since Keating's arrears came only to £754. However, the Keating interest was removed from the estate in the 1740s (NLI PC 46 (i) Barton papers, case of R.Dawson versus J.Long Everard and others, 15 Sept.1750 pp.8-10, 18). Ormond : PRO FEC O. I / 99. Bayly : Bayly papers, J.Bayly lease to J.Keating, 9 Dec.1754.
68. Roscrea Heritage Centre : Mathew deeds, G.Mathew and D.McCarthy, 14 June 1703 ; RD 26 / 11 / 14483.
69. Young, Tour i p.390.
70. RD 20 / 61 / 9733. 31 / 118 / 18369, 58 / 364 / 39804, 64 / 21 / 42437, 73 / 504 /

- 52178, 74 / 156 / 50496, 79 / 282 / 55837, 113 / 277 / 78253, 127 / 390 / 87204 ; PROID 16339 ; Agar papers, rental 1779.
71. RD 39 / 499 / 26695.
72. BL Add Ms 28877 fol 280v.
73. See note 67 above.
74. Ryan papers : D.Ryan's account with Justin McCarthy Feb.1737-Apr.1756. The account shows a charge to Ryan of £12,506 and a discharge of £11,871, leaving £635 due to McCarthy as of 12 Apr.1756. For Nagle see note 84 and p.101, 117.
75. See for example the advertisement for Brickendown (300 acres) near Cashel by O.Latham in 1710 seeking 'an able protestant tenant' (DG 28 Mar.- 1 Apr.1710).
76. E.Cooke to Sir W.Fownes, 17 Mar.1737 (Cooke papers NLI Mic.P.1560).
77. RD 37 / 495 / 23625, 57 / 419 / 39121, 92 / 372 / 64993 ; NLI Ormond papers bundle 1726-7 (T.Butler and H.White, 16 Mar.1726), 1729-30 (T.Butler and W.Esmond, 8 Jan.1730).
78. RD 44 / 326 / 29573, 45 / 357 / 29574, 47 / 126 / 29789, 72 / 1 / 49413, 111 / 337 / 76868, 145 / 384 / 98900, 148 / 134 / 98890, 148 / 481 / 102451.
79. NLI 21.F.46 (15).
80. NLI PC 260-61 Riall : Tipperary deeds 1720-49 : J.Bagwell and J.Edwards, 5 May 1732 ; marriage settlement J.Bagwell jun. and A.Calwell, 27 May 1736 ; Clonmel, Bagwell Estate Office : J.Bagwell and T.Bacon, 21 Mar.1740.
81. RD 41 / 104 / 24765, 42 / 403 / 26792, 210 / 90 / 13805.
82. NLI Ms 2735.
83. RD 138 / 570 / 96083.
84. In 1695 James Nagle, a migrant from the Co.Cork branch of the family, received an assignment from E.Tobin of a number of farms on the Cahir estate. Nagle's arrival thus marked the demise of a family who had been tenants on the estate since 1629. Nagle soon expanded his interest. By virtue of a writing of 14 August 1700 from Pierce, Lord Cahir (d.Sept.1700), Nagle claimed to hold other lands on the estate for 31 years but no lease in fact was executed. In October 1700 he took advantage of a minority in the landlord's family to obtain a lease of the castle and demesne of Cahir from the trustees of forfeited estates (who had no power to convey it ). Further, by a deed of June 1703 Nagle had George Mathew (surviving executor of the late Lord Cahir's will), assign to M.Kearney certain of the lands Nagle had leased in trust for him. After 1705, when the landlord Thomas Lord Cahir came of age, Nagle became rent receiver for the estate, but failed to pay his own rents. Nagle died in 1709 and in



1712 Lord Cahir began legal proceedings to recover the arrears of rent due to him from Nagle's lands. In 1713 it was determined that the writing of August 1700 and the deed of June 1703 were void, but that the assignment of 1695 was valid. In 1714 Nagle's executors were ordered to pay the rent arrears. Despite this assertion of rights on the part of Lord Cahir, the Nagles continued as tenants. Thus in 1724 James Nagle's son, Richard, was given a 31-year lease of Garnvella (522 acres) and further leases followed in 1729 and 1737. The variety of lease terms under which their lands were held is noteworthy. Of the 6 leases in 1750, 4 were for 31 years, and one each for lives and at will. ( House of lord appeals ii (TCD 202 r 32) Cahir v.Nagle, 28 Feb.1717 ; RD 138 / 570 / 96083).

85. RD 97 / 158 / 67748, 127 / 429 / 87334, 128 / 31 / 85860, 141 / 547 / 99372, 199 / 246 / 132102 ; O'Callaghan papers : rent account book 1736-54 pp.19-22.

86. The list of converts is as follows :

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Date</u>
Robert Bradshaw	Shanbally	farmer	20 Sept.1747
Mary "	"	wife	"
James Burnet	"	farmer	"
Eleanor "	"	wife	"
Michael Brien	Clogheen	--	27 "
Catherine "	"	wife	"
Daniel Curtin	Shanbally	farmer	20 "
Eleanor "	"	wife	"
Daniel Corkery	Clogheen	merchant	27 "
Richard Fenecy	Shanbally	farmer	10 "
Catherine "	"	wife	"
Andrew Fitzgibbon	Clogheen	shoemaker	27 "
Maurice Hickey	"	perukemaker	"
Denis Leary	"	apothecary	"
John Lucett	Ballyboy	clerk	"
Elinor "	"	wife	"
John Murphy	"	farmer	"
Elizabeth "	"	wife	"
David Shepherd	Clogheen	--	4 Oct. "
Mary "	"	--	"
John Sullevan	Shanrahan	--	20 Sept. "

Thomas Walsh                      Shanbally                      farmer                      "

Source : PROI Lodge Ms Convert rolls.

87. Clonmel Museum : O'Callaghan papers Acc.1985 / 84.
88. RD 138 / 189 / 92705.
89. RD 14 / 175 / 6007, 27 / 36 / 15056, 31 / 118 / 18369, 34 / 375 / 21976, 37 / 230 / 22512, 43 / 434-5 / 2881-2, 45 / 174 / 28843, 45 / 271 / 29198, 55 / 217 / 36643, 115 / 163 / 80036, 62 / 399 / 43381, 74 / 105 / 50199, 74 / 156 / 50496, 104 / 144 / 72334, 127 / 390 / 87204, 126 / 559 / 88949. For a list of the tenants in 1742 see RD 106 / 462 / 74723.
90. RD 106 / 462 / 74723.
91. Smith-Barry DCN / 1984 / 2 / 5 (schedule of leases) ; TCD Ms 3577 / 107-8.
92. Derby DDK / 1701 / 2 (rent roll for one year ending 25 Mar., 1 May 1748).
93. Smith-Barry DCN / 1984 / 10 / 52 : three leases between H.Smith and Barnaby Phelan dated 27 May 1740, 16 June 1744, and 1 May 1745, for 555 acres in all. He conformed in 1736.
94. High School : E.Smith papers, Tipperary deeds of 18 Sept.1710, 22 Feb.1715, 2 July 1720, 1 July 1729, 4 May 1749. Leading tenants on the estate in the early eighteenth century were Croker, Armstrong, and Maunsell (TCD MUN / ME / 2 / 1 / 12 ; MUN V 80 / 1 / 153-66, 507-9). In 1715 College tenants in Tipperary were E.Power, K.Willington, and W.Baker.
95. Agar papers : Rent roll 1779 ; see above pp.95-6.
96. BL Add.Ms 18387.
97. Bayly papers : rent roll for half year ending 25 Mar., 1 May 1707 ; ditto. 1 May 1730 ; J.Bayly and J.Keating lease of 9 Dec.1754.
98. RD 26 / 11 / 14483, 79 / 282 / 55837, 73 / 504 / 52178.
99. RD 10 / 361 / 3834, 22 / 60 / 11386, 24 / 128 / 13280, 46 / 64 / 27669, 58 / 364 / 39804, 64 / 21 / 42437, 69 / 37 / 42088, 80 / 532 / 56815, 113 / 277 / 78253, 139 / 79 / 93072.
100. Tipperary County Library, Thurles : 'A rent roll of the lordship of Thurles due to George Mathew Esqr. for the half year ending Michls. and Nobr. 1744' (xerox).
101. Tipperary County Library, Thurles : rental of the Thurles estate by P.Leahy (1819).
102. Above p.95.
103. RD 39 / 449 / 26695.
104. PROI D 17563, D 17568-70, D 17574-6.
105. Ryan papers : rent account book, 1724-31.

106. Ibid. : rental of the Inch estate, May 1807.
107. RD 172 / 359 / 11695, 179 / 70 / 118843, 150 / 409 / 102654, 175 / 61 / 116185.
108. NLI Ms 2043. Donohoe and Fogarty were the two catholic tenants. The rest of the estate was held by Hill, Crewen, Branton, Ledger, Lewis, Howay, Boyle, Camby, Cole, Going, Jackson, Short, and Ackers. Protestants continued to dominate this estate (Tipperary County Library, Thurles : Cole-Bowen rentals 1788, 1805).
109. Bayly papers : rent roll 1707.
110. PROI M 1088.
111. NLI 21.F.129 (4).
112. PROI M 3391.
113. RD 31 / 360 / 19450 ; NLI Ms 13794 (5), 21.F.113 (24) ; Roscrea Heritage Centre : Maxwell papers A / 1 / 1 / 5 ; Dublin Courant 2-5 May 1747. In the 1740s a survey was made of the Evans lands (590 acres) in Killoscully parish in advance of their letting ; the Finch lands (552 acres) were leased on a 3 lives lease ; and part of the Henry estate of 3,030 acres was advertised for letting in 1747 on 3 lives or 31 year leases.
114. NLI Ms 11416 (unsorted) : 'An account of the tenants of Anthony Parker esq. in the counties of Tipperary, Cork, and Limerick . . . 1784'.
115. Conclusion based on an examination of the available estate evidence for this decade.
116. Based on advertisements in the Munster Journal, CEP, FDJ, and FLJ. The following section is partly based on the pattern evident from these sources.
117. In addition to the sources named in note 116, evidence from the Clonmel Gazette becomes available from the 1780s onward.
118. NLI Ms 27491 pp.16-7.
119. What follows is based on evidence from RD memorials and the sources for the respective estates themselves.
120. RD 239 / 554 / 163536.
121. FLJ 1-5 Oct.1774 ; TCD Barker Ponsonby P 6 / 49.
122. T.Carpenter to Rous, 28 Mar.1806 (Rous papers HA 11 / D8 / 4).
123. Derby DDK / 1712 / 4.
124. FLJ 4-8 Jan.1772, CH 14 July 1802. For example, an advertisement for Ballinderry (445 acres) on the Ormond estate in Iffa and Offa in May 1793 gave a choice of 3 lives or 31 years, and 3 lives was the term granted subsequently in the lease (CG 11-15 May 1793 ; NLI Ormond papers, bundle 1790-95, lease between

- Ormond and W.Smyth and M.O'Donnell, 3 June 1793).
125. FLJ 17-21 Oct.1778.
126. PROI 976 / 6 / 5 : memorandum on the Cahir estate by the earl of Glengall, n.d.[c.1845] ; PP Occupation of land (Ire.) xx (1845) pp.240, 888-90 ; RD 320 / 605 / 220359, 325 / 285 / 220358, 340 / 371 / 229869, 349 / 45 / 232812 ; PROI D 17557.
127. RD 276 / 78 / 176666, 276 / 82 / 176671, 276 / 78 / 176665, 276 / 79 / 176667, 276 / 83 / 176672, 276 / 80 / 176669, 276 / 76 / 176663, 276 / 77 / 176664 , 276 / 81 / 176670, 276 / 76 / 176662, 286 / 237 / 186450, 314 / 205 / 21290.
128. Irish Geography ix (1976) pp.37, 41. This transition with the succession of a new owner in the family.
129. NLI : Parker deeds (uncatalogued), will of 23 Sept.1766.
130. NLI Ms 11416, 'An account of the tenants of Anthony Parker 1784' and ms. advertisement dated 5 Feb.1774.
131. E.g. FDJ 5-9 Apr.1763 specifies a 21 year term for Lloyd lands near Cloughjordan but adds the proviso 'or such other term as may be agreed on'. Shorter terms than 21 years were more commonly granted but they are accountable due to minorities in families like Vize (1767), Ponsonby (1782), Minnitt (1783), Warter-Wilson (1760s), and Dalton (1794), than from any other cause (CEP 9 Feb.1767, CG 3-7 Jan.1782, 10-13 Mar.1783, 1-5 Mar. 1794 ; Rous papers HA / 11 / D8 / 3 / fols 6, 8, 16-7, 22, 24, 26-8.
132. Cullen, Economic history p.79.
133. NLI Ms 27491 p.16, Ms 27479 p.100. For Scully's negotiations with one landlord for an extension of his interest to 3 lives or 41 years in one farm see J.Scully to J.Smith-Barry, 15 Feb.1786 (Smith-Barry DCN / 1984 / 2 / 5).
134. Tipperary County Library, Thurles : Damer estate rental 1787-98 at 1787 ; NLI Ms 27571 sub 28 Aug. 1782, 13 Jan.1789 ; A.M.Sullivan, New Ireland (1878) p.364.
135. NLI Ms 27491 p.16.
136. NLI Ms 27480 (unfoliated), 'The rent I pay May 1776' ; Ms 27491 p.17 ; Ms 27490.
137. NLI Ms 27491 p.17.
138. PROI 976 / 6 / 5.
139. NLI Ms 27490 ; RD 494 / 690 / 339615 ; CG 27-31 July 1793 ; PROI M2197.
140. M.R.O'Connell, Irish politics and social conflict in the age of the American revolution (1965) pp.266-81.

141. Above p.93.
142. NLI Ms 11416, 'A list of the several landlords of Anthony Parker esqr.', n.d. [ante 1777]. His Tipperary landlords were the earl of Roden, R.Waller, E.Villiers and J.Scott, T.Mathew and J.Parker. The acreage of his estate includes the demesnes of Castletown (290 acres) and Castlelough (478 acres).
143. 19, 20 Geo.III c.30 ; HC 21-24, 24-28 Aug.1780 ; S.Cooper to the archbishop of Cashel, 20 Feb.1783, 16 Apr.1786, 18 Jan.1789, and his replies of 23 Feb.1783, 22 Jan.1789 (Agar papers 21 m 57 box 5). Amongst others with Tipperary links who opposed were Lord Mountcashell, the earls of Carrick and Kingston, Hugh Massy, Sir E.Newenham, and Lord Kingsborough. For further opposition, especially that of Lord Tyrone a Co.Waterford proprietor, see Comms.Inl.(Ire.) x pt.1 pp.153, 155 ; Lords Inl.(Ire.) v pp.216-7.
145. CG 6-9 Oct.1783. For the demands in fines made by Lord Milton on another landlord, Lord Rous, as tenant in 1791 and the ensuing controversy see Rous papers HA / 11 / D8 / 2.
146. See below pp.309-311.
147. PP Occupation of land (Ire.) xxi pt.iii (1845) pp.888-9.
148. Cahir v.O'Donnell, 1811 reported in WM 11 May 1811.
149. Ibid.
150. Ormond v. Lalor, 1810 reported in WM 1 Aug.1810.
151. Ibid. When some leases fell in on the Ormond estate subsequently more pliable lease terms were given whichever was longest : a single life or a concurrent term of years usually 21 or 31 (NLI Ormond bundle 1809-29, sale notice 1 June 1815).
152. For examples : FLJ 14-18 Mar.1772, 6-10 Nov.1779, 15-18 Jan.1783 ; CG 6-9 Dec.1784 ; WM 4 Jan.1802 for the Cooke, Spinner, Ponsonby, Hyde, and Bagwell lands respectively.
153. For example Ballyloskey (730 acres) near Nenagh advertised by Butler (Ormond) to be let in whole or in 4 divisions of 142, 220, 231, and 135 acres, was in fact leased as a unit to a Cork merchant. Another example from the same estate was for Ballindonney (445 acres) advertised in 1793 to be let in whole or in parts for 31 years or 3 lives, and subsequently leased as one unit for 3 lives to M.O'Donnell, who sublet it in 1795 in tillage farms of 30-40 acres (NLI Ormond : bundle 1770-74, W. & J.Butler and G.Goold, 3 May 1773 ; bundle 1790-95, J.Butler and M.O'Donnell, 3 June 1793 ; FLJ 31 Oct.-3 Nov.1770 ; CG 11-15 May 1793, 28-31 Jan.1795).
154. FDJ 1-5 Oct.1765, 10-14 Feb.1767. In 1802 S.Jacob of Mobarnan, Fethard

- proposed to let 400 acres in sub-divisions for 3 lives (CH 13 Nov.1802).
155. A.McGuire to T.Dane, 25 Oct.1773 (Derby DDK / 1704, correspondence series 1747-77) ; McGuire to Derby, 20 Dec.1788 (DDK 1705 series) ; DDK 1712 / 4.
156. TCD Barker Ponsonby P 6 / 46.
157. PP xxi pt.iii (1845) pp.888-91.
158. PROI 976 / 6 / 5. By the 1840s the average size of holdings on the estate stood at 25 acres (PP xxx pt.iii (1845) p.239). Proposals from middlemen seeking sub-tenants for lands to be divided in 2, 3, or 4 divisions are in evidence for Roe near Cashel, Dickson near Thomastown, Doherty and Phelan near Cashel, Wall, Hely, Maher, Cooke, Grace all near Thurles, Hamerton near Killenaule, Campion near Carrick, Middleton at Borrisoleigh, Willington and O'Dwyer near Nenagh. In general the internal divisions of these lettings are not specified. The 300 acres near Nenagh advertised by O'Dwyer in 1804 were said to be divided into farms of 10, 15, or 20 acres in order 'to accommodate resident tenants and others'.The process was succinctly described for Tipperary in 1816: 'The middleman will take a piece of land from 100 to 200 acres, and will job this out to cottiers at more than double the rent which he pays'. Such smallholders normally did not appear in the rent rolls of the estates concerned (CG 1-4 Oct.1781, 2-6 Oct.1783, 3-7 Apr.1788, 7-11 May 1789, 6-9 Mar.1793, 1-4 Jan.1794, 27 Nov.-1 Dec.1802, 15-19 Jan.1803 ; CEP 6 Feb.,5 Oct.1769 ; FLJ 13-17 Jan., 3-7 Feb.1776, 15-18 Mar.1776 ; CH 27 Oct.1804 ; R.Willocks to [W.] Gregory, 17 Apr.1816 (Lady Gregory (ed.), Mr.Gregory's letter box 1813-30 (1898) p.102 ; PROI 976 / 3 / 4 / 1 : Cahir estate rent ledger 1826-38).
159. PROI 976 / 6 / 5.
160. Ibid. ; PP xxi pt.iii (1845) pp.888-91.
161. Willocks to [W.] Gregory, 17 Apr.1816 (Mr.Gregory p.102).
162. On leases granted on the Erasmus Smith Schools estate in 1789, 1791-3, 1810, and 1814 the penalty was 50% extra on the annual rent, though by the latter date all penalties for observance of all lease covenants were subsumed into an overall rent reduction. Similar penalties against subletting can be documented for the Bagwell (1759, 1770), Minchin (1766), Riall (1798), Otway (1801), and Butler (Carrick, 1811) estates. In the Bagwell estate leases of 1759 and 1770 the clause, 'not to set the said lands to any Papist', is included. This reflects the denominational preferences of this landowner and is a throwback to the traditional fears expressed in the 1690s that catholic tenants were unreliable and if in arrears would flee (High School : E.Smith papers, Tipperary deeds dated 17 June 1789, 16 May 1791, 17, 19 Mar. 1792, 5 July

1794, 27 Feb.1810, 11 Mar.1814 ; NLI Riall papers deeds of 10 May 1759, 11 Jan.1770, 9 Aug.1798 ; Minchin deeds (Mic.P.5701), deed of 23 June 1766 ; Braye papers 23 D 57 / 18, 19, 22, 33 (abstracted in NRA list no.9254) ; Longford to Ormond, 28 Oct.1692 (BL Add.Ms 28877 fol 384) ; LJ 24-28 Dec.1811).

163. In the improvement leases granted on the Barker estate in the 1770s the penalty for one tenant was 2s.6d. extra rent per acre on a 119 acre holding. A similar clause against alienation was made in respect of another tenant given a lease in 1775, but in his case a proviso was made which excepted 'such part as he may set to cottagers or labourers not exceeding ten acres in the whole in any one year'. This proviso probably recognised a situation which existed under a previous tenant, and out of a holding of 208 acres was not excessive. A rent reduction could also be offered to discourage alienation. In 1784 one tenant was offered a yearly reduction in rent from £170 to £113 if he honoured this provision, and in the case of another tenant in 1799 the reduction was half the annual rent. In the latter case the reduction was dependent on whether the tenant did not sublet the lands (96 acres) in divisions less than one third to any one person, and that such sub-tenants should not themselves sublet (Barker Ponsonby P 6 / 46, 49, 54, 59, P 7 / 74).

164. PP xxi pt.iii (1845) pp.888, 890. No local jury (members of which would themselves have been engaged in subletting), could be had to return a verdict enforcing the non-alienation clause. Other extensive middlemen, Keating, Doherty, McCarthy, and Smithwick, for instance, publicly solicited proposals for undertenants. In 1767 Keating of Garranlea did so for 3,052 acres in Tipperary (plus 2,074 acres in Co.Limerick) ; Doherty of Kedragh for 1,762 acres (Tipperary) and 1,632 acres (Limerick) in 1769 ; and McCarthy of Springhouse for 1,000 acres in 1783 (FDJ 14-17 Feb.1767 ; CEP 11 Sept.1769 ; CG 5-9 Feb., 29 May-1 Apr.1784 ; RD 279 / 580 / 184329. Other examples : NLI Ormond, bundle 1770-74, two leases Power & Sexton, and Corbett 21 May 1770; FLJ 21-25 Feb.1778).

165. PROI 976 / 6 / 5.

166. J.P.Kennedy, Digest i p.417 ; below p.321. Lord Llandaff did so in 1807 an election year. It was also practised by middlemen. John Lalor of Cranagh near Templemore, who was prominent in the catholic relief movement, created a number of freeholders on his lands in 1795-6, such persons previously took the oath to qualify under the relief act of 1793. His lands at Long Orchard and Templetouhy show some of the highest concentrations of oath takers, mostly farmers, in the county for 1793-6, and presumably all these were subsequently translated into freeholders (Roscrea

- Heritage Centre : Mathew deeds, Llandaff and J.Martin & R.Kearns 1 Aug.1807, ditto. and J.Mahony, 1 Aug.1807, ditto. and C.Blake & C.Doheny, 28 Nov.1807 ; NLI D 19801-7 ; PROI : Catholic qualification rolls, 1793-6 (1A 52 78) for individuals).
167. PROI : 967 / 6 / 5 ; PP xxi pt.iii (1845) pp.239-41, 888-91 ; Kennedy, Digest i p.418.
168. Derby DDK / 1705, proposals for farms in Tipperary, n.d. [c.1780] (in estate correspondence 1782-1806) ; Rous HA 11 / D8 / 4, series of proposals for Toureenbrien, 1806.
169. FDJ 14-17 Feb.1767; FLJ 12-16 Feb.1780 ; CG 10-13 Apr.1786, 30 Oct.-3 Nov.1802.
170. FDJ 17-21 Mar.1767 ; CG 4-8 Dec.1783, 5-8 June 1793, 3-6 Nov.1802.
171. NLI Riall Tipperary deeds 1790-1819, deed for 16 Oct.1794 ; CG 12-16 May 1785 for arbitrary amounts ; FLJ 24-28 Aug.1799, CG 2-5 Feb.1803, CH 13 Oct.1802.
172. Clonmel : O'Callaghan 1985 / 81 ; Leicester : Braye 57 / D / 975-6 ; TCD Donoughmore Z / 14 fol 1. One tenant on the O'Callaghan estate in 1762 was in addition to a cash rent obliged to provide 6 horses and carriages annually for the landlord's use ; tenants on the Otway estate in 1773 had in addition to a cash rent to rear a hound annually ; and in the mid-1780s a tenant on the Hely-Hutchinson estate paid her rent in cows, horses, sheep and corn.
174. Kennedy, Digest ii p.757. For local examples : R.Jocelyn to H.Otway, 23 June 1736 (NLI Ms 15055 / 1) ; Account of rent due 29 Sept., 1 Nov. on the Parker estate payable Mar.1785 (NLI Ms 11416).
175. Derby DDK 1712 / 14.
176. Ignatius [?] to J.Butler, 9 [ ] 1747 (Kavanagh papers, NLI Mic.P.7155).
177. Derby DDK 1712 / 4 ; McGuire to [Derby], 7 Jan.1773 (DDK 1704 series) ; P.Walsh to Lady H.Ponsonby, 11 Aug.1810 (Barker Ponsonby P 2 / 3 / 8).
178. A.P[arker] to J.Egan, 7 Dec.1789, J.Egan to A.Parker, 8 Dec.1789 (NLI Ms 11418).
179. Derby DDK 1701 / 13, 1702 / 19. There was £437 in arrears and £926 due for the half year ending Nov.1782 on Ponsonby lands near Carrick (PROI : M 5738 (i)). The regularity with which rents were paid on the Hely-Hutchinson estate from mid-1784 would suggest that, on this estate at least, an upturn was in progress, as there is no evidence of arrears up to 1784-6 (Donoughmore Z /14, rent receipt book 1784-6).
180. CG 24-28 Jan.1782 ; High School : Case of M.Carroll v. J.Thrustout, 19



- Mar.1792. For another case of redemption on the Cole-Bowen estate in 1785 see CG 30 May-2 June 1785.
181. The functions were defined in Damer's formal appointment as agent to the Erasmus Smith estate in 1694. He was empowered to let to persons 'of ability to pay rents' for 'ye best and most improved rent or rents', to make annual returns, and distrain and eject for rent where necessary (TCD Ms 3577 / 2). Richard Purcell was agent on the Everard estate from at least August 1716 when he was given a power of attorney by Sir Redmond Everard, who was then leaving Ireland (Clonmel : O'Callaghan 1985 / 80, schedule of deeds for the Eferard estate 1674-1721 & n.d, no.6 dated 11 Aug.1716).
182. Clonmel : O'Callaghan 1985 / 76, see also 1985 / 68. Lenihan was given land near Clogheen on which he was obliged to build a substantial new dwelling house in order that he be resident to supervise O'Callaghan's improvement schemes.
183. Ryan papers : D.Ryan's account with J.McCarthy 1737-56 ; FLJ 25-29 Apr.1789.
184. TCD : House of lords appeals ii , Cahir v.Nagle 1717 ; McCarthy's agency on the Mathew estate is implied from the regularity with which he appears as a witness to head leases ; RD 239 / 554/ 163536 ; NLI Ormond : W.&J. Butler, and J.Lalor, 24 Oct.1776.
185. Meade was acting in this capacity from at least 1729 (PROI D 16339).
186. At least three generations of the McGuires acted in this capacity : William to 1762, Arthur 1763-1790s, and Edward present in the 1820s (Derby DDK 1702 / 3, 6, 10, 22 ; 1701 / 26).
187. Everard to [ ], 27 May 1774, [M] Jacob to S.Heywood, 11 Mar.1792 (Derby DDK 1704 series).
188. For browne's appointment in 1767 : FDJ 5-8 Dec.1767 ; for O'Brien's removal in 1781: FLJ 5-8 Sept.1781 ; and for the harmful effects : An act [1780] op.cit.p.26.
189. CG 24-27 Dec.1781. The new agent was Counsellor Pratt who may have been appointed as part of the trusteeship created under the 1780 act.
190. Ibid. 23-27 Oct.1788. He was Matthew Scott of Harcourt St., Dublin.
191. FDJ 6-10 Jan.1767 ; WM 31 Oct.1807. The remainder of the Bunbury estate was in Carlow, Kildare, and Kilkenny.
192. CG 10-13 Dec.1781 ; (Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle 5-8 Sept.1785).
193. CG 29 Feb.-1 Mar.1784, 17-21 May 1787. An index of the social differentiation exercised in the choice of agent is that when a new local agent was appointed on the Erasmus Smith Schools estate in 1734 he gave a bond of £1,300 as security (High

- School : registry book ii 1732-92 (abstracted in NLI Ms 16930 p.4)).
194. On family background : L.Price (ed.). An eighteenth century antiquary : Austin Cooper (1942) pp.3-5 ; Thurles, County Library : draft pedigree of the Cooper family (xerox) ; R.A.Cooper, 'Genealogical notes on the Cooper family in Ireland, 1660-1960' Irish Genealogist iii (1964) pp.351-5.
195. CG 1-4 Apr., 30 May-3 June 1782, 29 Nov.-3 Dec.1787, 16-19 Mar.1789, 16-19 Mar.1803. Samuel and Austin Cooper were agents for the Erasmus Smith schools estate from at least 1789 (High School : registry book 1732-92 (abstracted in NLI Ms16930 p.60)). For their accounts with the various landlords : PRONI Mic.251 /2.
196. CG 30 May-3 June 1782. The Coopers managed other properties in Ireland, but the owners of Tipperary estates were more fortunate in this respect in that their agents had a residence in the county and an office in Cashel from which the duties of the agency were discharged locally, with one member of the family in Dublin in regular correspondence (TCD Ms 9866, letter book of A.Cooper, 1801-3). It is ironic that the Coopers came to manage the Erasmus Smith and Damer properties, for in 1709 the progenitor of the Damer family, Joseph Damer, was discharged from his agency of the schools estate for mismanagement (High School : registry book 1674-1732 (abstracted in NLI Ms 16929 p.113)).
197. CG 17-20 Dec.1781, 11-15 Mar.1784, 30 May-2 June 1785.
198. FLJ 15-18 Jan.1772, 13- 17 apr.1776 ; CG 2-6 May 1782, 4-8 Sept., 2-6 Oct., 24-27 Nov.1783, 3-7 July 1788 ; NLI Mic.P.5489 (Will of J.Ryan, Inch 1 May 1773 mentions his steward Oliver Grace). These relate to the estates of Ryan (Inch), Ryan (Killoloan), Maude, Moore (Mooresfort), Palliser (Derryluskan), Perry (Woodroff), Power (Tullamain), Sankey (Coolmore). The steward sought by Edward Moore in 1782 was required to be familiar with 'the modern approved methods of farming'. In addition to such a qualification the stewards sought by Maude (1776) and Perry (1783), had to be protestant, and the person sought by Maude had to reside.
199. The figures reveal a concentration in the baronies of the south and south east, the areas of strongest Anglo-Norman settlement. The number of manors in the north and north west was considerably reduced by this time reflecting the success of the Gaelic recovery. Other manors had existed, e.g. Ardmayle, Buolick, Clonmilchon, Lissinisky, Loughmoe, and Moyaliffe, but by c.1650 they had lost their functions and attributes. Two episcopal manors survived : that of the archbishop of Cashel at Camus, and that of the bishop of Waterford and Lismore at Ardfinnan (CS II pp.376, 410).

200. PP Manor courts (Ire.) xv (1837) pp.455-6 ; xvii (1837-8) pp.137, 141.
201. W.H.Crawford, B.Trainor (ed.), Aspects of Irish social history 1750-1800 (1975) p.131.
202. PP xv (1837) pp.455-6 ; xvii (1837-8) pp.108, 137.
203. Ryan papers : Court book for the manor of Coolkill, c.1790. This manor had originally been granted to Nicholas Purcell of Loughmoe by Charles II, patent 17 Sept.1670 (NLI Mic P.5489).
204. PP xv (1837) pp.236, 455-6 ; xvii (1837-8) p.140. Over 1,000 cases were heard in Glengall's courts in the period 1834-7. Decrees or warrants issuing from the courts could be enforced by distraint, and the fees charged for decrees (3s.6d. in Glengall's, 5s.6d. in Lismore's) could constitute a source of income for the lord of the manor. Income from Lismore's courts was £534 in 1834-6, at Roscrea it was £1,184 for 1834-6. The business of the courts, particularly the smaller and less conveniently situated ones, declined due to the rise of petty sessions, of which there were 20 in Tipperary by the 1830s. The demand for petty sessions occasioned the demise of the manor court at Carrick by 1830.
205. 25 Geo.III c.44. The act aimed to eliminate delays and expense in the manor courts by quickening up the return of summonses and by regulating fees. Causes instituted could not be appealed to a higher court except to judges on assize, whose verdict or that of the seneschal was to stand. Defendants were to have the same benefits as under common law or in courts of equity.
206. Appointment of P.Fogarty by G.Ryan, 3 Sept.1785 (NLI Mic.5489) ; CG 20-24 Nov.1802 ; FLJ 21-25 Apr.1792 ; PROIM 5330.
207. FLJ 3-7 Oct.1767 ; FDJ 6-9 Aug.1763 ; CEP 2 Jan.1769 ; CG 27-31 Jan.1785, 11-14 June 1794, 2-5 Feb.1803. In respect of 69 acres near Killenaule in 1785 it was said that 'there has been 3,000 barrels of lime laid out therein these few years past', on 35 acres near Cashel in 1803 7,000 loads of manure were laid, and 140 acres out of 460 near Clonmel were manured with lime three years before their letting in 1767. The fact that the soil was not exhausted by excessive ploughing could also be an important assurance to the prospective tenant as on the Otway (1763) and Lane (1794) estates.
208. CEP 25 Mar., 5 Oct.1769. In a pastoral county a good water supply and shelter for stock were essential. Orchards were important for cider. On lands let near Thurles in 1769 8 of the 108 acres were an orchard producing 80-90 hogsheads of cider yearly. Deer were a valuable resource : 40 brace of deer on a 70 acre deerpark were offered to a tenant on Fennall lands near Golden in 1769.

209. FLJ 21-24 Mar.1770, 30 Jan.-2 Feb.1771, 4-7 Nov.1778 ; CG 17-21, 28-31 July 1788. Farm houses were offered with lands for letting on the Barker (1770) and Lowe (1771) estates, and newly built houses and cabins on lands near Fethard (1788) and Killenaule (1778).
210. CG 24-27 Nov.1783, 16-19 Feb.1784, 30 Oct.-2 Nov.1786 ; FDJ 1-5 Jan., 8-11 Mar., 25-29 Nov.1760. Orchards might be surrounded by walls ranging in height from 10 feet on the Sankey estate in 1783 to 14 feet on Maunsell lands near Nenagh in 1784. Such walls also surrounded ordinary farms near Clonmel (7 feet high of limestone), on the Bloomfield estate in Lower Ormond, on the Hyde estate near Cashel, all in 1760, and on the Lowe estate (6 feet wall surrounding 106 acres), near Fethard in 1786.
211. FLJ 26-30 Jan.1771, 13-17 Jan.1776, 26 Apr.-2 May 1795 ; CG 27-31 Mar.1783, 11-14 Aug.1802 ; CEP 2 Feb.1767. These refer to the attractions of lands near fairs at Thurles, Holy Cross, Templemore and Toomavara. One of the main recommendations to tenants for the lands of Ballinahow in 1776 was the proximity of Thurles where 14 fairs were held annually. More beneficial was where a fair was held on the lands being leased, as with Prendergast lands at Mullough near Cahir in 1767.
212. FDJ 27-30 Nov.1762, 14-17 Apr.1764, 26-30 Jan.1771 ; FLJ 7-11 Nov.1772, 21-25 Feb.1778 ; CEP 6 Feb.1769 ; LJ 2-6 July 1808 ; CH 14 July 1802. Where limestone was convenient and easily raised it was a decided advantage as with the lands of Poulakerry near Clonmel in 1769, on the Henry estate near Killaloe 1,860 acres were let in 1762, and on part of the O'Callaghan estate near Fethard in 1771. Where this was not the case the landlord might exceptionally provide lime as on the Dawson estate near Cashel in 1771, and in 1778 a middleman on the Pennefather estate undertook to make 2,000 barrels of lime available to an undertenant gratis from a newly built lime kiln capable of producing 160 barrels per week. Normally these amounts were provided free, but on the Henry estate compensation for damage incurred in the removal of the limestone by the tenants was demanded.
213. FDJ 13-17 Aug.1771 ; FLJ 2-6 Mar.1771, 28 Feb.-2 Mar.1776, 31 Jan.-4 Feb.1778, 1-4 Mar.1797 ; CG 13-16 Feb.1786 ; LJ 28 Dec.1805-1 Jan.1806. Proximity to the Slievardagh collieries was specified in lettings on part of the Cuffe estate at Ballintaggart (1765), part of the Mathew estate at Thurles (1771), the Cooke estate near Killenaule (1778), Carleton estate at Clare (1786), the O'Callaghan estate (1776), and Carrick lands at Mohubber (1805). In some cases tenants would be required to continue a process of liming already begun. On Butler lands near Cashel in

- 1797 a prospective tenant was expected to complete the liming of 644 acres, 400 of which had already been done and for this purpose was to have culm gratis to burn the lime.
214. CG 4-8 Oct.1781, 2-6 Oct.1783, 1-5 June, 13-16 Nov.1786, 28 Apr.-1 May 1788 ; LJ 2-6 July 1808. In 1781 William Kissane offered a new tenant 7 ricks of hay at a reasonable price for lands near Tipperary ; turf, hay, and potatoes were offered in September 1783 to a tenant who would commence his tenancy in November on lands near Borrisoleigh ; and various acreages of corn, wheat, and oats were offered to new tenants at reasonable terms in the 1780s.
215. CG 23-27 Mar.1793 ; FLJ 22-26 Dec.1770 ; FDJ 12-15 Mar.1763 ; CEP 6 Apr.1769.
216. FLJ 18-21 Nov.1778 ; CG 18-22 Dec.1783.
217. FLJ 28 Sept.-1 Oct.1768, 1-4 Aug.1770, 28 Nov.-2 Dec.1778 ; FDJ 7-11 Feb.1764, 1-5 Oct.1765 ; CG 26-29 Nov.1781, 2-5 Dec.1782, 10-13 Mar.1783, 29 Mar.-1 Apr.1784. In most cases the extent of individual areas of common is unknown, being usually described as 'great', 'large', or a 'tract', because they were generally not included in surveys. Indeed in the case of part of the Trant estate near Thurles in 1778 the non-inclusion of the commons in the survey if lands was specifically mentioned as an extra inducement to a tenant. Occasionally estimates were made as to their extent, the commons of Clonmel being put at thousands of acres in 1764, and with 1,000 acres of improvable bog on the Bloomfield estate in Lower Ormond in 1765. Increasingly after 1760 more accurate information on the extent of commons was included in proposals made to tenants because of rising land values and the growth in demand for livestock. This is testified to by evidence from the Barker, Cooke, Prittie and other estates.
218. For examples (with estates) chosen at random for different areas of the county over time : Hutchinson of Timoney (NLI D 11314) ; Butler (Cahir) (FDJ 5-8 Jan.1764) ; Mathew (Thurles) (FDJ 14-18 Feb.1764) ; Minnitt (LC 27 Nov.1769) ; Prendergast (WC 8-12 Mar.1771) ; Latham (CG 15-19 May 1783) ; Antisell (Church of Ireland College of Education : Purser Griffith papers, deed of 4 Mar.1791) ; Meagher (CG 20-23 Feb.1793).
219. FLJ 21-25 Mar.1772, 1-5 Oct.1774 ; FDJ 17-20 Jan.1761 ; CG 26-29 Nov.1781, 13-17 Nov.1788, 9-12 Feb.1789, 15-19 Jan.1803 ; TCD Barker Ponsonby P 6 / 49. In 1761 a tenant who agreed to build a good dwelling house and out-offices on the lands of Sir Thomas Dancer, Modereeny, was offered a clause of renewal on a three

- lives lease ; C.O'Callaghan offered long leases in 1772 to traders and manufacturers who would engage to build on lands in Clogheen then experiencing a second phase in its development as an estate village ; and in 1789 a longer term was offered to tenants who would contract to build on lands adjoining the village of Mullinahone. In his improvement programme in the 1770s Barker was prepared to make leases available for as many lives as tenants chose, an in fact one lease was made for 7 lives. Those not wanting terms longer than 31 years could rely on a term of 31 years during the first 10 years first surrendering their former leases.
220. TCD Barker Ponsonby P6 / 59 ; NLI Riall PC 260-61, Tipperary deeds 1750-69 (G.Evans 24 Oct.1760), 1790-99 (deeds of 9 Aug., 30 Oct.1798) ; High School : Tipperary deeds (R.Maunsell 4 May 1749, and other of 27 Feb.1810, 11 Mar., 18 Apr.1814) ; CH 27 Oct.1804. In 1804 an abatement was offered to a tenant who agreed to build on the lands of Ardmayle near Cashel in preference to a fine being taken, and in 1784 Barker gave a tenant a rent reduction from £170 to £113 annually if he kept lands in his own occupancy. A reduction in half in rent was provided for in leases granted on the Riall estate near Cashel in 1798, and on the Erasmus Smith schools estate in 1810 and 1814, provided a suite of lease provisions were fulfilled satisfactorily. The latter estate at an earlier period is one which amply demonstrates how the process of a graded rent increase was linked to the performance of certain improvements, and it is also evident in leases on the Bagwell estate in 1760.
221. NLI Riall Tipperary deeds 1750-69, lease to G.Evans, 24 Oct.1760 has an endorsement that a new life was added on 18 May 1763 without fine.
222. On solvency : FDJ 31 July-4 Aug.1764, 28 Oct.-1 Nov.1766 ; FLJ 9-13 June 1770, 6-9 Mar.1793 ; CG 1-4 Oct., 10-13 Dec.1781, 10-13 Mar.1783, 31 Jan.-3 Feb.1785, 31 Dec.-3Jan.1795. On residence : FLJ 1-5 Oct.1774, 7-10 Aug.1776, 31 July-1 Aug.1779 ; CG 1-4 Oct.1781, 20-23 Jan.1783, 29 Mar.-1 Apr.1784, 19-22 Mar.1794, 20-27 Oct.1804 ; LJ 24-28 Dec.1811 ; CH 10 Nov.1802 ; TCD Barker Ponsonby P 6 / 49, 54. That the tenant be actually resident was intrinsic to the programme of estate reforms initiated by Barker. Tenants taking leases on his estae in the 1770s were obliged to reside and it continued to be a rule in the 1780s. One of the leases granted by him in 1775 shows that the residence clause was meant to be strictly enforced. The tenant had to reside at least six months in the year, or in default pay £50 extra on the yearly rent which was £312.
223. NLI D 17801-7 ; Roscrea : Mathew deeds, 1 Aug.1807 (copies). In the case of Lalor the penalties were more than the yearly rent : e.g. a penalty of £4 for one tenant

- holding 2 acres at £3. These leases had a political purpose expectant on the 1796 election. In the Mathew leases no financial penalty was specified, but if the residence clause was not honoured then the lease was void.
224. Anon.[T.Dawson?], A letter from a country gentleman (1741) pp.2, 7. Damer at Shronell, who with the archbishop of Cashel and others was noted as having fed the starving, <sup>may</sup> ~~any~~ have sponsored a restricted settlement of Ulstermen on his estate in the 1740s.
225. Clonmel Museum : Acc.1985 / 47.
226. FDJ 10-14 Feb.1767 ; RD 296 / 461 / 197728. Maude was prepared to give 500 acres and £500 for a dwelling house to one proposer ([John Lidwell], Lidwill's life : the history of the life and adventures of John Lidwill from his birth to his present age of near sixty years written and selling by himself (1804) p.39).
227. Proc. Huguenot Society of London xviii no.3 (1949-52) pp.216-7.
228. H.Jones, The Palatine families of Ireland (1965) pp.41, 48, 55, 56, 58, 61 ; Proc.Huguenot Soc.of London op.cit. p.215. A mid-nineteenth century survey of the estate shows that palatine surnames dominated 4 of the 12 townlands with names like Frizell, Cooke, Switzer, Sutcliffe, and Miller common (TCD Barker Ponsonby V 4).
229. NLI Ms 11416, 'A list of the landlords of Anthony Parker esq', n.d.[ante 1777], 'An account of the tenants of A.Parker . . . 1784' ; FLJ 16-20 July 1768 ; CG 3-7 Apr.1788. Parker was tenant to a number of landlords in Limerick primarily the earl of Sandwich and Lord Carbery, and in 1784 two palatines, Shouldice and Switzer, appear as tenants on the Parker estate holding 40 acres (acreable rent 5s.) under a 3 lives lease, only one of two such leases on the estate as the landlord had a preference for the 21 year lease. Palatines may, however, have been present in the area as early as 1733 (PROI M 5349 p.18). Further south in 1794 Lord Donoughmore was encouraged to become a member of the Linen Board in order to promote the settlement of manufacturers on the Knocklofty estate. Already in 1781 he was associated with the building of 10 houses (cost £9) in Ardfinnan, for which he obtained a grant of three yearly fairs in 1785 (HMC 12th report app.ix (1891) p.322 ; TCD Donoughmore Z / 4 ; CG 12-16 May 1785).
230. Clonmel Museum : Acc.1985 / 67, 91. In 1747 a tenant in Clogheen was required to build a house 'in manner and form of the new houses now building on the other side of the street opposite'. Such dwellings were to be 40 feet long by 15 feet broad by 8 feet high, made of stones, clay, and mortar with a double limestone chimney at the centre, rough cast on the outside, roofed, thatched, and glazed. For the proposed new

- town at Holy Cross c.1800 advanced by Armstrong see PROI M 5256 (2,9). New approach roads, with sections laid out for building lots adjoining, a market place, an inn with stables, mill, lime kiln, ball alley, osiery, weirs, and barracks were planned (See A.Ireland, 'Holy Cross 1730-1840', North Munster Antiquarian Jnl. xxiv (1982) pp.48-54).
231. Clonmel Museum : Acc.1985 / 76, and for others 1985 / 138, 147.
232. NLI Riall, Tipperary deeds 1750-69, dated 24 Oct.1760, 13 May 1769 ; PROI D 23388 ; NLI Ms 11422, deed of 12 Feb.1796. Barker's Palatine settlers were covenanted to erect 5 houses of stone, lime, and sand for 5 protestant families (Proc.Huguenot Soc.London op.cit.p.215). New tenants, one a farmer the other a gentleman, on the Bagwell estate at Ballydoyle near Cashel in the 1760s were to erect a dwelling house one storey high with sash windows, slated roof and out-offices, and a dwelling house slated ; three tenants on the Armstrong estate at Ballycahill were in 1783 covenanted to build 3 dwelling houses ; and farmer tenants were in 1796 to build an additional house on the lands of Long Orchard near Templemore by John Lalor the landlord.
233. Clonmel Museum : Acc.1985 / 67, 76, 91, 138, 147 ; Riall , Tipperary deeds 1750-69 deeds of 24 Oct.1760, 13 May 1769 ; NLI Ms 11422, deed of 12 Feb.1796 ; PROI D 23388. The time period for completion varied from 15 months for the village dwellings in Clogheen in the 1740s, 2 years for Lenihan's refurbishments, 4 years and an unspecified term in the Bagwell leases for the 1760s, 3 years in the Armstrong leases for 1783, and 1 year in the Lalor lease for 1796. The cost also varied from £10 for the artisan dwellings in Clogheen, £200 and £100 for the gentleman and farmer respectively on the Bagwell estate, and a rent reduction in the case of the farmers on the Lalor lands.
234. I.Leister, 'Orchards in County Tipperary', Irish Geography iv no.4 (1962) pp.292-301.
235. Clonmel Museum : Acc.1985 / 76, 138 ; NLI : Ormond bundle 1752-4 (3 Apr.1752), bundle of 'miscellaneous old deeds' (3 May 1757) ; Riall deeds 10 May 1759, 24 Oct.1760, 13 Mar.1767 ; CEP 10 Jan.1760. It was 5 acres to one tenant on the O'Callaghan estate (1741), 4 acres on the Butler (Kilcash) estate in the 1750s, 4 acres on lands near Tipperary in 1760, and 3, 2, and 1 acres on the Bagwell estate near Cashel in 1759, 1760, and 1769.
236. Riall, 24 Oct.1760.
237. 5 Geo.III c.17. It is clear from the preamble to the act that it was occasioned by the



- shortage of timber in the country, and the facility with which it was believed the act could be implemented is indicated by the phrase 'it is equal to inheritors whether tenants do not plant or have a property in what they plant'.
238. NLI 21.F.129(11) ; Braye papers 23 D 57 / 993-4, 997 ; PRONI D 3053 / 36. On the Otway estate near Nengh in the early 1750s large amounts of land were divided up and new ditches erected to define the new divisions. This was an on-going process for clauses on enclosure were still being included in leases on the estate in 1801. On the Hemsworth lands at Abbeville in Lower Ormond 5 enclosures named in the 17 denominations in 1759 consisted of units of 45, 56, 64, 45, and 24 acres each. Two of these were designated as sheep pasture, one cow pasture, one as arable and pasture, and one stone park.
239. Riall Tipperary deeds 1750-69, 10 May 1759, 24 Oct.1760 ; CEP 10 Jan.1760. The nature of the undertaking was illustrated in the case of another tenant who in 1760 agreed to divide the land (358 acres) with two rows of quicksets, elm or spanish chestnut within 21 feet of each other.
240. CEP 22 Sept.1763, FLJ 12-15 Oct.1768, 15-18 Feb.1769. 2-6 June 1770, 2-5 Jan.1771 ; FDJ 5-8 Oct.1765, 18-22 Mar., 26-29 Apr.1766; LC 29 Mar.1770.
241. FDJ 4-7 Apr.1761, 5-9 Oct.1762 ; CG 18-22 Oct.1794 ; FLJ 27-30 Mar.1776 ; PROI BR/ CAV/ 17/ 21, cf.TCD Barker Ponsonby P6/49. In 1762 the Roe demesne at Rockwell was enclosed with a limestone wall, and similar works were evident at Chancellorstown (Moore) and Derryluskan (Fethard). Walls might be required to be erected on lands adjoining new stretches of road, with the tenants on the lands of Graige in 1795 being obliged in 6 months to enclose with a limestone wall 4 feet high, lands skirting the new Borrisokane-Banagher road.
242. NLI Ormond bundle 1756-7 (24 July 1756), 'miscellaneous old deeds '(3 May 1757) ; High School : Tipperary deeds.
243. NLI : Ormond bundle 1770-74 (24 Oct.1770), cf. bundle 1780-82 (16 Oct.1782) ; Bagwell PC 12674 (i-iii) (2 Feb.1808) ; Riall Tipperary deeds (9 Aug.1798). A lease on the Ormond estate in 1770 stated that no more than 10 acres out of every 100 (on a 488 acre farm), be tilled or ploughed in the last four years of the lease. On the Sparrow lands near Clonmel in 1808 not more than 5 acres out of 50 were to be converted to tillage. Other landlords for particular farms were content if no more was ploughed up than already pertained on the farm.
244. Clonmel Museum : 1985 / 68, 76, 81, 83, 205 ; TCD Barker Ponsonby P 6 / 49, 54 ; NLI Riall : leases of 24 Oct.1760, 9 Aug., 4, 30 Oct.1798 ; PROI :

- BR/CAV/17/21 ; Braye 23 D 57/1006 ; FLJ 23-27 Sept.1786 ; NLI : Ormond, bundle 1756-7 (24 July 1756, 'miscellaneous old deeds '(3 May 1757). Tenants on the Bytler (Kilcash) estate in the mid-1750s had to apply 100 barrels of lime or 100 carts of dung to every acre ploughed up. Leases for the Riall lands near Cashel in 1798 laid down rules on the amount of land to be tilled, and if this was not maintained then 80 barrels of lime or 160 loads of dung were to be applied, and also every third crop was to be succeeded by this course of manuring. Lands were not to be tilled in the last few years (2,3,4, and 5 years are mentioned), before the expiry of a lease.
245. 5 Geo.III c.10. The previous acts were 17 Geo.II c.10, 21 Geo.II c.7 s.3, 1 Geo.III c.17 s.2. See also Ormond bundle 1770-74 (13 Apr.1770) ; Riall deeds 1790-1819 (30 Oct.1798) ; FLJ 6-10 Nov.1779. There is evidence that the practice was at least restricted. On the Butler (Ormond) estate in 1770 it was limited to the last 5 years of a 31-year lease, and then only provided that every acre burned be manured with 100 loads of dung or 80 barrels of lime. On the Riall estate in 1798 not more than 15 acres at a time could be burned. However, liberty to plough and burn lands as much as found convenient continued to be given as an inducement to tenants, as on Spinner lands at Knockinroe (300 acres) between Thurles and Roscrea in 1779.
246. Proc.Huguenot Soc.London xvii no.3 p.215 ; High School : lease to R.Maunsell, 4 May 1749. The palatines were covenanted to reclaim 2 1/2 acres of unprofitable land each year, and a tenant on the Erasmus Smith Schools estate in 1749 had to drain all the wet lands within the first 7 years.
247. NLI Ormond, bundle 1756-7 (24 July 1756), 'miscellaneous old deeds '(3 May 1757) ; Riall deeds 1750-69 (10 May 1759, 24 Oct.1760).
248. High School : Tipperary deeds (4 May 1749, 12 May 1750, 19 May 1770, 17 June 1789, 27 Feb.1810, 11 Mar.1814) ; NLI Ormond bundle 1752-4 (3 July 1752), bundle 1770-74 (13 Apr., 21 May 1770) ; Bagwell PC 12674 (i-iii) (2 Feb.1808) ; PROI BR/CAV/17/21. The penalty for ploughing up meadow land on the Erasmus Smith Schools estate in mid-century was 20s. per acre extra rent, by the 1790s it was £2, and by the 1810s it stood at £5. As early as 1752 £5 was the penalty for extending the tilled area in a lease on the Butler (Kilcash) estate, and is also found on the Butler (Ormond) 1770, Taylor lands at grange 1795, and Sparrow lands near Clonmel in 1808.
249. Braye 23 D 57/997 ; TCD Barker Ponsonby P6/46 ; NLI : Ormond, bundle 1800-09 (24 Oct.1776) ; Proc.Huguenot Soc.London *op.cit.* p.215. One tenant given a life lease on the Otway estate in 1801 had to enclose 20 acres with a ditch and plant it

- with quicksets, or else pay £30 extra on an acreable rent of £1.4s. Similarly with reclamation with 10s. extra rent being enjoined on the palatines who failed to carry out the reclaiming of 2 1/2 acres yearly. Similarly with the preservation of turf resources. The restriction on the use of turf to the tenant alone, not to allow others to sell it, incurred a penalty of 5s. to a tenant on the Barker estate in 1770, and a total restriction on its use involved a penalty of £5 per acre on the Butler (Ormond) estate in 1776.
250. Clonmel Museum : 1985/67 ; NLI Riall deeds (13 May 1769) ; Braye 23 D 57/1022 ; FLJ 2-6 June 1770.
251. NLI Riall deeds (9 May, 4 Oct.&30 Oct.1798) ; High School : Deeds 27 Feb.1810, 11 Mar.1814 ; RD 403 / 348 / 267736 ; CG 14-17 Mar.1785 ; [J.Lidwill], Life p.39.
252. High School : deeds 17 June 1789 ; NLI Bagwell op.cit. 2 Feb.1808 ; Barker Ponsonby P6/46a, 49, 54.
253. NLI Ms 11422 (12 Feb.1796) ; High School : deeds 19 May 1770 ; RD 372 / 513 / 250109, 428 / 313/ /280258, 532 / 4 / 347908. If acres were required as glebe land ; if the landlord wanted a site to build a mansion house ; or where a rent remission was given to a tenant to prevent him surrendering a lease due to a natural disaster, e.g. flooding. Some extension of the lease could be offered as a form of compensation for improvement. In 1759 Bolton Pennefather agreed to execute a lease of 99 years or longer at the existing rent to a tenant 'being very sensible of the great expenses, costs, and charges that the said James Grant had expended and laid out improving said lands'.
254. PP xxi pt.iii (1845) p.888.
255. PROI 976 / 6 / 5.
256. Proc. Dublin Society ii (1765-6) pp.300, 317, 325 ; iii (1766-7) p.496 ; iv (1767-8) pp.38, 42, 95 ; vi (1769-70) p.88 ; viii (1771-2) p.340 ; ix (1772-3) pp.156, 191 ; xviii (1781-2) pp.79, 97 ; CG 30 Oct.-3 Nov., 22-25 Dec.1802, 2-6 Apr., 14-18 May 1803 ; LJ 3-6 Nov., 11-14 May 1803. Those elected to membership included Sir Thomas Maude, Sir William Barker, T.Otway, Vere-Hunt, H.Minchin, K.Pennefather, P.Holmes, F.Mathew, W.Palliser, J.Toler, R.Waller (Newport), H.Prittie, W.Butler (Kilcash). Lord Mathew was the first president of the farming society which sought to encourage better breeds of livestock by awarding premiums, and which appears to have drawn its initial membership from the Cashel area.
257. Transactions of the Dublin Society v (1806) pp.132-4. After Galway (£3,681), Tipperary (£908) had the largest amount granted in the period 1768-1806. Some evidence suggests that the improvement leases advanced by Maude and Barker, for

instance, proved too strict. One tenant given a 7 lives lease on the Barker estate in May 1775, containing detailed clauses on residence, alienation, manuring and levelling banks, surrendered the following November. The cause is not apparent, but the acreable rent for the farm in question (£208 for 312 acres) was about 30s. which was above the county average for the time (20s.), and certainly well above Slievardagh's, where the Barker estate lay. The conditions imposed on the palatines produced greater success. For those lands which middlemen kept in their own hands and worked directly, some improvement took place. James Scully, when seeking a longer lease term from one landlord, James Smith-Barry in 1786, agreed to spend £200 sterling on improvements over 3 years if he got a 3 lives or 41 year lease (Smith-Barry DCN 1984/2/5, Scully to Smith-Barry 15 Feb.1786). Scully was also interested in stock breeding and for this purpose sent his son on a purchasing trip in 1792 to some of the best improvers of the age in England where he visited Bakewell at Loughborough, Chaplin at Louth, Coke at Holkham, and Young at Bradfield (NLI Ms 27580).

## Chapter IV : Notes

1. The dates of their representation are as follows : J. Damer (1735-6), N. Donnellan (1737-60), J. Dawson (1703-13), J. Harrison (1707-13), G. Mathew (1713, 1727-36), J. Meade (1692-1707), H. Minchin (1715-26), S. Moore (1737-60), K. Pennefather (1715-33). Unless indicated otherwise references to elections and individuals returned are taken from the introductory sections of the respective volumes of the Commons Journals (Ireland).
2. D.W. Hayton, 'The crisis in Ireland and the disintegration of Queen Anne's last ministry' IHS iv no 87 (1981) pp.202-3 ; J.G. Simms, 'The Irish parliament of 1713' Historical Studies iv (1963) p.84. The four convert MPs were Cornelius O'Callaghan, Sir Redmond Everard (both Fethard), George Mathew (County Tipperary), and Derby Egan (Kilkenny City).
3. For Ormond's recommendation of candidates in the 1692 election for the county and Clonmel see BL Add Ms 28,877 fols 374-375v.
4. Hayton op. cit. pp.202-3.
5. Quoted in ibid. p.203. The statement emanated from either Ephaphroditus Marsh or Matthew Jacob the sitting MPs for Fethard.
6. The Dublin Journal 28-31 Oct. 1727 ; Comms. Jnl. (Ire) iii pt.1 pp.470, 501. It was alleged that during the poll the sheriff showed a partiality to his father. He terminated the poll after five days 'under pretence of a stone being thrown into the court', leaving over 80 gentlemen of the 'best figure and condition in their country' and other freeholders unpolled.
7. 1 Geo.II c.9, s.7. The bill received the royal assent on 6 May 1728. On this issue see J.G. Simms, 'Irish catholics and the parliamentary franchise 1692-1728' IHS xii (1960-61) pp.28-37.
8. G. Mathew to H. Otway, 18 May 1735 (NLI Ms 15,055 (i)).
9. Ibid.
10. Comms. Jnl. (Ire) iv pt.1 p.190. The vote and interest of Henry Otway of Castle Otway was canvassed by Dawson on the initiative of the attorney general Robert Jocelyn (NLI Ms 15,055 (i)).
11. Dublin Weekly Advertiser 22 Feb., 4 Mar. 1736-7.
12. PP Corporations (Ire) xxviii (1835) pp.461-7 ; PRONI D 207 / 3 / 19 (Memo by archbishop Bolton on Cashel borough, n.d. [1730s]). Originally Cashel was an archiepiscopal borough but the influence of the archbishop waned from 1638 when a confirmatory charter established the borough under the title 'City of Cashel'.

13. NLI Ms 5575 fol 119v.
14. GO Ms 570 p.67. Pennefather's election in 1708 produced division within the corporation, for in July the Pennefather faction of 8 aldermen was opposed by a contrary group of 8 others who forwarded a rival candidate for the mayoralty. A compromise candidate was arrived at whereby Pennefather was to be mayor for 1708, after which it was to devolve on the rival candidate, and thereafter the office was to be filled by the eldest alderman in any given year (NLI Ms 5576 pp.6-7).
15. NLI Ms 5577 fols 11-22v.
16. Comms. Jnl. (Ire) iv pt.1 pp.124, 128-32.
17. W. Moore to H. Boyle, n.d. (PRONI D 2707 / A1 / 2 / 106) ; A.P.W. Malcomson. 'The parliamentary traffic of this country' in T. Bartlett and D.W. Hayton (ed.), Penal era and golden age (1979) pp.145-6 ; Comms. Jnl. (Ire) iv pt.1 127-32. The judgment of the bishop of Kilmore on the outcome of the petition was that, given that a majority in the house were in favour of Pennefather and that if the charges in Moore's petition were proven, then 'I shall allow the archbishop of Cashel to be a man of virtue, probity and honour, which I am far from believing at present' (HMC Eyre Machim Mss vi (1909) p.60). The comment of another observer who referred to 'the flame that he [the archbishop] has put the County of Tipperary ', is also relevant (W. Taylor to Egmont, 11 Dec. 1733, BL Add Ms 46984 pp.214-6).
18. K. Pennefather to H. Boyle, 11 June 1733 (PRONI D 2707 / A1 / 2 / 104) ; E. Hewitt, Lord Shannon's letters to his son (1982) xxix.
19. FLJ 5-8 Jan. 1791.
20. Falkland, Parliamentary representation (1790) p.95.
21. The text of the charter is given in full in Burke, Clonmel pp.218-27.
22. Ibid. p.114.
23. The case of the protestant freemen of Clonmell n.p., n.d. [1705].
24. Ibid. Moore's following at this stage is unclear. He obtained 24 votes mostly from the burgesses who had nominated him, while the majority of freemen were opposed to him. They included persons such as R. Hamerton, R. Whitehand, J. Marshall, P. Riall, and T. Morgan who themselves or their descendants were to oppose the Moores subsequently. A further by-law was passed in 1713 restricting the creation of non-residents as freemen and it obliged in-coming mayors to take an oath to this effect, and it also excluded catholics and protestants with catholic wives from eligibility for freedom. (Burke, Clonmel p.114).
25. Burke, Clonmel p.115.

26. Ibid. pp.115-6. The creation of the freemen was a strategy on Moore's part intended to obtain a majority in the selection of the town's recorder, a particularly influential office since its holder arbitrated in any legal disputes in the borough. His duties also included the swearing in of the mayor and burgesses, and the adjudication of pleas over the powers of the corporation deriving from its charter. Moore's choice for recorder was Thomas Marley, the solicitor general, who however was removed following a successful petition by the rival candidate, Robert Marshall. The participation of Marley re-inforces the view that government favoured Moore in this local contest. In the 1725 mayoral election two persons were chosen but the privy council decided in favour of Robert Hamerton, but Moore refused to accept this decision. In an amazing development the decision of the privy council was overturned when Moore obtained a judgment in the court of King's Bench whereby Hamerton was removed from the mayoral office.
27. See note 3 above.
28. Burke, Clonmel p.116. The original majority stood at Guy Moore 169, Stephen Moore 161, Robert Hamerton 136, and Robert Marshall 133.
29. BL Add Ms 46,984 pp.214-6 ; Burke, Clonmel p.116.
30. Earl of Meath to H. Boyle, n.d. [c.1732 / 1733] (PRONI D 2707 / A1 / 2 / 102). Prendergast was Lord Meath's father-in-law.
31. Burke, Clonmel p.117.
32. Two sets of the proposals survive : R. Marshall to Mrs. [ ] Moore, 1 May 1736 ; B. Meheux (?) to A. Congreve, n.d. [c.1736] (PROI Acc 1079 / 6d, 6h) ; Burke, Clonmel p.117. The first set of proposals envisaged an equal division of the corporation between the Moores on the one hand, and the Marshall and Hamerton families on the other. To this end Marshall proposed that the number of freemen belonging to the Moore party be made equal to that of the other ; that an agreement be made respecting the future election of mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and freemen ; that the parliamentary representation be shared between the two interests, the choice at the next vacancy to go to the Moores ; and that the profits of the mayoralty and the disposal of the other offices go to Marshall and Hamerton for half the number of years they had up until then been enjoyed by the Moores, and afterwards alternatively. The second set of proposals dating to the same period of 1736-7 differed slightly. They included the provision that in the event of a vacancy in parliament it was to go to Hamerton, and the next one to Thomas Chidley Moore. In the event of a general election a Moore representative and one of either Hamerton or Marshall were to obtain

- the two seats. Their interest was to 'descend no further than the sons of either of them'. In a new charter, which it was proposed to obtain, provision was to be made whereby the mayor and bailiffs were to act as a check on each other. Thus when one of the Moore family held the mayoralty the bailiffs were to be drawn from the Hamerton / Marshall group and vice versa. In the first instance Morgan was to be mayor according to the new charter, while Moore was to have the choice of bailiffs. Given that the Moores had enjoyed the profits of the mayoralty in the recent past, Marshall and Hamerton were to have the mayoralty for four successive years in order to compensate them, and alternatively thereafter. The reason for this arrangement can be deduced from the fact that in 1736 opponents of the Moores claimed that mayors nominated by them had plunged the corporation into debt, had made long leases of corporation land at low rents and large fines, and had mortgaged the revenues of the corporation. The final clause stipulated that burgesses should be replaced at death by persons drawn from whichever side the deceased belonged.
33. The by-laws are given in full in Burke, Clonmel pp.117-8. It is instructive to note that these by-laws were passed on 19 April 1748 and that ten days previously the Newton act (21 Geo. II c.10) received the royal assent whereby residence in parliamentary boroughs was made unnecessary for burgesses.
34. Burke, Clonmel p.118. The composition of the anti-Moore faction shifted in emphasis since the time of Marshall and Hamerton in the 1730s. Some of the descendants of the early group, Thomas Morgan, Henry Morgan, and Jeremiah Morgan, participated in 1748 but the main stimulus for the revolt against the Moores at this time from the quaker element and included William Riall, Thomas Bagwell, and William Bagwell.
35. Burke, Clonmel pp.118-9. The by-laws were carried largely because the large body of freemen in the Moore camp were non-resident and therefore could not be mobilised in time to resist the measures. However, when the time for choosing the new mayor came round in June 1748 the Moore party appeared in strength and succeeded in getting its candidate elected as mayor. This success was reversed in 1750 when Jeremiah Morgan was again chosen mayor and during his period of office the by-laws of 1748 were confirmed and extended.
36. Burke, Clonmel p.119. Kellett was a compromise candidate for the mayoralty agreed on by Stephen Moore and Robert Marshall, and his choice was deemed to have restored harmony to a corporation divided for 28 years (DG 2-6 Oct.1753).
37. Comms. Jnl. (Ire) v pp.240, 332-44, 357 ; NLI Ms 8019 (3).



38. Comms. Jnl. (Ire) v p.357.
39. AH xii (1943) p.137 ; M. Bodkin, 'Notes on the Irish parliament in 1773' PRIA xlvi (1942-3) p.214.
40. CG 24-27 June 1782.
41. The case of the protestant freemen of Clonmell ; NLI Ms 8019 (3) ; H. Grattan, Memoirs of the life and times of the Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan iii (1841) p.484 ; PP Corporations (Ire) xxviii (1835) pp.479-89 ; Falkland, Parliamentary representation (1790) p.95.
42. On Fethard see PP Corporations (Ire) op. cit. p.501 ; NLI Ms 5858-9 (Minutes for Fethard corporation for 1707-74, 1742-1834) ; The Irish Genealogist iv pp.81-92, 183-93, 308-22, 616-24 , v pp.72-86, 201-15, 370-82 which contain biographical lists of burgesses, recorders, and freemen extracted from the minute books.
43. PP Corporations (Ire) op. cit. p.502. The sovereign could admit freemen without limitation as to their number or qualification. Admission to freedom was not automatic by virtue of birth, marriage, or service.
44. Comms. Jnl. (Ire) iii pt.1 p.224 ; Burke, Clonmel p.115. In 1715 Guy Moore (MP 1715-26) took one of the seats and an attempt to establish another Moore in the second borough seat, through a by-election in 1719, succeeded. The contest on this occasion involved rivalry between Joseph Slattery, whom one source (Burke) identifies as Lord Cahir's agent, and Stephen Moore (MP 1719-26) of Barne who on petition won the seat. An arbitration into the validity of the votes for both put the gross poll for Moore as 146 and 55 for Slattery, but when objections to the status of voters was taken into account the net poll stood at 32 and 52 respectively (NLI Ms 19,171 loose leaves at end).
45. Burke, Clonmel pp.115, 153.
46. NLI Ms 5858 (second part) pp.45-6.
47. King's Inns Ms 39 D fol 127v. The poll was C.O'Callaghan 307 votes, S. Moore 234, and W. Barton 156.
48. The Irish Genealogist iv p.82 ; FJ 15-17 Oct.1772 ; NLI Ms 5858 (second part) pp.130-37.
49. FLJ 29 May-1June 1776 ; Comms. Jnl.(Ire) ix pt.1 pp.298, 399. In the 1768 election the O'Callaghans returned a member of the family for one seat, and the other went to J. Croker of Co. Limerick who purchased his seat, coming in by the Clutterbuck / Prittie interest in Fethard. The fact that the latter could have an influence over the return of one member for Fethard shows that it was still open as far as the

- establishment of a firm interest is concerned. But by the early 1770s the Barton and O'Callaghan interests were vying for control (IHS xi (1958) p.31 ; Bodkin op. cit. p.214 ; AH xii (1943) p.138).
50. FJ 6-9 July 1782, 31 May-3 June, 1-3 July, 19-21 Aug. 1783.
51. NLI PC 46 (ii) Barton papers, folder entitled 'Fethard Corporation (ii)', document headed 'Copy of a paper given by Lord Lismore to Edwd. Collins about the corporation, the 29 April [17]87'.
52. H. Grattan, Memoirs op. cit. iii p.484 ; FLJ 5-8 Jan.1791 ; PP Corporations (Ire) op. cit. p.502. It was proposed to make the burgesses resign en bloc and then each side to re-appoint an equal number with a thirteenth being an agreed choice. The overall purpose was to achieve 'a permanent line of equality . . . not liable to be disturbed by adventurous people'(NLI PC 46 (ii) 'Copy of a paper' op. cit.). By 1795 it was suggested that 8 burgesses resign and others replace them in order to make up 12 in all (NLI PC 46 (ii) folder entitled 'Fethard Corporation (ii)', document on directions given by Messrs. H. Duquery. G. Ponsonby, and W. Sandes on the regulation of the corporation, 8 July 1795).
53. See above p.62. For the importance which Massy attached to his inter-county web of connections see J. Massy to A. Parker, 4 July 1795 (NLI Ms 11,418 unsorted).
54. It is discussed more fully below (pp.160-163) in the context of those events.
55. T. Mathew to A.[Parker, Castlough, Nenagh], n.d.[1761] (NLI Ms 11,418 unsorted).
56. Comms. Jnl. (Ire) vii pp.102-3.
57. Bodkin op. cit. p.213.
58. Woulfe to F. Mathew, 24 Feb. 1768, same to H.Prittie, 13 July 1768 (NLI Ms 9630 unfoliated).
59. Brady, Press (1965) p.131.
60. FJ 16-20 Feb., 23-27 Apr. 1768. On two subsequent occasions Bagwell had to re-assure freeholders that he was not declining to stand despite reports to the contrary. Though he was earliest in the race Bagwell claimed as an excuse after his withdrawal that he had not begun his canvass until very late (FJ 12-15 Mar., 2-6 Aug. 1768, FLJ 13-16 July 1768).
61. FJ 27 Feb.-1 Mar.1768. He identified himself as a 'freeholder of no property'.
62. Ibid. 12-16, 19-23 Apr. 1768. The letter purported to be a reply from Maude to Sir Edward Newenham (who had obtained an address from the grand jury of Co. Dublin supporting Maude's actions in the purge in Tipperary in the early 1760s), who had

- supported his candidature in the election. It referred in particular to Maude's part in the quashing of the quarterage bill.
63. For a statement of this see FJ 27 Feb.-1 Mar.1768.
64. R.B.McDowell, Ireland in the age of imperialism and revolution 1760-1801 (1979) p.211.
65. FDJ 1-4, 25-29 Mar.1766, FJ 27 Feb-1 Mar.1768. There were 28 signatures 9 of whom with the sheriff D.Toler were grand jurors that year : J.Bagwell, W.Barker, M.Jacob, N.Taylor, W.Perry, J.Power, G.Taylor, and S.Alleyn.
66. FJ 12-16 July 1768.
67. T.W.Moody and W.E.Vaughan, A new history of Ireland iv (1986) pp.205-7.
68. FJ 2-6 Aug.1768. Bagwell nevertheless commended Maude on his victory.
69. Ibid. 30 July-2 Aug.1768. The Parker family were sympathetic to Thomas Mathew in 1761 (see note 55). The writ for the election , addressed to A.Parker, Clonmel, 21 July 1768, survives in NLI Ms 11,418 (unsorted).
70. PROI M 734 (1). There was a cool attitude on the part of the Mathew family to Maude in the Dublin social circuit in 1772 (NLI Ms 5102 entry for 6 Oct.1772). Thomas Mathew was an unsuccessful candidate for the borough of Callan in 1768. The candidates were T.Mathew, J.Echlin, and Henry and John Flood. The poll was 19 for Mathew and Echlin, and 11 for the Floods. Seven voters were objected to for being either catholics, unqualified, or as having been bribed. Despite the majority, the Floods' uncle Charles, who was found guilty at Kilkenny assizes of usurping the magistracy of Callan, returned his two nephews (Comms. Jnl. (Ire) viii pt.1 pp.303, 320, 322, 341 ; FLJ 23-27 July 1768).
71. Large op.cit. p.37.
72. T.Bartlett, 'The Townshend viceroyalty, 1767-72' in Penal era op.cit. pp.88-112.
73. Large op.cit. pp.31, 34, 35, 38, 39 ; Bartlett 'Townshend' op.cit. p.108. The marriage articles of Cornelius O'Callaghan and Frances, second daughter of John Ponsonby, with a portion of £4,000, date to 1774 (RD 301 / 572 / 202664).
74. Bodkin op.cit. pp.183, 198, 200, 213-4. For the winning of the Pennefathers over to the government side see T.Bartlett, Macartney in Ireland (1980) p.11.Prittie, though defeated in the county election in 1768, came into parliament by virtue of a purchased seat at Gowran. This was part of the arrangement with Mathew.
75. Bodkin op.cit. pp.213-4 ; Bartlett 'Townshend' p.108.
76. FJ 30 Nov.-2 Dec.1773.
77. The economic issues are treated below p.229.

78. McDowell op.cit. pp.233-8 ; Moody and Vaughan, New history iv pp.210-12.
79. For Milton's role see Bartlett, Macartney p.180.
80. Bartlett, 'Townshend' pp.97-103.
81. Bodkin op.cit.pp.183, 213 ; and note 87 below. It was said of Hely-Hutchinson that 'if His Majesty gave him the whole kingdom of England and Ireland he would beg the Isle of Man for a cabbage garden' (Henry Mac Dougall, Sketches of Irish political characters of the present day, (1799) p.60).
82. 13,14 Geo.III c.6.
83. FJ 2-4 Dec.1773.
84. Ibid. 11-14 Dec.1773.
85. Ibid. 12-15 Feb.1773. This records a contribution from Junius junior criticising Maude in terms that 'you were twice sent to parliament on popular ground without (allowedly by all parties) being possessed of a single qualification necessary to represent such a county'.
86. W.Hunt (ed.), The Irish parliament in 1775 (1907) p.35. My emphasis.
87. Ibid. pp.14-6, 26, 38, 39, 40, 42, 45. Townshend gave Croker's son an ensigncy, but his connection with Sir Henry Cavendish probably swayed him away from support. As for the supporters Guy Moore Coote received a pension of £200, Townshend granted an additional one of £200, and he wanted more. His support was deemed to arise from 'situation'. Damer's support had recently won him promotion from a position of commissioner of appeals to the board of accounts. The Pennefathers, father and son, had their former opposition compromised by a pension of £210 to a daughter, another of £200 to a sister, and by an ensigncy to a nephew by Townshend. They continued to press for further emoluments. Holmes had hoped to obtain office under Townshend and this was fulfilled under Harcourt who made him comptroller of stamps, and he received a lump sum of 400 guineas. John Hely-Hutchinson, a barrister, received either personally or for his disposal, offices or places worth £7,000 before he was made provost of Trinity College in 1774. In addition he received two ensigncies, 'small favours' for his friends in Cork in the revenue, and the recommendation by Townshend of his wife for a peerage. When appointed provost he relinquished the offices of prime serjeant and alnager (worth £2,100), but was compensated by the customship of Strangford (worth £1,000). Despite a host of other posts being put at his disposal, he was still judged to be 'dissatisfied'. Cornelius O'Callaghan, though he obtained a living worth £150 from Harcourt which made him express indirectly some expectation of support, he

continued in opposition, a position consolidated by his marriage into the Ponsonby family in 1774. Henry Prittie also approached Townshend for favours, but seemingly none were forthcoming and so he continued in opposition. Sir William Osborne was expelled from his office of commissioner of excise for refusing to obey Townshend. He appears to have managed his dealings with government badly thereafter and he was in opposition by default rather than by choice.

88. The foregoing is an abstract of the essential points derived from Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on the Tipperary election n.d. [1777] passim.

89. FJ 8-10 Nov.1774, 24-26 Jan. 1775 ; FLJ 31 Dec.1774-4 Jan.1775, 30 Mar.-3 Apr.1776 ; Dublin Weekly Journal 20-27 Apr.1776. The preliminaries were marked by a duel between Mathew and Prittie. The duel was important in upholding the gentleman's code of honour and it had a 'purifying' function (A.P.W.Malcomson, John Foster : the politics of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy (1978) p.119 n.1). A set of rules for the conduct of duels were drawn up at the Clonmel spring assizes of 1777 (Burke, Clonmel pp.154-5).

90. A total of 48 votes were rejected. The value of the freeholds was as follows :

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Rejected</u>	<u>Gross</u>
£2	262	26	288
£10	1,127	19	1,146
£20	32	3	35
	1,421	48	1,469

All those with £20 freeholds derived the franchise by virtue of a rent charge to that amount. These figures are computed from RIA Ms 12 D 36.

91. Minutes of evidence op.cit. p.119 ; Comms. Jnl. (Ire) ix pt.1 pp.297, 312, 320.

92. AH xii (1943) pp.137-44 ; the 1776 poll book is RIA Ms 12 D 36. Unless otherwise stated the following section is based on an interpretation of both these sources.

93. For the number of freeholders see Minutes of evidence op.cit. p.54.

94. CG 8-12 Jan.1784. There were 1600 freeholders in the county at that date.

95. James Otway, who married Sarah daughter of William Woodward of Cloughprior in 1749, was first cousin of Thomas Otway who married Martha Prittie in 1757. A further consolidation of this connection is in evidence in relation to the Falkiner family. Thomas Falkiner married Mary daughter of William Woodward, while a sister of Charlotte Falkiner married in 1748 C.Bayly , fourth son of John Bayly whose widow, Deborah married Henry Prittie (father of the 1776 candidate) in 1736 (Genealogy I).

96. Lettice, aunt of Thomas Otway who married Martha Prittie in 1757, married Daniel Toler in 1732. The importance of family connections in forging a strong political interest were cogently expressed by John Massy writing to Anthony Parker of Castlelough in 1795, when he said that 'thank God our family and connections branch out into much force, strength, and influence in that county [Tipperary] also, where I think we (taking us all as united in that county as we are in the Co[unty] of Limerick), can produce a force much more powerful that (sic) can be found in the alliance of our opponents' (Massy to Parker, 4 July 1795 NLI Ms 11,418, unsorted).
97. Those who formed Toler's main supporters, as distinct from that emanating from the association with Prittie, can be distinguished by those who voted singly for him. There were 16 instances of this including D.Gahan (Coolquill). S.Osborne, and three Otways of Lissenhall near Nenagh. The emphasis within the Prittie / Toler alliance can be implied from those who advanced the election petition on Toler's behalf. They were M.Jacob, J.Bagwell, W.B.Palliser, G.Taylor, J.Green, J.Head, J.Otway, C. and J.Minchin, and four members of the Pepper family (Comms. Jnl. (Ire) ix pt.1 p.320).
98. AH xii (1943) p.141.
99. A total of 278 persons or 19% of the gross poll had residences outside the county.
100. Hewitt, Shannon xxxiii, xxxix. The Ponsonby connection is re-inforced by the fact that Chambre Ponsonby, cousin to Lord Bessborough, was nephew to Sir William Barker (and his eventual successor), who voted in the Prittie interest. Additionally the Floods, who had opposed Thomas Mathew in the Callan election of 1768, were married into Sir Henry Cavendish's family like Prittie (AH xii (1943) pp.145, 146).
101. The other sitting member, Sir Thomas Maude, though mentioned in the 1775 list, did not play a role in the 1776 election. As a peer, Lord De Montalt, he would have been excluded from voting.
102. M.Callanan, A history of the barony of Eliogarty (NLI Mic P4546 p.204) ; St. Patrick's College, Thurles : Skehan notebooks, parish of Thurles ii p.88 ; Minutes of evidence pp.36-42. The denominations on the estate for which the freeholders were registered were Rathcoony and Lagnafulla.
103. FLJ 12-15 June 1776, FJ 2-4 July 1776.
104. The combined yearly estate of catholics specifically ascribed incomes in the list was £15,700. This is a minimum figure, however, as not all income levels were known to the compiler of the list, with four of the wealthiest catholics, J.McCarthy, W.Woulfe, J.Galway, and P.Dalton being described as 'rich' or 'very rich', and no income specified.

105. For the marriage pattern of the family see above pp.80-81 and Genealogy II.
106. See below pp.343-4 for a fuller discussion and Tables XX, XXI.
107. See below pp.294-5.
108. Munster volunteer registry (1782) pp.18,57.
109. Ibid. pp.18, 20-21, 57-66.
110. Ibid. p.23.
111. For example R.O'Donnell, W.Smyth, and R.Sause in Tyrone's Carrick Volunteers.
112. In this context the appearance of John Hely-Hutchinson's Commercial restraints of Ireland (Dublin, 1779) should be noted.
113. FJ 22-24 Feb.1780 also printed in C.H.Wilson, A compleat collection of the resolutions of the volunteers etc i (1782) p.278.
114. Burke, Clonmel p.159. The sheriff, T.P.Firman, did not attend.
115. FJ 17-19 July 1781. The notice was signed 'A friend to Old Molyneux'.
116. P.D.H.Smyth, 'The volunteers and parliament 1779-84' in Bartlett and Hayton, Penal era pp.122-4.
117. Wilson, A compleat collection pp.24, 69-70, 80-81, 157, 169-70, 180, 185-6.
118. Ibid pp.269-70. In May 1782 the Tipperary delegates at a meeting of the volunteer corps of Munster were H.Prittie, E.Moore, S.Jacob, and S.Alleyn (Ibid.p.253).
119. Ibid.pp.219-20.
120. FJ 23-26 Mar.1782 (also printed in Wilson op.cit. pp.144-7 and in CG 30 June-3 July 1783, the latter possibly as part of the electioneering campaign in the county at that time).
121. FJ 23-26 Mar. 1782.
122. Mathew to Carlisle, 19 Mar. 1782 (PRO HO 100 / 1 / 5-6).
123. Mathew told Carlisle that 16 Tipperary grand jurors were influenced in their decision by the fact that Beresford had concurred in similar resolutions in Co.Waterford (Ibid.).
124. Carlisle to Shelburne, 13 Apr.1782 (PRO HO 100 / 1 / 60) ; North to Northington, 2 July 1783 (BL Add Ms 33,100 fols 189,194).
125. Address of the sheriff, clergy, and freeholders of Co.Tipperary to the king, n.d. [c.July 1782] (PRO HO 100 / 2 / 231).
126. McDowell , Ireland pp.293-326 ; Smyth, 'Volunteers' pp.130-35.
127. CG 14-17 Apr.1783. The section which follows is based on this source.
128. Ibid. 15-19 May, 5-9 June, 30 June-3 July 1783.

129. See above pp.148,150 and note 120.
130. Peter Holmes was MP for Banagher 1761-90, 1792-7. The family began to establish itself there from the 1690s at least, members of the family were regularly elected as sovereigns, and its take-over of the borough was facilitated by the smallness of the electorate which in 1740 consisted of a sovereign, 6 burgesses and 7 freemen (BL Add Ms 19,829 fols 28, 30v, 34, 36, 45, 47, 52, 70). In 1790 Holmes disposed of his interest in the borough to Alexander Caledon, Co.Tyrone for £10,000, and bought himself a parliamentary seat at Kilmallock (Falkland *op.cit.* p.54).
131. HC 12 Sept. 1782 ; CEP 12 Aug., 12 Sept. 1782 ; FLJ 21-24 Aug 1782.
132. FLJ 15-18 Jan.1783.
133. CG 5-9 June 1783 ; FLJ 14-18 June 1783.
134. David Walshe, a supporter of the association and one of the sitting MPs for Fethard, failed to be elected. As early as July 1783 he was canvassing on the popular ticket declaring his support for all the popular issues : that the king, lords, and commons were the only body competent to legislate for Ireland ; repeal of the perpetual mutiny bill ; and a modification of Poynings law. Cornelius O'Callaghan, the other sitting MP for Fethard held opposite views. Walshe again advertised his candidature less than a year later, emphasising that if O'Callaghan had 'uniformly opposed', then electors should decide who was the more fit to be returned. In the event a healing of divisions between the Barton and O'Callaghan factions in Fethard corporation emerged and this operated to Walshe's electoral disadvantage (FJ 6-9 July 1782, 31 May-3 June 1783).
135. Johnston, 'Irish parliament' pp.226-7.
136. Grattan, Memoirs iii p.471.
137. McDowell, Ireland pp.306-9.
138. CG 12-15 Jan.1784.
139. Ibid. 8-12 Jan.1784. In his reply Fogarty gave as his reason for refusal the fact that the petition was signed by only one gentleman from the barony of Lower Ormond, one from Eliogarty, and none from Owey and Arra, Upper Ormond, or Ikerrin. At such a time of year he was reluctant to assemble the county, especially as Clonmel was not very central.
140. Ibid. Considering his refusal and the importance of the issue, they called a meeting for Clonmel on 15 January. The precedent of freeholders assembling without the consent of the sheriff was advocated by the Constitutional Association (CG 14-17 Apr.1783).



141. Comms. Jnl (Ire) xi pt.1 p.219.
142. Ibid. They advocated that no elector be allowed vote if he ceased to reside in his constituency, county or borough, unless he had freehold or leasehold property of at least £20 yearly there. An elector should be resident at least 12 months before registering. All rotten boroughs, i.e. in Munster of less than 100 electors before 10 November 1783, be allowed to return members by an extension of the franchise to the relevant adjoining parish or barony. If the electorate went below 100 then it should cease to be qualified to return members.
- The right to vote in boroughs was to be vested in protestants with a freehold of at least 40s value ; in protestants with a leasehold interest of £10 in the county originally for 61 years or over, of which 20 years remained ; and in those with the same value of leasehold in cities, towns or boroughs returning MPs originally of 31 years with 15 years unexpired. The right of freemen to vote was to be defined by birth, service, or marriage, or by being a trader or manufacturer for 12 months before any election. By-laws enacted by corporations 'to contract the right of franchise' were deemed illegal. This was particularly relevant to Clonmel where in 1782 a body of the freemen tried to overturn the by-laws which had given the Moores a monopoly in the borough.
- A deputy should be appointed for each barony by the sheriff to take the poll there on the same day, and polling should be by voice not ballot. Those receiving pensions (other than life pensions or ones for 21 years at least), were to be judged incapable of sitting in parliament. Those already possessing pensions for life or 21 years plus should be entitled to resign and seek re-election, and similarly for those holding place. An oath to this effect should be taken by each member before assuming his seat, and if he relented he should forfeit it.
143. CEP 22 July 1784.
144. Ibid. and cf. G. Ponsonby to Bolton, n.d. [1784?] (NLI Ms 16,350(26)).
145. Rutland to Sydney, 20 Sept. 1784 enclosing petition of the freeholders of Co. Tipperary 19 Aug. 1784 (PRO HO 100 / 14 / 108-10) ; NLI Ms 52 (P) / 19 ; FLJ 21-25 Aug. 1784. Twelve counties, including Tipperary, declared against delegates ; 7 appointed them ; and 13 did nothing. The matter of electing delegates was divisive. Henry Prittie though he favoured reform was against delegates, and Toler's position on the issue is unclear though he may have been in favour (Johnston, 'Irish parliament' pp.199, 204).
146. McDowell, Ireland pp.327-38 ; Malcomnson, Foster pp.49-58.
147. CG 27-30 June 1785 ; FLJ 25-29 June 1785. The following members of the

Constitutional Association were present : R.Baillie, G.& W.Baker, R. & T.Lloyd, E.Moore, T. & P.Smithwick. The group included some Tipperary town merchants : J.Evans, R.Hoops, E. & W. Rearden, and J.Pope.

148. FLJ 12-15 Oct., 5-9 Nov. 1785 ; CG 10-14 Nov.1785. There was one, unnamed, dissenting voice. Letters from Toler and Prittie were read at the meeting seeking to know the sense of the constituents on the bill. Barton's ready compliance in convening the meeting, outside assize time, was noted with satisfaction.

149. CG 10-14 Nov.1785.

150. Hewitt, Shannon xlii.

151. Address dated 27 Mar.1789 (PRO HO 100 / 5 / 386).

Judge	Date	Members
Thurles (1)	1760	46
Thurles (2)	1768	44
Carrick (1)	1762	9
Carrick (2)	1770	30
Cashel	1764	39
Charleville (1) (Colles)	1770	38
Charleville (2) (Burke)	1769	27
Charleville (3) (Brywell)	1758	9
Nearby	1764	17
Tipperary	1769	20
Water	1768	28

Madison was created provincial deputy on 7 Aug 1777 and a full after his conversion. On 5 September 1779 he resigned as deputy owing to his reasons for being 'sometimes engaged by matters of consequence relative to my family' (J.F. Lippert and P. Cooney, *Madison of the North: A Study of His Life and Work*, pp. 10-11).

## Chapter V : Notes

1. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii p.71.
2. W.Hogan and L.O'Buachalla, 'Letters and papers of James Cotter junior, 1689-1720' JCHAS lxxviii (1963) p.68
3. Halifax to Egremont, [ ] Feb.1762 (PRO SPI 63 / 421 / 76v. The catholic peer in question was Lord Trimleston.
4. See above p.72. The will was proved on 18 Sept.1760 (PROI Betham will abstracts, xlvii pp.39-40).
5. A.Griffith, Miscellaneous tracts (1788) p.240. As recently as 1759 Mathew had sponsored the building of a catholic chapel of 14 couples in the parish of Inch (Archivium Hibernicum xxxiv (1976-7) p.23).
6. Grand Lodge of Freemasons of Ireland, Dublin : registers of lodges for the eighteenth century ; P.Crossle, Irish masonic records (1973) ; T.de Vere White, 'The freemasons' in T.D.Williams (ed.), Secret societies in Ireland (1973) pp.49, 53. The Thurles lodge (no.5), established in August 1757, had as its first members Thomas Mathew, James Butler, and George Grace. At least three members were required before a lodge could be given a licence to practise.
7. Grand Lodge : registers. The membership of all lodges functioning in the county by the 1760s is as follows :

<u>Lodge</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Thurles (1)	1760	46
Thurles (2)	1768	44
Carrick (1)	1762	9
Carrick (2)	1770	30
Cashel	1764	39
Clonmel (1) (Collet)	1770	38
Clonmel (2) (Burke)	1769	15
Clonmel (3) (Bagwell)	1758	9
Nenagh	1764	17
Tipperary	1769	23
Roscrea	1768	18

Mathew was created provincial deputy on 7 July 1757 a year and a half after his conversion. On 8 September 1759 he resigned as deputy giving as his reasons his being 'somewhat engaged in matters of consequence relative to my family' (J.P.Lepper and P.Crossle, History of the grand lodge of free and accepted masons of

- Ireland (1925), i, pp.85, 275).
8. Burke, Clonmel pp.365-6.
  9. Ibid. ; [John Lidwell], Life op.cit. pp.20-21. Gahan cutely arranged for the duel to be fought on the Co.Waterford side of the River Suir and made provision for a ready means of escape back out of that jurisdiction to Tipperary. However, Gahan and Matthew Bunbury (Kilfeacle) later gave notice of their surrender to the sheriff of Co.Waterford in order to stand trial there for the murder of Prendergast (DG 2-6 June 1761). In October 1760 a son of the last, Jeffery Prendergast of Ballylomasney and James Doherty of Kedragh, two important catholic gentlemen, were the victims of an arbitrary attack by the military in Clonmel apparently with the complicity of the authorities, and the culprits were allowed to go unpunished (FDJ 8-11 Nov.1760).
  10. Details on the build up to the election can be found in DG 1-4 Nov.1760, 24-28 Feb., 23-26 May 1761 ; FDJ 16-19 May 1761. As late as February 1761 Mathew was prepared to allow Anthony Parker of Castlough to stand in his stead (Mathew to Parker, 7 Feb.1761, NLI Ms 11418 (unsorted)). A scrutiny of Maude's and Mathew's votes was mutually agreed on and was undertaken by the sheriff on 14 May, but this was not completed by the time the writ was due to be returned, thus accounting for the double return. It has been estimated that there was a contest or poll in only one out of every ten constituencies in 1761, i.e. about 15 contests in the entire country (A new history of Ireland iv p.197).
  11. AH xv (1944) p.28.
  12. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.71-2.
  13. Ibid.p.72.
  14. R.Chester to H.Cole-Bowen, 14 Nov.1761 (AH xv (1944) p.28). Cole-Bowen was a landowner in north Tipperary.
  15. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.102-3, 104-5.
  16. E.Porrirt and A.Porrirt, The unreformed house of commons (1903), ii p.225.
  17. McDowell, Ireland p.183.
  18. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.138, 148-9, 164, 172 ; 1 Geo.III c.12. An act of 1746 disabled Irish subjects in the French or Spanish service from holding property (19 Geo.II c.7). So far as the new act was concerned, judgments obtained and suits instituted before 2 March 1762 were not to be affected. There was earlier concern over the title of protestant purchasers in 1735 and 1740 (PRO SPI 63 / 398, also printed in Boulter, Letters (1770) ii p.141 ; HMC Varoius (Eyre Matcham) vi (1909) p.63 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) iv pt.1 p.336).

19. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.116, 172 ; 1 Geo. III c.13.
20. On 1 March 1764 the committee preparing the bill, comprising F.Andrews (Provost, T.C.D.), E.S.Pery, and R.Fitzgerald, were instructed to receive a clause for confirming the title of protestant purchasers under converts who filed their certificates but who did not fulfil the other requirements, and who died before 2 March 1764, the period specified by 1 Geo.III c.12. On 19 March 1764 a motion to the effect that the following provision be excluded, was defeated by 64 votes to 17 : converts having obtained the certificate, professing and continuing as protestants not performing the other requisites of conformity, but doing so before 1 December 1765, were from the time of conformity to be declared protestants. The act in relation to conformity was later extended to 1 Dec.1767 (7 Geo.III c.15, s.5), to 1 Dec.1768 (7 Geo.III c.20, s.7), to 24 June 1790 (17,18 Geo.III c.36, s.9), and to 1791 (19,20 Geo.III c.14, s.2). (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.270, 271, 276, 311, 314, 329, 347, 352, 354, 357, 359 ; 3 Geo.III c.26).
21. G.E.Howard, Several special cases on the laws against the further growth of popery in Ireland (1775) pp.121-39. The judgment was given on 13 December 1759. The lunar month is shorter than the calendar month.
22. Ibid. pp.121-36. The importance of the judgment was noted by contemporaries (Pearse St. Library, Gilbert Ms 36 p.365).
23. Howard, Cases p.136n.
24. See above pp.137-8. For a statement on the close links between elections and a rise in conversions (Gilbert Ms 36 p.365).
25. See above p.43.
26. NLI PC 260-1 Riall, folder marked 'Lord Dunboyne' containing a legal opinion of George Cole copied by J.Bagwell, 12 Mar.1761.
27. Howard, Cases p.275.
28. [Dunboyne (?)] to T.Kavanagh, 31 Aug.1766 (Kavanagh correspondence NLI Mic.P.7155). In May an order of Chancery was issued to the gentlemen of Co.Kilkenny to enquire into his 'capacity and understanding', and to determine 'whether he was an idiot or not'. Pierce, however, was removed to avoid the commission being executed. These events were public knowledge (FDJ 27 Apr.-1 May, 24-28 Dec.1762 ; PROI Miscellaneous letters and papers 1A 52 167 p.3).
29. W.E.H.Lecky, History (1913 ed.) iii p.191 ; Caldwell, Debates ii p.515.
30. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.148-9. The measure was originally intended to be included in the act for the security of protestant purchasers being advanced at the same time, but

- this did not materialise. It was recommended to the privy council that the proposal be rejected as being directly contrary to the purpose of the penal laws (BL Add Ms 35 892 / 4).
31. Caldwell, Debates ii pp.512-5 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.248, 280 ; M.O'Conor, The history of the Irish catholics from the settlement in 1691 (1813) pt.1, p.306. Local gentry were informed of developments in parliament by Dublin correspondents (W.Lane to Sir W.Barker, 7 Feb.1764 TCD Barker Ponsonby papers P 1 / 9 / 20).
  32. Comms. Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.280-81 ; O'Conor, History pp.306-10 ; PRO SPI 423 / 29-30. The voting on the original motion that the bill be rejected was 138 to 53 against. a revised motion that a bill be introduced which would allow catholics to lend money without interfering with possession was defeated by 97 to 53 votes.
  33. 'Winnington'[pseudonym of John Hely-Hutchinson] to Lord [Lifford], [1771] (Donoughmore C 2 / 50). The effort to press the issue in 1772 appears to have been opposed on the basis of its political implications as any concession would allow catholics an influence over elections in boroughs (Gilbert, Calendar of ancient records of Dublin, xii (1905) pp.173, 175). Concern over protestant title to land in 1772 may have been the reason behind the demand by the freeholders of Tipperary in 1773 for a law to establish registers of births, marriages, and burials in every parish so that inheritance rights could be safeguarded (FJ 30 Nov.-2 Dec.1773).
  34. Cullen, Economic history p.73 ; idem, Merchants, ships and trade 1660-1830 (1971) p.43.
  35. Quoted in Burke, Clonmel p.188n.
  36. PROI Acc.1079 / 2 / 3 / 9. In July 1767 a catholic gentleman (unnamed) sought to borrow £5,000 or £3,000 on his landed estate in Tipperary. It was intended that he would invest £3,000 of the £5,000 borrowed. The notice requesting the loan is signed 'M.M.' and dated at Dublin. It is possible that this was Martin Murphy, Lord Cahir's agent (FDJ 1-4 Aug.1767).
  37. Cullen, The formation of the Irish economy (1968) p.39n.
  38. Caldwell, Debates ii pp.511-3.
  39. O'Conor, History p.306.
  40. PRO SPI 423 / 29-30 ; O'Conor, History pp.306-9. Caldwell remarked that the bill 'is supported by all the lawyers in the house and in gen[era]l by all the men of great abilities' (Caldwell to Rev.[Philip] Skelton, 28 Jan.1764 TCD Ms 3860 / 1).
  41. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.280-81.
  42. J. Caldwell, A brief examination of the question whether it is expedient either in a

- religious or political view to pass an act to enable papists to take real securities for money which they may lend (1764) pp.16-8.
43. Quoted in PRONI Education facsimiles (The penal laws) no.109.
44. O'Connor, History p.130 ; C.Musgrave to Grandison, 3 Feb.1764 (PRONI T.3131 / C/ 14).
45. Caldwell, Brief examination ; see also TCD Ms 3860 / 1.
46. W.H.G.Bagshawe, The Bagshawes of Ford, a biographical pedigree (1886) pp.260, 281, 292, 297-8 ; TCD Ms 3860 / 1. Sir James Caldwell of Castle Caldwell, Co.Fermanagh had a distinguished military career. Prompted by fears of a French invasion he offered to raise his own regiment in 1759, and he was active in suppressing smuggling, the Oakboys in 1763, and private distilling. He was an improver who addressed the Dublin Society on the subject of bees. He also had a strong religious sense, the rector of his parish (Templecarne) was Rev.Philip Skelton, author of Deism revealed (London, 1749), a person with whom he corresponded on the mortgage bill (S.Burdy, The life of Rev.Philip Skelton (Dublin, 1792) ed.N.Moore (1914) p.114). He was well informed through his in-laws the Bagshawes (Caldwell's sister, Catherine, married Col.Bagshawe of Ford Hall, Derbyshire in 1751), of the import and context of the initial Whiteboy outbreaks.
47. Caldwell, Brief examination p.13.
48. Below p.187.
49. Caldwell, Brief examination p.13.
50. Cullen, Anglo-Irish trade (1968) p.194.
51. Will of Justin McCarthy, Springhouse, gent. 18 July 1752 (in NLI Ms 11422).
52. FDJ 17-20 Oct.1761.
53. T.Wyse, Historical sketch of the late catholic association of Ireland, 2 vols. (1829) i pp.62-3, 68, 79, 82-4, 89.
54. P.Butel, Les negociants Bordelais, L'Europe et les Iles au xviiiie siecle (1974) pp.161-2, 292, 345 ; Cullen, The emergence of modern Ireland (1981) p.119.
55. TCD Barker Ponsonby papers P 5 / 45.
56. FDJ 5-8 Jan.1760, 24-28 Feb., 25-28 Apr., 7-10 Nov.1761, 11-15, 15-18 Jan., 22-26 Nov.1763, 9-13 July 1765, 6-10, 10-13 Jan., 1-4 Aug. 1767.
57. FDJ 29 Sept.-2 Oct.1764. There is no apparent reletting on the adjoining O'Callaghan estate at this time and different factors operated there. On the Perry estate near Ardfinnan about 800 acres were relet in 1764.
58. Exshaw, Gentleman's and London magazine (Apr.1766) p.248.

59. TCD Ms 873 / 724, which records the reason for the hostility between the two as 'The taking of a farm called Lodge which one of the Bagills (sic) was bidding for'. Phonetically Bagwell seems a more likely attribution than Bagnell in this case.
60. Exshaw, Gentleman's and London magazine (Apr.1766) p.246.
61. Burke, Clonmel p.146.
62. Ibid. ; Cullen, Formation pp.43-4.
63. FDJ 16-19 Feb.1765.
64. Ibid. 2-5 Mar.1765 ; see also FJ 19-23 Feb.1765.
65. FDJ 2-5 Mar.1765.
66. Burke, Clonmel p.146.
67. Ibid.p.147.
68. P.Power, A bishop of the penal times being letters and reports of John Brenan, bishop of Waterford (1671-93) and archbishop of Cashel (1677-93) (1932).
69. This paragraph is based on an interpretation of the returns of registered priests published in Irish Ecclesiastical Record xii (1876) pp.516-27.
70. Archivium Hibernicum iv (1915) p.175. The full report covering the dioceses in Tipperary is in ibid. ii (1913) pp112-17, 146-7, 150, 154-5. The following section, except where otherwise indicated, is based on this source.
71. On the problem of abuses see H.fenning, 'Some problems of the Irish mission, 1733-74' Collectanea Hibernica viii (1965) p.65 ; Archivium Hibernicum xxx (1972) pp.5, 10-11 ; M.Wall, The penal laws 1691-1760 (1976) p.47.
72. For a contemporary description of the improvement : J.Loveday, Diary of a tour in 1732 through parts of England, Wales, Ireland , and Scotland (1890) p.43.
73. The following section is based on the reports edited by C.O'Dwyer in Archivium Hibernicum xxxii (1975) pp.1-90, xxxiv (1976-7) pp.1-49. The visitations cover about half of the parishes in the diocese. The condition of the mass houses or chapels varied considerably from the very basic structure like that erected at Boher in 1754 at a cost of £4 containing 4 couples, 2 ends, 1 door and mud walls, to that at Ballingarry which had 12 couples, a seven foot wall, 2 gabled ends, 4 small windows (2 glazed), a large door at the west end with a stone holy water font, the whole well thatched (Arch. Hib. xxxiii (1975) pp.59, 67).
74. Arch.Hib. xxxiii (1975) pp.41, 43, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 63, 64, 72 ; xxxiv (1976-7) pp.17, 26, 27, 30, 31, 42. Other families who made donations were Kearney, Morris, and Phelan. Some like C.O'Brien at Ballina near Newport built entire new chapels at their expence ; that at Cashel was erected by Fr.Fogarty with the



- assistance of the parishoners and local gentry ; and those at Killusty, Fethard, and Killavinoge by R.Purcell and Mr.Cusheen respectively.
75. Ibid.xxxiii (1975) pp.17-37, 58-9.
  76. Only one such case of interference from the justices is recorded (ibid.p.60).
  77. Ibid.p.6. On the visitations Butler made a point of noting whether the Constitutions were being adhered to.
  78. Ibid.p.46 ; xxxiv pp.18-22. After a basic grounding in the hedge schools clerical aspirants proceeded to study under a parish priest to whom they became apprentices for a period , and finally presented themselves for examination. After ordination they proceeded to the Continental colleges.
  79. BL Add Ms 29252 pp.38-40.
  80. NLI Ms 5575 fol 92v. In 1674 a separate return of catholics was made in the town (ibid.fol 12v).
  81. Lambeth Palace Library Ms 1742 fols 43-8 (PRONI Mic 310).
  82. BL Add Ms 29252 p.40.
  83. Brady, Press p.202.
  84. PROI 1766 census for Cashel and Emly ; W.H.Rennison, Succession list, n.d.[c.1920].
  85. J.M.Barkley, A short history of the presbyterian church in Ireland (1959) p.17. The congregations at Clonmel, Fethard, and Tipperary all date to the period 1650-90.
  86. J.S.Reid, History of the presbyterian church in Ireland, 3 vols (1867) ii p.558.
  87. A history of congregations in the presbyterian church in Ireland 1610-1982 (1982) pp.309-311.
  88. Ibid.pp.480-81, 777-8.
  89. For Roe see diary of Rev.John Cooke, minister at Tipperary 1701-5 (GO Ms 544 especially pp.12-3,22). He was accommodated in Roe's house, was ordained there, and received a salary of £50-£60.
  90. AH xii (1943) p.141.
  91. Society of Friends Library, Dublin : National sufferings 1655-93 (YMG I) passim ; W.Penn, My Irish journal 1669-1670 (ed.I.Grubb, 1952) pp.27, 37-8, 66-7 ; W.Edmundson, Journal (1833) pp.298-9 ; G.W.Grubb, The Grubbs of Tipperary (1972) pp.19-70 ; I.Grubb, The Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900 (1927) pp.32, 42, 102, 113. Clonmel, Kilcommon, and Tipperary were regularly visited by Edmundson in the period 1675-1708. In 1703 the quakers were erecting a meeting house in Cashel within the walls and an order was made by the corporation to prevent it (NLI Ms 5575

- (unfoliated) sub 11 Aug.1703).
92. G.L.Lee, The huguenot settlements in Ireland (1936) pp.117-8 ; S.J.Knox, Ireland's debt to the huguenots (1959) pp.13, 37, 56.
  93. N.Curnock, The journal of John Wesley 8 vols. (London, [1912-17]), iii pp.399, 476, 482; iv pp.42, 161, 277, 398-9, 401, 507-8, 510 ; v pp.208, 319 ; Marnane, Land and violence p.25.
  94. NLI Ms 11887, entry for Feb.1752.
  95. PP Census of population 1831, xxxix (1833).
  96. FDJ 26-30 July 1763, 19-22 July 1766 ; FLJ 3-7 June 1769.
  97. FDJ 12-15 Feb.1763 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.209-210, 218 ; viii pt.1 pp.180-81, 194-5, 201, appendix clxx. Sir Thomas Maude and Richard Pennefather were members of the parliamentary committee which sanctioned the payments.
  98. See above p.122.
  99. A household size of 5.5 is used as a multiplier in computations from the 1766 census where the number of families only is given (For the contemporary validity of this figure see PRO SPI 63 / 420 / 162 which is a general abstract of houses, hearths , and habitations in Ireland, 1772). PROI : 1766 census for Shronell ; PP Census of population 1831, xxxix (1833).
  100. K.Milne, 'Irish charter schools' Irish Journal of Education viii (1974).
  101. TCD Ms 5789 : lease of 23 Apr. 1747, will 16 Jan.1743.
  102. A sermon preached before the society corresponding with the Incorporated Society (1752) pp.19-20. Five benefactors and 36 subscribers in all are named.
  103. TCD Ms 5789 : leases of 24 Sept.1745, 2 Aug.1749 ; NLI Ms 5578 p.64 ; A sermon preached before the society corresponding with the Incorporated Society in Dublin (1749) p.88 ; A sermon preached . . . (1757) p.58 gives 18 subscribers in 1757.
  104. TCD Ms 5789 : lease of 9 July 1747.
  105. A sermon (1757) p.59 gives 6 benefactors and 14 subscribers.
  106. Report of the Incorporated Society (1766) under the respective schools.
  107. Ibid. sub Fethard ; NLI Ms 5858 (second book) p.16 ; RD 154 / 239 / 103585.
  108. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xiv, cvii-cviii.
  109. Ibid. xii pt.2, dcccxii, dcccxiii, dcccxxi, dcccxxii, dcccxxxi, dcccxxxii.
  110. W.P.Burke, The Irish priests in the penal times 1660-1760 (1914 and 1969) pp.352, 355.
  111. Ibid. p.352.

112. Ibid. p.352.
113. Archiv.Hib. xxvii (1964) pp.90-91. The jesuit concerned, Thomas Hennessy, was in this year writing to the rector of Salamanca, seeking four Irish speaking priests. The other centres were Lismore and Kilkenny.
114. Burke, Irish priests p.355.
115. Ibid. pp.355-6.
116. Ibid. pp.356, 357 ; PROI : 1A 52 159 p.250.
117. Brady, Press p.36.
118. A report made by his grace the lord primate from the lords committees appointed to enquire into the present state of popery in this kingdom (1732) p.5.
119. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) iv pt.2, xlvi-xlvii.
120. Ibid. iv pt.1 p.106.
121. Burke, Irish priests pp.358-61 ; PROI : 1A 52 159 p.256. The presiding magistrates at both locations were L.Taylor, W. and R.Pennefather.
122. Burke, Irish priests pp.357-8 ; RIA Ms 24 G 9 p.277. An illustration of the mass house is in J.White, My Clonmel scrapbook (1907) p.64.
123. Brady, Press p.72 ; F.J.McLynn, "'Good behaviour" : Irish catholics and the Jacobite rising of 1745' Eire-Ireland (Summer 1981) pp.43-58.
124. Burke, Irish priests p.360 ; PROI 1A 52 159 p.261.
125. NLI Mss 8913, 19822 pp.272-85.
126. Brady, Press pp.83, 85.
127. Quoted in Marnane, Land and violence p.26.
128. Quoted in ibid. p.27.
129. Ibid.
130. PROI : 1766 census for Cullen p.7.
131. The primary source for the entire course of events is J.Coombes, A bishop of penal times : the life and times of John O'Brien bishop of Cloyne and Ross 1701-1769 (1981). Summary details of the episode can be found in Archiv.Hib. xxxiii (1975) p.3 ; C.Costello, In quest of an heir (1978) p.31. Coombes is the main source for the section which follows.
132. O'Brien was of strong farmer background locally, was educated at Toulouse, and served as tutor to expatriate Irish army generals. O'Brien opposed Butler for the vacant see of Cloyne in 1746-7 despite Butler having the support of the existing incumbent of the see, as well as the archbishop of Cashel, bishop Creagh of Waterford, and catholic merchants in Cork. Because of his influence at the court of St.James, established

- during his time on the Continent, O'Brien received the appointment in 1748.
133. Brady, Press pp.94-5.
  134. J.Begley, The diocese of Limerick ancient and medieval (1906) pp.72-3 ; Burke, Irish family records (1976) p.1018 ; Limerick Chronicle 28 sept.1780. Francis Sheehy was the original settler at Bawnfunne, barony of Glenahiry, Co.Waterford. The status of the Sheehys can be judged from the marriages of two daughters to Bryan Keating (1768) son of J.Keating of Garranlea, and to P.Nagle (1775) of Annakissy, Co.Cork.
  135. PROI QRO ledger for Clonmel 1753-8 (M 2595) pp.142-3. See also administration of the goods of W.Sheehy of Bawnfunne to James and Hannah Fitzgerald als Sheehy (JWSEIAS xvii (1914) p.111).
  136. P.Power, Waterford and Lismore : a compendious history of the united dioceses (1937) p.134.
  137. Ibid. ; Burke, Clonmel p.368.
  138. Clonmel Museum Acc.1985 / 83.
  139. Feasta Feb.1956 p.2.
  140. Taaffe to Beauchamp, 21 May 1766 (RIA Ms B.1.1. O'Conor Ms) ; TCD Ms 873 / 736 ; T.A.Murphy, 'Fr.Nicholas Sheehy PP Clogheen' in P.O'Connell and W.C.Darmody (ed.) Siege of Clonmel tercentenary record (1950) p.49.
  141. Collectanea Hibernica xi (1968) p.53.
  142. TCD Ms 873 / 717, 723, 725.
  143. Ibid. 873 / 723, 725. The 1766 census lists three protestants in the parish of Newcastle (W.H.Rennison, Succession list n.d.[c.1920] p.233).
  144. Quoted in Burke, Clonmel p.368.
  145. Ibid. pp.368-9. This records the granting of bail to Sheehy at the assizes in May 1763 in the amount of £2,000 on a charge of making Willaim Ross, a catholic middleman on the Cahir estate, take an oath not to do anything detrimental to the Whiteboys. William and James Ross were bound over in £100 to preoscute.
  146. BL Add Ms 29252 pp.38-40.
  147. NLI Ms 4105 pp.68-70 (also GO Ms 608 pp.68-70) ; DG 1-4 May 1756. The colonels commissions for the two 1745 militia units were renewed in 1756 and 1758. The undated unit was located around Carrick under John Jephson. For an example of a commission, that of Anthony Parker, dated 5 Nov.1758, see NLI Ms 7331 fol 31. The total number arrayed in the 1756 militia was 2,300 (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vi, cxcv).
  148. FDJ 18-22 Mar.1766 ; T.Corcoran, Some lists of catholic lay teachers and their illegal schools in the later penal times (1932) p.38. The address had 33 signatures.

149. PROI M 2554 pp.2, 134. The renewal of orders was addressed to commanding officers at Thurles, Clonmel, Nenagh, and Cashel.
150. 3 Geo.III c.19.
151. Archiv.Hib. iv (1915) pp.59-63. The full list of those licenced is T.Butler, Kilcash, T.Dwyer, Ballycomisk, G.Mathew sen., G.Mathew jun., Thurles, N.Purcell, Loughmore, T.Travers, Burgess, Lady Cahir's son, J.Kennedy, Polenorman, and J.Butler, Kilveleagher. See also HMC Ormond ii (1899) pp.475-7 for a list of those on 30 March 1705.
152. PROI Proclamation dated 18 March 1713. The need for relicencing at this time arose because of a fire in the council office which destroyed the licences and which led to the appearance of counterfeit licences, the validity of which the justices could not disprove. Only 134 catholics in the entire country were lawfully entitled to carry arms. The list for tipperary at this date is : T.Butler, J.Butler, J.Hackett, Lissvea, M.Kearney, Clonbrogan, D.Meagher, Cloneen, N.Morris, Latteragh, and J.Ryan, Inch.
153. Lords Justices to Stanhope, 30 Jan. [1716] (PRO SPI 63 / 374 / 64v). They informed him that in expectation of the duke of Ormond attempting to land they would assemble the available troops at Kilkenny 'stretching towards the Shannon where the Ormond interest and estate chiefly lies'.
154. K.Pennefather to [Lords Justices], 1Feb.1715 (quoted in Burke, Irish priests p.349) ; R.Lockwood, M.Hickey to J.White, 10 July 1714 (quoted in ibid. p.209) ; PROI Proclamation dated 9 July 1715 ; NLI Ryan papers (Mic.P 5489) petition of J.Ryan of Clonmel, 8 Mar.1715 ; Ms 1670 petition of N.Purcell 14 Mar.1715.
155. Pennefather to [Lords Justices], 1 Feb.1715 (Burke, Irish priests p.349).
156. PRONI D 104 / 5 / 3 / 86. There was widespread belief in enlistment in 1723 (TCD Ms 750 / 7 / 274), and a special commission was sent to Munster to try those accused of enlisting ( F.E.Ball, The judges in Ireland 2 vols. (1926) ii p.99). Seven gentlemen, 17 labourers, and 1 yeoman were named. One of them, Darby Ryan of Ballyslateene, gent., was claimed to have a commission for a regiment of foot in favour of King James. He had distributed officerships to the other gentlemen and produced a letter saying 80,000 men under Ormond were ready to land. A plot to assassinate King George, supported financially by catholic peers like Lords Cahir and Dunboyne, was also revealed. All this was contained in an information sworn to by Daniel Mulcahy, labourer, on 5 Sept. 1722 and he was bound in £500 to prosecute at the next Tipperary assizes.

157. K.Pennefather to [ ], [ ] Jan.1729 (quoted in Burke, Irish priests p.349) ; cf.TCD Ms 750 / 6 / 56.
158. Chavigny to Newcastle, 20 June 1733 (PRO SPI 63 / 396 / 38) ; Boulter, Letters ii p.56.
159. Burke, Irish priests pp.350, 357-8. Samuel Bagwell, a revenue officer, was in search of Andrew Laffan who was suspected of recruiting for the French service (PRO SPI 63 / 406 / 143-143v). An act of 1739 (13 Geo.c.6) required all arms including licenced ones held by catholics to be delivered up to the magistrates before 1 July 1740. Those having arms not specifically licenced and undelivered were to be fined £300 if a peer for a first offence, and £50 and a term's imprisonment for others. A prominent local catholic, John Keating, provided government with information given him by a priest as to the state of the Pretender's cause (PROI 1A 52 159 p.258). In March 1746 two persons were found guilty at the Clonmel assizes of enlisting for the Pretender and of conspiring to take arms belonging to the army in Clonmel (Brady, Press p.317).
160. Lord Primate to Bedford, 28 May 1759 (Correspondence of John fourth duke of Bedford 3 vols. (1842-6) iii pp.379-80).
161. Halifax to Egremont, [ ] Feb.1762 (PRO SPI 63 / 421 / 76v).
162. W.H.G.Bagshawe, The Bagshawes of Ford (1886) p.281 ; Egremont to Halifax, 13 Apr.1762 (PRO SPI 63 / 421 / 245-7).
163. Halifax to Egremont, 17 Apr.1762 (PRO SPI 63 / 421 / 253-253v). The fact that the government could prove that protestants as well as catholics were involved with the Whiteboys, that the violence was suffered by members of both persuasions, and that the Whiteboys were non-sectarian in motive, defeated the rumours propagated in Munster.
164. Halifax to Egremont, [ ] Feb.1762 (PRO SPI 63 / 421 / 77-9) ; Calendar of home office papers 1760-1765 (1878) p.155.
165. Calendar of home office papers op.cit p.159.
166. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii pp.154-5 ; Lords Jnl.(Ire.) iv p.243. The margin in the commons was 113 to 63 votes, and in the lords 26 to 9.
167. Halifax to Egremont, 8 Apr.1762 (PRO SPI 63 / 421 / 227-227v). Carrick proposed the motion that the issue be debated.
168. Hibernicus, Some reasons against raising an army of Roman Catholicks in Ireland in a letter to a member of parliament (Dublin, 1762). It is dated at Clonmel 7 March 1762.

169. Ibid. p.6.
170. Ibid. p.5.
171. Ibid. p.4.
172. Ibid. p.9.
173. Ibid. p.16.
174. C.Musgrave to Grandison, 6 Apr.1766 (PRONI T 3131 / C / 14).
175. Halifax to Egremont, 17 Apr.1762 (PRO SPI 63 / 421 / 253-253v).
176. FDJ 19-22 June 1762. It has 27 signatures including those of Maude, Bagwell, Prittie, Carden, Bunbury, Barker, Jacob, Toler, Pennefather, and O'Callaghan.
177. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) vii p.209.
178. CEP 26 Jan., 23 Mar.1767. This records an advertisement that Robert Dudley, Clonmel, supplied Temple's work and those Tipperary gentlemen who subscribed to it could have it of him. Subscriptions for reprinting King were to be received at Dudley's from March 1767.
179. W.King, The state of the protestants of Ireland (Cork : P.Bagnell, 1768) ; J.Temple, The history of the general rebellion in Ireland (Cork : P.&G.Bagnell, 1766).
180. FJ 4-7 July 1767.
181. For Meagher see below p.183. Those who took multiple copies of the volume were J.Bagwell (6), J.Bayly (2), the archbishop of Cashel (40), the earl of Drogheda (2), P.Going (2), Sir T.Maude (4), Sir W.Parsons (6), H.Prittie (12), the earl of Shannon (4), Rev.J.Seymour (12). Francis Mathew appears as a subscriber.
182. Viscount Taaffe, Observations on affairs in Ireland (Dublin, 1766).
183. J.Curry, A candid enquiry into the causes and motives of the late riots in . . . Munster together with a brief narrative of the proceedings against those rioters anno 1766 in a letter to a noble lord in England (London, 1766).
184. Correspondence of Edmund Burke, ed. T.W.Copeland, 10 vols. (1958-78), i pp.201-2; J.Curry, An historical and critical review of the civil wars in Ireland from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the settlement under King William (Dublin, 1775).
185. GO Ms 570 p.73.
186. Dublin City Library, Pearse St. : Robinson Ms 34 (3) p.181. There were 2,024 justices in the entire country at this date.
187. Quoted in Burke, Clonmel p.364.
188. Ibid. p.364 ; FJ 20-24 Mar.1764.
189. FDJ 17-21 Apr.1764 ; CEP 10 Mar.1763.

190. FDJ 22-26 Aug.1766.
191. See above pp.165,169,171.
192. Proceedings of the Incorporated Society (1742) p.39 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) viii, pt.1 pp.61, 209. Kingsmill Pennefather was later added to the committee which also included Charles Lucas (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) viii,pt.1 p.65).
193. PRO SPI 63 / 414 / 298, dated 1 Oct.1756.
194. National Army Museum, London Townshend Ms 6808 / 7 / 6 / 1 n.d. [c.1790]. This memorandum, submitted by Hewetson to Townshend, reveals how the mythology of the French-Whiteboy-Popish plot was construed and perpetuated. It is the most explicit statement of the connection advanced at a time when the French revolution was erupting, an event which Hewetson tried to link with the Rightboys.
195. Hewetson to [Townshend], 1 July 1771, 25 July 1772 (RCB Ms A.3.140, 141).
196. Brady, Press p.96.
197. Archiv.Hib xxxiii (1975) p.8.
198. FDJ 22-26 Oct., 5-9 Nov.1765.
199. Ibid. Applications were to be made to Stephen Moore and Rev.Joseph Moore, rector of Clonmel.
200. Brady,Press p.105 ; Exshaw, Gentleman's and London magazine xxxi (1762) p.371. Doyle was arrested by a party of Caldwell's horse and committed to jail by Bagwell. It is possible that Daniel was the 'domestick chaplain' to Lord Cahir referred to by Musgrave (Memoirs (1801) p.34), and who was taken by Lord Drogheda.
201. TCD Ms 873 / 729 (printed in Burke, Clonmel pp.368-9).
202. National Army Museum, London : Townshend Ms 6806 / 7 / 6 / 1 / 13.
203. FDJ 26-30 July 1763.
204. One of the problems faced by the magistrates was trying to induce persons who were prepared to act as informers. Reliable prosecution witnesses were reluctant to go forward because of the tight and effective system of intimidation operated by the Whiteboys. Those who did agree to act, induced by the rewards on offer, often proved to be inadequate. Thus the informer Patrick Navin was declared an idiot at the Spring assizes of 1763 and his evidence discounted on that account, all the accused were acquitted in consequence (FDJ 31 May-4 June 1763). Following this experience the gentry were more circumspect in preparing their witnesses and assembling information. Though the quality of these prosecution witnesses did not improve markedly, what did occur was the degree of inducement and intimidation brought to bear on them by the justices which proved so effective.

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205. Burke, Clonmel pp.369-70. At the ensuing Summer assizes of 1764 Sheehy with 7 others was further indicted on another charge of having assaulted John Bridge for stealing the chalice of Carrigvisteale chapel near Ballyporeen (Burke, Clonmel p.370). For the irrelevance of the coincidence of the white colour see note 243 below.
206. M.Lenihan, Limerick : its history and antiquities (1866) p.357 n.2.
207. Shannon and Ponsonby to [Halifax ?], 10 Nov.1764 (Mount Melleray Abbey Burke Ms 47( unpaginated) sub P.Creagh).
208. Ibid.
209. Printed in FDJ 19-23 Feb.1765. Curry claimed that government was prevailed upon 'by his powerful enemies' to issue it (J.Curry, State of the catholics of Ireland (1766) p.275). It must be remembered that Maude, Bagwell, and Prittie were MPs at this time.
210. Burke, Clonmel pp.372-9, 385-92 ; Tomas de Bhial, Oideadh an athair Ui Shithigh (1954), though based on Madden and Burke, should be read with caution.
211. Quoted in Burke, Clonmel p.373.
212. FDJ 6-9 July 1765.
213. Bridge was a foundling so named because he was found on the bridge of Clogheen and was maintained on the parish for a long number of years (RCB Ms P.79, vestry minute book for Shanrahan sub 1749 ; see also note 205).
214. TCD Ms 873 / 732 ; FJ 30 Mar.-2 Apr.1765 ; R.R.Madden, Countess of Blessington 3 vols. (1855) i p.394. The sureties named for the 3 persons (E.Burke, J.Butler, innkeeper, and E.Meehan both Clogheen), were J.Hogan, J.Hickey, Frehans, G.Everard, J.Butler, P.Nagle, and J.Bourk, some of whom were also indicted. The wording of the indictment in the case of Bourke was similar to that of Sheehy (cf.Burke, Clonmel pp.369-70).
215. Sheffield City Library : Fitzwilliam Muniments Burke Ms 8 / 8.
216. DG 25-29 June, 16-20 July 1765 ; FDJ 6-9 July 1765.
217. Ibid.
218. DG 20-23 July 1765 ; FDJ 30 July-3 Aug.1765.
219. E.Bullingbrooke, The duty and authority of the justices of the peace and parish officers for Ireland (1768) pp.73, 76. Justices of the peace in Ireland had the authority to enquire about matters of treason , a power not held by their fellows in England.
220. FDJ 1-4 Feb., 15-18, 22-25 Mar., 1-5 Apr.1765 ; DG 1-5 Apr.1765. Two gentlemen, one of £400 or £500 income, were arrested in Waterford at this time and conveyed to Clonmel (FJ 1-5 Apr.1766).

221. FDJ 29 Mar.-1 Apr.1766.
222. Ibid. 5-8, 8-12 Apr.1766.
223. Ibid.12-15, 15-19, 19-22 Apr.1766 ; Exshaw, Gentleman's and London magazine (1766) pp.244-8.
224. Sheffield City Library : Burke Ms 8 / 3-9 ; FDJ 6-10 May 1766. The dying declarations of Sheehy, Buxton, and Farrell are printed in Burke, Clonmel pp.402-5. The sense of tension was increased by a strong military presence in the town, around the court house particularly, and by Maude's advertisement to the county's freeholders to attend the trials where he guaranteed them that the threats to their laws and religion would be revealed (Sheffield : Burke Ms 8 / 9). It was no wonder then that protestants attended the trials with, in the words of one correspondent, 'influenced and enraged minds', and that the grand jurors exhibited an 'inflamed temper' (ibid.).
225. FDJ 24-28, 28-31 Mar., 5-8 Sept.1767. One of the council for the defendants was Sir Lucius O'Brien who had supported the mortgage bill in the commons.
226. W.R[ ] to Taaffe, 11 July 1766 (RIA Ms B.1.1).
227. Taaffe to Beauchamp, n.d. [c.May 1766] (RIA Ms B.1.1).
228. For E.Sheehy see Mount Melleray Abbey Burke Ms Clonmel vol ii pp.334-46 ; for Fr.Sheehy : Imleabhar Muighe Nuadhat (1958) p.62 ; J.Maher, Romantic Slievenamon (1954) p.95 ; Irish Ecclesiastical Record xvii (1896) pp.612, 619 ; Feasta (Feabhra, 1956) p.2 ; Maynooth College Library Ms C 25 (pt.) ; D.O hOgain, Duanaire Thiobraid Arann (1981) pp.58, 88-9 ; Bealoideas xiv (1944) pp.82-5.
229. Burke, Clonmel pp.402-5.
230. Sheffield : Burke Ms 8 / 9. Thomas Wyse was in England at this time and bishop Creagh had, before the justices of the peace had done so, given Halifax an account of the true nature of the Whiteboy disturbances.
231. Ibid. Ms 8 / 2 ; B.R. [Bartholemew Rivers ?] to Huske, 4 June 1766 and petitions of the catholics of Waterford to Hertford, 9 Apr.1766 (RIA Ms B.1.1).
232. A.Griffith, A letter to Daniel Toler esq. relative to the death of Rev.Nicholas Sheehy in Miscellaneous tracts (1788) p.240 ; [J.Curry], A parallel between the pretended plot in 1762 and the forgery of Titus Oates in 1679 (Cork, 1767) p.6.
233. C.G.Ward and R.E.Ward, The letters of Charles O'Connor of Belangare i (1980) no.148.
234. [J.Curry], A parallel op.cit.
235. Lord Taaffe's observations . . . examined and confuted by an imperial hand

- (1767), was exceptional. The author makes a particular point (pp.31, 33) of implicating the Jesuits in the plot. Clonmel was the centre where the head of the order in Ireland resided in 1748 and from where an expansion of the order in the country was envisaged (above p.180).
236. J.Hewetson, Memoirs of the house of Hewetson or Hewson of Ireland (1901) p.126, prints the address. See also F.Blackbourne, Considerations on the present state of the controversy between the protestants and papists of Great Britain and Ireland (1768) p.187 ; FLJ 22-25 Apr.1767 ; Mount Mellaray Abbey : Burke Ms Clonmel vol.ii pp.349-50 recording the replies of Carrick and Bagwell to Newenham's address.
237. Burke, Clonmel pp.496-7 ; Mount Mellaray Burke Ms 31 pp.288-9.
238. FLJ 31 Jan.-4 Feb.1767 ; PROI Proclamations 5 Oct.1770 ; TCD Ms 873 / 730-31.
239. Burke, Clonmel p.395. Much of the proceedings of the 1760s were utilised by Musgrave in his history for a different purpose (R.Musgrave, Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland 2nd ed. 1801, appendix I pp.1-8). These depositions from the 1760s re-inforced the theory of an internal enemy in league with a foreign power intent on the overthrow of the existing order. This was a very potent argument following the French incursion during 1798 in Connacht, and provided an historical precedent for the adoption of severe repressive measures. Musgrave highlights more forcefully than the evidence from the 1760s itself, the role of intrigue in the affairs of that decade on the part of archbishop Butler, and emphasises more the part the advancement of the catholic religion played in the supposed plot. Musgrave is incorrect in claiming that Fr.Sheehy had the support of Butler. He also perpetuates the notion of an intended massacre of protestants. He prints an information from J.Farrell (p.7) confessing to the whole plot before Rev.Hewetson on 18 April 1766, and this is also referred to by Hewetson ('Succunct narrative' op.cit pp.15-6). but we know from Farrell himself that he refused to make such a statement implicating others (Burke,Clonmel pp.404-5).
240. Townshend Ms 6806 / 7 / 6 / 1 / 18 et seq.
241. Wakefield, Ireland ii p.623. In 1867 when an attempt was made to erect a memorial to Fr.Sheehy in Clogheen church grounds Lord Lismore sent the military to prevent it (Maher, Romantic Slievenamon p.96.).
242. HMC Charlemont 12th report appendix 10 (1891) p.20n.
243. Chesterfield to the bishop of Waterford, 17 May 1766 (B.Dobree, Letters of Philip

- Dormer Stanhope 4th earl of Chesterfield 6 vols. (1932) vi p.2736).
244. Burke, Correspondence (ed.Hoffman) pp.340-41.
245. Burke, Correspondence i p.277.
246. Sheffield : Burke Ms 8 / 1. 3. 5-8.
247. Ibid. Ms 8 / 1 ; Burke, Correspondence i pp 249, 255-6 ; NLI Ms 2714 p.190. The plot theory was largely dismissed by contemporary and later writers ( Encyclopaedia Britannica ix (1792) p.336 ; W.W.Seward, Collectanea politica (1801) i p.58 ; Lecky, History (1897) ii pp.30-31).
248. M.Wall, The penal laws pp.17-9 ; idem, 'Catholic loyalty to king and pope in eighteenth century Ireland' Proc. Irish Catholic Hist.Comm.(1960) pp.17-8. The background to this particular phase was the fear of catholic support for France in the war with Britain which began in 1756, and a bill for the registration of clergy because of fears that Continental clergy were present in Ireland recruiting for the French service. This bill never became law but it made bishops address the question of allegiance afresh. A draft declaration prepared proved unacceptable to, among others, Butler of Cashel and the Munster bishops.
249. Wall, 'Catholic loyalty' pp.20-21 ; introduction by T.Wall to the 1970 edition of the work. For Burke's attitude see Burke to O'Conor, 6 May 1773 (RIA Ms B.1.1a. folder II).
250. J.R.Walsh, Frederick Augustus Hervey 1730-1803 fourth earl of Bristol, bishop of Derry, 'Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques' (1972) pp.11-22.
251. CDA James Butler II papers 1775 / 5.
252. Collectanea Hibernica xviii-xix (1976-7) pp.108-9.
253. CDA J.Butler II papers 1775 / 2.
254. Ibid. 1776 / 6, 1777 / 1.
255. T.Wall introduction to the 1970 edition of Hibernia Dominicana.
256. CDA J.Buter II papers 1775 / 4. All the Munster bishops except McMahon of Killaloe were present. His absence can be ascribed to the fact that he, like Burke, was a Dominican.
257. FLJ 19-23 Aug.1775.
258. Coll.Hib. xviii-xix (1976-7) p.110.
259. See below p.294.
260. FJ 2 Dec.1775.
261. FLJ 6-9, 9-13, 16-20, 23-27 Dec.1775.
262. K.Whelan, 'The catholic church in County Tipperary, 1700-1900' in Nolan,

Tipperary pp.215-25.

263. See pp.137,143 ; FJ 20-24 Dec.1768.
264. FJ 9-12 July 1774. In June 1774 Mathew was the subject of attack and defence for the attitude he took in parliament that session on the catholic question (FJ 9-11, 18-21, 28-30 June 1774).
265. FJ 12-15 Feb., 16-18, 20-23 Aug.1774.
266. See below pp.324,344.
267. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) viii pt.1 p.270 ; ix pt.1 pp.91-2 ; FJ 30 Nov.-2 Dec.1773.
268. Correspondence of Edmund Burke iii p.387 ; Howard, Cases v-vii.
269. 17, 18 Geo.III c.49 ss.1,6.
270. RIA Ms B.1.2., voting list on the popery act 1778.
271. FJ 24-26 Sept.1778.
272. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xv pt.2, clxxxvii.
273. 17, 18 Geo.III c.49 s.4. The taking of the oath was obligatory for qualification under the 1778 act, whereas the 1774 oath was voluntary and conferred no particular advantages. The recording of details as to occupation and residence would have proved difficult given the large numbers, as at Clonmel, who attended.
274. HC 7-10, 10-14 June 1779.
275. Butler to Pery, 28 Jan.1780 (NLI Mic P.1561).
276. Parliamentary register i (1782) pp.172, 239, 248-51, 286-8.
277. L.H.Renehan, Collections on Irish church history i (1861) p.339. The controversy arose because of Butler's zeal in implementing the Tridentine decrees on marriage published in 1777, particularly those relating to clandestine marriages made between catholic and protestant partners. These, with other administered sacraments, were a source of income for itinerant clerics but the practice was productive of much abuse. In Roscrea in 1774, for instance, the rector Rev.H.Minchin, complained of priests or pretended priests visiting sick protestants, baptizing children of protestants, and marrying catholics and protestants. He offered rewards for those concerned ( Brady, Press p.162). For the 1777 decrees : CDA J.Butler II papers 1771 / 4. 1779 / 3.
278. Renehan, Collections i pp.339-42.
279. HC 9 July 1781.
280. Ibid.
281. See C[harles, archbishop of] Cashel to [Bolton?], 7 Nov.1784 (NLI Ms 16350 / 58).
282. Thomas [Bernard, bishop of ] Killaloe to Buckinghamshire, 22 Feb.1787 (NLI Ms

- 13047 / 5). For the respective arguments : R.Woodward, The present state of the Church of Ireland (1786) and J.Butler, A justification of the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion and a refutation of the charges brought against its clergy by the lord bishop of Cloyne (1786).
283. CG 14-18 Dec.1786 ; FLJ 8-11 Sept.1790 ; Brady, Press pp.221, 229, 232, 259, 273, 276 recording the deaths of priests at Tubbrid (1781), Donohill and Annacarty (1785), Borrisoleigh (1786), Carrick (1788, 1790), and Roscrea (1791).
284. CDA J.Butler II papers 1776 / 1, 1782 / 6 and see also 1778 / 7, 1789 / 6.
285. Ibid. 1771 / 4.
286. Brady, Press pp.239-40.
- 287 P.J.Corish (ed.), Radicals, rebels, and establishments (1985) p.101 n.27.

## Chapter VI : Notes

1. P.K.Rohan, The climate of north Munster (1968) pp.4,7,10,27,30,39,41,54. Except where otherwise stated the following section draws on this work.
2. E.Wakefield, Account of Ireland i (1812) pp.199,205, has observations on climatic conditions at Kilkenny, Limerick, and Waterford ; W.Patterson, Observations on the climate of Ireland (1804) p.180 ; J.Rutty, A chronological history of the weather and seasons and of the prevailing diseases in Dublin (1770) xxxvi-xxxvii, xl-xlvi.
3. A letter from a country gentleman op.cit. pp.3,7. The severe frost of 1739 was felt badly in inland counties (Wakefield op.cit. i p.205).
4. Wakefield i p.80.
5. What follows is an interpretation of the statistical, mapped, and analytical material presented in M.J.Gardiner and T.Radfield, Soil associations of Ireland and their land use potential (1980), and Atlas of Ireland (1979) pp.24-5,28.
6. Of the first area the soils had a limited use due to the upland nature of their situation, rock outcrops, inaccessibility, slope, altitude, peaty surface and bad drainage. Land use for agricultural purposes was thus limited by these factors making much of the district marginal, but in some favoured areas some pasture and tillage was possible. Similar factors of elevation, poor drainage, and rock outcrops made the second area unsuitable for tillage or intensive grassland use except where slopes were moderate when they became suitable for grass. Similar limitations applied to the third area where the rolling topography only admitted of grass use in suitable districts. Finally, the fourth area partly allowed for tillage or pasture, but in other parts its peaty nature meant a very limited use range.
7. Gillmor gives the percentage area of marginal land as 27.1% with productive as 72.9%, while an official source puts it at 37% and 63% respectively. (D.Gillmor, Irish resources and land use (1979) p.104 ; Gardiner & Radford pp.132,139). A 1971 survey of the county put the proportion devoted to crops and pasture at 24% and 57% respectively, with the remainder 19% consisting of bog, road, mountain, urban areas, and woods (Tipperary (SR) Committee of Agriculture annual report (1971) ; Tipperary (NR) ditto). On this basis the percentage of marginal land in Tipperary is less than the provincial average for Munster (44%), and the national average (46.5%) (Gillmor p.104). It is also less according to the official soil survey figures : Munster (49.2%), Ireland (49.5%) (Soils p.132). In terms of extent of suitable tillage land Tipperary also exceeds the Munster (50.6%) and national (45.95%) averages (Soils p.137).
8. Parliamentary gazeteer of Ireland (1846) iii p.359. This source claims that 'In proportion to its extent this county contains less unimproved land than any other in the south of Ireland'. From the figures quoted in this source the proportions are as

follows:

	<u>%</u>	<u>acres (statute)</u>
Arable	79.49	843,887
Uncultivated	16.49	178,183
Plantations	2.20	23,779
Towns	0.24	2,359
Water	1.28	13,523

9. CS I p.3.
10. See pp.17-8.
11. Cullen, Economic history pp.48,52-3.
12. See pp. 93-4 ; M.Whyte, An inquiry into the causes of our want of tillage in Ireland (1755) pp.24-5.
13. A letter from a country gentleman p.2 ; Young, Tour i pp.390,451 ; PP lvii pt.ii (Stock) (1847-8) pp.12-3.
14. J.O'Donovan, The economic history of livestock in Ireland (1940) p.141. In 1763 Charles O'Connor wrote that 'The Penal Laws now in force [have] thrown the principal Roman Catholics of this kingdom into the wasteful occupation of grazing on account of the discoverable interest and the shortness of tenure (quoted in Eire-Ireland, xiv no.2, 1979 p.12).
15. Young, Tour i p.390 ; NLI Ms 27480 (Stock book, 1775-82).
16. Cattle fattening continued to be a feature of the large farm particularly in Clanwilliam and Middlethird (Table XLI).
17. See p.275 n.104
18. A.McGuire to T.Dane, 25 Oct.1773 (Derby DDK / 1704, correspondence series 1747-77).
19. Something of the dominance of sheep grazing as a pursuit can be gathered from a description of the county in 1728 which said that it was 'very large and abounds in good pastures and fine sheep walks and is furnished with the greatest and best flocks of any other part of the Kingdom' (H.Moll, A set of twenty new and correct maps of Ireland (1728)).
20. Young, Tour i pp.388-9.
21. Ibid. p.389.
22. Cattle grazing farms of themselves have a low gross and net output per acre, and their average profit is low. Because of the low rate of capital turnover on such farms there was good sense in not specialising or devoting them totally to cattle. For this reason graziers kept large numbers of sheep as well.



23. FDJ 14-17 Feb.1767 ; CEP 11 Sept.1769 ; Young, Tour i pp.389,390.
24. Young, Tour i pp. 389,390,391.
25. Ibid.pp.389,430,435.
26. Ibid.pp.430,435,443,448.
27. Ibid.pp.382,389,452.
28. FDJ 14-17 Feb.1767 ; CEP 11 Sept.1769 ; Young, Tour i p.389.
29. Young,Tour i pp.390,453. For Dexter : FLJ 10-13 Sept.1788 ; M.J.O'Shea, The history of native Irish cattle (1954) p.9.
30. Young,Tour i pp.393,396.
31. W.Tighe, Statistical observations relative to the county of Kilkenny (1802) pp.321-4. From this region St.George made his rams available to persons like Murphy, Langley, Lloyd, Lord Donoughmore, Bagwell, and Scully for sums ranging from 20 guineas to £150, but generally £50.
32. A miscalculation. The correct figure is 33,300. In 1775 the number was claimed to be 100,000 (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ix pt.i p.184).
33. An account of Mr.Thomas Johnston's improvement of the livestock of the kingdom of Ireland (1777) pp.9-11,33.
34. CG 26-30 Sept.1782, FLJ 1-5 Oct.1791 ; NLI Ms 27580 entries for 13-15, 22-3, 26, 28-9 Sept., 2 Oct.1792. Roger Scully visited Bakewell and ordered 6 sheep from him including a two-year old ram. He also went to Louth, visited Chaplin's farm, Wright of Spillsby, Coke at Holkham, Young at Bakewell, Milford where he dined with the local agricultural society, and Loughborough (Honeyborn and Smith).
35. PP xxxiii (1836) p.295 ; T.Radcliff, Reports on the fine wooled flocks of Lord Viscount Lismore (1820) passim . He bought 30 ewes and 2 rams of Merino breed at a Cork sale in 1810, supplemented with 100 South Downs and 50 mountain ewes in 1813. He crossed the South Downs and mountain with the Merino. The flock was maintained entirely within the demesne, though his mountains were suitable for that purpose.
36. This trend was already evident by 1776 (Young,Tour i p.395 ; ii p.77).
37. Young, Tour i pp.389,435 ; ii p.78. Pursuing a system whereby turnips were used as winter feed, the sheep were kept from October to the ensuing spring and then despatched to Dublin at a considerable gain, Young commenting that it was 'to their very great emolument' (ibid.ii p.78). For the system in operation under Scully see NLI Ms 27571 entries for 23 Aug.1780, 3 July 1781, 21 Feb.1782, 22 Aug.1788, and 16 May 1791.
38. Cahir : O'Callaghan papers, account book 1775-82 sub 12 Feb.1766 for the sale of 40 wethers at £48 to P.Webber, Cork, victualler.

39. See pp.231-7.
40. C.Coote, General view of the agriculture and manufactures of the King's County (1801) pp.49-50,94 ; Young,Tour i pp.430,435,443-4.
41. The phrase occurs in NLI Ms 27571 sub 24 Oct.1781.
42. Young,Tour i pp.451-2.
43. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ix pt.i p.184 ; An account of Mr.Thomas Johnston's improvement op.cit. p.21.
44. An account op.cit. p.21 ; FJ 16-18 July 1776.
45. CG 2-6 May 1782.
46. Parliamentary gazeteer (1846) i , lxxiv. That is as opposed to the upland breed of Irish black cattle found in Mayo, Kerry, and mountainous districts. They were small, whereas the type common in Tipperary were heavier and more hardy. Such cattle received notice for their size, for instance an ox weighing 12 cwt. fed by W.Fennell of Suirbank sold with three others at Cork market in 1758 for £56 and received public notice (CEP 10 Apr.1758). A consignment of 81 bullocks sent to Lawton, Carleton, and Feray in Cork in 1765 weighed an average of over 8 cwt. of beef, produced 10 stone of tallow each, and hides of 8 score pounds each (FDJ 1-5 Jan.1765).
47. 'Mallow and its neighbourhood in 1775' JCHAS xxvii (1921) pp.9,83.
48. BL Add Ms 29252 p.48. Fattening continued as the emphasis within the cattle trade locally with the Tipperary town area in 1786 said to be 'occupied solely by fattening cattle' (The post chaise companion or traveller's directory through Ireland (1786) p.209).
49. L.M.Cullen, Anglo-Irish trade 1660-1800 (1968) pp.18,33,69-71.
50. W.Woulfe to J.&P.Comerford, Cork, 31 Mar.1765 ; same to Rice, White, and Connor, Cork, 9 Apr.1765 (NLI Ms 9629). This records the sale or negotiation by Woulfe of Carrick of 516 barrels of beef and 150 barrels of cow beef to the two Cork firms.
51. NLI Ms 27571, October / November entries passim.
52. In 1794 Scully refused an order for 300 bullocks from J.Roche to be killed in Limerick because the price available there (30s.-32s. per bullock of 5 cwt. 1 qtr.) was 1s. less than in Cork. Scully did send cattle to Limerick in the 1770s as well as to Cork, but after 1780 they were consigned almost exclusively to the latter. A number of his neighbours like Cleary and Smithwick, did on occasion send stock to Limerick. Scully occasionally received requests from Waterford merchants, like McCormack and McGuire, but he usually declined fulfilling these on the basis of the price being insufficient. In 1791, for instance, McGuire offered 18s.6d. per bullock whereas Scully wanted 20s. Alternately he declined Waterford because he wished to

- give his Cork customers preference. Thus his comment on McGuire's offer of 1791 was 'provided my friends in Cork don't want them' (NLI Ms 27571 entries for 27 Oct., 25 Nov.1775, 11 Oct.1776, 20 Sept.1791, 14 Sept.1794).
53. On the foregoing points see the evidence of D.Toler, MP in NLI Ms 14157 p.17.
54. FLJ 26-29 May 1790.
55. NLI Ms 27571 pp.28-9, 44, 52-3, 97-8, 136, 178-9, 255, 297. The Dooleys regularly purchased large numbers of cattle for eventual disposal at Cork, e.g. 1,000 in August 1777, 2,000 in October 1780, and in October 1778 sold 800 to Coppinger of Cork (NLI Ms 27571 sub 12 Aug.1777, 19 Oct.1778, 26 Oct.1780).
56. NLI Ms 27571 sub [ ] Nov.1781, 5 Dec.1785, 27 Nov.1790.
57. Ibid. sub 4 Aug.1775, 17 Sept.1783, 31 Apr.1787, 7 June 1798.
58. Young, Tour i pp.389,390,393.
59. See pp.225-8, and on the general point L.M.Cullen, Six generations (1970) pp.28-9.
60. Cows required neither the same quality or quantity of grassland as dry stock, and the return obtained from cows was greater for the duration of time involved and the costs were less (Wakefield, Account i p.323).
61. Young, Tour i pp. 391,429,444,455.
62. Ibid.p.453.
63. CG 2-6 May 1782 ; FDJ 11-15, 15-18 Jan.1763, 6-10 Jan., 23-26 Aug.1775 ; Derby DDK/1709, maps of the estate of Lord Stanley in counties Limerick and Tipperary [1774].
64. Young, Tour i p.400 ; W.S.Mason, Statistical survey (1814) ii p.119. Young reported that 'a prodigious quantity [of milk went] to Carrick' from adjoining Waterford county in 1776. In the poem Cill Cais composed c.1801 referring to the land around Kilcash, north of Carrick, it states 'Ta an phairc an paddock ina dairy' (Duanaire Thiobraid Arann p.52).
65. NLI : Ormond deeds (unsorted), bundle 1756-7 : memorandum from J.Butler, Kilcash to J.Power, Tiberaghny, Co.Kilkenny, dairyman, 22 Mar.1755. This document details the letting of over 115 acres part of the Deerpark of Carrick for three years at an acreable rent of £1.2s.9d. to be paid quarterly ; the benefit of the milk and calves of 30 in-calf cows loaned for the duration ; replacement of stock that died ; penalties for ploughing up the land (£5 per acre) or assigning over the interest (£5 per acre).
66. W.S.Mason, Survey ii p.119 ; Mount Melleray : Burke Ms 72 (vi) fol.2, 'A statistical account of the parish of St.Mary's in the town of Clonmel and the diocese of Lismore' [c.1813].

67. Cullen, Economic history pp.21,54-5,59.
68. W.Woulfe to D.Farrell, 8, 9 Feb.1766 (NLI Ms 9629). This was an exceptional order for a merchant house mainly concerned in the wine and spirit trade, and in this case he was disposing of the butter on behalf of J.Keating, Garranlea (Same to J.Keating, 21 Feb.1766, *ibid.*).
69. Ledger of Courtenay and Ridgway, 1791-2 fols 31-5,39, 42, 191-2, 208,215,224 (NLI Mic.P.4036) ; total figure from JRSAI lxxxvii (1958) p.172.
70. There is a suggestion that Carrick merchants may have sublet their orders for butter to persons in outlying areas, as J.Kenny of Carrick did with J.Daniel of Fethard, cooper, in 1799 (FLJ 2-6 Mar.1799).
71. W.S.Mason, Survey ii p.123 ; PP Butter (Ire.) v (1826 ) pp.56-7,100-101,146 ; Burke, Clonmel pp.184-6.
72. PP Butter (Ire.) v (1826) pp.56-7,100-101,146.
73. Calculated from Young, Tour i pp.429, 436, 444-5,455-6.
74. An account of Mr.Thomas Johnston's improvement p.21 ; cf. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ix pt.1 p.184 where the number given is 1000.
75. Young, Tour i p.393.
76. Ibid. pp.395.396.
77. Ibid. pp.453,455 ; NLI : O.S. Name book Co.Tipperary vol.122 p.66.
78. Young, Tour i pp.436,444,445 ; PP Railway commissioners xxxv (1835) p.2.
79. FDJ 1-4 June 1765.
80. J.Mannion, 'Waterford merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland provisions trade, 1770-1820' in L.M.Cullen & P.Butel, Negoce et industrie en France et en Irlande aux xviiiie et xixe siecles (1980) p.28.
81. Mason, Survey ii p.123 ; Burke, Clonmel p.186.
82. See pp.19-20.
83. Dublin Courant 5 aug.1721.
84. Munster Journal 9 Apr.1750. The fair was supported by Tipperary graziers like C.Sadlier and R.Chadwick.
85. Waterford Herald 6 Oct.1791.
86. CG 15-19 Apr.1784, 6-9 Aug.1787.
87. Ibid.
88. FLJ 11-15 Nov.1786, 23-27 Oct.,3-6 Nov.1790.
89. On the basis of entries in Watson's Almanack where these special functions are designated. A six day wool fair was granted to Templemore in 1794 (CG 25-29 Oct.1794).
90. The 'Ormond stores' were brought to Newport fair for sale (NLI Ms 27571 sub 24

- Oct.1781).
91. FDJ 9-12 Oct.1762. The entry for Newport in PP Fairs and markets (Ire.) xli (1852-3) pp.107-110 would suggest that Waller did not receive a patent to hold the fair until October 1775, but it is clear that it was functioning long before this.
  92. FDJ 1-4 Oct.1763,15-19 Oct.1768. The location of one of the turnpikes at Shallee shows the movement of the cattle from the north, while the provision of free gates at Killaloe and O'Brien's Bridge indicates the movement across the Shannon from Clare.
  93. Ibid. 27-30 Oct.1764.
  94. Ibid. 26-29 Oct.1765, 15-19 Oct., 29 Oct.-2 Nov.1768, 23-27 Sept. 1775. By 1775 claves, yearlings, two-year old bullocks, and sheep were being sold. In 1781 over 9,000 bullocks changed hands on the morning of the fair, leaving hardly any unsold (HC 1 Nov.1781). Scully regularly attended Newport each year after his return from Ballinasloe (NLI Ms 27571 sub October entries for 1772-1816).
  95. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) v p.237.
  96. Computed from Parliamentary gazeteer iii p.359 and Table XLII. The break down is as follows : cereals (18.65%), green crops (4.42%), and meadow (6.7%).
  97. Trans.RIA xxiv (1866) pt.vii p.415 ; see also pp.20-21.
  98. TCD Ms 4879/1 ; J.Loveday, Diary of a tour in 1732 p.43.
  99. Lords Jnl.(Ire.) iii p.103. The same source comments that Tipperary and other grazing counties distant from the capital 'raise little if any [corn] more than is necessary for their own consumption'(ibid.).
  100. For a statement of these objections see M.Whyte, An inquiry into the causes of our want of tillage in Ireland (1755) p.28 ; for livestock see pp.218-9.
  101. Col.E[dward] Smith to Sir George [Macartney], 13 Oct. 1772 (PRONI D.572/2/93).
  102. FJ 30 Nov.-2 Dec.1773.
  103. PRIA lxxxiii (1983) p.299. Profit margins were obtained because the return from the bounty outweighed transportation costs, and the greater the distance from Dublin the more substantial the subsidy payment. In 1774 the average profit nationally on a hundred weight of flour was 7d., by 1780 for Clonmel it had more than doubled to 1s.4d., and in 1791 it was 1s.2d. (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ix pt.2 cccxxii ; x pt.1 clxxxvii ; xiv, cccxiv-cccxv ). The amount of subsidies was considerable in individual cases, for instance Stephen Moore of Marlfield received over £6,200 in bounty payments in 1777-8 (ibid. x pt.1 li).
  104. The compleat Irish traveller (1788) ii p.7 ; P.Leahy, A survey of the Thurles estate (1818).
  105. FLJ 22-25 Sept.1790, 10-13 Sept.1791, 6-9 Aug.1794 ; Address to Camden from

- Tipperary grand jury, 23 Dec.1795 (Kent RO : Pratt papers U 840/44) ; Barnard letters 1778-1824, ed.A.Powell (1928) p.101.
106. SPO : OP 525/162/114 (quoted in T.Pakenham, The year of liberty (1978) p.464, n.10).
107. Beef prices about doubled in the period 1788-1802 from 18s. per cwt. to 34s. ; butter doubled at Cork from a medium of 39s.6d. (1788) to 81s. (1801) ; and pork also rose in price perhaps four times between 1788 and 1801 (Table XLIII).
108. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xiv, ccciv ; T.Chandlee to D.Chandlee, 21 Mar.1813 (Dublin : Society of Friends library : Fennell papers box iv g no.11).
109. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xiv p.342.
110. For the position of Tipperary in relation to other counties involved in the trade c.1780 see map in A new history of Ireland iv (1986) p.246.
111. See pp.239-41.
112. Ledger of Courtenay and Ridgway, 1791-2 fol 43 (NLI Mic.P.4036).
113. NLI Ms 1451 : Account book of consignments of grain made by a Clonmel establishment (Malcomson ?) mainly to Davis and Strangman, Waterford 1814-25. Internally the orientation in the movement of grain was towards either Clonmel or Limerick in the south, or in the north via the midland canal system to Dublin (PP Railways xxxv (1838) app.B nos.1,2 to second report pp.2-3).
114. See pp.22-3.
115. NLI Ms 2561 fols 20-25, 34-7.
116. BL Add Ms 28877 fol 282.
117. PROI : E.Thompson's report on the revenue, 1733 (2c 36 1) p.27.
118. G.T.Stokes (ed.), Pococke's tour in Ireland in 1752 (1891) pp.125-6 ; FLJ 7-11 Aug.1773. Clonmel was supplied from as far away as Cloughjordan with wool. Evidence from 1746 records the despatch of 4 packs (=140 stones) of wool valued at £50 in 1739-40 by two tenants on the Head estate to Gordon, a Clonmel merchant (NLI PC 870 Dunalley, abstract of M.Head's bill v. H.Prittie and others, 26 Apr.1746). Also Holy Cross was developed by a Waterford merchant, Joseph Ivie, as a wool centre for in 1712 it had a slated wool house 60 feet long, a shearing plot, and sheep pens (The Dublin Intelligence 23 Dec.1712)
119. C.Smith, Antient and present state of the city and county of Waterford (1746) p.281 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xix pt.2 dccccxcvii.
120. PRONI T.2368/1.
121. RIA Ms 24.G.9. p.278. For the supply of 420 fleeces of wool in 1777 from the O'Callaghan estate to J.Hyland, Clogheen, wool merchant see O'Callaghan papers : account book 1775-82 sub 13 Aug.1777.

122. Limerick Chronicle 13 Oct.1768. His partner in the venture was Solomon Delane a local merchant. The advertisement was still appearing in early 1769 (ibid.23 Feb.1769).
123. FLJ 13-17 Aug.1774. In 1765 the wool combers of the town were prominent among the inhabitants who greeted Francis Mathew on his return there (FDJ 30 Apr.-4 May 1765).
124. FLJ 13-17 Feb.1779.
125. Roscrea : leases granted by successive landlords Curtis and Damer RD 33/467/20936; 33/303/20395 ; 35/133/21447 ; 123/190/84151 ; see also FDJ 26-29 Oct.1765 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xi pt.1 p.145 ; Stokes, Pococke p.172. Golden : Colchin (sic) is mentioned by Young with Clonmel, Carrick, Thurles, and Tipperary as locations of the industry (Tour i pp.335,394). Cahir : NLI Ms 772 (4) p.35. Attractive building leases were offered to those who would introduce woollen workers to locations near Callen in 1787 (FLJ 26-30 May 1787).
126. Proc. of the Dublin Society vi (1769-70) pp.251-2,255,259 ; vii (1770-71) pp.7,14-5,106. Moore, on the basis of the premiums granted, was the largest broad cloth manufacturer in the country in the 1770s. The amounts given him in premiums rose from £1,086 in 1772-3 to £1,548 (1774-50), £1,988 (1775-6), to £2,033 (1778-9). When one considers that premium amounts were calculated at 10 % of the total annual value of goods produced, a true estimate of the output of Moore's concern can be deduced (Ibid.ix (1772-3) p.246 ; xi (1774-5) p.9 ; xii (1775-6) p.29 ; xvi (1779-80) p.37 ; see also Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xi pt.1 cxliii-cxliv).
127. The other broad cloth makers were R.Comerford, J.Sause, E.Power, J.Hayes. Their premiums were well below those of Moore e.g. Comerford (£411) and Sause (£353) in 1772-3, though again these were considerable when the 10% calculation is considered. Power established a broad cloth business at some expence and he appealed to the Dublin Society in 1771, but he died soon after ( Proc.Dublin Society vii (1770-71) p.106 ; FLJ 29 Apr.-2 May 1772).
128. Young, Tour i p.402 ; P.Sandby, Virtuosi's museum (1781) p.38 ; and cf.D.Herbert, Retrospections (1929) i p.19.
129. BL Add Ms 29252 p.48.
130. CG 25-29 Oct.1794.
131. NLI Ms 27571 sub 21 June 1786, 9 June 1808.
132. Young, Tour i pp.388-9 ; NLI Ms 27571 sub 1 Jan.1806.
133. FLJ 12-16 Aug.1786.
134. Each piece of ratteen was not supposed to exceed 50 or 60 yards in length, and be not less than 28 inches in breadth. The consequence of stretching was to increase

- length to 80 or 90 yards and reduce its breadth to less than 20 inches, with detrimental results for the finished product (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xix pt.2 dccccxcvi).
135. T.Wallace, An essay on the manufactures of Ireland (1798) pp.155-6,170-72,181-2. Only one woollsorter is recorded in a census of Carrick in 1799 (BL Add Ms 11722 fol 121).
136. FLJ 5-8 Jan.1774. The aim of the clothiers was to establish a standard for the number of threads or beers (1 beer = 40 threads) each piece should have, and agree on 22 beers. The weavers also agreed not to work a piece under this set number of beers. The dealers were cautioned against accepting unsealed pieces because of the difficulty of extracting compensation from manufacturers who would by pass the sealing procedure by bringing their wares direct to market (Comms. Jnl.(Ire.) xix pt.2 dccccxcvii).
137. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xix pt.2 dccccxcvii. The reason for the ultimate failure of these sanctions may be that Carrick lacked the legal means of enforcement because of the absence of a municipal body and a traditional guild structure. The deficiency was filled, apparently inadequately, by the master clothiers.
138. The act 17,18 Chas.II c.15 (1665) laid down that all goods of new and old drapery should be of a certain length, breadth, and weight, and that an alnager be appointed to enforce these regulations. By 19,20 Geo.III c.20 (1779-80) inspectors were required to fix seals to goods passed ; fines were stipulated for exposing goods for sale without a seal ; and the maker was obliged to attach his name and place of abode to every piece. By 21,22 Geo.III c.23 (1781-2) the fees payable to the alnager on the inspection of new drapery goods were abolished as they were deemed to be excessive and restraining to growth, while fines for old drapery especially broad cloth were reduced.
139. Proc.Dublin Soc. ix (1772-3) pp.71,121,132 ; FLJ 7-10,10-14 Mar.1781 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) x pt.2 cccccxlvii. This was the largest of any single area in the country. Its extension to the rest of the country was intended to protect the buyers mainly from Dublin who declared their willingness not to purchase unstamped woollens put up for sale.
140. 40 Geo.III c.36 (1800). It laid down the number of threads and beers to be included in each piece of old drapery (narrow cloths, friezes, ratteens, flannels) ; penalties for over-stretching ; and that the alnager examine the cloth in the process of manufacture and not afterwards. This last provision was especially important as it was during manufacture that the main abuse arose. The outside folds were of better quality than the bulk of the piece but this, because of the manner of rolling, could not be examined until it came up for sale (Wallace, Essay p.156).



141. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) x pt.2 cccclxxxvi. In 1782 the worsted branch was said to employ over three times more persons than the woollen sector.
142. Smith, Waterford p.281.
143. Young, Tour i p.40 ; Mason, Survey ii p.119.
144. BL Add Ms 11722 as computed by Dr.L.A.Clarkson in his analysis of the census in handouts dated Sept.1982.
145. Mason, Survey ii p.120.
146. J.Long, The golden fleece (1762) p.13 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xi pt.1 p.108.
147. FLJ 12-16 Aug.1786.
148. FJ 30 Nov.-2 Dec.1773.
149. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xi pt.2 pp.449-50.
150. BL Add Ms 11722 fols 121v-122,125 ; Mason, Survey ii pp.109-110. For poverty among textile workers in Clonmel in 1808 see CH 20 Jan.1808.
151. W.Tighe, Kilkenny p.539.
152. FLJ 12-16 Aug.1786.
153. FDJ 17-21 Jan., 13-17 Mar., 29 May-2 June, 21-25 Aug.1764. The strike started in January and was not settled until late May 1764 after the military were called in to assist the master clothiers in suppressing it.
154. WM 15 Apr.1805.
155. The attempt by two Corkmen to introduce spring or swivel looms in May 1791 was violently resisted (FLJ 14-18 May 1791). A typical new 'factory' opened in nearby Waterford in 1805 with machinery for combing and spinning wool, employed 6 men, a few women, and 70 little girls to spin 2,500 pounds per week (WM 15 Apr.1805).
156. A partnership of Quin, Hayes and Burke with a total share capital of £300 introduced carding machines in 1796 (JWSEIAS xv (1912) p.65).
157. In 1802 Long and Lowe introduced machinery and artisans from England to Ardmayle. They obtained best Connemara wool, built a dye house, and intended producing all types of woollen cloth and flannels (CG 18-22 Sept.1802 ; Limerick Journal 9-13 Oct.1802 ; WM 11 Oct.1802).
158. Comms. Jnl.(Ire.) xi pt.1 p.145.
- 159 ibid.p.108. The surge in imports free of duties was also complained of by the broad cloth makers who claimed that it had caused heavy unemployment and severe distress (ibid. xi pt.2 p.43).
160. RD 86/428/61096 ; PROI 2A.12.38 pp.66-9,155 ; PRONI D.562/1112. The bleach green remained unfinished by 1745 (Thurles, County Library : 'A rent roll of the lordship of Thurles . . . half year ending Mich. & Nobr.1744', section on disbursements sub 12 Sept.1745).

161. Newport : Report and observations of R.Stephenson (1764) p.47. Tipperary : High School, Dublin : Erasmus Smith schools committee book 1721-4 (abstracted in NLI Ms 16931 p.9). Shronell : The compleat Irish traveller (1788) ii p.15. Dundrum : RD 296/461/197728. In 1771 William Douglas having removed from near Limerick, where he had served his apprenticeship under Edward Poe, opened a bleach yard at great expence on the Maude estate at Rossmore, mid-way between Thurles and Tipperary. For 65 acres there he received a 3 lives lease at £60.8s. rent in 1772. He had all the equipment needed for bleaching including a passing mill, rubbing boards, a beetling engine, and a drying room 56 feet long. He established a system of agents in the county at Nenagh, Thurles, Cashel, Killenaule, and Tipperary to receive orders for bleaching. Prospects for the linen industry were not good in the early 1770s and the scheme at Dundrum is not commented on by Young who visited the estate in 1776 (FLJ 9-13 Feb.1771 ; Young, Tour i pp.392-4). Bakestown : CG 15-19 May 1786. Nenagh : Report (1764) p.47. Clonmel : Report (1764) p.46.
162. PRONI : D.207/28/365,367,369.
163. Journal of Robert Stephenson in 1755 (1757) pp.179-80,192 ; Report (1764) pp.6-9,44,47 ; DG 15-19 May 1763. Apparently the Moorhead premiums for linen at Clogheen were fraudulently obtained.
164. PRONI D.207/28/369.
165. Stephenson, Report (1764) pp.46-7.
166. Dublin Evening Post 28 Feb.1788. The structure would seem to have been of large scale, its erection led to a strike by masons engaged in building it, and it was located near the Old Abbey , the street being named Factory Street. The French traveller Coquebert de Montbret, who visited the town c.1790, commented on 'une manufacture de coton considerable' ( FLJ 12-16 July 1788 ; CG 5-9 June 1788, 8-12 Feb.1794 ; RD 503/155/322073 ; Paris, Archives Nationale Ms 20099 fo .99).
167. D.Dickson, 'Cotton industry' in L.M.Cullen & T.C.Smout, Comparative aspects (1977) pp.109-111.
168. C.T.Bowden, Tour (1791) p.158.
169. R.Lucas, General directory (1788) p.184.
170. CG 11-15 May 1793. Cotton was also associated with the development of Littleton as a village (A.Atkinson, The Irish tourist (1815) p.451).
171. New mills continued to be founded for example at Carrick (RD 536/114/352235), Anacarty (CH 11 Aug.1802), and Keylong near Cahir (CG 25-29 June 1803). For Clonmel's continued importance see L.M.Cullen 'Flour milling in Ireland in the eighteenth century' IESH iv (1977) p.24.
172. Young, Tour i pp.390,394-5,437 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ix pt.2 cccxxii.

173. RIA Ms 12.S.6. p.28 ; Comms.Jnl (Ire.) ix pt.2 cccxii ; xv p.342.
174. Young, Tour i p.395. In December 1784 Marlfield mill advertised for the immediate supply of 1,000 barrels of oats (CG 6-9 dec.1784).
175. CG 20-23 Feb.1793, 26-30 July 1794, 18-21 Aug.1802, 20-27 Oct.1804. The Tarr mill near Clogheen in 1793 had a capacity of 3,000 barrels the same as that at Holy Cross in 1794, while the Carrick mill in 1802 could store 4,000 barrels at any one time, and an 'extensive' corn store in Clonmel in 1804 had a storage capacity of 2,000 barrels.
176. Young, Tour i p.395. His association with the mill, however, did not outlast the 1770s, during which decade the amount of flour it sent to Dublin fell from 30,305 cwt. in 1777-8 to 24,357 cwt. (1778-9) to 2,942 cwt. in 1779-80. In 1779 Moore was involved in insolvency proceedings with one commentator noting that 'numbers of people are hurt by it'. Although the mill was returned to his custody late that year to wide acclaim locally, his landed interests were advertised for sale in 1780 suggesting the need for debt reduction (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) x pt.1 li, liv-lv ; pt.2 cccclxxiii ; M.Ponsonby to [C.B.] Ponsonby, 8 Oct.[1779] (Barker Ponsonby papers P3/1/4) ; FJ 6-8 July 1779, 11-14 Mar.1780 ; FLJ 4-8 Dec.1779). Other instances of insolvency are rare enough. Lodge, proprietor of Bakestown mill, was apparently insolvent in 1783 (CG 18-22 Dec.1783), and in 1793 R.Kennedy owner of Congress mill near Newport mortgaged it for £750 to the Limerick banking firm of Maunsell & Co. (RD 447/489/290693).
177. RD : Memorials of deeds of partnership 1/3/2, dated 18 Dec.1782 ; see also note 176. F.Geale the Dublin factor, witnessed the fact that Maude paid over £1,200 of the capital to Collins.
178. Ibid. 1/7/6, dated 1 Apr.1874. Irrespective of whether or not a profit or loss was returned Maude was to be paid £300 per year rent by Ormsby for the mill and adjoining lands, plus £30 as interest on £500 part of Maude's contribution to the capital stock. Similarly Ormsby was to get £60 interest on his contribution and £100 for acting as partner. If after payment of these sums one sixth of the profits in any one year exceeded £100 then Ormsby was to have it (in lieu of the above £100, but not both). If the profits in any one year exceeded £1,400 Maude was to receive an extra £100, and if over £1,800 a further £100. Supplementary amounts over and above those already allocated were to be divided in the ratio 5 : 6 (Maude), 1 : 6 (Ormsby). Ormsby had the option of requesting a revision of these terms before 1 May 1786. Again Geale witnessed Maude paying over one quarter of the capital fund, which may suggest that this was a common function of the factor in such arrangements. On 7 June 1785 both parties agreed that one month's notice was all that was required for a mutual

- dissolution of the partnership (Ibid. 1/21/11). This must have occurred shortly afterwards for in the bounty returns for 1786-7 Ormsby is named with J.Bagwell for Marlfield and after 1787 Bagwell was the sole person receiving payments for the mill.
179. PP Corporations (Ire.) xxviii (1835) p.486 ; RD 627/343/432518 ; CG 30Sept.-3 Oct.1782.
180. FLJ 13-17 Nov.1790 ; CG 9-12 Oct.1793 ; RD 619/472/425057 ; NLI PC 46 (ii) Barton : indenture between Thomas and William Barton, 30 Oct.1815.
181. PROI : M 1418 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) x pt.1 li.
182. RD : Memorials of deeds of partnership 1/7/6.
183. The transition can be seen in the case of Simmons Sparrow who in February 1776 was described as 'wool comber', but who is recorded as sending a large consignment of flour to Dublin in 1775-6. By 1781 his status is clearly that of miller (RD 309/592/2075212, 338/293/227638, Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ix pt.2 dxv).
184. J.Hall, Tour (1813) i pp.134-5, 142.
185. T.Lecky to J.Lecky, 25 Jan.1790 (Dublin :Society of Friends, Jacob letters ST 70). For the setting up of the grubbs at Suir Island in 1777 by arrangement with the Dudleys see Society of Friends : Fennell papers Box iv e no.20.
186. RD 500/31/311408, 506/231/329308, 606/585/417768.
187. PROI : E.Thompson's report , 1733 (2C 36 1) pp.85, 107.
188. All the concerns were run by individuals except those in Tipperary town both of which were on a partnership basis.
189. W.Woulfe to J.Wyse, 26 Oct.1765 (NLI Ms 9629). There was an attempted arson attack on the public brew house in Carrick operated by J.Purcell and J.Hayes in March 1765, and in was said to be an 'extensive' concern (FDJ 23-26 Mar.1765).
190. W.Woulfe to J.Bryan, M.Lonergan, T.Harvey, T.Doherty, P.Keating, T.Doherty, and W.Lonergan 13 Nov., 21 Nov. 1765, 4 Apr., 29, 31 Oct., 9 Dec. 1766, 30 Jan., 13 Feb.1767 (NLI Ms 9629). The bringing of grain coastways for the brewery may indicate a deficiency of supply locally or more favourable prices in the outports, even allowing for transportation costs. A more subtle cause is apparent in Woulfe's letter to P.Keating, 9 Dec.1766 where he warns that 'if the mob at Clonmel sh[oul]d detain it, the corn is at your disposal and not for my account'.
191. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) x pt.2 dxxv-dxxvii, dxxix. The following section is based primarily on this source. Only John Murphy, Fethard, who was the only one to have a double still with 444 gallons and R.Doyle, Carrick with 479 gallons, exceeded the 300 gallon capacity. Locational factors were important for distilling, like brewing especially in relation to raw material and fuel. Convenience to a water supply and turf resources was vital. Both elements were stressed in an advertisement for Cappagh distillery in

- 1794 and prospective tenants for a distillery in Borrisoleigh in 1786 were promised a supply of 2,000 kishes of turf as fuel (CG 1-5 June 1786, 10-14 May 1794).
192. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) x pt.2 dxxix.
193. RCB Ms O.9. p.50 ; M.Byrne, 'The distilling industry in Offaly 1780-1954' in H.Murtagh (ed.), Irish midland studies (1980) ; Table XLV shows 15 distillers in 7 towns with nearly half (6) located in Thurles. Roscrea is not included in the directory. A new distillery was opened in Carrick by 1776 (FLJ 27-30 Mar.1776).
194. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) x pt.2 dxxv-dxxvii, dxxix ; xv pt.1 cxli ; PP Railways (Ire.) xxxv (1837-8) appx.B no.13 p.97. The reduction in licenced stills in the 1780s was largely due to the enforcement of an act of 1779 which, in attempting to reduce the amount of evasion of spirit duty, had the effect of increasing the number of illicit or unlicenced stills. There were successful discoveries of unlicenced stills by excise officials in Clonmel revenue district in 1794 and 1805 (FDJ 8 Apr.1794, LJ 3-6 Apr.1805).
195. For Cook see also N.Biddulph to J.Cook, 2 June 1786 (NLI Ms 25296, unfoliated).
196. RD 116/55/79406, 192/387/128087, 313/322/208704.
197. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xi, dcccvii-dcccviii.
198. PP Railways (Ire.) op.cit.p.97.
199. RD 18/240/8941. This refers to the tanyard and tanhouse on Stritch's Island near Clonmel in 1717 which measured 93 feet by 105 feet.
200. Ledger of Courtenay and Ridgway, 1791-2 (NLI Mic.P.4036) fols 19,31,165,191,224. The respective amounts were S.Rigg, Clonmel 52 tons (£538.5s.), R.Rivers do. 5 tons (£48.15s.), and L.Smyth, Carrick 77 tons 13 cwt.(£784.17s.). In 1767 W.Woulfe, Carrick, local agent for the Wall estate at Coolnamuck, reported to his superior that 'there is not a man that wants bark in this part of the country but knows you have some unsold and [I] believe tis better [to] wait till they apply, w[hi]ch they must do unless extraordinary supplies sh[oul]d come from Wales, in that case I am for refusing a reasonable offer' (Woulkfe to C.W.Wall, 15 Feb.1767, NLI Ms 9629).
201. FLJ 9-12 Nov.1791.
202. Only two coopers are named in the 1788 directory (Table XLV) both for Carrick, but this is an underestimate as by 1799 there were 55 coopers in the town (Table XLVI). Coopering was also important in Clonmel. In 1769 the master coopers of Limerick complained that they were paid less than 1/2d. per cask / firkin than Clonmel coopers who facilitated the conveyance of butter from Clonmel to Waterford.
203. Paris : Bibliotheque Nationale Ms 20099 fol 99v ; CG 3-7 Apr.1788.

204. CS I pp.102,130. Placenames like Glengoole and Coalbrook suggest the longevity of exploitation.
205. Langley : Memoir of the coalfields of Ireland (1921) i p.73 ; CG 17-20 Sept.1794. In 1797 the colliery at Lisnamrock was still working but not with a great deal of enthusiasm (G.Holmes, Sketches of some of the southern counties of Ireland (1801) p.15 ; PROI : Lodge rolls series ix p.431). Gahan : CG 16-20 May 1782. Going : Memoir (1921) op.cit. Barker : Barker Ponsonby papers P6/46. This lease between Sir W.Barker and J.Deeves, 17 Apr.1770 contains a clause that the latter was not to obstruct the roadway to Barker's coalworks. Hunt : Trans. Dublin Society i pt.2 (1800) pp.114-5 ; W.Hunt to Sir Vere Hunt, 10,24 Jan.1788 (Limerick City Library : Vere Hunt correspondence). Attempts by the landlord to locate coal deposits on the Butler (Cahir) estate c.1790 were unsuccessful (Proc.Dublin Society 1820-21 p.214).
206. Originally an Ormond possession the town and adjoining lands (1,739 acres) passed as part of the estate shedding by the second duke to Worth his agent who in 1706 set it to the Lathams on a perpetuity lease. It is unclear to what extent they worked the coal deposits but it is apparent that a more active exploitation took place after the area passed by marriage to the Newenham family. The decade after 1800 was one of new vigour for the workings as partners with capital were actively sought, e.g by Thomas Bagnall of Killenaule in 1802. By that date the pits near the town were fully operational, more were being opened, and by 1814 it was reported that Newenham had sunk 32 pits in the area producing coal of good quality (CS I p.104 ; PROI : Lodge rolls series ix p.377 ; RD 70/341/48622 ; CH 24 Nov.1802, 8 Jan.1803 ; A description of the collieries of Killenaule now to be let, the estate of E.W.Newenham (1814). For the promotion of New Birmingham see Limerick City Library : Vere Hunt diaries and correspondence ; CH 28 Aug.1802, 17 May 1815 ; CG 11-15 Dec.1802. Aspects of labour organisation and production in the collieries can be judged from the practice at Killenaule under Newenham. It was the function of the landowner to undertake the sinking or opening of a pit after which a crew of colliers would take it for 5-20 guineas, work it to a certain distance, and give half the coal raised to the proprietor (A description (1814) p.7). At Coalbrook in 1815 Langley had 150 hands working in 3 pits producing 45 tons of coal per day and had a turnover of £10,000 annually with a profit to the proprietor of £5,000 (A.Atkinson, The Irish tourist (1815) pp.449-50). As with the textile industry the introduction of new technology in the coal mining sector served to reduce employment levels. At Coalbrook the introduction of a steam engine was said to have cut the labour force by two thirds.
207. A description (1814) p.3. The coal was purchased at the pits by dealers who

disposed of it to other dealers in the nearby towns, who in turn conveyed it further to sell again. Fethard thus became an important cross point for coal en route to Clonmel. Killenaule coal was valued for its heat qualities, its durability, and its cheapness compared to turf (PP : Railway (Ire.) xxxv (1838) appx.B nos.1,2 p.3). Imports of coal to points far inland were rare. James Scully of Kilfeacle imported only two consignments of coal in the period 1787-1808 : 51 barrels through Carrick in 1787 and 48 barrels through Clonmel in 1808 (NLI Ms 27571 sub 15 Aug.1787, 18 July 1808). Given its wide availability locally these purchases must reflect a degree of social pretension.

208. A description (1814) p.5. Culm or coal dust from anthracite was widely used to burn limestone. At Newenham's Killenaule workings gentlemen and farmers were reported to have often paid 20-50 guineas in advance for supplies of culm. Such amounts were not inconsiderable when culm in 1814 sold at 6s. per pit barrel (= 10 cwt.), in 1782 it was 2s.81/2d. at Gahan's Coolquill pit (CG 16-20 May 1782). There was a cross trade in culm from Killenaule to Templemore and Roscrea, and some trade in culm to places outside the region may also have developed. For instance, a Carrick merchant in 1766 was negotiating for the supply of 150 barrels of it from Killenaule (PP : Railways (Ire.) xxxv (1838) p.2 ; W.Woulfe to A.Fitzgerald, 25 May 1766 (NLI Ms 9629)).

209. Following its discovery parties in Nenagh expressed interest in working the vein. One concerned, Hanly, was reluctant to concede too high a proportion (one seventh) to the landlord as duty without knowing the full extent of the find, or without some assurance of obtaining a 31 year lease. Further limiting factors were that there were difficulties in clearing the mines of water. In 1772 Samuel Howard of Dublin offered himself as a mining agent to Derby and advocated that a proposal for a lease of the mines by a Chester concern be accepted if Lord Strange (Derby's heir) deferred proceeding with working the mines himself. Further applications by British interests in the 1780s indicate the interest the mines aroused and their potential for income in an activity where investment of capital could prove foolhardy. Local interests also advanced proposals at this time but these were rejected on the basis that the term sought (31 years) was too long and proper covenants were needed. News of the extent of the vein was sufficient for a Liverpool consortium in 1785 to forego their reservations about the expense involved (Derby papers : P.Hanly to Lord Strange, 20 Nov.1757, S.Howard to same, 27 Aug.1772 (DDK series) ; T.Patton to Derby, 18 May 1783, T.Smyth to same, 31 Dec.1785, and undated proposal from R.Smith, T.Stoney, R.Reddan and M.Carroll (DDK 1705 series).

210. In 1708 the mines were held by Sir Humphrey Jervis but his interest in them was

disposed of in that year. In 1724 Prittie leased the concern to a mining company on very flexible terms designed to encourage settlement and production, but in 1731 he revised the terms in order that he might obtain a greater portion of the ore being extracted. It is not apparent whether the company was successful or, an attempt to initiate re-working in 1758 ended in dismal failure. Matthew O'Connor of Silvermines received a 31 year lease of the mines in 1758, payment to the landlord to be one ninth of all lead raised for the first seven years and one eighth thereafter. In 1760 O'Connor entered into partnership with three Dublin merchants, with profits to be divided equally. In 1761, however, he disposed of his moiety in the partnership for £2,250. In 1797 the mines were described as 'ruinous and deserted and the mine shafts overgrown with creeping briars (sic) and weeds', and little local information was forthcoming as to their former working. The resurgence of interest in the mines in 1802 was prompted by the presence of British soldiers from mining counties in England who were stationed in the area and who expressed interest in working them. The Dunalley Mining Company was subsequently formed and share stocks were issued (RD 43/245/28057, 66/351/46690, 206/10/134647, 214/279/141170, 217/25/41307, 240/403/156116 ; PROI : 1A.52.167 p.5 ; PRONI T 2368/1 ; G.Holmes, Sketches (1801) pp.39,44 ; LJ 1-5 May 1802 : NLI PC 564 Trant, folder marked 'Miscellaneous Trant papers' which contains a share for £80 purchased by a person from Topsham but which came by assignment to one of the Trants who were also involved in buying shares in the Lackamore Mining Company in 1804).

Newenham of Killenaule was also involved in advancing lead and silver mines at Shallee one mile east of Silvermines, but because the main partner and sole conductor of the works (Captain Hall an Englishman) died in 1796 the works were suspended (A description of the silver and lead mines of Shallee (1814)). The workings were advertised for letting in 1814. The map annexed to the advertisement suggests that the mining operations were elaborate, that settlement had arisen, and that the construction of a new road to Limerick passing through the district was intended to enhance its prospects further. As for other mines, there were workings in iron ore reportedly at Ballyporeen but these were idle for many years by 1785 (PRO : HO 100/5/4). In 1786 Sir Thomas Osborne of Newtown near Clonmel was promoting slate quarrying by providing houses and land for as many labouring families as would engage in the work (CG 14-18 Dec.1786). There were also good slate quarries on the banks of the Shannon near Killaloe (The report of Donald Stewart itinerant mineralogist to the Dublin Society (1800) p.115).

211. Smith-Barry papers DCN 1984/2/5, 1984/10/52 ; RD 65/514/46710, 65/514/46711, 65/523/46758, 65/524/46759, 66/353/46709, 66/455/47497,



- 66/459/47536, 67/440/46714. The development of the town entailed the granting of building plots on the main street of the town and the allocation of accompanying lots in the adjoining townland of Carronruddy of between 4-10 acres each. Those given leases in the town in the 1730s included gentlemen, mwechants (Hoops, Delane, Cherry, Russell), a clergyman, chandler, joiner, staymaker, and mason. The leases stipulated substantial expenditure : £400 in one case, £250 in another for good and substantial buildings of lime and stone, and smaller sums (£50, £40) on the repair of existing structures.
212. T.P.Power, 'A minister's money account for Clonmel, 1703' AH xxxiv (1987).
213. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xix, dcccclvii ; RCB Ms O.9.p.70.
214. FDJ 19-22 July 1766 ; LJ 26-29 Oct.1808 ; RD 603/215/411650.
215. See pp.179-80, 227,253.
216. See pp.104,122,224.
217. FLJ 13-16 Oct.1784 ; S.Lewis, Topographical dictionary of Ireland (1837) i p.117.
218. Vere Hunt to A.Marsden, 8 May 1802 (SPO : OP 143/19) ; CH 28 Aug.1802.
219. CH 28 Aug.1802.
220. CG 11-15 Dec.1802 ; CH 17 May 1815 ; Vere Hunt to J.Bergin, 30 Sept., 6 Nov. 1815, same to Jacob & Co. 1 Oct.1815, same to Rev.Meighan, 11 Oct.1815, same to R.Cantwell, 12 Oct.1815 (Limerick City Library : Vere Hunt letterbook ii pp.4,9,14,15,23) ; see also 'New Birmingham Co.Tipperary its origin and development', Tipperary Association Yearbook 1981-2 (1982) pp.45-9.
221. NLI Ms 5576 sub 28 Apr.1716 ; RIA Ms 24 G.9 p.285 ; J.Loveday, Diary p.36 ; Pococke, Tour pp.126,172,175 ; Post chaise companion pp.168, 207, 213,215 ,257, 331.
222. WM 26 Mar.1810.
223. Kent RO : Pratt papers U 840/171/91, 145-6, 253-4 (TCD Mic 56) ; RIA Ms G.1.2.nos.4,12. The availability of bread and flour supplies for the army in Tipperary in general and in Clonmel in particular was an important element in military strategy in the years 1778-81. In 1778 in advance of a suspected French invasion it was proposed to establish large magazines of flour at Dublin, Cork, Clonmel, and Kilkenny with smaller depots at locations like Nenagh and Tipperary. Bakers who could supply 10,000 men with bread were to be employed at Clonmel. The town was also one of the two centres where biscuit was to be baked, and it was envisaged that 50 tons of it could be prepared in advance, while 38 tons were to be laid up at Clogheen, Tipperary, Newport and Nenagh. Also it was planned that stocks of flour should be accumulated at a number of points to supply the army for long periods.

- Locally these were : Clonmel (enough to supply 5,000 men for 150 days, the largest allocation in the country), Tipperary and Nenagh (1,000 men for 100 days, each). Depots for the receipt of oats were established at Clonmel, Cahir, and Tipperary.
224. J.Loveday, Diary pp.36,44 ; P.Deighan, Complete treatise (1810) p.228 ; H.Moll, Map of Ireland (1728), description of Tipperary towns. The quay walls skirting the river on the south side of Clonmel were still in tact when John Wesley visited the town in 1756 (N.Curnock (ed.), The journal of John Wesley 8 vols [1912-7], iv p.161 ; see also J.S.Dodd, The travellers director through Ireland (1801) p.72.
225. RIA Ms 24.G.9. p.281 ; NLI Ms 772 (4) / 21 ; Parliamentary gazeteer ii (1846) p.212.
226. Pococke, Tour p.125 ; De Montbret Ms 20099 fol 99v ; G.Tyner, Traveller's guide (1794) p.63 ; R.C.Hoare, Tour (1807) p.35 ; P.Deighan, Complete treatise (1810) p.228 ; Post chaise companion pp.168,257,331 ; J.S. Dodd, Travellers director p.72 ; BL Add Ms 29252 p.38.
227. Loveday, Diary p.43 ; Post chaise p.213 ; NLI Ms 772 (4) / 34 ; PROI 976/6/5.
228. RD 424/210/276008 ; P.Deighan op.cit p.228 ; Postchaise p.365.
229. RD 308/19/203377 ; Tyner, Guide p.63 ; Mount Melleray : Burke Ms 71 (vi) fol 5 ; Burke, Clonmel pp.122-3.
230. Loveday p.43 ; FLJ 17-21 Dec.1791 ; NLI PC 12674 (i-iii) Bagwell, deed of 26 Nov.1788.
231. NLI Ms 11887 sub June 1754 ; FJ 12-16 Apr.1768 ; FDJ 12 May 1798. In 1748 4 houses were gutted by fire in Nenagh but it was halted from spreading (Dublin Courant 13-16 Aug.1748).
232. The charter party of the Clonmel annuity company (1798).
233. H.Boulter, Letters (1770) i pp.228,230.
234. Dublin Newsletter 2-6 June 1741 ; Burke, Clonmel p.126 ; PRONI D.354/851 ; CG 6-10 June 1782. For relief measures taken in Cashel in 1741 see NLI Ms 5576 p.50.
235. In 1799 there was a wet Summer the effect of which was to produce near famine conditions. A year of dearth followed (Waterford City Library : Carrickman's dairy pp.10,65 ; SPO : RP 620/57/64 ; PRO : HO 100/94/283-4).
236. W.Woulfe to M.Doherty, 29 June 1766, same to J.Lyon, 30 July 1766 (NLI Ms 9629). In a letter of 9 Dec.1766 to P.Keating , Marlfield, who had the disposal of Stephen Moore's grain, payment for a consignment of corn to Woulfe was agreed with the stipulation that 'if the mob at Clonmel sh[oul]d detain it the corn is at your disposal and not for my account' (Ibid.).
237. JWSEIAS xv (1912) p.67 ; Society of Friends, Dublin : SG.C.4.

238. W.M.Pitt, A letter from Major Pitt of the Dorset regiment to the society for promoting the comforts of the poor established at Carrick-on-Suir in the County of Tipperary (1800) p.4.
239. Ibid. pp.4-5 ; on the increase in poverty levels see pp.235-6
240. NLI Mss 133 ; 5578 p.142 ; Burke, Clonmel pp.291-3 ; FDJ 29 Aug.-1 Sept., 12-15 Sept.1767.
241. Pitt, A letter p.4.
242. Ibid. pp.6-13. In 1804 Lord Clonmell gave a site in Carrick for a fever hospital with a donation of £50, and by 1813 Clonmel had a house of industry and a dispensary (WM 24 Nov.1804 ; Burke, Clonmel pp.198-9).
243. RD 117/37/79588 ; above pp.179-80.
244. NLI Ms 5576 sub 29 June 1724 ; CEP 28 Dec.1789 ; FLJ 26-30 Jan.1792. Another privately run academy was opened in Clonmel in 1788 for young ladies (CG 1-4 Sept.1788).
245. Waterford Herald 27 Dec.1792.
246. G.Taylor & A.Skinner, Maps of the roads of Ireland (1783 and 1969).
247. 5 Geo.II c.19.
248. 9 Geo.II c.26.
249. 25 Geo.II c.21 s.3. The trustees were then indebted to the amount of £642 (ibid.).
250. 13 Geo.II c.14 ; 25 Geo. II c.17 ; 29 Geo.II c.20 ; 31 Geo.II c.18.
251. FDJ 17 Nov.1796 ; RCB Ms O.9 / 57.
252. Pococke, Tour p.126 ; NLI Ms 772 (4) / 34.
253. 9 Geo.II c.22 ; 11 Geo.II c.18.
254. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) viii pt.1 pp.488-9.
255. Cullen, Economic history p.88.
256. See for example 13,14 Geo.III c.29 ; 15,16 Geo.III c.36 ; 17,18 Geo.III c.40 ; 19,20 Geo.III c.48 ; 21,22 Geo.III c.64 ; 30 Geo.III cc.38,44 ; 35 Geo.III c.16.
257. Parliamentary register vi (1786) p.206.
258. NLI PC 46 (ii) Barton, folder marked 'Fethard Corporation' document on presentments 29 July 1793 ; SPO : OP 296/7/14, presentments August 1810.
259. H.Moll, Maps of Ireland (1728) plate 17.
260. FDJ 3 Jan.1795.
261. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) v p.237 ; Burke, Clonmel p.128.
262. Burke, Clonmel pp.128-9.
263. Parliamentary register vi (1786) p.436 ; FLJ 10-14 Mar.1787.
264. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xiii pp.73,168 ; xiv p.70. For the importance to the quakers of the smooth running of the transport system along the river see M.Grubb to

- T.Chandlee, 6 Nov.1796 (Society of Friends, Dublin : Fennell papers box iv e /95).
265. L.M.Cullen, 'Landlords, bankers, and merchants : the early Irish banking world, 1700-1820' in A.E.Murphy (ed.), Economists and the Irish economy from the eighteenth century to the present day (1984) pp.31-2.
266. W.Vaughan (d.1699) a Clonmel merchant of the late seventeenth century did a large business in bills (Burke, Clonmel p.102 ; C.L.Vaughan-Arbuckle, 'A Tipperary farmer and Waterford tradesman of two centuries ago' JWSEIAS viii (1902) pp.80-89). Joseph Damer (d.1720) acted as agent until 1709 for the Erasmus Smith Schools and private estates in the county as well as having an estate in fee and a number of leasehold interests there also. Based in Dublin he carried on a large lending business on the strength of the rents he held for transmission. When he died in 1720 he was reputedly worth £400,000 (Dublin Historical Record iii no.3 (1941) pp.41-53 at 47 ; J.Swift, 'An elegy on the . . . death of Mr.Demar (sic)' in E.O'Kelly, Old private bankers of Munster (1959) pp.8-9). Loans were also the business of Phineas Riall, a Clonmel merchant, who in the first decade of the eighteenth century made sums available to the local corporation and also advanced mortgages on land and dealt in bill (Burke, Clonmel p.188).
267. Burke, Clonmel p.175 ; NLI Ms 2785, ledger of La Touche and Kane 1719-26. Burke suggests that Bagwell was in the drapery and woollen business. The ledger shows that between the two dates the cash in hand held by Bagwell varied between from £117.19s.11d. to £1,049.10s.7d. After the major correspondents in Cork and Limerick he was the Dublin firm's largest country agent.
268. Samuel Derrick in a letter to the earl of Cork in 1760 describes while on a visit to Clonmel having obtained a letter of introduction from Mr.Bagwell, 'a banker of the town', to Newport a Waterford merchant (Letters ii (1767) p.6). In the interim between John Bagwell I the family married into the Harpers of Cork, John Harper being a partner in the firm of Harper and Armstead of that city. The firm were made executors of the will of William Bagwell (d.1756), and made responsible for raising his son. part of the business of the Bagwell bank was receiving sums of money on deposit from local people (Burke, Clonmel pp.175,188n. ; Mount Melleray : Burke Ms, prerogative will of W.Bagwell d.1756).
269. R.Lucas, General directory (1788) p.114.
270. Burke, Clonmel p.188.
271. Report from the committee on the circulating paper, the specie, and the current coin of Ireland (1804) reprinted as PP v 1826 (407) p.153 ; E.O'Kelly, Bankers pp.23-4. Scully established his bank in Tipperary in October 1802 though he did not register it until July 1803 (NLI Ms 27571 p.315).

272. PP v 1826 pp.147-50.
273. Waterford Herald 27 Apr.1793. There were similar notices of confidence from Waterford and New Ross indicating the circulation in the bank's notes. There was a similar notice in 1808 signed by 77 merchants supporting the Carrick bank of John Carshore (WM 6 Jan.1808).
274. Tighe, Kilkenny p.558.
275. Burke, Clonmel p.189n.
276. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xviii pp.56-7.
277. See note 268. In 1766 Woulfe of Carrick expressed his intention to Riall 'to lodge from time to time a little cash in your bank' (Woulfe to W.Riall, 20 July 1766 (NLI Ms 9629)). Woulfe was already accepting bills on Riall's bank as payment for goods from his customers (Same to J.Walsh, 22 Mar.1765, same to T.Vowell, 10 July 1765, *ibid.*).
278. Scully's bank dealt mainly in discounting bills and receiving rent payments (J.Mahon to E.Lee, 14 Jan.1815 [recte 1816], same to B.B.Bradshaw, 31 Jan.1816, NLI Ms 27495). The bank's ledger of accounts for 1808-21 is now NLI Ms 27492. There were close marriage ties between the Vaughan, Bagwell, and Riall families while the two last were also married into the Harpers of Cork and the Newports of Waterford respectively, two other banking houses (Burke, Clonmel p.338 and note 268).
279. For instance 54 clothiers are named for Carrick in 1799 whereas only 17 are given in the 1788 list (Tables XLV, XLVI). Other occupations like tanning, coopering, shoemaking, and general merchants are also underestimated.,
280. R.Lucas, General directory p.183.
281. J.Hall, Tour (1813) i p.135.
282. NLI Ms 9629 index sub J.Wyse, J.&P.Comerford, and J.Connor.
283. Ibid. index sub W.Coppinger and L.Sall. As an extension of these contacts wine cargoes were paid for through two catholic houses in London those of M.Reilly, and Dillon & Cruise. Woulfe dealt directly with Sall of Charente for the supply of brandy and with Coppinger of Bordeaux for wine. Woulfe supplied orders for spirits and wines for over 50 households and military barracks in the region, and furnished supplies to outlets in Cashel, Clogheen, Clonmel, Dungarven, Fethard, Thurles and Tipperary (Woulfe to Sall, 30 July 1766, same to Coppinger, 3 Feb.1765, 12 Feb.1766, NLI Ms 9629).
284. W.Woulfe to G.Ryan, 19 Oct.[1766] (NLI Ms 9629). Ryan arranged to draw on his father to the amount of £500 which with Woulfe's order made £1,000 representing the amount required to become established in trade at this time.

285. Society of Friends, Dublin : Diary of J.Grubb of this travels in England 1766 (Grubb SGB 2/1) ; Society of Friends, London : Gurney correspondence 1769-84 especially letters of 3 Oct.1770, 6 Aug., 12 , 26 Nov.1772.

1. A
2. The returns in Table XLVIII show the number of deaths registered in individual years. Table XLIX presents the number of deaths in 1769-74. These and crimes are specifically regarded in notes 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13. The returns, however, possess, and those ascribed to the deaths of a criminal, who were the victims of crimes of murder, abduction, burglary, and robbery, and the deaths of the poor from issues which had an epidemic origin, a classification supported by numerous references to them in the period.
3. This represents a logical conclusion, for the fact that the character of the crime was of a capital nature, previously was dealt with by the execution of the guilty, in accordance with military law. After 1765, however, a new development occurred with the execution of the guilty, in accordance with the provisions of the Statute who were in the world of the medieval system of execution.
4. For the Southampton incidents which occurred on the Dover coast : [LJ] 2-6 May, 26-27 June 1766 ; [SPD] ; Privy Council Office ; Index to proclamations, Statute 1616-1875 and laws 1760 ; [PRO] ; Calendar of proclamations (14, 52, 159) p.266. In 1777 Young reported that No Whitehoys have ever existed in these banks (Upper and Lower Ouse), nor any other that has larger than a chamber boat at a time (p. 15-17).
5. Including amending and consolidating legislation there are : 7 Geo. II c.26, 9 Geo. II c.21 ; 11 Geo. II c.18, 13 Geo. II c.1, 15, 16 ; 25 Geo. II c.17 ; 31 Geo. II c.15, 3 Geo. III c.26, 19, 20 Geo. III c.45, 46. Before 1770 there was provided for the building of roads from Thurston to Colchester (1760), Brough to Ebor (1770), Bury to Dunstable via Kington and Dunstable (1760), Tottenham to London via Silver Street, Nether Street and Tottenham (1770), and Colchester to Chelmsford (1770) ; see also pp. 152 & 153.
6. 25 Geo. II c.17, 21, 29 Geo. II c.26, 31 Geo. II c.18.
7. 3 Geo. III c.26, 19, 20 Geo. III c.45, 46 made provision for roads from Ebor to Liddon on the River Thames (1770), from Colchester to Chelmsford via Haverhill and Kington (1770), and Nether to Tottenham via Tottenham (1770). The full extent of the road network can be seen from Taylor and Stovell, Map of the County of Essex (1769 ed.) nos. 111-7, 120-21, 162-3, 183-8, 200-9.
8. [LJ] 2-6 May 1766.
9. For 1766 : [LJ] 26-27 May, 3-9 Aug., 31 May-4 June 1766 ; [LJ] 30 Dec.1775-3 Jan.1776 ; The Statutes of the Kingdom of Great Britain (1760) p.252 (repealed, note p.175). For 1770 : [LJ] 14-23 May 1762, [LJ] 17-16 Dec. 1778, WC 29 Dec.1775-2

## Chapter VII : Notes

1. A letter (1741) op.cit.p.2.
2. The returns in Table XLVIII show the number of serious agrarian crimes reported in individual years. Table XLIX presents data in relation to crimes for 1805-14. Here some crimes are specifically agrarian in nature : sheep, cattle, and horse stealing, forcible possession, and riotous assembly. In addition it is reasonable to assume that the more serious crimes of murder, abduction, burglary, and assault derived in whole or in part from issues which had an agrarian context, a conclusion supported by newspaper references to crime in the period.
3. This represents a logical termination point because facionalism was a departure in the character of rural unrest. Previously unrest was dealt with by the appointed magistrates and gentry, in association with military forces. After 1805, however, a new development occurs with Shanavests emerging from the rural middle class in response to the violence of the Caravats who were in the mould of the traditional eighteenth century movement.
4. For the Borrisoleigh incidents which occurred on the Damer estate : FDJ 3-6 May, 26-29 June 1760 ; SPO : Privy Council Office : Index to proclamation books 1618-1875 sub anno 1760 ; PROI : Calendar of presentments (1A 52 159) p.264. In 1777 Young remarked that 'No Whiteboys have ever arisen in these baronies [Upper and Lower Ormond], nor any riots that last longer than a drunken bout at a fair' (Tour i p.437).
5. Excluding amending and consolidating legislation these acts were : 7 Geo.II c.20, 9 Geo.II c.22 ; 11 Geo.II c.18, 13 Geo.II cc.14,15,16 ; 25 Geo.II c.17 ; 31 Geo.II c.18, 5 Geo.III c.26, 19,20 Geo.III cc.45,46. Before 1751 these acts provided for the building of roads from Timahoe to Cashel (1739), Nenagh to Birr (1739), Borris-in-Ossory to Toomavara via Roscrea and Dunkerrin (1735), Toomavara to Limerick via Silvermines, Nenagh,Shallee and Tullo (1737) ; and Clonmel to Clogheen (1739) ; see also pp.252-3.
6. 25 Geo.II cc.17,21, 29 Geo.II c.20, 31 Geo.II c.18.
7. 5 Geo.III c.26, 19,20 Geo.III cc.45,46 made provision for roads from Birr to Lahinch on the River Shannon (1765), from Callan to Clonmel via Mullinahone and Kilmore (1779), and Nenagh to O'Brien's Bridge (1779). The full extent of the road network can be seen from Taylor and Skinner, Maps of the roads of Ireland (1969 ed.) nos.111-7, 120-21, 162-3,188-96,208-9.
8. CG 2-6 May 1782.
9. For titled : FDJ 26-29 Mar., 5-9 Apr., 31 May-4 June 1763 ; FLJ 30 Dec.1775-3 Jan.1776 ; The gentleman's and London magazine xxxii (1763) p.232 (mispaginated, recte p.175). For untitled : FDJ 18-22 May 1762, FLJ 12-16 Dec.1778, WC 29 Dec.1775-2

- Jan.1776, WHM Feb.1774 p.115, Mar.1777 p.215.
10. FDJ 11-14 Jan.1766.
  11. Ibid. 16-19 Apr.1763, FJ 11-14,16-18 Jan.1772, WHM Feb.1772 p.112.
  12. FDJ 26-29 Mar.1763, 1-4 Sept.1764.
  13. FLJ 16-20 May 1778, FJ 15-18 Jan.1774.
  14. FDJ 6-9 Apr., 5-9 Nov.1765, FJ 2-6 Apr.1765.
  15. FLJ 1-5,26-29 July, 5-9, 26-30 Aug., 9-13 Sept.1786, HC 3 July, 11 Sept.1786, CG 29 June-3 July, 7-11 Sept.1786, WHM July p.390, Aug.1786 p.446.
  16. Wilson's Dublin magazine Apr.1763 pp.196-9 ; J.S.Donnely, 'Whiteboy movement', IHS xxi no.81 (1978) pp.32-6.
  17. FDJ 10-13 Apr.1762. The scale of operations is suggested, for example by the fact that in February 1762 over 140 men were involved in destroying 130 perches of stone wall belonging to David Hodgson of Kill ( Mount Melleray : Burke Ms 31 p.[273]). John Willington had 90 perches of wall levelled at Roanstown in 1762 (NLI Ms 11422, document dated 24 Feb.1762). For other cases of levelling see FDJ 29 June-3 July, 8-12 Nov.1763.
  18. FDJ 19-22 Mar.1763.
  19. Ibid. 25-28 June,8-11 Oct.1763.
  20. Ibid. 29 Oct.-1 Nov.1763. In August the inhabitants of Poleroan near Carrick were sworn not to pay tithe on potatoes (FDJ 1-4 Sept.1764).
  21. Ibid. 29 June-3 July, 3-6 July 1762, 22-26 Nov.1763.
  22. Ibid. 3-6 May 1760, 15-19 Oct.1765, DG 2-6 July 1765 ; PROI 1A 52 159 pp.264,266.
  23. CEP 31 Mar.1763, FDJ 5-8 Oct.1765, 11-14 Jan.1766, FJ 18-22 Mar.1766; Gentleman's and London magazine xxxv (1765) p.703 ; Burke, Clonmel p.364.
  24. PROI : 1A 52 159 pp.264,266 ; Burke, Clonmel p.365.
  25. J.S.Donnely, 'Irish agrarian rebellion : the Whiteboys of 1769-76' PRIA lxxxiii (1983) pp.299-300, 302-4.
  26. D.Herbert, Retrospections i p.22, the year should be 1773 (see FLJ 22-26 Jan.1774), FLJ 3-6 Apr.1776, FJ 20-22 Sept.1774.
  27. FLJ 22-26 Oct., 9-12 Nov.1774, FJ 24-26 Oct.1776.
  28. WC 12-15 Feb.1771, FLJ 4-7 Dec.1771.
  29. FLJ 24-28 Apr.1773.
  30. WHM May 1775 p.318.
  31. WC 29 Dec.1775-2 Jan.1776, FJ 17-19 Aug.1773, FLJ 10-14 Aug.1776.
  32. FLJ 11-15 Sept.1773, FJ 11-13 Jan.1774.



33. WC 5-8 Nov.1771, FLJ 17-21 June, 29 July- 2 Aug.1775, FJ 20-22 July 1775.
34. FLJ 4-7 Dec.1771, 17-21 June, 28 Sept.-2 Oct.1775.
35. CEP 23 Aug.1773, FLJ 17-21 Sept.1774.
36. FLJ 16-20 May, 5-8 Aug.1772 ; FJ 14-17 May 1774.
37. WC 12-15 Feb.1771, FLJ 8-12 Aug., 28-31 Oct.1772, 16-20 Sept., 11-14 Oct.1775, 13-16 Mar., 13-17 Apr.1776, FJ 1-3, 5-8 Aug. 1775, 2-4 Nov.1773.
38. FLJ 29 Oct.-2 Nov.1774, 30 Oct.-2 Nov.1775, FJ 29 Apr.-2 May, 1-3 Aug.1775.
39. J.S.Donnely, 'The Rightboy movement, 1785-8' Studia Hibernica 17-18 (1977-8) pp.149-61, 164-75, 178-80.
40. NLI Ms 8395 (2) ; D.Trant, Considerations (1787) pp.67-72 ; FLJ 3-6 Aug.1785, 26-29 July 1786, CG 10-14 Nov.1785, 7-11 Sept.1786.
41. CG 29 June-3 July 1786, FLJ 26-29 July, 26-30 Aug., 9-13, 16-20 Sept.1786, WHM July 1786 p.390.
42. Hamilton to Sydney, 5 Nov.1785 (PRO : HO 100/17/171-171v) ; J.D.White, Anthologia Tipperariensis (1892) p.54 ; FLJ 23-27 Oct., 3-6, 24-27 Nov.1784, WHM Sept.1785 p.501 ; CG 14-17 Mar., 21-24 Nov.1785.
43. CEP 16 Mar.1786 where they were unsuccessful in taking arms, though the stealing of arms was reportedly commonplace in the country between Urlingford and Thurles, Cashel and Killenaule (CG 21-25 Dec.1786).
44. Destruction of property centred on the burning of farm buildings, equipment, and crops (FLJ 27 Feb.-2 Mar.1799, WHM Mar.1800 pp.189-190, CH 22 Jan., 6 Apr. 1803, LJ 6-10 May, 14-17 Sept.1803). Two of these may not have been agrarian in motivation.
45. SPO : RP 620/57/64 ; SCP 1020/39 ; NLI Ms 27571 p.286 ; WHM Mar.1800 p.190, Apr.1800 p.254, Sept.1800 p.188 ; FLJ 2-6 Mar.1799 ; FDJ 26 Aug.1800 ; LJ 24-28 Apr.1802 ; CG 17-20 Nov.1802.
46. SPO : RP 620/9/97/8 ; WM 28 Aug., 8 Nov.1802 ; FDJ 16 Oct.1800 ; CG 8-11 Sept.1802 ; LJ 18-22 Sept.1800 ; CH 10,27 Nov.1802.
47. SPO : RP 620/57/49 ; WM 28 Nov.1801, 19 May 1802 ; CH 27 Oct.1802 ; CG 25-29 Dec.1802 ; LJ 17-21 Sept.1803.
48. Hare to Somerton, 2 Apr.1801 (Agar papers box 3) ; WM 11 Sept.1802.
49. FDJ 30 July 1801, LJ 1-4 June, 6-9 July, 7-10 Sept., 16-19 Nov.1803, CH 8 June 1803 ; Table II.
50. Sheffield City Library : Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Burke Ms 8/9.
51. Mount Melleray : Burke Ms 31 pp.273,288.
52. For their importance as textile manufacturing centres see pp.231-2.

53. The two were Daniel Cunningham alias Joanna Meskil of Borrisoleigh, and John Fogarty or Captain Fearnot described as 'sometime since a schoolmaster' (FDJ 26-29 Mar., 31 May-4 June 1763). For a general statement on threatening letters see CEP 25 July 1763, and for an example of the style Burke Ms 31 op.cit.p.273.
54. Wilson's Dublin Magazine Apr.1763 p.199. But for an alternative view that depopulation may have been caused by fear at the approach of Lord Drogheda's troop see FDJ 10-13 Apr.1762.
55. FDJ 22-26 June 1762.
56. For statements of the charge : FDJ 30 Mar.-3 Apr., 16-19 Apr.1765. This issue is discussed more fully in Chapter V.
57. TCD Ms 873/728.
58. FDJ 10-13 Apr.1762. He was stated to have carried on the woollen trade 'in an extensive manner near Ballyporeen', and to have been worth 'several hundred pounds (DG 17-20 Apr.1762).
59. Mount Melleray : Burke Ms 31 p.273 ; NLI Ms 11422 (deposition of 24 Feb.1762) ; FDJ 3-6 May, 26-29 June 1760, 3-6 May 1762, 8-12 Nov.1763, 24-28 Sept., 15-19 Oct. 1765 ; DG 2-6 July 1765.
60. FDJ 19-22 Mar., 25-28 June, 8-11 Oct., 22-26 Nov.1763.
61. Ibid.5-8 Oct.1765.
62. Ibid.29 Oct.-1 Nov.1763.
63. Ibid.5-9 Nov.1765. For other possible instances of employees on the Otway, Cooke, Willington, Fennell, and Keating estates respectively see FDJ 5-8 Mar.1763, 11-14 Jan.1766 ; CEP 31 MAR., 29 Aug.1763 ; FJ 18-22 Mar.1766.
64. D.Herbert, Retrospections i p.22 (for 1774 read 1773) ; FLJ 22-26 Jan.1774, 8-11 May 1776 ; FJ 20-22 Sept.1774.
65. FLJ 10-14 Aug.1776.
66. FJ 1-3 Aug.1775.
67. FLJ 16-19 Aug.1775.
68. See for example the case of Lonergan, a dairyman, who refused paying a higher rent (£40) and was under threat of removal by his landlord, Hugh Daniel od Poulakerry, in favour of Power a dairyman whose surname suggests a Co.Waterford origin (WHM May 1775 p.318).
69. WHM May 1775 p.318 ; FLJ 17-20 May 1775.
70. Incidents are recorded for Roxborough near Clonmel, Knocklofty, Ballynattin between Clonmel and Cashel, Donegal near Clonmel, Rehill near Cahir, and Urlingford (FLJ 22-26

- Oct., 9-12 Nov.1774, 24-28 Dec.1776 ; FJ 24-26 Oct.1776).
71. FJ 20-22 Sept.1774 ; FLJ 8-11 May 1776.
72. Rev.M.Ormsby to A.Ormsby, 10 June 1774 (NLI Ms 17728).
73. For some notable examples see FLJ 28-31 Oct.1772, 28 Feb.-1 Mar.1775 ; FJ 1-3 Aug.1775.
74. FLJ 3-7 Nov.1770, 17-21 Sept.1774 ; FJ 24-26 Aug.1773.
75. WHM Jan.1776 pp.68-9 ; FLJ 3-6 Apr.1776.
76. FLJ 22-26 Oct.1774. Possible evidence of schoolmaster involvement can be deduced from the number of threatening letters or notices (FLJ 4-7 Dec.1771, 16-20 May 1772, 24-28 Apr.1773, 2-6 Dec.1775 ; WHM May 1775 p.318).
77. FLJ 7-10 June 1780.
78. Ibid. 21-24 Mar.1787.
79. Parliamentary register vii (1787) p.148.
80. Clifden to Sack[ville Hamilton], 6 Aug.1786 (Rutland Ms p.330).
81. D.Herbert, Retrospections i p.76.
82. Lucas, Directory (1788) sub Borrisoleigh.
83. FLJ 6-10 Oct.1787.
84. Ibid. 26-29 July 1786 ; CG 7-11 Sept.1786.
85. Ibid. 16-20, 23-27 Oct., 3-6, 24-27 Nov.1784, 7-11 May, 16-19 Nov.1785, 21-25 Jan., 15-18 Feb.1786. James ('Buck') English, possibly a relation, was in 1782 concerned in taking forcible possession of the land of Clashdrumsmith (ibid. 13-17 Apr.1782).
86. CG 16-20 May 1782, 20-23 Jan.1783, 14-17 Mar.1785 ; FLJ 22-26 May 1784, 17-21 Dec.1785.
87. NLI Ms 8395 (2) ; D.Trant, Considerations (1787) pp.67-72 ; CG 10-14 Nov.1785 ; FDJ 4-6 June 1789.
88. FLJ 3-6 Aug.1785, 15-18 Feb., 9-13, 16-20 Sept.1786.
89. Ibid. 1-5 July, 9-13 Sept.1786.
90. Hamilton to Sydney, 5 Nov.1785 (PRO : HO 100/17/171-171v) ; WHM Sept.1785 p.501 ; CG 21-24 Nov.1785.
91. Cooke to Marsden, 8 Nov.1802 (SPO : RP 620/61/110). Cooke previously remarked that the rural agitators in his district were led by escaped convicts from New Geneva near Waterford (ibid. 620/61/114). For a comment on the significance of the landless element in these disturbances see P.Hare to Somerton, 2 Apr.1801 (Agar papers box 3).
92. LJ 22-26 Jan.1803.
93. SPO : RP 620/57/64 ; J.Collins to J.Lees, 19 Aug.1800 (PRO : HO 100/94/283-4).

94. Sir C.Asgill to Littlehales, 4 Sept.1800 (SPO : RP 620/57/49) and information enclosed.
95. Ibid. : information of C.Meagher, Clonmore, 19 July 1800 and C.Horan, Thory, Clonoulty, 27 June 1800. For attempts to regulate the price of turf see CG 13-16 Oct.1802 ; and for an attack to control milk prices at Kilfinnan in 1803 see WM 14 May 1803.
96. Asgill to Littlehales, 1 Dec.1802 (PRO : HO 100/94/283-4).
97. Cooke to King, 12 Oct.1800 (Ibid. 100/94/177-8) ; Table LXIX.
98. Duff to Littlehales, 1 Nov.1800 (Ibid.100/94/227-8).
99. LJ 18-22 Sept.1801.
100. Ibid.24-28 Apr., 15-19 May, 27-31 Nov.1802 ; CG 8-11 Sept.1802.
101. FDJ 16 Oct.1800 ; WM 28 Oct.1802 ; CG 2-23 Oct.1802 ; LJ 16-20 Oct.1802, 24-27 Apr.1805. Animosity continued in the Clonmel area (LJ 23-26 Oct.1811).
102. For such incidents at Ballinree, Kilrany near Clonmel, Ballynattin, Killerk, Cappagh Uniacke, and Garnvella see SPO : SCP 1020/39 ; Hare to Somerton, 2, 16 Apr.1801 (Agar papers box 3) ; WM 11 Sept., 8 Nov.1802 ; CH 10 Nov.1802, 6 Apr.1803 ; CG 25-29 Dec.1802 ; LJ 6-10 Nov.1802, 17-21 Sept.1803.
103. Incidence of the practice was most prevalent in the Munster counties and south Leinster. In Tipperary 45 cases are on record for the period 1682-1795 and 52 for the period 1802-1816. Of the pre-1800 cases 13 occurred previous to 1760 and 32 thereafter. The transition from a time when there was some gentry participation in abductions to one when it was more characteristic of the farmer class and beneath, coincides with the rise of long term unrest after 1760. Abduction often represented an attempt by the abductor to regain status. Referring to the period after 1784 one observer remarked : 'Whenever abduction takes place it is a young man of no property or character who endeavours to carry off a girl who has a few pounds' (PP vii (1825) (200) p.124). Those in this category included dispossessed occupiers and tenants who were unable to meet new rent levels when leases came up for renewal ; labourers displaced in their employment by seasonal workers ; landholding labourers and cottiers unable to pay the high price demanded for conacre ; and a miscellany of others experiencing economic distress. The common link between them was their inability to gain access to land or to the employment and income it generated. The figures have been compiled from the following sources 1. Before 1800 : PROI : Proclamations ; Calendar of presentments (1A 52 159) ; SPO : Privy Council Office (VI B 11.12), Index to proclamation books 1618-1875 ; NLI Ms 4909 fol 6 ; Phillips Ms (in the custody of C.O.R.Phillips) ; Newspapers : CEP, CG, DG, FDJ, FJ, FLJ, HC, WHM, WC, Munster Jnl., Limerick Chronicle ; Archivium Hibernicum xxxiv (1976-7) pp.12-3, 15-6 ; Duanaire Thiobraid Arann (1981). 2. After 1800 : PP xiii (1813-4) (264)

- pp.137-40, xi (1814-5) (331)p.36, (332) p.32.
104. Young, Tour ii p.110.
105. Boulter to Wlapole, 9 Aug.1737 (Boulter, Letters ii (1770) pp.181-3) ; J.Finlay, A treatise on the law of tithes in Ireland and ecclesiastical law connected therewith (1828) pp.91-103. Agistment referred to the feeding of cattle on pasture land, with tithe of agistment being the tithe taken on the feeding of such cattle (Finlay, Tithes p.90). The non-demand for tithe of agistment in the previous 65 years was the reason given for making any claims for it illegal after an act of 1800 (40 Geo.III c.23).
106. Hare to Somerton, 2 Apr.1801 (Agar papers box 3).
107. Calculated from D.A.Beaufort, Memoir of a map of Ireland (1792) pp.123-4, 130. The calculations refer solely to those sections of the respective dioceses situated in Co.Tipperary.
- 107a. Beaufort op.cit. ; D.H.Akenson, The Church of Ireland, ecclesiastical reform and revolution 1800-1885 (1971) p.57. Calculations are based on dividing the number of parishes per diocese by the number of benefices. The figures have been rounded downward. Beaufort gives 189 parishes for the entire county and 63 benefices, which is equal to 3 parishes per benefice. This slight upward adjustment serves to confirm the point being made.
108. Examples of unions attached to the cathedral chapters are those of Borrisoleigh, Clogher, and Latteragh ; and of those where tithes were in the hands of lay owners : Athassel, Any, and Lattin. The unions of Fethard, Thurles, and Tipperary were instituted in 1682 (N.Carlisle, Topographical dictionary of Ireland (1810) under the respective entries).
109. These totals have been computed from N.Carlisle, Topographical dictionary ; SPO : Privy Council Office, Ecclesiastical index 1711-1869 ; PROI 1A 52 147.
110. Computed from Carlisle, Topographical dictionary.
111. In 1810 the parishes in the union of Carrick were said to be of 'very great' extent containing as it did the parishes of Carrick, Kilmurry, Kilsheeland, and Ardcollum. The union of Clonmel was also said to be of 'very great' extent and contained the parishes of Clonmel, Kilcash, Kilgrant, Killoloan, and Templeniry (Carlisle op.cit. under these entries).
112. J.Swift to the earl of Arran, [autumn 1739] (The correspondence of Jonathan Swift 5 vols. 1963-5, v pp.170-71).
113. CS I p.186. The impropriate tithes of Clonmel were in 1712 said to be for several years past farmed for £20 ster., and in that year were being proposed for at £25 for 31 years

- (NLI Ms 11044 : proposals of J.Marshall for the tithes etc. of Clonmel, 27 Mar.1712).
114. PRO : HO 100/21/390, 'Memorandums concerning Tythes etc.' [1787] ; Donnelly, 'Agrarian rebellion' p.300. For an example of the negotiation over the amount of composition see the exchange of letters between Walter Woulfe of Carrick, merchant, and Rev.William Downes concerning the tithes of Derrygrath in NLI Mss 9629-9630 (letters dated 4,20,22,25 July 1766, 13 Apr., 29 June 1768).
115. PRO : HO 100/21/390 op.cit. ; R.Woodward, The present state of the Church of Ireland (1787) pp.44-5 ; Donnelly, 'Rightboy movement' pp.159-160. The canter was usually a person of low status, like a lowly tradesman in a local town who speculated in tithe. When the peasant declined to comply with the proctor's demands the tithe of the crop was auctioned which the canters bid for (R.Bellew, Thoughts and suggestions of the means . . .towards improving the condition of the Irish peasantry (2nd.ed., 1808) pp.16-7). Leases of tithes were for short periods of from 7 to 10 years (W.N.Osborough, 'Tithe law in Ireland as a focus of litigation and reform from the reformation to tithe rent charge', seminar TCD October 1983).
116. PRO : HO 100/21/390-390v ' Woodward, Present state pp.44-5. Proctors tended to overvalue the amount the crops were worth (Woulfe to Downes, 20 July 1766 NLI Ms 9629).
117. Sheffield City Library : Burke Ms 8/7,9/. Buxton was referring in particular to the parish of Tubbrid where he lived.
118. CEP 25 July 1763.
119. Burke, Clonmel p.364 ; PROI : 1A 52 159 p.265.
120. Mount Melleray : Burke Ms 31 p.[269] ; PROI : 1A 52 159 p.266.
121. Burke, Clonmel p.365.
122. Sheffield : Burke Ms 8/7.
123. FDJ 1-5, 5-8 Oct.1765.
124. See p.303.
125. Wilson's Dublin Magazine Apr.1762 p.198.
126. Sheffield : Burke Ms 8/9.
127. FDJ 15-19 Jan.1765, referred to in the course of a resolution from the chief magistrates of the union of Nenagh to resist any occurrence of the withholding of tithe potatoes in their area.
128. FDJ 29 Oct.-1 Nov.1763, 1-4 Sept.1764.
129. E.J.Evans, The contentious tithe (1976) pp.30-31.
130. FLJ 28 Sept.-2 Oct.1776 ; CEP 23 Aug.1773 ; PROI 1A 52 159 p.267.

131. FLJ 27 Apr.-1 May 1776.
132. Ibid. 22-26 Jan.1774, 3-6 Apr.1776 ; FJ 2-4 Nov.1773, 25-27 Jan., 20-22 Sept.1774 ; Herbert, Retrospections i p.22.
133. J.Cooke to J.Galway, 4 Sept.1775 (NLI Ms 2480 pp.223-6).
134. Brief and serious reasons why the people called Quakers do not pay tithes. Published by said people in 1768 (1786) pp.4-6 ; Society of Friends, Dublin : National sufferings no.1, 1655-1693 (YMG I) sub anno 1661, 1663, 1665, 1667, 1671-2, 1675-82, 1684-9, 1692-3.
135. National sufferings sub 1687. This records the case of Gerald Boate of Borrisoleigh who was cited to appear in the bishop's court at Cashel in November 1686, which he did and was given a jail sentence. He then appealed to the lord deputy and council who referred it to the judges on assize for the county who 'finding the matter so little and the proceedings so illegal they advised his prosecutors . . . to discharge ye prisoner', which was done.
136. Brief and serious reasons p.25.
137. J.Hall, Tour i p.135.
138. FJ 1-3 Aug.1775.
139. Herbert, Retrospections i pp.75-6. That Herbert had to borrow conveyances to carry out the task shows that tithe payers, by refusing to make these available to him, were attempting to make it physically impossible for him to draw the tithes and bears witness to the effectiveness of the Rightboy organisation locally.
140. See note 42.
141. E.Moore to [J.] Toler, 25 June 1786 (Rutland Ms p.317).
142. Trant, Considerations p.75.
143. Rutland Ms p.317.
144. CG 12-15 Jan.1789.
145. Ibid. 7-11 Sept.1786. This records that at Clonmel two were pulled down off a corn stack and made swear not to work for Thomas Considine, proctor, any further on threat of being maimed.
146. FLJ 16-20 Sept.1786.
147. Only the rates cited for crops per acre are used in these calculations. Rates per barrel and per stone are not included.
148. CG 26-29 Aug.1782, 10-13 Feb., 20-24 Mar.1783, 12-15 Jan., 5-9 Feb., 27-30 Dec.1784, 12-16 May 1785, 23-26 Jan.1786. In most cases the duration of the leases is not stated but two were for a term of years to be agreed on, one was for lives or years, one

- for 7 years, and one for 21 years.
149. Rutland to [Sydney], [ ] June 1786, Orde to Rutland, 6 Nov.1786 (Rutland Ms pp.319,354).
150. Trant, Considerations pp.41-4 ; Parliamentary register viii (1788) pp.201-2.
151. FLJ 3-6 Aug.1785, 15-18 Feb.1786 ; CG 7-11 Sept.1786.
152. Trant, Considerations p.73.
153. NLI Ms 8395 (2). A reward of £85.6s.3d. was offered by local gentry for apprehending those responsible for issuing the letter.
154. CG 26-29 Aug.1782 ; PROI 1A 52 164 p.153.
155. Ibid. 10-14 Nov.1785 ; Trant p.69. The archbishop of Cashel offered a reward of £100, and a draft proclamation was prepared by government (CG 10-14 Nov.1785 ; PROI 1A 52 159 p.267).
156. CG 12-15 Jan.1789. A proclamation was issued by government (FDJ 4-6 June 1789 ; PROI 1A 52 164 p.105).
157. [Archbishop of] Cashel to diocesan clergy, 20 Dec.1786 (Agar papers box 3). He also sought details of the average rate at which tithe of potatoes, wheat, oats, barley, meadow, rape, and flax were set , what was received for lambs and wool, and how much the tithes were set for in 1784 and 1786.
158. NLI Ms 16350/91-2 ; 27 Geo.III c.36 ss.1-3, 28 Geo.III c.44. There were similar acts to compensate for tithe losses in 1798-9 (39 Geo.III c.14, 40 Geo.III c.81). The bishops were in general satisfied with the arrangements made under this legislation (Thomas [Bernard, bishop of] Killaloe to Buckingham, 27 Apr.1787, NLI Ms 13047 (5)).
159. See note 112.
160. A letter from a Munster laymen of the Established Church to his friend in Dublin (1787) pp.28-9 ; TCD Donoughmore D 75/1.
161. Tipperary County Library, Thurles : Tithe book for the parishes of Ardmayle and Ballysheehan, 1790-1801. The end of the volume records the leasing of tithes as follows (in summary) : 1.Sept.1785 : set small tithes and retrenched lands for 25 years to T.Storman and J.Hayes. 2.Sept.1785 : lease of great and small tithes of Rathordan (77 acres) for 21 years to T.Headen. 3. Aug.1786 : small tithes of Rathcoun (160 acres) for 23 years to J.Morrissey. 4. Mar.1791 : set tithes of sundry denominations of the parish of Ballyherbery for four years at £90 to J.Kennedy. 5. Mar.1791 : set great tithes of Ardmayle for four years at £45.10s. to T.Storman and son (renewed Mar.1796 for 7 years at £546.17s.6d.). 6. Jan.1803 : rectoral tithes of Ardmayle for 7 years to M.Ryan and partners at £68.5s. 7. n.d.[<1796] : rectoral and vicarial tithes of Ballyherbery,



- Killballyherbery, Garrane, Garrane Hill, Carhue, Glascloine, Trussagh, Dually and Rathclough (except R.Pennefather and W.Scully's tithes). 8. n.d.[<1794] : for Croghane to D.Bryan during incumbency provided he passes a bond every 25 March with sufficient security for current year's rent. 9. n.d.[<1792] : tithes of Croghane to G.Graham and G.Shaw.
162. Proceedings of the parliament of Ireland iii (1793) p.462.
163. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xvii pt.2 dccxxx.
164. FLJ 2-6 Mar.1799.
165. PRO : HO 100/94/227-8.
166. J.Cooke to A.Marsden, 8 Nov.1802 (SPO : RP 620/61/110) ; information of Dr.Wright (ibid.620/13/178/50).
167. LJ 9-13 June,4-8 Sept., 3-6 Nov.1802.
168. A proctor was murdered at the fair of Graystown in 1806 (LJ 4-7 Feb.1807). Crops and property were destroyed at Cashel at Rev.Clarke's and at Gortacullen near Ardfinnan (LJ 23-27 Aug.1806 ; WM 19 Sept.1807).
169. CH 24 Nov.1802. In October 1794 W.Robinson proprietor of the tithes of Shanrahan and other parishes discharged his proctor James Kennedy and gave public notice of having done so (CG 4-8 Oct.1794).
170. NLI PC 46 (i) Barton : indenture between Rev.W.Sutton, Long Grange, Co.Wexford and T.Barton, Grove 2 Oct.1803 ; NLI Ormond papers 'Miscellaneous old deeds' : memorandum between W.Skelton and others, and J.P.Lanphier and M.Russell, 30 Sept.1811.
171. Wakefield, Ireland ii (1812) pp.488-9n. ; PP xiv (1822) (304) p.8. The number of tithe cases at the quarter sessions declined from 1,084 in 1817 to 462 in 1821. There was, however, an increase in tithe cases coming before the ecclesiastical courts : in Cashel from 3 case (1815) to 31 (1821) ; Killaloe from 93 (1815) to 119 (1820) ; though Waterford showed a decline form 26 (1815) to 10 (1821) (PP xiv (1822) pp.15,25 ; PP xiv (1824) (426) p.35).
172. Southern Reporter 15 Aug.1807 ; LJ 5-8 Aug., 29 Aug.-2 Sept.1807 ; Clare Journal 7,10,Sept.1807m ; NLI Ms 27571 p.358 ; [Thomas Elrington], Letters on tythes published in the Dublin Journal and Correspondent under the signature of N (2nd.ed., 1808) especially pp.4-15. The chief advocate for the abolition of tithe was George Lidwell.
173. RCB Ms E.2-5, vestry minutes Duntryleague, 1766-1824 ; P.79, vestry minutes Shanrahan 1725-1796. The following section is based on these sources.
174. DG 9-12 Oct.1762.

175. Rev.M.Ormsby to A.Ormsby, 10 June 1774 (NLI Ms 17728). Lord Roden and his relative and tenant Sir Richard Waller obtained £500 from the First Fruits fund for building the church which cost £1,400 in all, the balance being subscribed by the protestant gentry of the area. An army company was brought to the area and, led by two local justices (Bloomfield and Madder) and a churchwarden, tried to distrain for payment at Birdhill when a mass of the country people assembled to resist. One woman was killed by the army. Her husband and another went to the two justices to lodge informations in the case but these were refused and the two were put in Nenagh jail. They were later bailed by a Mr.Bourke an influential catholic from the area who was sympathetic to the country people's casue.
176. PROI : 1A 52 164 p.153. Threatening letters were sent to Rev.Riall expressing opposition to parish cess and tithes.
177. Cashel Deanery : vestry minute books Shronell 1757-1832, Relickmurry 1770-1809. The rate for Shronall stood at £20 in 1758 and £40 in 1800. During the 1760s and 1770s it did not exceed £20, and it actually fell by half in some years during the 1760s. In 1783 it rose sharply to £83 but in the years 1784-95 was down again to between £20-£30. The rate for Relickmurry stood at £15 in 1770 and £60 in 1809. It was static at the £15 mark during the 1770s. In 1781, however, there was a sharp rise to £86 and it stayed high in ensuing years : £71 (1783), £50 (1785). It levelled out thereafter to remain at £36 / £37 in the years 1788-1801.
178. HMC 12th report Charlemont Ms appx. x (1891) p.21 ; J.Bush, Hibernia curiosa (1769) p.30. In 1777 no priests' dues are recorded in a breakdown of cottiers' expences for Johnstown and Derry both in the north of the county, while they are for Castle Lloyd on the Limerick border (Young, Tour i pp.436,444,456).
179. E.M[oore] to [J.] Toler, 25 June 1786 (Rutland Ms p.316).
180. CG 29 June-3 July 1786.
181. Archbishop of Cashel to [S.Hamilton], 14 June 1786 (Rutland Ms p.310) ; same to [ ], 13 Nov.1790 (SPO : OP 18/21) ; Parliamentary register vii (1787) p.148 ; FLJ 9-13 Sept.1786, WC 5-8 Sept.1786.
182. WHM July 1786 p.390. For swearing at Owing chapel near Carrick see HC 18 Sept.1786.
183. NLI Ms 19822 pp.272-85.
184. Ibid. A sum of £5.8s. was levied on a total acreage owned by catholics in the barony of 2,849.
- 184a. For resistance at Borrisoleigh and Tipperary in May and June 1793 see CG 29 May-1

- June 1793 ; PRO : HO 100/44/. See also T.Bartlett, 'An end to moral economy : the Irish militia disturbances of 1793', Past and Present vol.99 (May,1983).
185. NLI Ms 7331 p.8.
186. SPO : OP 18/48 ; Mount Melleray : Burke Ms 71(v) . For the background to the tax see T.Power, 'A minister's money account for Clonmel, 1703' AH xxxiv (1987).
187. FLJ 1-5 Apr.1775.
188. CG 21-25 Dec.1786.
189. Halifax to Egremont, 13 Apr.1762 (PRO : SPI 63/421/249).
190. Mount Melleray : Burke Ms 31 p.288, dated 12 Mar.1762.
191. Halifax to Egremont, 13 Apr.1762 op.cit. ; HMC report 15 appx.viii Ailesbury (1898) p.340 ; DG 17-20 Apr.1762 ; FDJ 20-24 Apr.1762. Under the new powers given in March the magistrates were entitled to lead troops in searches for Whiteboys as William Chadwick did in April 1762 with a party of the earl of Drogheda's troop accompanied by a great number of the protestant inhabitants of Tipperary town (FDJ 17-20 Apr.1762). The thoroughness of the military campaign against the disturbers may have provoked the stoning of the windows in the barracks at Thurles with Thomas Mathew offering a reward of £150 for the capture of the offenders (FDJ 5-8 June).
192. Gentleman's and London magazine xxxi (1762) p.371. He was fined a mark and sentenced to one year's imprisonment.
193. FDJ 28 Sept.-2 Oct.1762, 5-8 Mar.1763 ; CEP 10 Mar.1763. The trouble centred around Nenagh especially on the Castle Otway estate. A proclamation and £100 were issued in response, and a meeting of the gentry called for Nenagh on 14 March.
194. FDJ 26-29 Mar.1763 ; Gent. and London Mag.xxxii (1763) p.232 (recte 175).
195. FDJ 22-26, 26-29 Mar., 16-19 Apr.1763 ; Gent.and London Mag.xxxii(1763) pp.232 (recte 175),238 ; CEP 31 Mar.1763. The authorities reaped the maximum benefit from these death sentences by bringing the two concerned, Stephen Burke and John Dwyer, back to Borrisoleigh, a centre of whiteboyism, where they were hanged in late march in the presence of the gentry and the earl of Drogheda's troop (FDJ 9-12 Apr.1763).
196. FDJ 25-28 June 1763.
197. Ibid.31 May-4 June 1763 ; Gent. and London Mag.xxxii (1763) p.307. The figures differ. On 7 May Clonmel jail was full with 52 prisoners , 33 of whom were Levellers (ibid.7-10 May 1763). Of those actually tried there with Fogarty, 20 were acquitted due to Knavin's prevarication, 20 due to lack of evidence, and an unspecified number of others (ibid.31May-4 June 1763). So there were at least 40 involved.
198. FDJ 26-30 July 1763, 7-10 Apr., 21-25 Aug.1764. Those concerned were allowed

bail.

199. Pearse Street Library : Robinson Ms 34 (3) p.181 ; NLI : Parker papers, appointment dated 4 Feb.1764 ; FJ 20-24 Mar., 17-21 Apr.1764 ; see above pp.192-3 ; 3 Geo.III c.19 ; PROI : M 2554 p.134. The order empowering the magistrates to act is dated 5 March 1763 (PROI : M 2554 p.2). In addition to barracks at Clonmel, Cashel, Thurles, and Nenagh, Carrick had one for cavalry (2 troops) as did Clogheen by 1769 (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) viii pt.2 cclxxxv).
200. 5 Geo.III c.8. Actions such as meetings to destroy stock and property , breaking open gaols, rescuing persons before they were imprisoned, and imposing oaths were declared to be capital felonies. Also an attempt to overcome the difficulty of obtaining informations was provided for whereby if they were not forthcoming by assize time, compensation was to be given to the injured party by levying the cost of damages on the barony concerned or on the whole county.
201. J.Caldwell, Debates i p.85.
202. Donnelly, 'Whiteboy movement' pp.52-3. The prices of hay and grass for the earl of Drogheda's troop quartered at Carrick, Callan, and Clogheen shot up in price in August 1765 (PROI : M 2554 p.249). For an indication of the amount of fodder used by the army in normal times see e.g. at Clonmel see NLI Ms 12006 sub 7 Nov.1759.
203. FLJ 25-28 Aug.1773 ; FJ 8-11, 11-13 May, 15-17 June, 10-12 Aug.1773.
204. FLJ 7-11 Aug.1773, 22-26 Jan., 12-16 Feb.1774 ; WHM Feb.p.115. Following the summer assizes of 1773 they offered £100 for the capture of Rafter's accomplices in 12 months, and £50 for information in advance of intended Whiteboy crimes.
205. FLJ 11-14 May 1774 ; FJ 10-12 May 1774.
206. FJ 25-27 Oct.1774. The request emanated from Clonmel.
207. FLJ 16-19 Aug.1775. The resolutions were subscribed to by 50 signatures including one peer (Lord Clanwilliam), the two county MPs (Sir Thomas Maude and Francis Mathew), the candidates with Mathew in the on-coming county election (H.Prittie, D.Toler, and J.Bagwell), and others like J.McCarthy, a catholic who was a victim of Whiteboy outrage in the 1760s, and by Ambrose Power who was to be murdered before the year was out.
208. FLJ 25-29 Nov.1775.
209. CDA : James Butler II papers 1775/6.
210. Donnelly, 'Irish agrarian rebellion' pp.307-8,325.
211. FLJ 6-9,13-16,20-23 Dec.1775,30 Dec.-3 Jan.1776, 6-10,13-17 Jan.1776 ; WC 29 Dec.1775-2 Jan.1776, 9-12.16-19,19-23 Jan.1776 ; FJ 2-4,4-6 Jan.1776. Persons were

- still being apprehended for Power's murder in 1786 (FLJ 11-14 Jan.1786). For the proceedings at Middlesex in 1784 see Rutland to Sydney, 25 Oct.1784, and information of J.Marklay, 8 Dec.1784 (PRO : HO 100/14/195-7). Late in December 1775 61 of the gentry of Tipperary with those of Cork, Kilkenny and Waterford signed a resolution declaring their determination to enforce the law against the Whiteboys in full. The signatures included Lords Roden and Clanwilliam, the county MPs Sir Thomas Maude and Francis Mathew, Peter Holmes, Cornelius O'Callaghan, William Pennefather (FLJ 30 Dec.-3 Jan.1776).
212. WC 19-23 Jan.1776. Following this success Sir Thomas Maude, foreman of the grand jury, issued a statement endorsing the choice of the petty jury by the sheriff, Theobald Butler, which had returned the desired verdict (FJ 25-27 Jan.1776). In March government announced that substantial amounts were paid to those responsible for the arrest of the murderers of Power (FLJ 30 Mar.-3 Apr.1776).
213. 15,16 Geo.III c.21. Donnelly,'Irish agrarian rebellion' p.328 and M.J.Bric,'The Whiteboy movement,1760-1780' in W.Nolan (ed.),Tipperary : history and society p.167 both state that the act came into force in March, whereas A new history of Ireland viii : a chronology of Irish history to 1976 (1980) p.279 gives 4 April as the date. The act was a comprehensive piece of legislation which by its repressive clauses elevated many offences previously regarded as minor to the status of serious crimes liable to the death sentence. However it came at a time when the upsurge in unrest had subsided following the special commission in January. After April there were only four reports of major incidents for the remainder of the year (WC 15-19 Mar.1776 ; FLJ 24-28 Dec.1776 ; FJ 3-5 Oct.1776). In contrast the number of committals grew sharply and there were some significant convictions at the spring assizes (FLJ 13-16 Mar.3-6,13-17, 20-24 Apr., 27 Apr.-1 May, 8-11 May, 7-10, 10-14 Aug., 4-7 Sept.1776 ; WC 15-19 Mar., 28-31 May 1776).
214. WC 27 Feb.-1 Mar.1776. The corps was to consist of 20 horse and 50 infantry and it was enjoined that their example be followed in other parts.
215. Munster volunteer registry (1782) pp.18,57 ; WC 23-26 July 1776. The earliest association would appear to have been that formed in Co.Limerick in March 1774 (NLI Ms 10942).
216. WHM Nov.1781 p.614.
217. 'Secret return of Volunteer corps with private observations' (1784) in NLI Ms 24937. For examples of the policing duties performed by the Cashel Volunteers, Slievardagh Light Dragoons, Nenagh Volunteers, and Thurles Union (FJ 15-17 June,15 -18 July 1780).
218. CG 16-20 May 1782, 20-23 Jan., 10-13 Feb., 13-17 Mar. 1783 ; NLI Ms 8395

- (2).Such incidents included the intimidation of new tenants at Mortlestown, May 1783 ; the burning of farm buildings and the houghing of stock at Ardfinnan, January 1783 ; the threatening of clergymen like Rev.Samuel Riall, vicar of Ballingarry, not to take tithes, July 1783 ; and forcible possession at Cullen, October 1784.
219. FLJ 13-17 Apr.1782 ; WHM Apr.1785 pp.220-21. Of particular embarrassment was the initial inability of the magistrates, even with the aid of the military, to regain possession of lands forcibly held at Ballynulta near Cullen despite repeated attempts between October 1784 and November 1785.
220. FLJ 29 Sept.-2 Oct.1784. This was an admission that the law could not be enforced without military assistance. Subsequently army units at Clonmel and Cashel were ordered to be at the disposal of the sheriff and the magistrates, a detachment of artillery from Limerick was also made available, and following a petition with 56 signatures from the Tipperary town area in November further troops were ordered to there from Nenagh. A meeting of the freeholders was held at Cashel in January 1785 at which resolutions for the restoration of peace were proposed (NLI Ms 1007 pp.94-5,107-8,130 ; CG 6-9, 27-30 Dec.1784 ; FLJ 15-19 Jan.1785).
221. Hamilton to Sydney, 5 Nov.1785 (PRO : HO 100/17/171-171v) ; CG 10-14 Nov.1785.
222. FLJ 12-15 Oct.1785. The archbishop of Cashel offered a reward of £100 for the capture of Ryan's assailants (*ibid.*5-9 Nov.1785).
223. Rutland Ms pp.254, 262 ; NLI Ms1008 pp.51,53,64 ; CG 21-24 Nov.1785 ; FLJ 23-26 Nov.1785). For the capture of Rev.Ryan's attackers see HC 8 Dec.1785 ; FLJ 7-10, 17-21 Dec.1785 ; and for the assize proceedings see Rutland Ms p.294 ; NLI Ms 27571 p.134 ; FLJ 3-6 May 1786 ; WHM May 1786 p.279. The conviction was that of Richard English one of the Cullen gang.
224. E.M[oore] to [J.] Toler, 25 June [1786] (Rutland Ms p.317). The letter was forwarded by Toler to Rutland the lord lieutenant.
225. CG 3-6 July 1786 ; WC 5-8 Sept.1786 ; FLJ 30 Aug.-2 Sept.1786. The message can also be implied from representations made from Cashel, Thurles, Nenagh, Dromineer, Lisboney, Knigh, and Borrisoleigh (CG 3-6 July, 31 July-3 Aug.1786 ; CEP 18 Sept.1786). Those from Dromineer and Knigh (jointly) and Borrisoleigh were from the protestant and catholic inhabitants presented to Lord Luttrell who was despatched to Munster to quell the unrest.
226. CG 12-15 June 1786 ; Brady,Press pp.239-40 ; F.Rolleston to S.Rolleston, 9 Aug.1786 (NLI Ms 50 (O) / 4). Indicative of this approach was what Rolleston did when

he confronted 500 of them at Toomavara : 'I harangued them for above an hour, endeavoured to convince them of the illegality and folly of their proceedings and, as I thought, convinced them of both and obtained a promise that they would not proceed. I read the proclamation against them and abstracts of the acts of parliament called the Whiteboy act posted up in Toom[avara] ab[ou]t the middle of the week' (*ibid.*).

227. CDA : James Butler II papers 1786/4,7 ; Brady,Press pp.239-40. The bishops of Munster meeting in Cork in June 1786 issued a series of recommendations which sought to deal with complaints about the clergy. Thus an attempt was made to regulate marriage fees demanded by priests, and while fees for other services were judged to be moderate, priests demanding them from people who were demonstrably unable to pay were to be censured. The practice of parish priests charging for entertainment at confessions, weddings, funerals, and christenings was disapproved of. The archbishop of Cashel issued a clarification to his clergy in August outlining the purpose of the reforms and how they were to be implemented. Apart from the desire to eliminate real abuses, Butler's action shows his desire that the catholic bishops be seen by government to be striving to restore peace and order . As a practical expression of this Butler undertook a visit to the parishes of Holy Cross and Moycarkey near Thurles in order to exhort the inhabitants not to take the Rightboy oath.
228. CG 29 June-3 July 1786.
229. Ibid. 28-31 Aug., 7-11, 28-31 Sept. 1786, 1-5 Feb. 1787 ; FLJ 2-6,9-13 Sept. 1786 ; HC 7 Sept. 1786 ; WHM Aug. 1786 p.446.
230. CG 28-31 Aug. 1786 ; Tho[ma]s [Bernard, bishop of ] Killaloe to Buckingham, 3 Dec. 1786 (NLI Ms 13047 (5)). Only six magistrates attended the Cashel meeting : W.Palliser, J.Power, S.Alleyn, J.L.Judkin, R.B.H.Lowe, and Rev.P.Hare some of whom were active against the Rightboys.
231. WHM Sept. 1786 p.501, Oct. 1786 p.556 ; Rutland to Home Office, 21 Sept. 1786 (PRO : HO 100/18/326-9) ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xii pt.2 dxxviii-dxxix. From this it is evident that of 33 tried for Rightboy offences 8 were found guilty which compares with the proportion of convictions in adjoining counties : Cork (37/6), Kerry (13/4), Waterford (3/2) and Limerick (18/0). Apart from O'Flaherty the others received sentences of whipping or imprisonment.
232. WHM Oct. 1786 pp.556-7. In addition Hare, although he had the protection of the indemnity act, chose to stand trial for the deaths of two others shot by the military under his direction as a magistrate, a charge which he was 'instantly' acquitted of and indeed was commended by the presiding judge for his conduct (WHM op.cit. ; CG 28-31 Aug. 1786).

Those who subsequently tried to shoot Hare were apprehended but the major success of the succeeding months was the capture by Luttrell of the murderers of John Dunn of Fenor and their capital conviction (CG 2-6 Nov., 21-25 Dec.1786 ; FLJ 18-22 Nov.1786, 7-10 Feb., 21-25 Apr.1787 ; HC 19 Apr.1787 ; WHM May 1787 p.277). As previously the magistrates used the execution at Fenor as a display of the force and terror of the law. Both were taken from Clonmel to Cashel via Fethard (where it was fair day thereby giving maximum exposure), thence to Fenor where they confessed and were executed before an assembly of 20.000 people.

233. 27 Geo.III c.15. Henceforth 12 or more persons meeting unlawfully and not dispersing within an hour when so requested by a magistrate, were to be deemed felons and suffer death accordingly. Similar sentences were to apply to pulling down a chapel or church, or obstructing clergy ; publishing notices for the holding of unlawful meetings ; and supplying arms, money, horses or goods to disturbers. Those administering oaths and those taking them were to be transported for life or seven years respectively. Those refusing to pay tithes or preventing their valuation were to be liable to fines, imprisonment, or whipping. The act was to remain in force until 1790.

234. 27 Geo.III c.40.

235. CG 29 Oct.-1 Nov.1787 ; FLJ 15-19 Sept.1787 ; HC 20 Sept.1787. The seven districts designated on 20 July and the chief constables appointed on 17 September were : for Upper Ormond district (baronies of Upper Ormond, Owey and Arra), J.Abbott, Cloughjordan ; Lower Ormond (Lower Ormond, Eliogarty, Ikerrin), T.Faulkner ; Kilnamanagh (Kilnamanagh), T.Pennefather jun., Marlow ; Slievardagh (Slievardagh), R.Bradshaw, Beeferstown ; Iffa & Offa West (Iffa & Offa West), T.Andrews, BallyMcAdam ; Iffa & Offa East (Iffa & Offa East), J.Cosgrave, Carrick ; Middlethird (Middlethird, Clanwilliam), R.Price, Cashel. In advance of the decision being made to designate the act Orde, the chief secretary, in July instructed the judges on assize on the Munster circuit to consult the gentry as to whether they wanted the act implemented in their county or not. This instruction arose because of reservations about the expense involved. If the counties appeared quiet and if the desire was to avoid extra expense , then the new act would not need to be implemented, the magistrates giving an undertaking to enforce the laws as they were. If a satisfactory peace was still in being by 1 October then the act would not be imposed, but if not the grand jury was to be instructed to make presentments to cover the cost of the act locally. In Tipperary the decision to take on the act, even with the additional expense which for the constables alone in 1793 stood at £1,200, was taken fairly rapidly (FLJ 29 Aug.-1 Sept.1787). The act also provided for the appointment of a



barrister for each county with Dominick Trant, the pamphleteer on the tithe issue, appointed for Tipperary. Coinciding with the implementation of the new act there was an improvement in prison facilities. Between January 1782 and January 1785 £2,000 was spent on the building and repair of gaols in the county, representing the second highest amount per county in the entire country after Waterford (FLJ 27-£0 Apr.1785). Acrimony arose in January 1785 over a proposal by Peter Holmes, landlord of the town and a prison reformer, to have the bridewell in Nenagh elevated to the status of a county jail. This was strongly resisted by Sir Thomas Osborne who defended the location of the county jail in Clonmel (Parliamentary register v (1785) pp.84-5 ; cf. for Holmes ibid. i p.95, ii pp.338,415). Roscrea petitioned for the establishment of a bridewell in 1786, a request which was acceded to (Parliamentary register vi (1786) p.164 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xii pt.1 p.22).

236. CG 28 June-2 July, 29 Nov.-3 Dec., 27-31 Dec.1787, 13-17 Nov.1788 ; FLJ 4-7 July, 22-26 Sept., 6-10 Oct., 24-28 Nov.1787 ; CEP 24 Apr.1788. The latter source records an address to Dominick Trant the county barrister, at the general sessions at Clonmel in April 1788 from the town magistrates the tenor of which shows that order was restored to the area (cf.Table XLVIII).

237. M.Beames, Peasants and power : the Whiteboy movements and their control in pre-famine Ireland (1983) ; J.J.Lee, 'Patterns of rural unrest in nineteenth century Ireland : a preliminary survey' in Cullen & Furet op.cit. pp.223-37 ; J.S.Donnely, 'The social composition of agrarian rebellions in early nineteenth century Ireland : the case of the Carders and Caravats, 1813-6' in P.J.Corish, Radicals pp.151-69 ; P.E.W.Roberts, 'Caravats and Shanavests ; whiteboyism and faction fighting in east Munster, 1802-11' in S.Clark & J.S.Donnely, Irish peasants, violence, and political unrest pp.64-101.

## Chapter VIII : Notes

1. A report on the trials of the Caravats and Shanavests (1811) p.9.
2. See p.219.
3. NLI : PC 46 (ii) Barton, folder marked 'Fethard Corporation' document containing an account by the inhabitants relative to the commons of Fethard, n.d. [c.1750]. Grazing rights had been accorded to the inhabitants and adjoining occupiers by the Everard family. After the death of Sir Redmond Everard in 1742 there was a temporary lapse in the ownership of the estate and its ultimate fate was uncertain. In this situation the corporation of Fethard sought to extend novel claims. Vested interests notably Thomas Hackett, a burgess, became entrenched and the purchaser of the estate in 1750, Thomas Barton, found himself with the problem of trying to re-assert his rights (NLI : PC 46 (i), 'Necessary questions and inquiries with respect to the Commons of Fethard, 25 Sept.1757'.
4. Ibid. The charter school was never built. The process may have aided by ownership changes on the Everard estate in the 1740s.
5. FDJ 3-6 July 1762.
6. Wilson's Dublin Magazine Apr.1763 p.196.
7. NLI Ms 11051 : Valuation of tithes in Kilcash parish in folder marked 'Lands in Co.Tipperary'.
8. Wilson's Dublin Magazine op.cit.p.196.
9. FLJ 28 Sept.-1 Oct.1768.
10. Ibid.2-6 June 1770.
11. Ibid.29 Sept.-2 Oct.1764. John and William Perry and others including Sir William Osborne were involved in litigation at this time over an extensive area of commonage. They lost possession by order of the court of Exchequer in 1758 (PROI M 2211-2).
12. FLJ 6-10 Feb.1768, 27-31 May 1769, 1-4, 8-11 Aug., 10-13 Oct.1770, 7-11, 21-25 Mar.1772, 28 Feb.-2 Mar.1776, 28 Nov.-2 Dec.1778 ; FDJ 6-9 Nov.1762, 8-12 Oct.1765, 1-4 Aug.1767 ; CEP 1 Sept.1763 ; WC 8-12 Mar.1771.
13. Mount Melleray : Burke Ms 31 p.[273].
14. FDJ 8-12 Nov.1762.
15. Burke Ms 31 pp.[273], 288 ; NLI Ms 11422 box 2 depositions of E.Hodgson and J.Willington ; PROI : 1A 52 159 p.265.
16. FDJ 3-6 July 1762, 8-11 Oct.1763.
17. WC 5-8 Nov.1771 ; FDJ 16-20 May, 5-8 Aug.1772.
18. LJ 11-14 Dec.1805, 5-9 Apr., 13-16 Aug.1806 ; WM 11 Aug.1806. There were three

separate attacks on the lands.

19. As note 7 above.
20. N.Stephens & R.E.Glasscock, Irish geographical studies in honour of E.E.Evans (1970) pp.220-21.
21. Wilson's Dublin Magazine Apr.1763 p.197 ; J.Bush, Hibernia curiosa (1769) p.30. This remark is based on observations made on a tour of south Tipperary centring on Carrick in 1764.
22. J.P.Kennedy, Digest i p.519.
23. Ibid. i p.519-22 ; PP xxxiii (1836) appx.F p.409, which concerns the practice in the barony of Middlethird.
24. In particular if he defaulted in paying the conacre rent the crop of potatoes could be seized as a form of distress though, since there was no strict relationship of landlord and tenant, this owed more to adopted practice than legal sanction. Such a context inevitably provided the basis for disputes as also did the fact whether the land being set was adequately manured or not.
25. Wilson's Dublin Magazine Apr.1763 p.198 ; Sheffield : Burke Ms 8/9.
26. Young, Tour i p.390. Young in his section on the baronies of Lower Ormond, Upper Ormond, and Owey and Arra makes no mention of lettings of potato ground (ibid.pp.432-49).
27. White Ms quoted in L.H.Renehan, Collections on Irish church history (1861) i p.321.
28. Donnelly, 'Whiteboy movement' pp.30-34.
29. FDJ 19-22 Mar., 8-11 Oct.1763.
30. FJ 15-19 Oct. 1765, 14-17 May 1774 ; FLJ 25 Feb.-1 Mar.1775.
31. Renehan, Collections p.321 ; FJ 15-19 Oct.1765.
32. SPO : SCP 1020/42. schedule of crimes committed in the Cashel area since 1 Sept.1800.
33. Ibid.
34. PRO : HO 100/103/238.
35. Ibid.100/109/67-67v ; NLI Ms 27571 p.292.
36. LJ 15-19 Jan.1802.
37. WM 28 Nov.1801.
38. J.Mannion, 'The Irish migrations to Newfoundland' (unpublished paper, 1973) p.2 ; idem, Irish settlements in eastern Canada : a study of cultural transfer and adaptation (1974) pp.18-9.
39. Mannion, 'Irish magrations' pp.3-4.
40. Calculated from PP : Report of the commissioners appointed to take the census of Ireland

- for the year 1841, xxiv (1843) p.238.
41. R. Willcocks to [W.] Gregory, 17 Apr. 1816 (Lady [Augusta] Gregory, Mr. Gregory's letter box 1813-1830 (1898) pp.98-9. The differentiation is evident from the evidence cited by Willcocks that there were three groups within this landholding, labourer class : those who paid 2 guineas for a cabin and half to 1 acre and who worked the year round for their employer at 6d. per day ; those paying 3 guineas and working at 8d. ; and those paying between 3 and 4 guineas and working for 10d. per day.
  42. Ibid. p.99 ; cf. Young, Tour ii pp.37,39-40.
  43. FDJ 5-9, 26-29 Mar.1763, 24-28 Sept., 5-9 Nov.1765, 11-14 June 1766 ; CEP 29 Aug.1763 ; FJ 18-22 Mar.1766 ; FLJ 22-26 Oct.1768.
  44. FLJ 22-26 Oct., 9-12 Nov.1774, 9-13 Oct.1776.
  45. Young, Tour i p.400 ; and see pp.221-2.
  46. FLJ 9-13,16-20 Feb., 4-7 Dec.1771, 17-20 May 1775 ; FJ 20-22 Apr.1773, 29 Apr.-2 May 1775 ; WC 12-15 Feb., 21-24 May 1771 ; WHM May 1775 p.318, July 1775 p.435.
  47. FLJ 16-20 Feb.4-7 Dec.1771 ; WC 12-15 Feb., 21-24 May 1771.
  48. WHM May 1775 p.318 ; FJ 29 Apr.-2 May 1775. By 1775 Daniel had lost up to £200 due to Whiteboy attacks and experienced personal, armed assault in April 1773 at the opening of the dairy season (FJ 20-22 Apr.1773). In 1775 he was threatened with burial in an open grave which the Whiteboys dug on the open road near his residence if he displaced Lonergan (FLJ 17-20 May 1775).
  49. FLJ 9-13 Feb.1771.
  50. Compiled from sources detailed in note 51.
  51. FLJ 21-24 Mar., 7-11,14-18 Apr., 2-6 June, 8-11 Aug., 13-17 Oct., 24-28 Nov., 8-12 Dec. 1770, 26-30 Jan., 30 Jan.-2 Feb., 23-27 Feb.1771, 4-8 Jan., 4-7 Nov.1772, 7-10 Apr.1773, 1-5 Oct.1774, 11-14 Jan., 23-26 Aug.1775, 7-10 Aug.1776 ; WC 12-15 Nov.1771, 20-24 Sept.1776.
  52. Surnames like Connery, Cummins, Croke, Deegan, Phelan, and Power occur in the sources listed in note 53.
  53. FLJ 25-29 Jan.1772, 24-28 Apr., 19-22 May, 11-15 Sept.1773, 3-6 May, 25-29 Nov., 2-6 Dec.1775, 17-20 Feb.1779 ; FJ 20-23 Mar.1773, 16-19 Mar.1776 ; WHM July 1775 p.4336 ; LJ 3-6 Apr.1805.
  54. E. Smith to Sir G.[Macartney], 13 Oct.1772 (PRONI D 572/2/93).
  55. A. McGuire to Derby, 18 Aug.1772, 7 Jan., 5 Mar.1773 (Derby papers DDK correspondence series 1747-77) ; TCD Ms 9865 sub 1 Sept.1775.
  56. FLJ 16-19 Aug.1775. Records a case at Killusty, Fethard.

57. TCD Ms 9865 sub June 1775. Records the payment by Samuel Cooper, agent, of 5s.5d. to J.Bourke for serving ejectments.
58. PRONI D 572/2/93.
59. WHM Mar.1777 p.215.
60. CG 1-4 Oct., 5-8 Nov., 10-13 Dec.1781, 3-7, 14-17 Jan., 2-6 May, 21-25 Nov.1782, 20-23 Jan., 5-9, 13-17, 20-24 Feb., 10-13, 13-17, 17-20 Mar., 4-8, 18-22 Dec.1783, 5-9 Feb., 11-15 Mar., 29 Mar.-1 Apr., 1-5, 15-19 Apr., 12-15 July, 6-9 Dec.1784, 17-20 Jan., 31 Jan.-3 Feb., 14-17 Mar., 12-16 May 1785, 13-16 Feb.,22-26 June, 7-10 Aug.1786, 29 Jan.-1 Feb., 29 Oct.-1 Nov.1787, 3-7 Apr.1788 ; CEP 22 Jan.1781.
61. CG 10-14 Oct.1782, 10-13 Apr.1786 ; CEP 22 JAN.1781.
62. CG 27-30 Dec.1784.
63. Ibid. 16-20 May 1782, 20-23 Jan.1783, 12-16 May 1785 ; FLJ 22-26 May 1784, 23-27 Apr.1785.
64. [W.Pitt] to Orde, 23 Oct.1784 (NLI Ms 1007 pp.94-5).
65. Agar to [Bolton?], 8 Nov.1784 (NLI Ms 16350 / 59-60) ; SPO : Privy Council Office, index to the proclamation books 1618-1875 sub 1785, 1789 ; PROI : 1A 52 159 p.268. There were further proclamations on the same issue in 1790 and 1791.
66. FLJ 31 Aug.-3 Sept.1785.
67. CG 29 Nov.-3 Dec., 27-31 Dec.1787 ; PROI 1A 52 164 pp.105-6.
68. The whole episode can be traced in FLJ 23-27 Oct., 3-6, 24-27 Nov.1784, 7-11 May, 16-19 Nov.1785, 21-25 Jan., 15-18 Feb., 3-6 May 1786 ; NLI Ms 27571 p.119 ; Ms 16350/53,59-60 ; and for the legal background W.Ridgeway, Reports of cases on appeals and writs of error, 3 vols. (1795) ii pp.192-203. The episode has a complex background. W.A.English held Ballinulta and Bolone (373 acres) under Damer under a lease for 300 years from 25 March 1740 at a rent of £133.16s.3d. (NLI Mic.P.5553, Damer estate rental 1787-98). English sub-let the lands to McCarthy of Springhouse (who also acted in an agency capacity for him), but under no other title than a letter from English to that effect. In October 1780 McCarthy requested and received a surrender of the lands to become effective from 1 May 1781. English agreed to this reluctantly because he then had as he himself stated, 'a great quantity of other grounds unset and unproductive'. Before 1 May 1781, however, McCarthy disposed of his remaining interest in the lands to Denis O'Brien, agent on the Mathew estate, 'who it was notorious was then attacking every part of my property by every means he could devise', according to English. English claimed that McCarthy had no right to convey the lands in this manner as his title, such as it was, had already been formally surrendered. In April 1783 English advertised the lands for

- letting for the ensuing May to benefit himself and to satisfy the claims of his creditors. Despite the forcible possession which began in October 1784 conducted by Richard ('Buck') English, possibly a son of W.A.English, the latter is still recorded as the tenant for Ballinulta in 1787. On these points see : CG 20-24 May 1784, 3-7 Apr.1785 ; NLI Mic.P.5553, Damer estate rental 1787-98.
69. Agar to Bolton, 8 Nov.1784 (NLI Ms 16350/59-60).
70. CG 21-24 Nov.1784 ; FLJ 16-20 Oct.1784 ; J.D.White, Anthologia Tipperariensis (1892) p.54 ' Whyte to Rutland, 17 Nov.1785 (Rutland Ms pp.259-60).
71. CG 6-9 Oct.1783.
72. See pp.111-2,309-310.
73. Hamilton to Sydney, 5 Nov.1785 (PRO HO 100/17/171).
74. CG 13-16 Nov.1786.
75. Ibid.14-17 Mar.1785.
76. See p.118.
77. CH 1 Sept.1802.
78. Ibid. The influence of the peasantry in Tipperary had acquired by the first decade of the nineteenth century was also recognised by Thomas Elrington, bishop of Limerick who in 1808 re-iterated the comments of Norbury and the Clonmel Herald that peasants were able to interfere with rents and the setting of lands by forcing the landlord to treat with the occupiers first ([Thomas Elrington], Letters on tythes published in the Dublin Journal and Correspondent under the signature of N (1808) p.12).
79. Annual register 1803 (1805) p.295 ; cf WM 6 Feb.1805.
80. Power to Normanton, 25 Feb.1809 (Agar papers box 3). For further statements of the centrality of the issue to the unrest : Duff to Lindsay, 8 June 1801 (PRO : HO 100/103/242) ; monthly report of Sir Charles Ross, Clonmel 1 Mar.1802 (ibid. 100/109/51) ; Annual register 1816 (1817) p.404.
81. NLI Ms 27571 p.286 ; SPO : SCP 1020/39 ; PRO : HO 100/103/238 ; 100/109/67 ; LJ 5-9 June, 6-10 Nov.1802, 17-21 Sept.1803, 7-11 Sept., 23-26 Oct.1805 ; CH 8 Sept., 10 Nov., 6 Apr.1802 ; CG 25-29 Dec.1802. For an isolated instance of attack at Clonmore near Templemore in May 1800 on a tenant to make him surrender a farm he had taken a few years previously see SPO : RP 620/57/49. The attack appears, however, to have been associated with attempts to reduce the high price of potatoes in the area.For the pattern of attacks on new tenants after 1805, which were concentrated on the Clonmel-Cashel axis, but with some recorded for Clogheen and Ninemilehouse see LJ 8-11 July, 14-17 Nov.1807, 19-23 Mar., 30 Mar.-2 Apr., 13-16 July, 7-10 Dec.1808 ; WM 12 Jan.1807 ;

- WHM Apr.1800 p.254, Sept.1800 p.188.
82. Hare to the archbishop of Cashel, 16 Apr.1801 (Agar papers, box 2 ). Price was head tenant to part of the archiepiscopal estate at Camus. On the murder see further : SPO : SCP 1020/39 ; PRO : HO 100/103/123v ; WM 16 May 1800.
83. Hare to the archbishop of Cashel, 16 Apr.1801 op.cit.
84. SPO : SCP 1020/42 ; LJ 5-9 June 1802 ; CH 8 Sept.1802, 6 Apr.1803 ; CG 25-29 Dec.1802.
85. CH 8 Sept.1802.
86. WM 8 Nov.1802.
87. LJ 17-21 Sept.1803.
88. CG 25-29 Sept., 29 Sept.-2 Oct.1802. For a later case of ejectment at Graigue near Kilgroggy, Clonmel and the burning of a house and its contents before a new tenant took up residence see LJ 14-18 Nov.1807.
89. NLI Ms 27571 p.286 ; CH 10 Nov.1802.
90. WM 4 Feb.1804. For later attacks on dairymen near Thorny Bridge and near Clonmel, and for an attack on a 'wealthy farmer' at Kilcash for turning off a dairyman in 1805 see LJ 6-9 Feb., 3-6, 20-24 Apr.1805 ; WM 3 Aug.1807 ; and Roberts, 'Caravats' op.cit.pp.64-101.
91. WHM Mar.1800 p.190 ; SPO : Privy Council Office, index to proclamations 1618-1875 sub 18 Feb.1800 ; CH 25 June 1803. But for the suggestion that Mollison's murder may have been occasioned by a desire to obtain his position as steward see SPO : RP 620/17/26.
92. Of the lands advertised in the years 1802-3 the most important were Doherty (338 acres), Jacob (400), Lowe (150), O'Callaghan (1,040), Pennefather (100), Perry (100), and Power (1,040) (CG 18-22 Sept., 30 Oct.-3 Nov., 1-4 Dec.1802, 15-19 Jan., 2-5, 9-12 Feb.1803 ; CH 8 Jan., 25 Aug., 3 Nov.1802, 23 Feb.1803). Most of this was in the south of the county where unrest emerged. A significant releasing on the Otway estate near Nenagh took place in May 1801 when 30 leases (mostly for the life of the tenant), were granted to 28 farmers, 1 clerk, and 1 steward. But the northern half of the county was relatively free of trouble at this time (Leicester Archives Dept. : Braye of Stanford papers 25 D 57/989-1019).
93. Ryan to Rous, 6 Mar.[1806] (East Suffolk Record Office : Rous papers HA/11/D8/4).
94. T.Carpenter, T.O'Brien, P.Ryan, M.Ryan, G.Maher and T.Frend to Rous 7,12,17,21 Mar., 4 Apr.1806 (Rous papers HA 11/D8/4).

## Chapter IX : Notes

1. Archivium Hibernicum ix (1942) pp.119-120, 160-61 ; addresses to Westmoreland, 27 Dec. 1791, 2 May 1792 (PRO HO 100 / 36 / 1-4, 100 / 37 / 108-111). In October 1790 there were routine addresses of loyalty to the lord lieutenant, Westmoreland, when he visited the county from the catholics of Clonmel (per Dr.Egan), and those of Cashel and Emly diocese (per Dr.Butler) (FLJ 27-30 Oct.1790, FDJ 28-30 Oct.1790). Those chosen to represent the Tipperary towns on the Committee were mostly Dublin based merchants or professionals, with the exception of John Rivers of Clonmel. Some form of local elective process was involved in their selection, however, for in December 1791 at a meeting of Cashel's catholics the assembly of 25 unanimously chose J.Dwyer, Batchelor's Walk and T.Mahon, Merchant's Quay, merchant, as their representatives (TCD Ms 869 / 10 / 9). By March 1792 Francis White of Carrick and John Mansfield of Coolnamuck near Carrick, were among the Co. Waterford fundraisers, while those for Co. Tipperary were Dr.G.Greene, Clonmel, Thomas Lanigan, Thurles, Murtough O'Brien-Butler, Bansha, and Denis O'Meagher, Ballymoreen, Cahir.
2. NLI Ms 27571 p.222.
3. CDA Bray papers 1792 / 10.
4. FDJ 30 Aug.-1 Sept., 6-8 Sept. 1792. Neighbouring Limerick held a meeting, but it was the only Munster county to do so at this stage.
5. J.K[eogh] to [Thomas ?] Hussey, 2 Oct.1792 (PRO HO 100 / 38 / 273). In the address they discountenanced charges of sedition, re-assured protestants that they sought to achieve redress of their grievances by constitutional methods, and declared that they had no desire to interfere with protestant ascendancy. They sought the benefits of the elective franchise and grand jury membership by legal means within the bounds of loyalty to the king and with due deference to their fellow subjects. A more ominous note was sounded with the remark in the declaration that 'we conjure our protestant brethren not to construe that [i.e. their] ascendancy so as to oppose it to their own interests, the general welfare of the State, and the relief of a large body of unoffending subjects'. Those who attended the meeting included George Greene, MD, James Scully, Laurence Smith, Pierce O'Brien-Butler, Denis O'Meagher, and Valentine Smyth.
6. Ibid. : delegates appointed for the counties for the Roman Catholic convention. The inhabitants in and about Tipperary town met in December and approved of relief for catholics (NLI Ms 27571 p.227).
7. Address to D.Toler and J.Bagwell, [Oct.1792] (PRO HO 100 / 38 / 356).
8. Pitt to Napean (?), 16 Oct.1792 (PRO HO 100 / 38 / 357) ; FDJ 22 Dec.1792.



9. Draft petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the King, [Dec.1792 ?] (PRO HO 100 / 34 / 81-8) ; A report of the debates in both houses of the parliament of Ireland in the Roman Catholic bill passed in the session of 1792 (1792) pp. 251 et seq. ; E.O'Flaherty, 'The catholic convention and Anglo-Irish politics, 1791-3', Archivium Hibernicum xl (1985) pp.26-7.
10. Parliamentary register xii (1792) pp.116, 133, 179, 187, 204-9, 220 ; A report of the debates *op.cit.*pp.23, 99, 124, 148, 176-84.
11. W.T.W.Tone (ed.), Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone 2 vols (1826), i p.206. One priest, Fr.White, refused to sign and Tone resolved to write to him commending his action. See also Brady, Press pp.284-5.
12. Parliamentary register xiii (1793) pp.140, 268, 346-52 ; A full and accurate report of the debates in the parliament of Ireland in the session of 1793 (1793) pp.144-5, 215 ; FLJ 2-6 Mar.1793.
13. FLJ 17-20, 20-24 Apr.1793 ; Waterford Herald 25 Apr.1793 ; petition to the king from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, [c.Apr.1793] (PRO HO 100 / 43 / 229-31).
14. See pp.324-5.
15. FDJ 7 Mar.1793. However he is not given as being appointed in the official return (Comms. Jnl. (Ire.) xvii, pt.2 dccvi-dcclvii).
16. FLJ 3-6 July 1793 ; NLI Ms 27571 pp.230, 232. The two other appointees were Laurence Smith, Carrick and Thomas O'Kearney, Newcastle. Bagwell also offered Scully a lieutenancy for his son-in-law in the newly established militia.(*ibid.*p.230).
17. NLI Ms 27571 p.233 ; CG 23 July 1793.
18. Comms. Jnl. (Ire.) xvii, pt.2 dccvi-dcclvii.
19. PROI M 2571. Of the 19, 7 are doubtful as they do not readily appear in the oath lists for 1778-91 or 1793-6.
20. GO Ms 570 pp.16-23. A jury of only 22 members was returned for the Summer assizes of 1795 (*ibid.*p.20).
21. CG 15-18 May 1793. It was continued the following year (*ibid.*3-7 May 1794).
22. N.Maher to G.Ryan, 23 Jan.1793 (Ryan papers).
23. Compiled from the catholic qualification rolls 1793-6 for Munster and Leinster (PROI 1A 52. 76,78).
24. Comms. Jnl. (Ire.) xvi pp.30-32 ; Parliamentary register xv (1795) pp.51-2, 55. That from the catholics of Cashel was presented separately from the rest and was forwarded by James Scully through Lord Milton (NLI Ms 27571 p.247).
25. Parliamentary register xv (1795) p.164.

26. Ibid. ; Camden to Portland, 27 Apr.1795 (PRO HO 100 / 57).
27. Armstrong to the archbishop of Cashel, 28 Mar. 1795 (Agar papers 21 m 57 box 2).
28. Rev.P.Hare to the archbishop of Cashel, 8 Apr.1795 (Agar papers). Kingsborough had proposed substituting instead of 'Catholick Emancipation' after 'to petition for' in the address, the words 'all such further indulgences as may not be subversive of the established constitution', but this was rejected. Those who spoke in favour of the resolutions at the meeting included Edward Moore, Christopher and Edward Hutchinson (Ibid.; NLI Ms 27571 p.248). According to Scully the sheriff spoke out against the resolutions (NLI Ms 27571 p.248).
29. P.Holmes to [the archbishop of Cashel], 27 Mar.1795 (Agar papers). Agar's response to this letter was to advise Holmes (as Agar himself was advised in a letter from Pelham of 30 Mar.1795), that 'spontaneous declarations in favour of the Protestant establishment in Church and State would be received with pleasure. But where they can not be expected, as in the approaching meeting, I should recommend an objection to any declaration at all upon ground of confidence in Parliament that what is best for the country will be done'(ibid.).
30. Same to same, 6 Apr.1795 (Agar papers).
31. FLJ 16-20 May 1795. The motion for rejecting the bill was moved by John Toler, the attorney general.
32. A list of seven in the town who were to be boycotted included two shoemakers, and one each of tailor, cabinetmaker and schoolmaster (SPO RP 620 / 33 / 104) ; SPO SCP 1017 / 52).
33. Fitzgerald to Castlereagh, 20 Nov.1798 (SPO RP 620 / 41 / 53).
34. Hawarden to the archbishop of Cashel, 23 Mar.1799 (Agar papers) ; J.Toler to Marsden, 6 Aug.1799 (SPO RP 620 / 47 / 126) ; G.Frost to Sir W.Barker, 14 June 1798 (TCD Barker Ponsonby papers P1 / 11 / 28).
35. R.Musgrave, Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland (1801) pp.52-3.
36. Falkland, Parliamentary representation (1790) pp.93-4 ; FLJ 27 Feb.-3 Mar.1790. The re-election of Toler, who was judged to have given a good parliamentary performance since 1783, and Prittie who was a popular choice, seemed assured until Mathew declared himself in late February 1790. The wealth and influence which the Mathew family could bring to bear was judged to be too great to allow Toler any hope of success. Mathew was proposed by C.Otway, Toler by Sir W.Barker, and J.Bagwell by Prittie (EC 10 May 1790).
37. LC 26 Apr.1790 ; EC 10 May 1790. Bagwell, while not wishing to disturb the peace of the county, declared his independence in terms that he was 'unconnected with party . . . as

I am independent of the favours of Governemnt', rumours having circulated that the two sitting members had become suspect on this account (FLJ 10-14 Apr.1790). Stephen Moore of Barne and Peter Holmes of Nenagh also declared themselves candidates, but in the event were not formally proposed (FLJ 17-20 Mar.1790 ; LC 20 Apr.1790). Holmes had recently disposed of his interest in the borough of Banagher for £10,000, suggesting that he was aspiring to a more prominent role at county level in Tipperary. In the event he came into parliament for the borough of Kilmallock (Falkland op.cit.p.54).

38. The number of freeholders in 1790 stood at 1,480 which was only a marginal increase on the gross poll of 1,470 of 1776 (FLJ 5-8 Jan.1791). In fact the election, which was spread over three weeks (6-26 May), witnessed 1,550 people voting (NLI Ms 27571 p.189). A test oath, probably relating to the acceptance of office or patronage from government, was proposed for the candidates and acceded to (EC 3 May 1790 ; FLJ 5-8 May 1790). On the third day of the poll Samuel Alleyn, and on the fourth Richard Elliott, George Lidwell and Richard Gason, were proposed as candidates as a strategy by the Mathew side to spread the vote away from Bagwell. The last three of these sub-candidates subsequently withdrew, but Alleyn remained on until the conclusion of polling (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xiv p.32). The following gives an indication of the pattern of voting over different days :

<u>Date</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Votes</u>
6 May	Toler	32	Mathew	13	Bagwell	20
10 "		436		222		240
12 "		665		352		348
15 "		774		408		404
19 "		1177		621		616
22 "		1331		703		700
26 "		1491		845		776

For poll details : FLJ 5-8, 12-15, 19-22, 22-26, 26-29 May 1790 ; FDJ 11-13, 13-15, 18-20, 20-22 May, 1-3 June 1790 ; EC 17, 20, 27, 31 May 1790 ; CEP 20, 24, 31 May 1790.

39. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xiv pp.12,32-3. The election was expensive on all candidates, Westmoreland remarking that 'a great sum of money has been spent in ye contest for that county', so that Bagwell's decision to petition meant a commitment to considerable additional expence one estimate putting it at £200 per day (BL Add Ms 59253 fols 99-100 ; NLI Ms 27571 p.207). In his petition Bagwell claimed that Mathew exerted undue

- influence over the voters ; that he promised money and employment ; that many voters were not legally entitled to vote ; and that many were catholics or had catholic wives.
40. Comm.Jnl.(Ire.) xiv p.98 ; xv pt.1 p.11 ; FLJ 12-16 Feb.1791. The outcome was known informally by May 1791. Proceedings on the petition were drawn out because of the absence of members of the committee of enquiry , which led to many adjournments. Mathew damaged his cause by the bad quality of his witnesses many of whom appeared unprepared or drunk, and at least one was committed to jail for 'gross prevarication' (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xiv pp.436, 438). Bagwell appeared determined to discommode as many persons as possible, particularly local catholic clergy, by having them come to Dublin and stay long periods there (CDA Bray papers 1791 / 1 ; FLJ 18-21 May 1791).
41. FLJ 24-27 Apr.1793 ; F.Mathew to R.Hobart, 2, 5, 8, June 1793, Hobart to Mathew, 3, 7, June 1793 (PRO HO 100 / 44 / 151-9).
42. FLJ 29 June-2 July, 10-13 Aug.1796. Daniel Toler died in late June 1796. The Summer assizes which ensued were expected to produce much electioneering. It was commonly believed that Prittie would join with Mathew who had failed in 1790 (Barker Ponsonby papers P2 / 1 / 5). With Prittie's support Mathew was elected unanimously to fill the vacancy in August having been proposed by Hon.T.Maude and seconded by S.Perry.
43. NLI Ms 27571 p.270 ; King's Inns Ms 39D fol 127v comments 'No contest'. In 1796 it was speculated that the candidates for the general election were to include Mathew, 'Young' Prittie, John Toler, and Bagwell. (Barker Ponsonby papers P2 / 1 / 5).
44. G.C.Bolton, The passing of the Irish act of union (1966) pp.27-30. At any rate little time was allowed for such contests to develop as the writs recording the returns had to be forthcoming within a month of being issued.
45. E.Moore to T.A.Emmet, 21 July 1797 (SPO RP 620 / 15 / 2 / 4). In an exchange of letters between Moore and Barker in June 1797 the latter refused going forward himself and declined lending Moore his support (Barker Ponsonby papers P1 / 11 / 24, P2 / 4 / 4). It is clear that Moore's increased pro-catholic stance estranged him from Barker and thereby split the independent interest.
46. Hewitt, Shannon pp.59, 66. Llandaff had a 'reconciliation dinner' with Lismore in early June 1797, as a result of which Lismore's son was to stand and Bagwell be thrown out. Llandaff hinted to Shannon that no one could be elected without him (Llandaff). But before the end of June Lismore withdrew his consent for his son's candidature, leaving the way open for Mathew and Bagwell the two sitting members to come in unopposed.
47. C.Dickson, The Wexford rising in 1798 : its causes and its course (1955) p.4 ; L.M.Cullen, 'The 1798 rebellion in its eighteenth century context' in P.J.Corish (ed.),

- Radicals, rebels, and establishments (1985) p.93.
48. FLJ 20-24 July 1791.
  49. AH xvii (1949) pp.8, 20, 40 ; SPO RP 620 / 19 / 44.
  50. AH xvii (1949) p.26.
  51. M.Wall 'The United Irish movement' Historical Studies v (1965) p.130.
  52. AH xvii (1949) pp.47, 49.
  53. NLI Ms 19822 pp.78-84 (Lalor) ; Burke's, Irish family records (1976) p.726 (Scully, O'Brien-Butler). In 1807 Lidwell was the major advocate for the abolition of tithe (below p.288 n.172).
  54. NLI Ms 10752 ; T.A.Emmet, The Emmet family (1898) pp.6-7, 9.
  55. SPO RP 620 / 15 / 2 / 1.
  56. PRO HO 100 / 58 / 198 (Report on the spread of defenderism, c.July 1795).
  57. Lord Waterford to Camden, 4 Sept. 1796 (Kent RO Pratt papers U 840 / 174 / 12).
  58. Newenham to Cooke, 27 Sept.1796 (SPO RP 620 ? 25 / 123 ).
  59. Camden to Portland, 13 Apr.1797 (PRO HO 100 /69 / 199) ; Otway to [Pelham], 21 Mar.1797 (SPO RP 620 / 29 / 28 ) ; FLJ 1-5 Apr.1797 where the arrest of 11 persons for tendering 'black oaths' in the Roscrea area is recorded.
  60. Newenham to Pelham, 31 May 1797 (SPO RP 620 / 30 / 257).
  61. G.Hill to Cooke, 24 June 1797 (SPO RP 620 / 23 / 190).
  62. M.Elliott, Partners in revolution : the United Irishmen and France (1982) p.129.
  63. SPO RP 620 / 30 / 257 ; Cooke to the archbishop of Cashel, 3 June 1797 (Agar papers). For the methods whereby the treason was spread see J.S.Donnelly, 'Propagating the cause of the United Irishmen' Studies lxxix (1980) pp.5-23.
  64. Camden to Portland, 11 May 1798 (PRO HO 100 / 76 / 173).
  65. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xvii, pt.2 dcccxxx.
  66. CG 6-10 Apr.1793 ; FLJ 16-19 Oct.1793, 1-5 Aug.1795 ; FDJ 14 May 1795. Two of these in 1793 related to the illegal custody of lands near Cashel where this grievance was common in the early 1780s, while the other two concerned lands at Faringrow and Clonmuckoge both in 1795. In addition to the houses of Edward Collins (Clonmel?) and John Cahill of Ballycahill were forcibly taken possession of in 1790 and 1792 respectively, but the circumstances are not clear (PROI Calendar of presentments and accounts, 1698-1813 (1A 52 159)). The evident seriousness of forcible possession elsewhere is shown by the fact that in 1791 and 1795 proclamations were issued in order to deal with them (PROI Calendar of proclamations).
  67. Proceedings of the parliament of Ireland iii (1793) p.462. The unrest of the Summer

- derived from the shortages at the time. The bad harvest of 1792, with the consequent scarcity of supply, created high prices for bread and other food stuffs especially potatoes. This led to food riots in some quarters in the Spring and Summer of 1793. In Carrick there were bread riots, and the hoarding of potatoes for export was prevented by the assembled mobs (JWSEIAS xvi (1912) p.66).
68. CG 28 June-2 July 1794. The demand was for the rents due for September and November 1793.
69. Newenham to Pelham, 31 May 1797 (SPO RP 620 / 30 / 257). Their refusal to pay may have been influenced by radical ideas (ibid.).
70. Walsh to Sir W.Barker, 20 July, 20 Oct.1798, 5 Jan.1801 (Barker Ponsonby papers P2 / 3 / 4-6). The situation was made more pressing because of the need to obtain cash from rents to pay the labourers on the estate. On Barker's estate in Co.Limerick very little of the November rents had been received by the agent Denis Lyons at May 1798, though he was able to make a remittance of £341.12s. 1d. and a good many of the tenants there promised to pay in June (Lyons to Barker, 24 May 1798 ibid. P1 / 11 / 27).
71. See notes 4 and 6 above ; extract of a letter from Limerick, 18 July 1793 (PRO HO 100 / 46).
72. CG 15-18 May 1793. The applotment was calculated on the basis of houses per barony which gave an overall average of one man per 53 houses. Had hearths been chosen the average ratio would have been lower at 1 : 57, which in turn would have been lower than the ratio advanced in parliament in March 1793, 1 : 47 (Parliamentary register xiii (1793) p.393).
73. CG 15-18 May 1793.
74. Ibid. 29 May-1 June 1793.
75. Ibid. 8-12 June 1793. Similar objections were apparent in militia disturbances in Scotland in August-September, 1797 (K.J.Logue, Popular disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815 (1979) p.106).
76. CG 29 May-1 June 1793. The rates prescribed by the company for this purpose were 2s.81/2d. each for labourers, 5s.5d. for working tradesmen and cottiers, and 11s.41/2d. for all others. Those acting as guarantors to the company were George Greene, MD, John Howell, Edmund Power, and Samuel Morton.
77. T.Bartlett, 'An end to moral economy : the Irish militia disturbances of 1793' Past and Present no.99 (May 1983) pp.41-2, 59 ; CG 12-15 June 1793 : FDJ 16 July 1793. In mid-June information reached the archbishop of Cashel that 'many thousands ' of the lower class in the Glen of Aherlow had agreed to march to Tipperary town to swear all

poersons against the militia and to punish those who might voluntarily enter it, but this plan did not materialise (PRO HO 100 / 44 / 139-42).

78. PROI 1A 42 178 p.25 ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xvi, xliii. The amounts for the year ending 31 March were as follows : 1796, £15,000 ; 1797, £17,520 ; 1799, £30,550 ; and 1800, £30,354 (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xvi, xlvi,ccxliv ; xvii pt.2, ccclii ; SPO OP 59 / 6 / 10).
79. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xvii, ccxx. There were charges of corruption in the raising of the militia : drafting men into regular regiments and making the county supply their places ; local officials such as constables renewing the ballot ; taking money from persons drawn and putting it to their own use. However, the colonel of the Tipperary militia, John Bagwell, declared that he had not been oppressive, rather he claimed to have spent two guineas per man in raising and clothing 300 men as substitutes (FDJ 12 Feb.1795).
80. NLI Ms 7331 p.8. This is a declaration from the grand jury at the Lent assizes 12 March 1796 that they would punish those resisting constables collecting the cess.
81. D.Dickson, 'Taxation and disaffection in late eighteenth century Ireland'in S.Clark and J.S.Donnelly, Irish peasants : violence and political unrest (1983) pp.50-51, 54-5.
82. The regiment was discontinued on the Irish establishment on 12 May 1802, and disbanded militiamen contributed to the unrest of this time (PROI 1A 42 178 p.25). It was arrayed again early on 1803 (CH 2 Feb.1803), though by mid-Summer the full complement had not been reached and the levying of the cess was being threatened (CG 22-25 1803). The recruitment of additional men again proved contentious in 1804 (CH 27-31 July 1804 ; NLI Ms 8926(3)).
83. CG 27-31 July 1793.
84. For proceedings in the case see Burke Ms (Mount Melleray) 71 (v) ; SPO OP 18 / 48, and on the origins of the tax T.Power, 'A minister's money account for Clonmel, 1703' AH xxxiv (1987). The act establishing the tax (17,18 Chas.II c.7) allowed incumbents to receive a maximum per annum of £60 from minister's money. Under it government could allot money to be paid to incumbents in certain towns, including Clonmel, out of every house. It was to be at the rate of 12d. in every pound according to the value of the property. So that the rate of assessment was one twentieth the value of property , rather than one tenth of produce in the case of tithe. The amounts were to be received by the churchwardens and paid to the rector by four equal portions yearly. Commissioners to value newly built houses were not to undertake such work more often than every three years.
- So far as Clonmel is concerned since an earlier valuation in 1793 new houses were built in the town which were omitted from assessment. In attempting to rectify this deficiency,

however, the parishoners and proprietors in the town claimed that the commissioners appointed for the purpose valued houses already valued and not subject to revaluation, valued houses rebuilt on existing sites, divided houses into two or more parts, and assessed houses not actually within the town boundary. In addition tenements, out houses, and factories which were separate from dwelling houses and previously exempt, were valued. In particular the commissioners valued the main industrial infrastructure of the town : mills, corn and other stores, breweries, tanyards, timber yards, linnies (i.e. farm buildings), warehouses, and workhouses. Because of this procedure individuals were obliged to pay more in minister's money than the maximum allowed by law, making the valuation in Clonmel higher than in the larger cities of Dublin, Cork, or Limerick. The leading inhabitants and merchants of the town petitioned against the new valuation being confirmed but were unsuccessful, though attempts by the quakers in particular to have it declared illegal persisted until 1800. The opportunity to increase the valuation may have been initiated by the new incumbent, Rev. Thomas May, who replaced Rev. Joseph Moore who reputedly held the post for 70 years. 1796 was a critical year in other respects. High food prices were a feature in 1794, there was a bad harvest in 1795, and an embargo on the export of corn, grain, flour, bread, and potatoes was imposed (under 36 Geo. III c.8) in 1796 because of their high price. These circumstances may explain the attacks on the house and flour mill of David Malcomson, a leading Clonmel miller, in 1796 (SPO RP 620 / 28 / 188).

85. Powell, 'Economic factor' op.cit. pp.145-53.

86. Garnett to the archbishop of Cashel, 7 [March] 1798 (Agar papers).

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xvii p.116. An indication of Scott's wealth is that he was able to offer to enter a recognisance in the penalty of £100,000 to stand trial on charges of sedition brought against him in 1798 (ibid.). At the inaugural meeting for the relief of the poor in the town on 2 March 1798, 104 guineas were donated (JWSEIAS xvi (1913) p.177).

90. F.St.John to Castlereagh, 8 Aug.1798 (SPO SCP 1017 / 49) ; FLJ 4-8 Aug.1798. Arms were also given up in north Tipperary at this time also, for J.P.Poe reported from Harley Park, Ballingarry, in July that 'numbers have given up their arms about this' (Poe to [C.B.] Ponsonby, 30 July [1798] Barker Ponsonby papers P2 / 5/19).

91. C.B.Ponsonby to Sir W.Barker, 20 July 1798 (Barker Ponsonby papers P2 / 2 / 1), in which he remarks that 'the harvest is now comming (sic) on and they [i.e.his men] all wish much to get home, particularly as there is nothing for them to do here [Urlingford] at



- present'. For the bountiful and early harvest see Barnard letters op.cit.p.101.
92. Donoughmore to Pelham, 25 Nov.1797 (SPO RP 620 / 33 / 90).
93. Same to Cooke, 24 Dec.1797 (SPO RP 620 / 33 / 174) ; FLJ 20-23 Dec.1797.
94. Donoughmore to Cooke, 24 Dec.1797 (op.cit.). This lenient policy produced the desired effect for by January 1798 Donoughmore could leave for Cork having brought the disturbances in the adjoining county under control, thereby eliminating the threat of them spreading to south Tipperary (FLJ 6-10 Jan.1798).
95. P.Holmes to Pelham, 28 Mar.1798 (SPO RP 620 / 29 / 117).
96. FLJ 1-5 Apr.1797.
97. Holmes to Pelham, 10 Apr.1797 (SPO RP 620 / 29 / 208). A body of Nenagh inhabitants voluntarily came forward to take an oath in order to allay any fears of their being sworn for disaffection. Significant numbers were coming forward to take the oath before O'Meara a resident magistrate.
98. Holmes to Cooke (?), 3 Feb.1798 (SPO SCP 1017 / 46).
99. TCD Donoughmore D23 fol 1 ; FLJ 15-18 Nov.1797 ; Mathew to Llandaff, 30 Jan.[1798] (SPO OP 43 / 15 / 6).
100. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xviii, cccvii-cccvi ; xix pt.1, cccxv-cccxiv. Only three of the claims were allowed amounting to £477.1s.10d. Of the 11 claims occurring outside the county two happened at Edenderry, four on the road from Dublin, two at Ballitore, and one each at Dunseugh, Newbridge, and Monasterevan, Co.Kildare. The losses were for goods such as flour, calf skins, cloth and livestock. Of the 9 claims for inside the county 5 were for Ninemilehouse (associated with the conflict at Slievenamon, 23 July 1798), 3 at Ballyough, and one at Clonmore.
101. DNB x (1908) p.1111 ; Burke, Irish family records (1976) sub Uniacke.
102. T.Pakenham, The year of liberty (1978) pp.40-41 ; Burke, Irish family records p.1149.
103. Llandaff to [ ], 5 Feb.1798 (SPO OP 43 / 15 / 6).
104. Fitzgerald to Mathew, 29 Jan.1798 (Ibid.).
105. Rev.P.Hare to the archbishop of Cashel, 21 Mar.1798 (Agar papers).
106. S.Alleyn to same, 28 Mar.1798 (Agar papers) ; FLJ 31 Mar.-4 Apr.1798.
107. FDJ 18 Apr.1799 ; Report of an interesting case in which Mr.Francis Doyle . . . (1808) p.35.
108. FDJ 18 Apr.1799.
109. S.Alleyn to the archbishop of Cashel, 28 Mar.1798 (Agar papers) ; Fitzgerald to Camden, 26 Mar.1798 (PRO HO 100 / 80 / 156). Massy probably held such a large quantity in his capacity as captain of the Clanwilliam yeomanry cavalry.

110. Garnett to the archbishop of Cashel, 7 [March] 1798 (Agar papers) ; Camden to Rossmore, 27 Mar.1798 (PRO HO 100 / 80 / 157) ; NLI Ms 27571 p.275.
111. Fitzgerald to Camden, 26 Mar.1798 (op.cit.).
112. Ibid. ; Going to Bagwell, n.d. (PRO HO 100 / 80 / 156-7) ; S.Alleyn to the archbishop of Cashel, 31 Mar. 1798 (Agar papers). The gentlemen of the Ballintemple corps were individually robbed of arms and it was found impossible to get them to attend for duty.
113. Rev.P.Hare to the archbishop of Cashel, 4, 21 Mar.1798 (Agar papers).
114. Thurles : Garnett to Cashel, 7 [Mar.1798] (Agar papers) ; Cashel : Hare to same, 21 Mar.1798 (ibid.) ; Slievardagh : Alleyn to same, 28 Mar.1798 (ibid.) ; Golden : Bagwell to Camden, 26 Mar.1798 (PRO HO 100 / 80 / 157) ; Newport : Going to Bagwell, n.d. (ibid.).
115. Dundrum : FLJ 30 Mar.-1 Apr.1798 ; Toberadora : ibid. ; WHM Apr.1798 p.381 ; Alleyn to Cashel, 31 Mar.1798 (Agar papers) ; petition of W.Latham, n.d.(SPO OP 78 / 10). They assembled to rescue two prisoners being transmitted from Templemore.
116. Camden to Portland, 7 Apr.1798 (PRO HO 100 / 76 / 43-4).
117. Same to same, 23 Apr.1798 (PRO HO 100 / 76 / 125-6).
118. Ibid ; PRO HO 100 / 79 / 348-9 ; FLJ 4-7 Apr.1798 ; 36 Geo.III c.20. The entire county was declared to be in a state of disturbance or in danger of becoming so. The barony of Ikerrin was already proclaimed on 14 March and the parish of Roscrea on 2 March 1798. When compared with the dates on which areas in surrounding counties were proclaimed, serious unrest came very late to Tipperary. Before the end of 1797 baronies in Counties Waterford, Cork, King's Co. as well as parts of Co.Wexford were proclaimed ; and in the period January to March 1798 further areas in Cork, King's and Queen's counties followed suit.
119. TCD Proclamations (Press A 7 18 No.11).
120. Petition of W.Latham to Cornwallis, n.d. [c.1800]. (SPO OP 78 / 10) ; Camden to Rossmore, 5 May 1798 (SPO RP 620 / 37 / 26 ; also 620 / 37 / 134). The parishoners of Templetenny (numbering 600) met at Carrigvisteale chapel and forwarded a petition to Castlereagh expressing their loyalty.
121. FLJ 4-7 Apr., 19-23 May 1798. Arms were recovered in both cases.
122. SPO RP 620 / 36 / 122. This is a request from six magistrates to Pelham dated 4 Apr.1798 for the privy council to suspend the habeas corpus act so that nine of the arrested leaders would not go free at the coming assizes because of an insufficiency of evidence against them.
123. Camden to Portland, 11 May 1798 (PRO HO 100 / 76 / 173) ; proclamation of

- T.J.Fitzgerald, 20 Apr.1798 (SPO RP 620 / 37 / 26). Peace had returned to the Thurles area, previously noted by its rector as being very disturbed by May (Archivium Hibernicum i, 1912 p.228). The activity of some yeomanry corps, the distribution of troops, and the exertions of the magistrates were the reasons ascribed by Camden for the restoration of order in the county (Camden to Portland, 23 Apr.1798 PRO HO 100 / 76 / 125-6).
124. Castlereagh correspondence, ed C.Vane, ii pp.94-6.
125. W.Knox, bishop of Killaloe to the archbishop of Cashel, 6 May 1798 (Agar papers) ; P.Holmes to [ ], n.d. (SPO SCP 1017 / 68) ; J.F.Rolleston to [ ], 19 May 1798 (SPO RP 620 / 37 / 106).
126. Rolleston to [ ], 19 May 1798 (op.cit.). He arrested Meara of Roscrea, distiller, and Woodlock, merchant, for acting as intermediaries for correspondence between Dublin and local radicals. Rolleston later uncovered a scheme to attack his own house, Frankfort, and Castle Otway (Same to [ ], 21 May 1798 (SPO RP 620 / 37 / 120).
127. Fitzgerald to Castlereagh, 1 June 1798 (SPO SCP 1017 / 47).
128. Same to same, 15 June 1798 (SPO RP 620 / 38 / 147). See also SPO SCP 1017 / 48 where Peter Holmes, Nenagh, 12 June 1798, remarks that 'we are at present quiet and will I hope continue so'.
129. For the Cashel fiasco see the proceedings of the court martial held at Cashel on 18-22 July 1798 in SPO RP 620 / 3 / 22 / 1. The figure of 2,000 is mentioned at p.16 therein.
130. For Slievenamon see J.Maher, Romantic Slievenamon (1954) pp.102-111 ; Duanaire Thiobraid Arann (1981) ed.D.O h-Ogain, pp.63, 93-4 ; R.Clutterbuck to A.Cooper, 13 Aug.1798 (TCDF Ms 7311 / 1) The government view was that the incident was well handled and that no further insurgency would ensue (PRO HO 100 / 77 / 303 ; Cornwallis correspondence ed. Ross, iii p.374).
131. F.St.John to Castlereagh, 8 Aug.1798 (SPO SCP 1017 / 49) ; W.Vaughan to same, 20 Aug.1798 (ibid. 1017 / 50) ; C.Downer (?) to same, 22 Aug.1798 (ibid.1017 / 51). Local gentlemen appear to have wildly exaggerated the number assembled to attack Roscrea. Holmes reported 2,000, while government said not more than 50 or 60 (NLI Ms 1205 p.108).
132. Fitzgerald to Castlereagh, 25, 30 Aug.1798 (SPO RP 620 / 3 / 51 / 25,29). Morres later fled the country with 5 others, possibly leaders in Tipperary (Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xvii,pt.1 p.376).
133. Camden to Rossmore, 5 May 1798 (SPO RP 620 / 37 / 26). McDowell, Ireland p.580 is in error in saying that the event occurred at Tipperary.

134. Ibid.
135. The full episode is covered in SPO RP 620 / 3 / 47 / 1-3 ; see also Hare to Cashel, 19 July 1798 (Agar papers). Those implicated were John Meagher of Knockballymorris and four of his sons, his brother William Meagher of Tourine and his son Denis ; Thomas Smithwick, Barnalough, Southwell Moore, Ashgrove, and Richard Baker, Ballydavid all three of whom were protestants in the parish of Bansha. These were gentlemen of property and six of them were members of Lord Mathew's yeomanry corps. A notorious fellow, William Dillon, swore the information against them before Capt. F.Massy of Lord Mathew's corps, who passed it on to Col.Deering. Mathew was against the arrests as no credence could be attached to the informant's statements, while Capt.Massy favoured arrests. In this impasse Col.Deering called in the sheriff to decide the issue. He sanctioned the arrests and in addition voiced his suspicions about Lord Llandaff's Thurles cavalry corps. Despite many pleas Deering initially refused to bail the prisoners, but eventually did so at £5,000 each. A mutual dislike already existed, prior to this event, between Deering and the gentry of the Cashel district.
136. The trial of T J Fitzgerald esq . . . with proceedings in parliament on his petition (1799) ; A report of an interesting case wherein Mr Francis Doyle was plaintiff and Sir Thomas J Fitzgerald was defendant (1808) ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xviii pp.116-7.
137. 39 Geo.III c.3. The act sought to protect those who had carried out acts 'not justifiable by law', but necessary for the public good and the suppression of rebellion.
138. The trial of T.J.Fitzgerald pp.5-13 ; R.R.Madden, The countess of Blessington, 2 vols.(1855) i p.20. The jury found in favour of Wright for damages of £1,000 plus costs of £500, but this verdict was later reversed (The trial p.95).
139. Hawarden to Cashel, 13 May 1798 (Agar papers).
140. Hare to same, 19 July 1798 (Agar papers).
141. Fitzgerald to Castlereagh, 24 May 1798 (SPO RP 620 / 37 / 151).
142. Proclamation of T.J.Fitzgerald, 20 Apr.1798 (SPO RP 620 / 36 / 26).
143. Fitzgerald to Castlereagh, 24 May 1798 (op.cit.).
144. List compiled from the trial proceedings detailed in note 136 above. For the Nenagh list see FDJ 18 Apr.1799 ; and for Jephson, who was captain of the Carrick yeomanry see A report of an interesting case p.41.
145. Eighteenth century Irish official papers in Great Britain (1973) pp.186-7 ; The trial of T.J.Fitzgerald pp.6, 8 ; A report of an interesting case pp.5, 9, 15. The arrival of the sheriff in the parish of Templetenny (previously restored to order by Fr.O'Meagher and Sir John Foules), to commence whipping in Clogheen marked an end to calm in the area.(SPO

RP 620 / 3 / 51 / 14).

146. FDJ 18 Apr.1799. The address had 64 signatures, including 8 magistrates and the priests of Nenagh and Modereeny. The address argued that it was necessary to 'take a stretch beyond the laws' in order to expose rebellion, and that the punishment inflicted by Fitzgerald was rather mercy in that it saved the lives of thousands of others.

147. FDJ 18 Apr.1799.

1. Donoughmore papers D 6/14-15; Donoughmore papers, 27 Mar 1799 (PRO HO 100/84/201-6).
2. P. Hely-Hutchinson to Donoughmore, 1 Apr. 1799 (Donoughmore D 6/15).
3. Callaghan to Donoughmore, 28 Mar 1799 (FDJ 18/19).
4. Linchols to same, 4 Apr 1799 (FDJ D 6/17). For Lord Shelburne's reaction to the Letter see *Review of the Irish Revolution*.
5. Callaghan correspondence II pp 144-5.
6. FLJ 24-28 Aug 1799; *Constitutional Papers*, 12 Aug 1799 (PRO HO 100/85/143-3).
7. Callaghan correspondence II pp 144-5; FLJ 24 Aug 1799; FLJ 7-10, 20-21 Aug 1799 (original in Donoughmore D 6/21). In September 1799 the villages of Tullyhat, Kiltarron, Tinnis, Lenta, Fgish, Ballynary, Udrone, Burtinahan, Kiltinane, and Shincroo took the opportunity of Cornwallis' presence in the area to express their feelings for the Union, among other things (FDJ 13 Sept 1800).
8. FLJ 14-18 Sept 1799.
9. Babes, *Union* pp 145, 144-50.
10. Cornwallis correspondence II p 125. For the credit given to Donoughmore see Donoughmore D 6/23.
11. FLJ p 10.
12. *Declaration of Sentiments* (1800) p 150; Cornwallis correspondence II p 130; PRO HO 100/85/24; *Constitutional Papers* Aug 1799/20a.
13. Donoughmore D 23 Feb 3-4 gives the full proceedings; Letter's response to the appeal in April contained only seven other signatures - Sir T. Clarke, W. Baginbun, W. Armstrong, M. Hely, J. Hely, M. Hely - and T. Hely. This compares with the 30 of August 1799 indicating that the Letter had 31 signatures in the original. See Donoughmore D 6/23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

## Chapter X : Notes

1. Bolton, Union p.128 n.1.
2. FDJ 21 Feb.1799.
3. TCD Donoughmore papers D 6 / 7. Other subscribers included Lord Mathew, Henry Prittie, Thomas Barton, William Perry, Edward Moore, William Armstrong, John Bagwell (Kilmore), and the Rialls of Clonmel. Most of the remainder were likely to have been followers of Lismore's. In February 1799 the sheriff received an address to convene a meeting at Nenagh to consider the Union issue (NLI Ms 11419 : address of the magistrates, gentlemen, and freeholders of Lower Ormond, Upper Ormond, Owey and Arra, 28 Feb.1799).
4. Donoughmore papers D 6 / 11-14 ; Castlereagh to Portland, 27 Mar.1799 (PRO HO 100 / 86 / 201-6).
5. F.Hely-Hutchinson to Donoughmore, 1 Apr.1799 (Donoughmore D 48 / 5).
6. Castlereagh to Donoughmore, 28 Mar.1799 (ibid.D 6 / 9).
7. Littlehales to same, 1 Apr.1799 (ibid.D 6 / 17). For Lord Shannon's reaction to the Lismore debacle see Hewitt, Shannon p.188.
8. Castlereagh correspondence ii pp.354-5.
9. FLJ 24-28 Aug.1799 ; Cornwallis to Portland, 12 Aug.1799 (PRO HO 100 / 89 / 142-3).
10. Castlereagh correspondence ii pp.344-5 ; CA 24 Aug.1799 ; FLJ 7-10, 28-31 Aug.1799 (original in Donoughmore D 6 / 21). In September 1800 the catholics of Terryglass, Kilbarron, Finnoe, Lorrha, Eglisk, Ballingarry, Uskane, Borrisokane, Kilcommon, and Shinrone took the opportunity of Cornwallis' presence in the area to express their favour to the Union, among other things (FDJ 13 Sept.1800).
11. FLJ 14-18 Sept.1799.
12. Bolton, Union pp.146, 148-50.
13. Cornwallis correspondence iii p.125. For the credit given to Donoughmore see Donoughmore D 6 / 25.
14. Ibid. p.163.
15. Parliamentary register (1800) p.143 ; Cornwallis correspondence iii p.180 ; PRO HO 100 / 93 / 84 ; Clonmel Museum Acc.1985 / 60a.
16. Donoughmore D 23 fols 3-4 gives the full proceedings. Lismore's requisition to the sheriff in April contained only seven other signatures : Sir T.Osborne, W.Bagwell, W.Armstrong, M.Head, J.Bayly, R.B.H.Lowe, and T.Barton. This contrasts with the 50 of August 1799 indicating that the balance of 43 had gone over to the unionist side in the interval (See further Donoughmore D 6 / 39-41, D 23 fol 3 ; PRO HO 100 / 93 / 322-6).

17. PRO HO 100 / 96 / 234, 100 / 97 / 79 ; Cornwallis correspondence iii pp.256, 286, 318-9.
18. In 1776 there was a gross poll of 1,470, in 1784 the number of freeholders was estimated at 1,600 (FLJ 21-25 Aug,1784), and in 1790 the number stood at 1,480 though 1,550 people voted in the election of that year (FLJ 5-8 Jan.1791, Chapter IX note 38).
19. Southern Reporter (Cork) 6 June 1807 ; LJ 16-19 Mar.1808. In 1809 the total number of freeholders was put at 12,000 and by 1813 at 15,000 (Wakefield, Ireland ii p.309 ; NLI Ms 27537).
20. CH 20 Mar.1816 ; Malcomson, Foster p.303 n.1.
21. CH 14 July 1802.
22. CDA Bray papers 1806 / 8, 9 (iii). The importance of the clerical influence is shown by Mathew's anger at one priest, Fr.Fox, tendering his support to Bagwell (ibid. 1806 / 10, 11). Llandaff's death presented Prittie, who had declined in 1802, with the prospect of gaining a seat without a contest and any expense which, because of the sharp increase in the number of freeholders, acted as a deterrent except to the most wealthy families. Such a prospect of gaining a seat in a by-election in advance of the 1807 was considered a distinct advantage for being returned on that occasion (NLI Dunalley papers PC 869 folder 1804-7, [ ] to F.A.Prittie, 20 Aug.1806). In 1803 Prittie married into the Ponsonby family, a political connection which may have aided his pro-catholic stance (AH xii (1943) p.149). Bagwell's explanation for declining a contest was his claim that the destruction of a large part of the records of the county (coincidentally then in the custody of F.A.Prittie as *custos rotulorum* or keeper of county records), prevented him from bringing forward several hundred registered freeholders to support him (WM 29 Nov.1806). See also P.J.Jupp, 'Irish parliamentary elections and the influence of the catholic vote' Historical Journal x, 2 (1967) pp.183-96.
23. For the 1807 election : WM 4 May, 8 June 1807 ; LJ 23-27 May, 30 May - 3 June 1807 ; Southern Reporter 6 June 1807 ; CDA Bray papers 1807 / 5 ; Donoughmore D 31 / 1 ; G.Grace, A letter to his grace the duke of Richmond (1813), appendix. In 1807 Tipperary was among 15 counties contested (LJ 16-20 May 1807). Prittie's general popularity was deemed to ensure his return. Bagwell's support came from unexpected quarters on this occasion, and included Lords Donoughmore and Cahir (NLI Ms 27571 p.355). The reason for Donoughmore's support was because he opposed the juncture Prittie had arrived at with Mathew, both of whom he would have supported had they stood singly. Feeling, however, that the independence of the county was compromised he opted for Bagwell, more because he wished to oppose the Mathew / Prittie coalition than for any

- explicit desire to back Bagwell (Donoughmore to [Prittie], 24 May 1807 NLI Dunalley papers PC 870). Pennefather went forward as a running mate with Bagwell. In 1812 Donoughmore backed Prittie as did Lord Lismore (Donoughmore D 31 / 1 ; Society of Friends Library, Fennell papers box iv g no.10).
24. LJ 2024 June 1807. In 1808 another meeting of catholics in Clonmel referred to the Mathews as having 'long and uniformly espoused the cause of catholic freedom' (ibid. 16-19 Mar.1808).
25. Clonmel Museum Acc.1985 / 60a ; Wakefield, Ireland ii pp.309, 312.
26. Wakefield, Ireland ii p.622.
27. For the resolutions of 1808 : LJ 16-19 Mar.1808 ; CDA Bray papers 1808 / 4, 14 ; in 1810 : WM 9 Apr.1810 ; and in 1812 LJ 21-25 Mar.1812, BL Add Ms 59257 / 22-3 (also in WM 23 Mar.1812), WM 24 Aug.1812.
28. The petition with 104 names is to be found in NLI Ms 11422.



Table 1. Quantity of property near a Township, 1841.

Township	Total Property Description	County Property Description	Total in County Description
TABLES			
W. & O. Co.	179	179	179
Madison	182	182	182
Stevenson	125	125	125
Illinois	74	74	74
Paris	41	41	41
Kennett	38	38	38
Kennett	35	35	35
Deer	23	23	23
Owen & Am.	118	118	118
Upper Grand	120	120	120
Lower Grand	151	151	151
Carroll & Clark	112	116 *	17 **
Cherokee	131	137	137

\* Total without land owned or controlled by the county

\*\* Total with land owned or controlled by the county

Table I : Ownership of property units in Tipperary, 1641.

Barony	Total Property Denominations	Total in Single Ownership	Total in Multiple Ownership
Iffa & Offa	259	249	10
Middlethird	198	187	11
Slievardagh	115	109	6
Eliogarty	76	62	14
Ikerrin	43	28	15
Kilnamanagh	39	24	15
Kilnalongurty	25	12	13
Ileagh	19	14	5
Owney & Arra	118	26	92
Upper Ormond	120	33	87
Lower Ormond	151	55	96
Crown & Church	133	116 *	17 **
Clanwilliam	152	137	15

\* Lands with one head tenant or singly-owned untenanted

\*\* More than one head tenant or jointly-owned

Source : CS I, II.

Table II : Catholic holding size half barony of Ikerrin, 1750.

Parish	Acreage				
	< 1	> 1 < 5	> 5 < 10	> 10 < 20	> 20 < 30
Killea	14	10 (2)	2 (1)	2 [1]	1 [1]
Templeree	0	0	0	1	0
Rathnavoge	18	4	2	1 (1)	0
Templetouhy	41	6	4	6	3
Bamane	45	4	0	0	0
Roscrea	0	5	8 (1) [2]	10 (1) [3]	0
Killavinoge	29	13	2 [2]	4	4
Corbally	25	14	17	18	4
Bourney	15	14 [1]	5	8 (1) [3]	5 (1) [1]
Total	187	70	40	50	17
% of total	45.06	16.86	9.63	12.04	4.09

Parish	Acreage				Total holdings
	> 30 < 50	> 50 < 100	> 100	N.S.	
Killea	3 [2]	5 [2]	0	1	38
Templeree	0	1	1	--	3
Rathnavoge	1	2 (1)	0	--	28
Templetouhy	5	3 □ (1) [1]	2	--	70
Bamane	0	0	2	--	51
Roscrea	3 [2]	0	0	--	26
Killavinoge	2	1	1	1	57
Corbally	3 [1]	0	0	--	81
Bourney	9 [4]	3 □	2	--	61
Total	26	15	8	2	415
% of total	6.26	3.61	1.92	0.48	

[ ] = number of partnership units

( ) = joint-ownership with same surname ; non-partnership

□ = one named person with an unspecified number of tenants

Source : NLI Ms 8913.

Table III : Catholic holding size, barony of Kilnamanagh, 1765.

Parish	Acreage				
	< 1	> 1 < 5	> 5 < 10	> 10 < 20	> 20 < 30
Glankeen	0	3	6 [2]	18 [3]	4
Castletown, Doon & Toom pt.	0	1 [1]	6 [1]	6 [1]	0
Moyaliffe	0	0	14 (1) □ [8]	3 [2]	0
Ballintemple	0	4 [1]	12 (1) [2]	7 [2]	2 [1]
Aghacrue	0	1	6 (1) [1]	6 (1) [3]	0
Clonoulty	0	0	1 (1)	9 [5]	3 (1)
Outerleague	0	4 [1]	4 [1]	4 (1)	1 (1)
Upperchurch	0	1	14 □ □ [8]	9 [8]	1 [1]
Kilpatrick	0	3	5	5	1 [1]
Clogher	0	0	0	3 [2]	0
Total	0	17	68	70	12
‰ of total	0	9.39	37.56	6.62	3.31

	> 30 < 50	> 50 < 100	> 100	N.S.	Total
Glankeen	0	1	0	3	35
Castletown, Doon & Toom pt.	0	0	0	--	13
Moyaliffe	1	0	0	--	18
Ballintemple	0	0	0	--	25
Aghacrue	1 [1]	0	0	--	14
Clonoulty	0	1 □ □	0	--	14
Outerleague	0	0	0	--	13
Upperchurch	1 [ □ ]	0	0	--	26
Kilpatrick	0	0	0	1	15
Clogher	3	2	0	--	8
Total	6	4	0	4	181
‰ of total	3.31	2.20	0	2.20	

□ = number of partnership units

( ) = joint ownership with same surnames ; non-partnership

[ ] = one named person with an unspecified number of tenants

Source : NLI Ms 19822 pp.273-85.

Table IV : Farm size in Co. Tipperary, 1847.

Barony	< 1acre	%	1-5 acres	%	5-15 acres	%
Clanwilliam	686	13.75	1006	20.17	1299	26.04
Eliogarty	505	10.24	1114	22.60	1304	26.45
Iffa & Offa (E)	503	22.92	427	19.46	459	20.92
Iffa & Offa (W)	609	13.51	906	20.11	1291	28.65
Ikerrin	607	18.54	711	21.71	912	27.85
Kilnamanagh Lr.	260	12.41	373	17.80	467	22.29
Kilnamanagh Up	158	6.83	423	18.30	710	30.72
Middlethird	632	13.86	949	20.81	1171	25.68
Lower Ormond	727	13.65	1399	26.27	1450	27.23
Upper Ormond	414	13.08	655	20.70	828	25.16
Owney & Arra	228	6.75	630	18.65	1221	36.15
Slievardagh	573	15.54	788	21.37	808	21.91
Total / Average	5902	13.42	9381	20.66	11,920	26.67

Barony	15-30 acres	%	> 30 acres	%	Total farms	Area (Statute)
Clanwilliam	1004	20.13	992	19.89	4987	115,960
Eliogarty	871	17.67	1135	23.02	4929	90,681
Iffa & Offa (E)	341	15.54	464	21.14	2194	57,219
Iffa & Offa (W)	892	19.80	807	17.91	4505	117,175
Ikerrin	606	18.50	438	13.37	3274	69,382
Kilnamanagh Lr.	416	19.85	579	27.63	2095	42,042
Kilnamanagh Up.	486	21.02	534	23.10	2311	59,990
Middlethird	787	17.26	1020	22.37	4559	113,771
Lower Ormond	835	15.68	914	17.16	5325	135,771
Upper Ormond	607	19.18	660	20.85	3164	79,472
Owney & Arra	719	21.29	579	17.14	3377	89,671
Slievardagh	676	18.3	842	22.83	3687	90,644
Total / Average	8240	18.68	8964	20.53	44,407	1,061,731

Source : PP lv (1847-8) pt.2 pp.12-3 ; 1841 census.

Table V : Levels of income, 1775.

Amount of income	Number of individuals		
	Tipperary	Kilkenny	Waterford
≥ £10,000	2	2	2
£5,000-£9,999	8	4	2
£4,000-£4,999	2	4	--
£3,000-£3,999	2	4	4
£2,000-£2,999	13	8	4
£1,000-£1,999	63	23	21
< £1,000	41	16	26
None/Not specified	32	13	8
Total	163	74	67

Source : Analecta Hibernica XII (1943) pp.137-47 ;

JWSEIAS xvi (1913) pp.50-55.

Table VI : Rents and incomes on selected Tipperary estates.

Barker	Bayly	Butler (Cahir)	Cashel See	Cole- Bowen	Damer	Hely- Hutchinson	Mathew
<u>£240</u> (1674)							£8,000 TS (1718)
<u>£226</u> (1697)	£1,400 (1707)	£3,485 (1699)					£2,600 TL * (1744)
	£1,600 (1717)						£8,000 (1759)
<u>£616</u> (1736)	<u>£1,080</u> (1730)	£2,500 (1767)			£4,000 (1767)		£6,000 (1767)
		£6,000 (1770)			£1,400 (1770) ^		£10,000 (1772)
£5,000 (1775)		£10,000 (1775)	£5,000 (1775)			£3,500 (1784)	£12,600 (1780)
£10,000 (1808/9)		£36,000 (1808/9) >	£11,600 (G) £2,100 (N) (1780)	£1,200 (1788)	£8,440 (1787)	£3,938 (1789)	£20,000 > (1780)
<u>£3,880</u> (1818)	<u>£2,040</u> (1819)*	£12,000 (1826)	£4,000 (1793)	£1,320 (1795)	£15,000 (1789)	<u>£4,770</u> (1798)	£28,000 (1808/9)
		£16,550 (1844)*	£5,923 (1806)	£2,020 (1805)	£14,000 (1808/9)	£5,428 (1809)	£8,800 TL (1818)

Key : \* Adjusted to one year from half year sums .

x Adjusted from nine months (Aug. 1822-Apr. 1823) total of £12,840 to one year.

< Average for five year period 1670-74.

> Expectant upon reletting

^ Roscrea only

G = Gross

N = Net

TL = Thurles estate only

TS = Thomastown estate only

Figures derived from rental sources or information quoted as being from such are underlined.

Maude	O'Callaghan	Prittie	Ryan (Inch)	Erasmus Smith	Stanley	TCD	Toler
			<u>£205</u> (1724)	<u>£125</u> (1673)		<u>£280</u> (1715)	
			<u>£430</u> (1735)	<u>£137</u> (1682)	<u>£1,872 *</u> (1756)		
	<u>£477</u> (1743)			<u>£230</u> (1721)	<u>£2,592 *</u> (1770)		
	<u>£6,000</u> (1775)	<u>£6,000</u> (1775)	<u>£1,368 G</u> <u>£194 N</u> (1778)	<u>£510</u> (1750)	<u>£2,734</u> (1774)	<u>£1,168</u> (1775)	<u>£2,500</u> (1775)
<u>£8,000</u> (1789)	<u>£6,000</u> (1779)		<u>£1,596 G</u> <u>£751 N</u> (1786)	<u>£1,386</u> (1794)	<u>£3,000 *</u> (1780)		
	<u>£6,379</u> (1795/6)	<u>£8,000</u> (1800)	<u>£1,941 G</u> <u>£917 N</u> (1807)	<u>£1,386</u> (1800)	<u>£4,430</u> (1791)		
<u>£12,000</u> (1808/9)	<u>£15,000</u> (1808/9)	<u>£8,000</u> (1808/9)	<u>£2,132 G</u> <u>£1,146 N</u> (1811)		<u>£4,544 *</u> (1797)		<u>£8,000</u> (1808/9)
	<u>£17,120</u> x (1822/3)		<u>£19,700</u> G <u>£674 N</u> (1818)		<u>£8,036</u> (1826)		



## Sources

Barker : Barker Ponsonby papers P11/14,15, P1/1/2, P1/4/22 ; AH xii (1943) p. 140 ; Wakefield i (1812) p.276.

Bayly : Bayly papers : rent roll half year Mar., May 1707 ; one year to Nov.1717 ; May / Nov. 1730 ; half year Nov.1819.

Butler (Cahir) : TCD Ms 744 fols.91v-92 ; A list of the absentees of Ireland (1767) ; PRONI D 1514/9/109 ; AH xii (1943) p.143 ; Wakefield, Ireland i p.276 ; PROI 976/2/5/1/361, 976/3/2/1.

Cashel See : AH xii (1943) p.143 ; Agar papers : 'Valuation of the see of Cashel estate, 1780', 'State of the earl of Normanton's property, 1806' ; Cork Gazette 21 Aug.1793.

Cole-Bowen : Rentals for the estate in Tipperary County Library, Thurles.

Damer : A list of the absentees (1767) ; Rent roll Roscrea, 1770, rent roll 1787-98 both in Thurles library ; FDJ 20-23 June 1789 ; Wakefield i (1812) p.276.

Hely-Hutchinson : TCD Donoughmore Z/14, 25-6.

Mathew : Sheridan, Life of Swift (1785) p.359 ; Rent roll for half year, Nov. 1744 (Thurles library) ; W.J.Fitzpatrick, Ireland under the union (1867) p.157 ; A list of the absentees of Ireland (1767) ; NLI Byrne papers, 'Memo' ; An act for vesting in trustees . . . the estate of Francis Mathew [1780] p.29 ; Wakefield i p.276 ; P.Leahy, Survey (1819).

Maude : FDJ 2-23 June 1789 ; Wakefield i p.276.

O'Callaghan : O'Callaghan papers (Cahir), rent account book 1736-54, rent roll 1780, account book 1791-7, Lismore's account with E.Taylor, Aug.1822-Apr. 1823 ; AH xii (1943) p.138 ; Wakefield i p.276.

Prittie : AH xii (1943) p.138 ; PRO HO 100/96/234 ; Wakefield i p.276.

Ryan : Ryan papers (Thurles), rent roll c.1724, rent roll Nov.1735, ledger of accounts and rents, 1780-1811, green pocket book marked 'D.Ryan 1805', rental May 1807, rental 1811, 'memo of debts due by D.Ryan Apr.1818'.

Smith, Erasmus : Christ's Hospital papers (Guildhall, London), rent roll 1 May 1672-1 May 1673, ditto. 5 Aug.1682, NLI ms 16929 p.133 ; E. Smith papers (High School, Dublin), leases 1750 ; PRONI DIO 4/8/9/17, 21.

Stanley : Derby papers (Preston), DDK 1702/3,15,22, DDK 1712/4, DDK 1701/13,22,26.

TCD : TCD MUN ME 4, MUN P 22/139.

Toler : AH xii (1943) p.139 ; Wakefield i p.276.

Table VII : Lease structure on the Ormond estate, 1715.

Type of lease	Number
Fee farms	131
Leases for lives renewable forever	55
Leases for lives	21
999 years	1
200 years	1
31 years	5
Year to year	3
Special grants	3
Settled on Arran	23
Sold outright	28

Source : P.R.O. : F.E.C.I. / O.99

Table VIII - 1

Leases & tenancies granted on the Butler (Cahir) estate, 1720-1750	
Duration	Number
1 life	1
21 years	12
28 years	2
30.5 years	1
31 years	82
3 lives renewable	2
3 lives	4
4 lives	1
At will	20
Not specified	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>141</b>

Source : RD 138 / 570 / 96083

Table VIII - 2

Number & size of holdings by acres specified in individual leases on the Butler (Cahir) estate, 1727-1748			
≤10	11 - 50	51 - 100	101 - 700
46	22	10	29

Source : RD 138 / 570 / 96083

Table IX : Lease structure on the Smith estate, 1749.

Type of lease	Number
99 years	1
61 years	9
41 years	1
31 years	10
Year to year	1
Fee farm	1
3 lives	41
3 lives renewable forever	1

Source : Lancashire R.O., Preston : Derby papers DDK 1701 / 4  
Rent roll 1749.

Table X : Lease structure on the Cashel See estate, 1779.

Type of lease	Number	Date granted	Number
60 years	1	1739	2
40 years	2	1741	2
21 years	36	1745	1
3 lives	2	1747	1
Not stated	1	1748	1
		1749	4
		1750	2
		1751	1
		1752	1
		1754	4
		1756	5
		1757	2
		1758	1
		1760	5
		1761	2
		1762	4
		1763	1
		1764	1
		No date	2

Source : Hampshire R.O. : Agar papers, rental 1779.

Table XI : Lease structure on the O'Callaghan estate, 1780 .

Type of lease	Number	Date granted	Number
31 years	31	1722	1
30 years	1	1736	1
25 years	1	1741	1
21 years	19	1742	1
20.75 years	1	1744	1
20.50 years	2	1746	1
20 years	3	1747	3
19.50 years	1	1748	1
8 years	1	1749	2
2 years	1	1750	9
1 year	1	1751	1
1 life	3	1753	1
3 lives	19	1756	1
'Lives & renewals'	4	1758	2
1 life or 31 years	1	1759	2
At will	14	1760	5
No term specified	10	1761	2
Out of lease	9	1762	3
		1764	1
		1766	3
		1770	1
		1771	1
		1774	4
		1775	7
		1776	3
		1777	8
		1778	2
		1779	9
		No date	22

Source : O'Callaghan papers (Cahir)  
Rent roll, 1780 .

Table XII : Lease structure on the Damer estate, 1787 .

Type of Lease	Number	Date granted	Number
999 years	1	1705	2
400 "	1	1730	1
300 "	1	1736	1
99 "	1	1740	1
61.5 "	1	1749	1
49.5 "	1	1759	1
31 "	6	1761	2
20 "	1	1767	1
'21 years renewable'	1	1768	11
3 lives	36	1769	13
3 lives renewable	1	1770	4
3 lives renewable		1771	1
forever	12	1772	1
2 lives	1	1773	4
At will	1	1775	3
Fee farm	2	1776	1
Not stated	19	1779	2
		1780	2
		1781	2
		1782	3
		1783	5
		1784	1
		1785	1
		1786	4
		1787	1
		No date	17

Source : Rent roll, Damer estate, 1787-98 (Tipperary Co. Library ,  
Thurles).

Table XIII : Lease structure on the Roden estate, 1803.

Type of lease	Number	Date granted	Number
31 years	2	1724	1
3 lives	16	1733	1
3 lives renewable		1734	1
forever	17	1736	2
3 lives & 2 renewals	1	1742	1
3 lives or 31 years	2	1748	2
3 lives & 21 years	1	1752	1
		1754	6
		1768	1
		1776	1
		1778	2
		1779	2
		1781	1
		1783	2
		1784	1
		1785	1
		1788	3
		1789	5
		1791	1
		1799	1
		1801	2
		No date	1

Source : An act for the sale of part of the estates of the Rt. Hon. Robert, earl of Roden ... [1803] schedules 1-3 (43 Geo III c.73).

Table XIV : Lease structure on the Ryan (Inch) estate, 1807.

Type of lease	Number	Date granted	Number
99 years	1	1781	4
31 "	5	1782	1
14 "	2	1783	1
3 "	2	1784	1
3 lives	3	1786	2
3 lives or 31 years	5	1790	1
3 lives & 99 years	1	1792	1
		1794	3
		1797	1
		1800	1
		1802	1
		1806	2

Source : Ryan papers (Thurles) : Rental, May 1807.

Table XV : Revenue from fines and other sources on the Ormond estate to mid-Summer, 1700.

Barony / town	Amount of fines & interest to midsummer, 1700	Total received	Total arrear	Purchasers in each barony / town
Iffa & Offa	£ 5745	£ 5399	£ 346	£ 17
Middlethird	£ 5289	£ 5191	£ 98	£ 15
Slieveardagh	£ 4370	£ 4243	£ 127	£ 8
Eliogarty	£ 9874	£ 9185	£ 689	£ 14
Kilnamanagh	£ 705	£ 705	---	£ 1
Clanwilliam	£ 8628	£ 7380	£ 1248	£ 10
Upper Ormond	£ 250	£ 250	---	£ 2
Lower Ormond	£ 1103	£ 586	£ 517	£ 5
Upper & Lower Ormond *	£ 4036	£ 4014	£ 22	£ 5
Clonmel	£ 3854	£ 3659	£ 195	£ 62
Carrick	£ 2329	£ 1830	£ 499	£ 28
Total	£ 46183	£ 42442	£ 3741	£ 167
Sale of woods (Tipperary)	£ 2181	£ 2070	£ 111	
Lease renewal fines (Tipp.)	£ 147	£ 147	---	
Renewal fines reductions (Tipp.)	£ 251	£ 251	---	
Grand total	£ 48762	£ 44910	£ 3852	

\* Total for 2 baronies given as one amount being a separate amount from the totals given for the 2 baronies individually.

Source : NLI MS 23787. Figures have been rounded and the totals adjusted accordingly.



Table XVI : Total acreages by barony for the 60 fee farm grants enrolled in the Palatinate court, April 1703-April 1714.

Barony	Total acreages disposed of in fee farm grants
Clanwilliam	3,836
Eliogarty & Ikerrin	4,756
Iffa & Offa	344
Kilnamanagh	1,231
Middlethird	2,475
Slievardagh	735
Total	13,377

Source : Appendix to the Sixth Report of the Deputy Keeper, Public Records of Ireland (1874) p. 46.

Table XVII : Calculation showing the value and purchase price of the Ormond forfeited estate, 1720.

Annual rent roll of the estate	£ 10,800	
Income from the prisage of wines leased to the Crown	£ 3,500	
Income of the 'Demeasns' supposedly	£ 400	
		£ 14,700
Deduct Crown rents and annuities charged thereon	£ 1,500	
Deduct Duchess of Ormond's jointure	£ 2,200	
		£ 3,700
Net annual income		£ 11,000
£11,000 @ 5 years purchase	£ 55,000	
Revenue from prisage, pension, lands, and rents in arrear	£ 80,000	
		£ 135,000
Deduct debts	£ 93,000	
of which £80,000 are English, and exchange @ 10%	£ 7,800	
		£ 100,800
Net value of the forfeited estate		34,200
Deduct debts unprovided for £15,000 = Ir.		16,500
Leaving Lord Arran's purchase price		17,700

Source : Extracted and reconstructed from A state of the value of the forfeited estate of James, late duke of Ormonde, n.d. [1720].

Table XVIII : Debts on the Mathew estate, 1780.

Creditor	Principal £	Interest £	Nature of debt
J. McCarthy	9954	5000	judgment
T. Clutterbuck	1800	216	"
C. O'Connell	1650	396	"
Mary & Cath. Mathew	3400	1300	"
Wm. & Eliz. Colthurst	2400	288	mortgage
Mrs. Spring	600	470	judgment
Mrs. Gregory	300	170	"
T. Kavanagh (assignee of Sir W. Esmonde)	2000	1210	"
W. Ryan	200	80	"
C. Trench	1700	204	"
	{ 500	200	legacy
Mary Mathew	500	200	"
Isabella Ford	1000	3000	"
M. Aylmer	8000	} 7090	judgment
	{ 6500		legacy
Total	40,504	19,824	
Total (principal & interest)	60,328		
Legal costs	<u>9,672</u>		
Total (grand)	70,000		

Source : An act for vesting in trustees certain lands etc. the estate of Francis Mathew of Thomastown in the County of Tipperary esq. [1780] pp.26-8.

Table XIX : Incidence of mortgages and purchases of property in Tipperary, c.1641.

Barony	Number of mortgages	Number of purchases
Iffa & Offa	46	9
Middlethird	26	16
Clanwilliam	15	22
Eliogarty	2	7
Slievardagh	1	3
Ikerrin	1	5
Kilnamanagh	26	8
Kilnalongurty	2	10
Ileagh	0	0
Owney & Arra	9	88
Upper Ormond	7	17
Lower Ormond	10	8
Total	145	190

Source : CSI,II.

Table XX : Candidates, polls, and results in by-elections and general elections for Tipperary, 1727-1812.

Year	Candidates and Poll			
1727 1	G. Mathew	K. Pennefather	W. Waller	Col. J. Dawson
1735 2	J. Damer	J. Dawson		
1737 3	N. Donnellan	S. Moore		
1761 4	H. Prittie 924	T. Mathew 532	Sir T. Maude 496	
1768	Sir T. Maude 696	F. Mathew 621	H. Prittie 596	J. Bagwell 371
1776 5	H. Prittie 873	F. Mathew 769	D. Toler 703	Sir S. Smyth 110
1783 6	H. Prittie	D. Toler		
1790 7	D. Toler 1401	F.J. Mathew 845	J. Bagwell 776	S. Alleyn 32
1796 8	J. Bagwell	Hon. F. J. Mathew		
1797 9	Hon. F. J. Mathew	J. Bagwell		
1802 10	Hon. F. J. Mathew	J. Bagwell		
1806 11	M. Mathew	F. A. Prittie		
1807 12	M. Mathew 2641	F.A. Prittie 2322	J. Bagwell 1760	Pennefather 1057
1812 13	M. Mathew 3958	F. A. Prittie 3331	J. Bagwell 2821	

Sources : King's Inns Ms. 39 Df 127v; FLJ 26 - 29 May 1790.

Notes :

- 1 No poll return available; Mathew and Pennefather elected, Dawson's petition unsuccessful (Dublin Journal 28-31 Oct. 1727).
- 2 By-election caused by death of K. Pennefather; contested; Damer elected; Dawson's petition unsuccessful
- 3 By-election caused by deaths of G. Mathew and J. Damer; uncontested.
- 4 Maude returned, on petition against Mathew, with Prittie.
- 5 Toler's petition against Mathew unsuccessful; J. Bagwell declared a candidate but did not poll (FJ 24-26 Jan., 1775).
- 6 Uncontested; Toler replaces Mathew who had been raised to the peerage.
- 7 Mathew declared not duly elected on petition by Bagwell who was elected with Toler. Three sources give Toler's final poll as 1491 (EC 31 May 1790; FLJ 26-29 May 1790; CEP 31 May 1790).
- 8 By-election created by death of Toler; no contest.
- 9 No contest.
- 10 No contest.
- 11 By-election created by elevation of Hon. J.J. Mathew as 2nd earl of Landaff in succession to his father 1st earl d. Aug. 1806; no contest as Bagwell declined
- 12 NLI Ms. 27,571 p.355 gives the voting as follows : Mathew 2622, Prittie 2316, Bagwell 1765, Pennefather 1069.
- 13 NLI Ms. 27,571 (sub. 12 Nov 1812) gives poll as follows: polled 6200, rejected 600, not polled 1500, total 8,300.

Table XXI : Freeholds registered between Feb. 1807 and Feb. 1815 with total values for selected counties.

County	40s. freeholds		£20 freeholds	
	Number	Value £	Number	Value £
Clare	9290	18580	378	7560
Down	14613	29226	255	5100
Galway	12782	25560	244	4480
Mayo	15443	30886	204	4080
King's	2557	5114	288	5760
Limerick	5912	11824	891	17820
Limerick City	429	858	237	4740
Cork	4605	9210	1266	25320
Cork City	508	1016	420	8400
Kilkenny	1624	3248	266	4520
Kilkenny City	27	54	45	900
Queen's	4169	8338	437	8740
Waterford	2646	5292	312	6240
Tipperary	13896	27792	1602	32040

County	£50 freeholds		Total freeholds	Total value
	Number	Value £		
Clare	500	25000	10176	51140
Down	442	22100	15210	56426
Galway	277	13850	13283	43894
Mayo	193	9650	15840	44616
King's	235	11750	3080	22624
Limerick	986	49300	7789	78944
Limerick City	206	10300	872	15898
Cork	1733	86650	7604	121180
Cork City	215	10750	1143	20166
Kilkenny	406	20300	2256	28068
Kilkenny City	83	4150	165	5104
Queen's	847	42350	5453	59428
Waterford	527	26350	3435	37882
Tipperary	2270	113500	17738	173332

Source : Clonmel Herald, 20 Mar. 1816.

Table XXII : Bills of discovery for Co. Tipperary filed in the Courts of Exchequer and Chancery, 1713 - 1791.

Year of filing	Number of Cases	Year of filing	Number of cases
1713	1	1763	3
1729	1	1764	4
1732	1	1765	2
1733	1	1766	6
1734	1	1767	3
1740	1	1768	3
1741	2	1769	1
1747	2	1770	4
1750	1	1772	6
1751	4	1773	4
1752	3	1774	2
1753	5	1775	1
1754	2	1776	0
1755	5	1777	1
1756	3	1778	1
1757	5	1791	1
1758	5	Total	109
1759	5		
1760	10		
1761	5		
1762	4		

Notes :

1. The year in which the bill was filed by the plaintiff or protestant discoverer is recorded, not the year in which the decree was given, though in some cases this may be the same.
2. Bills were filed in relation to the same property in less than 10 cases.
3. Where no date of filing is recorded in the Registry of Deeds declarations of trust, the year in which the trust was made is assumed to be the year of filing, as it normally was in these cases.

Sources :

1. PROI Exchequer Decrees R.C. 12 / 7-17, 20  
Chancery Decrees R.C. 1A 49. 65-7.
2. R.D. : deeds of trust in discovery cases.
3. Other sources : Armstrong Papers, Moyalliffe Castle, Thurles : 2 cases for 1768, 1770.

Table XXIII : Outline of land use in Tipperary c.1650

Barony	Proportion
Ikerrin	<p>1/3 - meadow ground &amp; arable land ('but much spent by tillage')</p> <p>1/3 - woody, heathy pasture, turbaries, pasturable bog &amp; mountain</p> <p>1/3 - red bog ; deep &amp; unprofitable curraghs or shrubby bog ; intermixed with meadows, arable &amp; pasture grounds (I, 3)</p>
Eliogarty	<p>1/3 - meadow ground &amp; arable lands ('but much spent by tillage')</p> <p>1/3 - woody, heathy pasture, pasturable bog, turbaries, mountain</p> <p>1/3 - red bog ; deep &amp; unprofitable curraghs or shrubby bog ; intermixed with meadows, arable &amp; pasture grounds (I, 37-8)</p>
Ileagh	<p>1/3 - barren mountain</p> <p>2/3 - arable &amp; pasture much interlaced with woods, but little timber ; arable lands yield only small oats except 3 ploughlands in Borris and 1 in Rathmoy and Barracurry (I, 87)</p>
Middlethird	<p>'for the most beinge arable &amp; pasturable land to a very inconsiderable part' (I, 158)</p>
Clanwilliam	<p>1/6 - mountain</p> <p>[5/6] - good pasture &amp; arable interlaced with woods</p>

Barony	Proportion
<p>Slievardagh &amp; Compsy</p>	<p>Slievardagh  <math>\frac{3}{6}</math> - arable  <math>\frac{2}{6}</math> - good pasture  <math>\frac{1}{6}</math> - red bog, shrubby bogs, and very coarse pasture</p> <p>Compsy  <math>\frac{1}{3}</math> - arable  <math>\frac{1}{3}</math> - good pasture  <math>\frac{1}{3}</math> - rough pasture interlaced with red bog, shrubbs ; boggy with some timber woods near Carrick  (I, 101-2)</p> <p>Iffa &amp; Offa  <math>\frac{1}{7}</math> - much mountain (much barren) especially in the west  <math>[\frac{6}{7}]</math> - good pasture &amp; arable land partly interlaced with underwoods in the east and west parts (I, 260)</p>
<p>Kilnamanagh</p>	<p><math>\frac{2}{3}</math> - coarse &amp; heathy ; arable, pasture, wood &amp; mountain ; profitable for the most part ; 'wast and desolate'  <math>[\frac{1}{3}]</math> - good profitable land interlaced with some woods  (II, 76)</p>
<p>Kilnalongurty</p>	<p><math>\frac{1}{3}</math> - arable  <math>\frac{1}{3}</math> - mountain, pasture &amp; some wood  <math>\frac{1}{3}</math> - heathy boggy mountain without shrubbs or wood  (II, 116)</p>
<p>Owney &amp; Arra</p>	<p>Owney - much barren mountain ; rest good pasture &amp; arable much interlaced with woods but little timber  Arra - <math>\frac{1}{4}</math> - mountain  <math>[\frac{3}{4}]</math> - pasture &amp; arable</p> <p>Owney &amp; Arra  <math>\frac{2}{3}</math> - mountain  <math>[\frac{1}{3}]</math> - good arable &amp; pasture, much interlaced with woods but no timber  (II, 136-7)</p>



Table XXIV Land use and fertility in the Tipperary &amp; Dublin

Barony	Proportion
Upper Ormond	1/5 - mountain, profitable pasture [4/5] - good arable, pastures, meadows intermixed with profitable turbaries (II, 211)
Lower Ormond	2/3 - good fertile & profitable lands (if improved) interlaced with woods, bogs, meadows & fens [1/3] - no mountain, but much red bog & unprofitable shrubby woods (II, 279)

Source : CSI, II.

Table XXIV : Land use and suitability in Co. Tipperary, c. 1650.

Barony	Profitable							
	Arable		Pasture		Meadow		Wood	
	acres	‰	acres	‰	acres	‰	acres	‰
Ikerrin	11812	40.18	5883	20.01	144	0.48	1302	4.42
Eliogarty	26842	58.83	8879	19.46	209	0.45	1283	2.83
Ileagh	4968	50.39	1804	18.29	177	1.79	1202	12.19
Slievardagh	24444	43.04	23254	40.93	327	0.58	489	0.87
Middlethird	42851	71.15	15136	25.13	418	0.69	156	0.25
Iffa & Offa	47245	69.52	12342	18.16	643	0.95	2316	3.40
Clanwilliam	34780	68.65	5917	11.67	2214	4.39	645	1.27
Kilnamanagh	11478	47.72	6737	28.01	412	1.72	1285	5.34
Kilnalongurty	1673	47.58	719	20.44	6	0.18	129	3.66
Owney & Arra	14303	54.78	6561	25.14	325	1.24	1675	6.42
Upper Ormond	18493	65.48	4813	17.05	1413	5.00	820	2.90
Lower Ormond	34090	62.23	6717	12.26	1596	2.92	5301	9.67
Average ‰		56.62		21.38		1.69		4.43

Barony	Unprofitable					
	Bog		Mountain Heath		Mountain	
	acres	‰	acres	‰	acres	‰
Ikerrin	10156	34.54	100	0.37		
Eliogarty	8411	18.43				
Ileagh	241	2.45			1469	14.89
Slievardagh	8287	14.58				
Middlethird	663	1.10	194	0.34	800	1.34
Iffa & Offa	89	0.14			5315	7.83
Clanwilliam	500	0.98			6116	12.14
Kilnamanagh	1037	4.31			3101	12.89
Kilnalongurty	134	3.82			855	24.32
Owney & Arra	764	2.93			2480	9.49
Upper Ormond	1149	4.07			1554	5.50
Lower Ormond	6427	11.74			648	1.18
Average ‰		8.25		0.35		7.46

Source : CS I, II.

Table XXV : Land use potential and value in Co. Tipperary, c. 1650.

Barony	Total estimated acres (Irish)	Acreage (profitable)	Acreage (unprofitable)	‰ unprofitable	Total value £ . s. d.	Value per acre (d.)
Ikerrin	29 234	18 928	10 306	35.23	1625. 0. 0	13.34
Eliogarty	47 472	37 471	10 001	21.06	4243. 12. 0	21.45
Ileagh	9 861	8 151	1 710	17.34	404. 4. 0	9.83
Slievardagh & Compsy	55 418	48 390	7 028	12.68	2362. 17. 6	10.23
Middlethird	58 507	56 850	167	2.83	4465. 1. 6	18.31
Iffa & Offa	68 366.5	68 228.5	138	0.20	8569. 14. 4	30.08
Clanwilliam	50 493	43 237	7 256	14.37	4489. 1. 2	21.33
Kilnamanagh	21 602	20 599	1003	4.62	1546. 1. 0	17.17
Kilnalongurty	3 516	2 527	989	28.12	294. 0. 0	20.04
Owney & Arra	26 158	25 237	921	3.51	1248. 2. 6	11.45
Upper Ormond	28 707	26 261	2 446	23.09	2762. 16. 0	23.09
Lower Ormond	54 806	48 579	6 227	12.28	2804. 14. 0	12.28
				13.32 (average)		17.38 (average)

Source : CSI, II.

Table XXVI : Incidence of enclosures and quicksets in Tipperary, c. 1650.

Barony	Number of Instances
Iffa & Offa	9
Middlethird	4
Slievardagh	2
Owney & Arra	2
Kilnalongurty	1
Lower Ormond	1
Upper Ormond	--
Ikerrin	--
Eliogarty	--
Ileagh	--
Clanwilliam	--
Kilnamanagh	--

Source : CSI, II.

Table XXVII : Distribution of com mills in Tipperary, c.1650.

Barony	In repair	Out of repair	Total
Iffa & Offa	22	3	25
Middlethird	14	1	15
Slievardagh	11	1	12
Eliogarty	15	6	21
Ikerrin	4	2	6
Clanwilliam	8	7	15
Kilnamanagh	1	0	1
Kilnalongurty	0	0	0
Ileagh	1	0	1
Owney & Arra	2	6	8
Upper Ormond	9	3	12
Lower Ormond	5	7	12
Total	92	36	128

Source : CS I, II.

Table XXVIII : Distribution of manors possessing court functions in Tipperary, c.1650.

Barony	Number of manors
Ikerrin	1
Lower Ormond	4
Upper Ormond	2
Owney & Arra	3
Kilnamanagh	1
Kilnalongurty	0
Ileagh	1
Eliogarty	6
Clanwilliam	2
Middlethird	4
Iffa & Offa	13
Slievardagh	0
	37

Source : CS I, II.

Table XXIX : Land values in Tipperary, 1699.

Barony	Rate per acre	
	s.	d.
Iffa & Offa 1	6	6
Middlethird 2	6	0
Clanwilliam 3	6	6
Kilnamanagh 4	[	]
Slievardagh 5	4	0
Ikerrin 6	4	0
Eliogarty 7	4	0 (4. 4)
Kilnalongurty 8	2	6
Owney & Arra 9	3	6
Lower Ormond 10	4	0
Upper Ormond 11	4	0
County average	4	6

Source : TCD Ms 744 fols.91v-92, 253.

Notes to Table:

The sample derives from persons forfeiting who were restored, those not restored and the estate of King James. It covers 38,700 profitable acres, plus 1216 unprofitable -- all King James', mostly in Ikerrin. The following estates apply to each barony :

1. Lord Cahir, Lord Dunboyne, Sir J. Everard, King James II, J. Sherlock, J. Butler, Sir L. Esmonde, Sir J. Morris, T. Walsh.
2. Thady Meagher, Lord Dunboyne, Sir J. Everard, King James II.
3. Sir J. Everard, Sir L. Esmonde, King James II.
4. No information
5. Earl of Limerick, J. Tobin.
6. King James II.
7. Sir J. Morris (4s.), King James II (4s.), T. Purcell (4s. 4d.).
8. Thady Meagher.
9. E. Walsh
10. Earl of Limerick.
11. Thady Meagher, Sir J. Morris, T. O'Meara.

Table XXX : Land values in Tipperary and selected adjoining counties, 1776-7.

Barony.	Rate per acre	Other amounts	County average (various)	Other counties
Lower Ormond	20s.		20s.	Cork 5s.
Upper Ormond	20s.		20s.	Limerick 10s.6d.
Ikerrin	18s.		18s.	Waterford 1/3 mountain 6d.
Eliogarty	20s.		12s.6d.	2/3 7s.
Owney & Arra	12s.	)15s.(prof.) ) 1s.(mount.)		Waterford 1/3 mountain 6d.
Clanwilliam	22s.9d.	30s. 20-25s.(sheep)		2/3 10s.
Middlethird	25s.			
Iffa & Offa	--			
Kilnamanagh	--			
Slievardagh	--			

Source : Young, Tour i pp.381,389,391,394,400,401,432,450-451.

Table XXXI : Poll tax returns, Co. Tipperary, 1696.

Barony	Amount (Rounded)	‰
Iffa & Offa	£1186	27.91
Middlethird	£ 688	16.19
Clanwilliam	£ 530	12.47
Eliogarty & Ikerrin	£ 493	11.61
Slievardagh	£354	8.33
Lower Ormond	£ 352	8.28
Kilnamanagh	£ 243	5.72
Upper Ormond	£ 217	5.11
Owney & Arra	£186 <sup>1</sup>	4.38
Ileagh & Kilnalongurty	-- <sup>2</sup>	--
	£ 4249	

Source : Commons Jnl. (Ire) ii, pt.2 xxxviii.

Notes :

1. Adjusted. Return for 3 quarters = £ 139, making 4 quarters = £ 186
2. No return

Table XXXII : Fairs in Co. Tipperary, 1685 - 1815.

Date	Number of fairs	Number of locations	Increase / Decrease of locations
1685	33	19	
1723	30	21	+2
1732	49	32	+11
1743	91	40	+8
1760	101	51	+11
1778	121	48	-3
1788	125	47	-1
1800	138	55	+8
1815	155	51	-4

Source : Bourk's Almanack (Dub. 1685), Watson's Almanack (1723, 1732, 1743, 1760, 1778, 1788, 1800, 1815).

Table XXXIII : Profit and loss on sale of stock by a Tipperary grazier, 1738-71.

Year	Purchase price			Sale price			Profit / Loss		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	d.	s.	£.	d.	s.
1738	43.	7.	5	71.	0.	11	+27.	13.	6
1739	50.	15.	11	86.	10.	0	+35.	14.	1
1740	56.	15.	0	90.	15.	1	+34.	0.	1
1741	56.	16.	3	84.	10.	0	+27.	3.	9
1742	73.	17.	10	87.	3.	0	+13.	5.	2
1743	88.	15.	2	135.	12.	9	+46.	17.	7
1744	63.	14.	7	48.	14.	0	-15.	0.	7
1745	53.	5.	5	72.	5.	3	+16.	19.	0
1749	23.	12.	8	85.	4.	0	+61.	11.	4
1750	55.	14.	8	63.	9.	6	+7.	14.	10
1751	34.	19.	2	60.	11.	2	+25.	12.	0
1752	92.	8.	2	61.	14.	6	-30.	13.	8
1756	122.	10.	0	199.	17.	6	+77.	7.	6
1767	241.	10.	0	641.	14.	0	+400	4.	0
1771	299.	0.	0	479.	14.	0	+180.	14.	0

Source : NLI Ms. 498.



Table XXXIV : Purchase and sale prices per beast and profit thereon  
obtained by James Scully, 1772-1808 .

Year	Purchase price	Average purchase price (where applicable)	Sale price	Average sale price (where applicable)	Gross profit (stated or calculated)
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1772			5. 18. 6.		
1774			7. 0. 0. )		
			7. 15. 0. )	6. 16. 8.	
			5. 15. 0. )		
1775	9. 6. 0.		8. 15. 0. )	6. 17. 6.	
			5. 0. 0. )		
1776	5. 5. 0.				
1777	7. 10. 0. )				
	5. 14. 0. )	6. 6. 2.	8. 15. 4.		
	5. 14. 6. )				
1778	5. 6. 6. )				
	4. 5. 0. )	4. 1. 4.			
	2. 12. 6. )				
1780	4. 14. 0. )		7. 3. 0. )	8. 2. 6.	
	5. 15. 0. )		9. 2. 0. )		
	4. 5. 6. )	5. 0. 9.			
	4. 5. 0. )				
	6. 2. 6. )				
1782	4. 7. 0.		8. 12. 6.		
1783	3. 6. 0.				
1784	4. 7. 6.	4. 3. 9.	6. 17. 6.		
1785	5. 15. 0. )	5. 8. 9.	7. 12. 6.		
	5. 2. 6. )				
1786			8. 2. 0. )	8. 16. 0.	
			9. 10. 0. )		
1787	6. 0. 0. )				
	7. 13. 0. )	6. 16. 6.	10. 7. 0.		

1788	6. 9. 0.		9. 12. 0.		
1789	5. 10. 0.)				
	5. 3. 0.)	5. 14. 4.	10. 15. 0.		
	6. 10. 0.)				
1790	6. 10. 0.)				
	7. 0. 0.)	6. 5. 3.	10. 14. 0.		5. 14. 0.
	7. 2. 0.)				
	6. 9. 0.)				
1792	7. 1. 6.)	6. 18. 3.	10. 10. 0.		5. 10. 0.
	6. 15. 0.)				
1793	7. 0. 0.)	7. 6. 6.			
	7. 13. 7.)				
1795	7. 15. 6.)	7. 17. 9.	15. 9. 8.		7. 13. 9.
	8. 0. 0.)				
1797	10. 17. 0.)	11. 3. 6.	13. 0. 0.		6. 0. 0.
	11. 10. 0.)				
1799	9. 9. 0.)		15. 0. 0.)	16. 10. 0.)	8. 5. 0.
			18. 0. 0.)		
1800	8. 0. 0.)				
	7. 14. 0.)	7. 13. 0.			
	8. 5. 0.)				
1801	9. 10. 0.)				
	10. 6. 0.)				
	12. 0. 0.)	11. 16. 2.			
	14. 5. 0.)				
	13. 0. 0.)				
1802	8. 8. 0.)				
	12. 13. 0.)	11. 7. 8.	20. 10. 0.		3. 7. 0.
	13. 3. 0.)				
1803	14. 0. 0.)				
	9. 18. 0.)	12. 2. 8.			
	12. 10. 0.)				
1804	16. 1. 0.)	13. 10. 6.			19. 0. 0.
	11. 0. 0.)				
1806	11. 10. 0.)	11. 3. 0.			
	10. 16. 1.)				
1807	9. 10. 0.)				
1808		[10. 15. 0.]	18. 8. 0.		7. 0. 0.

Source : NLI Ms 27571

Commodity	Weight or capacity	Toll
Wheat	)	Winchester pottle = 1/60 th of 20 stone
Peas	) per bag (20 stone)	
Beans	)	
Rye	)	
Barley (English or small)	per bag (16 stone)	do.
Bere barley	do. (14 stone)	do.
Oats	do. (13 stone)	do.
Rape seed	do.	do.
Malt (country)	do. (10 stone)	3d. (except freemen)
Potatoes	per barrel	2d.
Tallow (rough fat)	'per cake'	2d.
Butter & tallow (rendered)	1/4 cwt.	1/4d.
do.	per cask (< 2 cwt.)	1d.
do.	per cask (> 2 cwt.)	2d.
Honey	per gallon	1d.
Cheese	per cwt.	2d.
Bundle cloth	< 20 bundles	1d.
do.	> 20 bundles	2d.
Frieze / Flannel (white or coloured)	< 20 bundles) per > 20 bundles) piece	1d. 2d.
Wool	per stone	1d.
do.	per bag	3d.
Fish	horse load	3d.
Horse, mare, gelding, ) cow, ox, bull )		6d. (fair days) 3d. (other days)
Two year old / yearling		2d.
Calf / Sheep		1d. 1/2d.
Lamb		
Hog	< 5s. value	2d.
	5-20s. value	4d.

Wooden ware / barks	'truckle load'	3d.
Poles, axletrees, rake, pike, spade, or shovel handles	) ) )	3d.
'Stone cole'		1d.
Salmon		1d.
Small articles		1d. for every 20d. value
Cider	per hogshead sold and delivered to publican who sells it	) ) 3d. )
	private purchase	nil
Milk (new or sour)	per horseload All Hollantide - May Day May Day -	1d. 2d.
Oysters (fresh / pickled)	)	
Fish / pickles (cured or dried)	) per horseload )	3d.
Onions	)	3d.
Turnips & roots	) do.	1d.
Lemons, oranges, fruit	) )	3d.
Soapers ashes	per bag (1/2 Bristol barrel)	3d.
Eggs & chickens		nil

Source : Burke, Clonmel pp.216-7

Table XXXVI : Amounts of flour sent to Dublin by land and canal from Tipperary, 1768-97.

Year 24 June - 24 June	Number of mills sending flour	Total amount of flour (cwt.)	Total bounty payments
1768 - 1769	2	453	
1769 - 1770	2	381	
1770 - 1771	3	1,201	
1771 - 1772	8	14,203	£2905.0s.9d.
1772 - 1773	11	20,604	
1773 - 1774	13	34,572	
1774 - 1775	16	42,628	
1775 - 1776	16	43,865	
1776 - 1777	16	34,065	
1777 - 1778	12	59,477	
1778 - 1779	14	60,918	
1779 - 1780	14	45,591	
1780 - 1781	11	42,338	
1781 - 1782	11	32,257	
1782 - 1783	14	30,542	
1783 - 1784	22	30,085	
1784 - 1785	28	39,911	
1785 - 1786	32	71,839	
1786 - 1787	38	81,198	
1787 - 1788	36	109,622	
1788 - 1789	41	125,011	
1789 - 1790	43	99,865	
1790 - 1791	46	149,040	
1791 - 1792	47	123,484	£16,329.6s.3d.
1792 - 1793	50	152,019	
1793 - 1794	47	103,078	
1794 - 1795	43	72,267	
1795 - 1796	44	83,390	
1796 - 1797	46	114,418	

Source : Comms. Jnl. (Ire.).

Table XXXVII : List of flour mills in Tipperary sending flour to Dublin  
1768-1794.

Name of mill	Date of first appearance in subsidy claims	Map reference
Carrick-on-Suir	1768	1
Moorstown	1768	2 +
Abbey Mills	1769	3 +
Millstown	1770	4
Marlfield	1770	5
Clone	1771	6
Clonlahy	1771	7
Fethard	1771	8
Fordstown	1771	9 +
Mullintubert	1771	10
Tipperary	1771	11
Anner	1772	12
Camus I	1772	13
Castlelake	1772	14
Clare	1772	15
Newtown	1772	16
Tyone	1772	17
Archerstown	1773	18
Bakestown I	1773	19
Clonmel (Ryan)	1773	20
Cregg	1773	21
Golden	1773	22
Three Bridges	1773	23 +
Ballyduff	1774	24
Firmount	1774	25
Mount Catherine	1774	26
Old bridge	1774	27
Tirivane	1774	28
Ardfinnan	1775	29
Lackin	1775	30
Newport	1775	31
Roscrea	1775	32

Tubberhany	1775	33
Clonmel (Sparrow)	1776	34
Clonmel (Grubb I)	1777	35
Modeshill	1777	36
Clonmel (Morrett)	1778	37
Cottage	1778	38
Caher Abbey	1782	39
Grove I	1782	40
Rathcoole	1782	41
Clonmel (Suir Island)	1782	42
Clonmel (Grubb II)	1782	43
Ballinderry	1783	44
Carrig	1783	45
Congress	1783	46
Clonmel (Corporation)	1783	47
Silverfort	1783	48
Cahir	1784	49
Cloughjordan	1784	50
Holy Cross	1784	51
Madam	1784	52
Millbrook	1784	53
Pallace	1784	54
Rehill	1784	55
Tincunry	1784	56
Tubberadora	1784	57
Clonmel (Suirville)	1784	58
Cashel	1785	59
Nenagh	1785	60
Riverstown	1785	61
Tarr	1785	62
Thurles	1785	63
Dundrum	1786	64

Fishmoyne	1786	65	
Rockford	1786	66	+
Fethard (Spring Mills)	1786	67	
Millpark	1787	68	
Bally[nonty]	1788	69	
Camus II	1788	70	
Ballintemple	1789	71	
Garranlea	1789	72	
Island bawn	1789	73	
Millgrove	1789	74	+
Grove II	1790	75	
Knockborden	1790	76	
Rathronan	1790	77	
Cranagh	1790	78	
Bansha	1790	79	
Bakestown II	1792	80	
Castle Iny	1792	81	
Flemingstown	1792	82	
Marletown	1792	83	+
Ballyanny	1793	84	
Maryville	1793	85	+
Millford	1793	86	+
Clonmel (Mayfield)	1793	87	
Clonmel (Silvermills)	1793	88	
Hillsborough	1794	89	+
Mount Watson	1794	90	
Rockville	1794	91	+

Source : Comms. Jnl. (Ire.).

+ = not located



Table XXXVIII : Consignments of butter from Tipperary to Courtenay & Ridgway, 1791 - 2.

Supplier	Location	Casks	Value		
			£.	s.	d.
L. Smith	Carrick	1937	7569.	19.	5
S. Grubb	Clonmel	1648	6351.	15.	7 1/2
R. Kane	Tipperary	1215	5050.	2.	9
M. Harrington	Cashel	946	3852.	4.	6
Sadler & Baker	Tipperary	698	3152.	14.	11 1/2
J. Scott	Cashel	823	3099.	15.	0
R. O'Donnell	Carrick	70	241.	7.	5
		7337	29,317.	19.	8

Source : Ledger of Courtenay and Ridgway, 1791 - 2 (NLI Mic. P4036).

Table XXXIX : Distribution of sheep numbers by farm size in Co. Tipperary, 1847.

Barony	< 1 acre (st.)			1 - 5 acres			5 - 15 acres		
	No. of holdings	Age (year)		No. of holdings	Age (year)		No. of holdings	Age (year)	
		< 1	> 1		< 1	> 1		< 1	> 1
Clanwilliam	686	11	44	1006	41	276	1299	178	856
Eliogarty	505	3	35	1114	27	65	1304	145	322
Iffa & Offa (E)	503	4	7	427	2	16	459	35	92
Iffa & Offa (W)	609	12	155	906	91	399	1291	42	1452
Ikerrin	607	5	4	711	10	46	912	235	315
Kilnamanagh Lr.	260	--	2	373	--	4	467	3	45
Kilnamanagh Up.	158	8	1	423	32	73	710	160	184
Middlethird	632	19	60	949	26	106	1171	224	477
Lower Ormond	727	369	370	1399	38	77	1450	242	377
Upper Ormond	414	53	32	655	35	55	828	193	327
Owney & Arra	228	11	24	630	36	131	1221	298	736
Slievardagh	573	13	32	788	22	23	808	87	168
<b>Total</b>	<b>5902</b>	<b>508</b>	<b>766</b>	<b>9381</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>1271</b>	<b>11920</b>	<b>1842</b>	<b>5351</b>

Barony	15 - 30 acres			> 30 acres			Total		
Clanwilliam	1004	290	1086	992	3292	6757	4987	3812	9019
Eliogarty	871	569	1161	1135	3758	7443	4929	4502	9026
Iffa & Offa (E)	341	73	283	464	1429	3814	2194	1543	4242
Iffa & Offa (W)	892	617	2059	807	3195	7031	4505	3957	11096
Ikerrin	606	377	673	438	2368	5400	3274	2995	6438
Kilnamanagh Lr.	416	71	240	579	1136	3640	2095	1210	3931
Kilnamanagh Up.	486	264	615	534	707	1372	2311	1171	2245
Middlethird	787	266	1181	1020	4735	1753	4559	5270	13577
Lower Ormond	835	382	1206	914	5368	4750	5325	6399	16780
Upper Ormond	607	513	900	660	4806	10093	3164	5600	11407
Owney & Arra	719	440	1061	579	1852	3827	3377	2637	5779
Slievardagh	676	235	442	842	1995	6324	3687	2352	6989
<b>Total</b>	<b>8240</b>	<b>4097</b>	<b>10907</b>	<b>8964</b>	<b>34641</b>	<b>82234</b>	<b>44407</b>	<b>41448</b>	<b>100529</b>

Source : PP lvii (1847-8) pt.2 pp.12-3.

Table XL : Distribution of pig numbers by farm size in Co. Tipperary, 1847.

Barony	< 1 acre (st.)			1 - 5 acres			5 - 15 acres		
	No. holds	Age (year)		No. of holdings	Age (year)		No. of holdings	Age (year)	
		< 1	> 1		< 1	> 1		< 1	> 1
Clanwilliam	686	129	130	1006	162	131	1299	568	679
Eliogarty	505	90	19	1114	161	92	1304	376	278
Iffa & Offa (E)	503	124	99	427	126	67	459	297	255
Iffa & Offa (W)	609	141	168	906	85	145	1291	416	643
Ikerrin	607	149	124	711	117	73	912	292	228
Kilnamanagh Lr.	260	38	28	373	75	65	467	181	148
Kilnamanagh Up	158	35	26	423	65	50	710	253	153
Middlethird	632	71	68	949	145	105	1171	597	354
Lower Ormond	727	209	182	1399	302	172	1450	515	313
Upper Ormond	414	105	53	655	131	69	828	284	223
Owney & Arra	228	31	36	630	103	85	1221	428	451
Slievardagh	573	83	68	788	121	124	808	222	367
Total	5902	1205	1001	9381	1593	1178	11920	4429	4092

Barony	15 - 30 acres			> 30 acres			Total		
Clanwilliam	1004	1164	1333	992	2203	2542	4987	4226	4815
Eliogarty	871	731	466	1135	1250	966	4929	2608	1821
Iffa & Offa (E)	341	369	412	464	1663	1679	2194	2579	2512
Iffa & Offa (W)	892	721	1002	807	1682	2414	4505	3045	4372
Ikerrin	606	515	380	438	663	721	3274	1736	1526
Kilnamanagh Lr.	416	373	336	579	880	1062	2095	1547	1639
Kilnamanagh Up.	486	455	338	534	648	478	2311	1456	1045
Middlethird	787	601	589	1020	2344	2782	4559	3758	3898
Lower Ormond	835	648	398	914	1300	1264	5325	2974	2329
Upper Ormond	607	539	367	660	1014	1027	3164	2073	1739
Owney & Arra	719	515	686	579	824	964	3377	1901	2222
Slievardagh	676	567	755	842	1453	2225	3587	2446	3539
Total	8240	7198	7062	8964	15924	18124	44407	30349	31457

Source : PP lvii (1847-8) pt.2 pp.12-3.

Table XLI : Distribution of cattle numbers by farm size in Co. Tipperary, 1847.

Barony	< 1 acre (st.)			1 - 5 acres			5 - 15 acres		
	No. of holdings	Age (year)		No. of holdings	Age (year)		No. of holdings	Age (year)	
		< 1	> 1		< 1	> 1		< 1	> 1
Clanwilliam	686	24	353	1006	52	288	1299	368	1909
Eliogarty	505	17	173	1114	53	330	1304	267	1045
Iffa & Offa (E)	503	16	109	427	28	106	459	90	452
Iffa & Offa (W)	609	12	76	906	35	182	1291	258	870
Ikerrin	607	17	177	711	47	358	912	208	1062
Kilnamanagh Lr.	260	14	311	373	30	152	467	122	515
Kilnamanagh Up	158	9	66	423	42	168	710	177	725
Middlethird	632	49	237	949	28	205	1171	232	926
Lower Ormond	727	118	396	1399	66	503	1450	208	1092
Upper Ormond	414	42	280	655	69	304	828	273	952
Owney & Arra	228	25	106	630	39	259	1221	256	1350
Slievardagh	573	16	331	788	49	195	808	284	874
Total	5902	359	2615	9381	538	3050	11920	2736	11722

Barony	15 - 30 acres			> 30 acres			Total		
Clanwilliam	1004	791	3292	992	2225	11819	4987	3460	17661
Eliogarty	871	484	1510	1135	1149	4553	4929	1970	7661
Iffa & Offa (E)	341	208	867	464	1303	4754	2194	1645	6288
Iffa & Offa (W)	892	450	1475	807	1258	4887	4505	2013	7490
Ikerrin	606	380	1401	438	814	4039	3274	1466	7037
Kilnamanagh Lr.	416	259	1145	579	1290	5694	2095	1715	7817
Kilnamanagh Up	486	411	1379	534	743	2552	2311	1375	4890
Middlethird	787	423	1449	1020	2241	8691	4559	2973	11508
Lower Ormond	835	313	1190	914	1207	5075	5325	1912	8256
Upper Ormond	607	391	1306	660	1454	5662	3164	2229	8504
Owney & Arra	719	447	1567	579	1150	4806	3377	1917	8088
Slievardagh	676	564	1790	842	2199	7109	3687	3112	10299
Total	8240	5121	18371	8964	17033	69641	44407	25787	105449

Source : PP lvii (1847-8) pt.2 pp.12-3.

Table XLII : Acreage of crops in Co. Tipperary, 1847.

County electoral division	Com						Total com
	Wheat	Oats	Barley	Bere	Rye	Beans	
Carrick (pt)	2588	2919	231	72	--	30	5840
Cashel	18821	13872	3070	743	4	86	36596
Callan (pt)	2473	4327	414	167	--	28	7409
Clogheen (pt)	11724	7208	2530	208	191	29	21890
Clonmel (pt)	5563	3810	923	190	--	13	10599
Nenagh (pt)	18517	14975	3185	1616	24	105	38422
Parsonstown (pt)	5986	5312	454	376	28	93	12249
Roscrea (pt)	3318	3517	594	791	25	7	8252
Thurles	16335	11699	2673	1531	33	52	32323
Tipperary (pt)	8931	13807	1779	999	68	10	25594
	94356	81446	15853	6693	373	453	199174

Other crops				Total other crops	Flax	Meadow & Clover	Total all crops
Potatoes	Turnips	Mangel Wurtzel	Other green				
893	471	20	47	1431	1	1229	8501
2623	4387	59	358	7427	5	11832	55860
492	658	12	111	1273	4	7059	15745
3569	2775	102	166	6612	47	4066	32615
1240	1111	74	237	2662	--	2693	15954
2334	7025	115	341	9815	27	16219	64483
463	1830	41	115	2449	97	4280	19075
604	1327	32	113	2076	--	4080	14408
2768	4731	84	263	7846	25	12051	52245
2031	3178	31	166	5206	71	11958	42829
17017	27493	570	1917	46797	277	75467	321715

Source : PP lvii pt. 1 : crops (1847-8) pp. 18-9, 20-21, 26-7, 28-9, 66-7, 72-3, 76-7, 80-81, 82-3.

Table XLIII : Prices at Cork, Waterford, Clonmel, and Carrick-on-Suir, 1788-1808.

Date	Wheat brl. s. d.	Barley brl. s. d.	Oats brl. s. d.	Beef cwt. s. d.	Pork cwt. s. d.	Butter firkin s. d.	Potatoes per weight d.
1788 Sept.	17 - 22		16-22.9			32-45	
Nov.		20-22		16-20	17	37-42 x 33-44	
1789 Jan.	23.6-24.6	20-22	14.1-18		14-15		
	32 *						
May	29.6-32.6	28	16-18.6				
Oct.	24-29	23.6-24.6	22-23.1	15-19	18	32-43	4-4 1/2
1790 Feb.	28.6-32.6	30-31	18-24		17	52-56	4
	16 ^				16 x		
	25 *						4 *
Sept.	26.9-27.8	24	18-24			52-58 ^ 46-56	4-6
1791 Feb.	24-29.3	29-30.6	20.6-26		19-21	60-69	3 1/2-4
	27 *		10 *				
Sept.	21 *	12 *	10 *				
Oct.	22-26	32	20-25	16-20 ^		54-64	3 1/2-4
1792 Feb.	26-27	35-37	25-26.6				
Oct.	25-26	34.1 1/2	23-26	18-24		50-62	
	21 >	16-17 >	9-9.6 >		27-28 >	60-61 >	
1793 Feb.	20-27	34-36	22-26		27-28.6	39-56	4 1/2-5
Oct.	17-29.6	26-30	16-30			54-66	
Nov.	24.6-25 >	13.6-14 >	10 >	26-28 >	27.6 >	66 >	3 >
1794 Jan.	22-30.1	27-31.6	23-25.6			48-60	
Sept.			7 1/2 stone >	3 1/2 lb >	27-28 >	7 cwt >	3 >
Oct.	24.4-30	26-31	17-24			56-69	
1795 Feb.	32.6-35.6	42-45.6	23-26		24		4
Oct.	31.9-34.9	37-45.6	32-33.6			59-70	

1796 Feb.	41.6-44	48	22.6-26		32		9-10
Mar.	40 >	24 >	20 >	5-6d.lb>	44 >	68-72 >	5 >
Oct.	27.7- 34.1 1/2		13.3- 26.6		30	58-71	9
	42 *	23 *	12-13 *		42 *		3 *
1797 Jan.	27-33.3	32-39	18-24		30	62-75	5
Oct.	24-32.6		17-23			58-69	4
1798 Jan.	20-30.3	29	17-23		24.6	60-70	4
Sept.	21.8-28		19-29.6			62-76	5-6
1799 Jan.	26-28	40-46	24-26		20	66-80	5-7
Sept.	28-34		22-34			74-92	6 1/2
1800 Mar.							3 ^
June							6-12 ^
Sept.	1.8 st.<		10d.st.<	5-6d.bag <		105-110 <	6-8 <
Oct.	2.0 ^		1.4 ^		60.0 ^		
	41-45.9	45.6	30-35			108-126	20-26
1801 Mar.	62-64	80-85	65-76		68	68-94	24-26
Nov.	31.6 >	22.6 >	11.6 >	34 >			
1808 Jan.	2.0 st <	18.0 <	1.1 st <	4 1/2d. lb <	4d lb <	108-118 <	4 1/4 <

Note : All prices are at Cork except where marked as follows :

< = Clonmel                      > = Waterford                      \* = Carrick  
x = Limerick                      ^ = NLI Ms 27571

Sources : Cork Evening Post ; Waterford Herald ; Clonmel Journal ; Dublin Evening Post ; Clonmel Herald ; NLI Ms 27571 ; Waterford City Library ; Carrickman's diary (ms).

Table XLIV : Occupational and social status in Clonmel, 1661.

Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number
Wife	290	Slater	3	Tucker	1
Servant	164	Constable	3	Victualler	1
Labourer	108	Innkeeper	2	Journeyman / tailor	1
Widow	21	Barber	2	Gunstocker	1
Broguemaker	11	Sister-in-law	2	Stockenmaker	1
Carrier	10	Carpenter	2	Fishmonger	1
Aleseller	9	Mother-in-law	2	Foot post	1
Gent	9	Dyer	2	Poultry farmer	1
Tailor	9	Cooper	2	Tobacco seller	1
Spinster	8	Mason	2	Not stated / unknown	50 1
Son	8	Cobler	2		
Butcher	8	Mother	1	Total	869
Glover	8	Apothecary	1		
Shopkeeper	7	Poor widow	1		
Tobaccomonger	7	Joiner	1		
Esq.	6	Nurse	1		
Porter	6	Chandler	1		
Husbandmen	6	Kilnwoman	1		
Labouring woman	6	Maltster	1		
Boatman	5	Clothier	1		
Farmer	5	Cook	1		
Merchant	5	Cutter	1		
Miller	5	Cow boy	1		
'Cottner'	5	Dr. in law	1		
Weaver	5	'Bodyes maker'	1		
Smith	5	Kinswoman	1		
Shoemaker	4	Pewterer	1		
Journeyman Servant	4	Feltmaker	1		
Yeoman	4	Wife's brother	1		
Charwoman	4	Sexton	1		
Daughter	4	Tanner	1		
Baker	3	Tinker	1		
Metalman	3	Gardener	1		

Note : 1. A page containing 44 names has been included in this category, as their occupations or status are not specified.

Source : Burke, Clonmel pp.247-55.



Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Distiller	1	1	2	2	2	6	1	15
Grocer & linen draper	2		10	2	1			15
Maltster	1							1
Tanner	1	4		4	2	3	4	18
Chandler & soap boiler	1	3	1	4	1	3	1	14
Miller & corn dealer	1	2						3
Attorney & other legal	1	3	4	5	2	2	2	19
Grocer	1	2		15	2	12		32
Vintner	3	3	2	2	2		2	14
Linen/woollen draper, broad) stuffs/serges, corn dealer )	1							1
Clothier		17		7				24
Tobacconist		5		1		1		7
Grocer, wine & spirit mercht.		2						2
Linen & woollen draper		5	4	2			1	12
Clothier & blue dyer		1						1
Merchant		14		2			1	17
Linen draper		1	1	3			2	7
Surgeon & apothecary		2		2				4
Porter room		2						2
Cooper		2						2
Merchant & tanner		2	1					3
Linen draper/ haberdasher		1		1				2
Post office / post master		1	1		1		1	4
Shoemaker		1		1				2
Shoe & boot maker		1	2	4	4	4	1	16
Grocer / spirit mercht.		1		1	2	3		7
Clothier & dyer		1		1				2
Weighmaster		1						1
Corn / spirit mercht.		1						1
Sadler		1		5				6
Chandler & tobacconist		1						1
Army clothier		1						1
Clothier / linen woollen drpr.		1						1
Timber mercht.		1						1
Ironmonger		1		1				2
Butter mercht.		1					1	2
MD / other medical		3	2	3	3		2	13
Brewer		1		1			2	4
Grocer & land surveyor		1			1			2
Grocer / spirit dealer		2	2		1			5
Painter & glazier		1		2				3
Tanner & currier		1						1
Grocer, linen / woollen drpr.			1		1			2
Seedsman & grocer			1					1
Schoolmaster / teaching			1	3				4
Woollen draper			2	2	1		4	9
Surgeon			2	1	1	1		5
Whipmaker / hardware dealer			1			1		1
Grocer & chandler			1			1	4	6
Spirit dealer			3	2				5
Grocer & chandler			3		1	1	2	7
Wine merchant			2	1				3

Printer	1	1				2
Linen / woollen drpr. , tannery salt & lime manufacturer )	1					1
Spirit mercht. / maltster	1					1
Grocer / glass, china wrhouse	1					1
Merchant / woollen drpr.	1					1
Brewer / pewterer / brazier	1					1
Grocer / ironmonger	1					2
Banker		1				1
Miller, com mercht. / dealer		6				6
Rape miller		1				1
Clothier / worsted manfctr.		1				1
Cutler		1				1
Mercer		2				2
Hosier		1				1
Glover		1				1
Hard ware mercht.		3			1	4
Victualler / tanner		1				1
Leather cutter		3				3
Linen / woollen drpr. ) bleach green )		1				1
Grocer / tanner		1				1
Druggist / apothecary		1				1
Sadler, cap- / whipmaker		1				1
Printer / wine mercht.		1				1
Baker		4				4
Shoemaker / leather cutter		1				1
Ironmonger, whitesmith & ) auctioneer )		1				1
Coachmaker		1				1
Turner		1				1
Confectioner		1				1
Nursery / seedsman		1				1
Chandler / tallow chandler		2				2
Mercht. / brewer / tanner		2				2
Whitesmith		2				2
Merchant / clothier		2				2
Butter - / com mercht.		1				1
Silversmith		1				1
Pewterer / brass founder		1				1
Milliner		1				1
Slater		1				1
Clothier / tanner		1				1
Spirit mercht. / porter room		1				1
Sadler / capmaker		1				1
Surveyor of excise / revenue	2		1			3
Sadler / bridlemaker	1		1	1	1	4
Weighmaster / butter mercht.	1					1
Woollen drpr. / tobacconist	1		1			2
Gunmaker	1					1
Soapboiler / tobacconist	1					1
Linen drpr. / haberdasher	1					1
Auctioneer	1					1

Woollen drpr. / timber ) mercht. / postmaster )				1				1
Corn merchant				3				3
Hosier / linen draper				1				1
Baker / grocer				1				1
Woollen draper / tailor				1				1
Goldsmith / watchmaker				1				1
Warehouse owner				1				1
Glass / china man				1			1	2
Haberdasher				2				2
Salt / lime works				1				1
Haberdasher / timber mercht.				1				1
Gentleman				1				1
Grocer / draper / wine mercht.						1		1
Stocking manufacturer						1		1
Hosier / hardware dealer						1		1
Grocer / glass, earthenware						2		2
Mercht. / linen, woollen drpr.						2		2
Watch / clock maker						1		1
Miller (bolting)						1		1
Staymaker						1		1
Mercht. / soap, candle manfr.						1		1
Linen, woollen drpr. / grocer							1	1
Ironmonger / hardware							1	1
Grocer / tobaccoist							1	1
Brewer / baker / starch manfr.							1	1
Skinner							1	1
Grocer / woollen draper						1		2
Barrister							1	1
Grocer / butter mercht.							1	1
Spirit dealer / earthenware							1	1
Tobacco manfr. / draper							1	1
Woollen, linen drpr., butter ) manfr. )							1	1
Cotton manfr.							1	1
Woollen manfr.							1	1
Grocer / wine, spirit / butter							1	1
Mercht. / hardware / iron				1			1	1
Apothecary	1		3	1	2		3	10
Woollen drpr. / haberdasher	1							1
Iron mercht.	1							1
Glazier						1		1
Linen, woollen drpr. / vintner								
	14	98	59	159	45	46	46	468

Table XLV : Percentages

Classification	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Average
Agriculture	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Building	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Manufacturing								
1. textiles	--	21	3.3	7.5	2.2	--	4.2	
2. leather	7.1	8	1.6	13.12	15.5	19.5	12.7	
3. alcohol	21.4	2	5	1.8	4.4	15.2	6.3	
4. grain	7.1	2	--	4.3	2.2	--	--	)44.9
5. chandling	7.1	4	1.6	4.3	2.2	6.5	2.1	
6. timber	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	
7. heavy	--	1	--	6.25	2.2	--	2.1	
8. other	--	--	--	7.5	2.2	--	2.1	
Distributive	50	26	57.6	31.8	37.7	47.8	42.5	41.8
Labouring	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Personal service	--	23	15.25	14.3	17.7	--	17	17.4
Professional service	7.1	9	15.25	8.7	13.3	6.5	10.6	10
Transport								

Key : 1. Borrisoleigh 2. Carrick-on-Suir 3. Cashel 4. Clonmel  
5. Nenagh 6. Thurles 7. Tipperary

Source : R. Lucas, A general directory of the kingdom of Ireland (1788).

Table XLVI : Occupations of males over 16 years Carrick-On-Suir, 1799.

Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number
Labourer	496	Working miller	6
Weaver	349	Millwright	6
Scribler	145	Working maltster	5
Shearman	100	Maltster	4
Shoemaker	100	Serge weaver	3
Tailor	63	Working brewer	3
Cooper	55	Brewer	2
Clothier	54	Distiller	2
Jobber	31	Rape miller	2
Working tanner	30	Stocking weaver	2
Tanner	26	Working saltmaker	2
Merchant	21	Army clothier	1
Comber	18	Woolflaker	1
Jenny spinner	14	Woolsorter	1
Miller	10	Working rapemiller	1
Working blue dyer	10	'No profession'	113
Dairyman	9		
Com factor	6	Total	1691

Table XLVI : Percentages

Agriculture	0.5%
Manufacture 1. textiles	45%
2. leather	9.2%
3. alcohol	2.4%
4. grain	1.4%
5. other	3.4%
Distributive	0.3%
Labouring	29.3%
Personal services	3%
Other	6.6%

Source : BL Add Ms  
11722 fols121v-122.

Table XLVII : Merchants and traders in Clonmel, 1820.

Nobility, gentry, clergy	21	General agent office	1
Academics	2	Glass / china / earthenware	5
Apothecaries	5	Glazers / painters	5
Attorneys	9	Grocers	13
Auctioneers	3	Grocer & spirit dealer	29
Bakers	11	Gunmaker	3
Bankers	1	Haberdasher	7
Barrister	1	Hardwaremen	5
Boarding schools	5	Harnessmaker	1
Boat owners	2	Hut manufacturer	2
Bookbinder	1	Hotels	2
Booksellers / stationers	4	Inns	2
Boot & shoemakers	13	Jewellers	2
Breechesmaker	1	Iron founders	2
Brewers & maltsters	2	Iron merchants	3
Brokers	2	Iron mongers	3
Builders / architects	2	Leather sellers	5
Butter merchants	3	Linen drapers	17
Cabinet makers	3	Linen & woollen draper	3
Carver & gilder	1	Machine maker	1
Circulating libraries	2	Merchants	7
Clothes brokers	2	Milliner	1
Clothiers	3	Nursery & seedsman	1
Coachmakers	2	Painters	3
Coachsmith	1	Pawnbrokers	3
Confectioners	2	Physicians	5
Collectors of excise	2	Printers	4
Coopers	5	Professors of music	2
Corn merchants	16	Public notaries	1
Corn millers	5	Rape & bacon merchants	1
Distillers	1	Ropemaker	1
Dyers	2	Sadler	6
Fire insurance offices	3	Salt manufacturer	2
Furniture broker	1	Seedsman	2

Serge manufacturer	1	Umbrella makers	2
Soap boilers	4	Watch & clock maker	5
Skinners	3	Wine & spirit merchants	6
Spirit dealers	6	Woollen drapers	6
Surgeons	5	Woollen merchants	2
Tailor	4	Post office	1
Tanner	8	Miscellaneous	19
Taverns & public house	20		
Timber merchant	2		
Tobacconist	5		

Table XLVII : Percentage

Agriculture	--
Building	0.5
Manufacturing:	
1. Textiles	
2. Leather	
3. Alcohol	} 25.6
4. Grain	
5. Chandling	
6. Other	
Distributive	46.7
Personal service	19.1
Professional service	7.3
Transport	0.5

Source : Pigot, The commercial directory of Ireland, Scotland and the four most northern counties of England for 1820-21 & 22 (Manchester, 1820).

Table XLVIII : Incidence of agrarian crime in Tipperary, 1760-1804.

Year	Incidents recorded	Year	Incidents recorded
1760	4	1784	5
1761	1	1785	11
1762	8	1786	18
1763	12	1787	2
1764	3	1788	3
1765	11	1789	2
1766	3	1790	--
1767	--	1791	3
1768	--	1792	1
1769	--	1793	3
1770	1	1794	--
1771	4	1795	3
1772	9	1796	1
1773	9	1797	--
1774	12	1798	--
1775	31	1799	5
1776	10	1800	14
1777	2	1801	7
1778	3	1802	21
1779	6	1803	11
1780	3	1804	2
1781	1		
1782	2		
1783	4		

## Sources :

- (1) Newspapers : CEP, CG, CH, DG, FDJ, FJ, FLJ, HC, LJ, WC, and WM.  
(2) Other printed material : Gentleman's and London Magazine; (Walker's Hibernian Magazine; D. Herbert, Retrospections 2 vols. (London, 1929 - 30); and D. Trant, Considerations (Dublin, 1787).  
(3) Manuscripts : NLI Mss. 8395 (2), 8917(1), 11,422 and 17,728;  
Mount Melleray : Burke Ms. 31;  
PRO : HO 100 / 17;  
SPO : SCP 1015 / 14  
PROI : IA 52 159.

## Note :

The table presents a compilation of the major agrarian crimes committed in the county between 1760 and 1804. References where no particular crime is mentioned as having taken place are excluded, as are cases of abductions and rescue attempts. These exceptions apart, the table enumerates the most serious crimes unambiguously reported in the period.



Table XLIX : Number of persons committed for agrarian and related crimes in Tipperary, 1805-1814.

Crime	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814
Abduction	3	--	1	4	10	--	6	3	10	6
Murder	34	14	36	45	15	30	44	43	60	46
Conspiracy to murder	--	--	--	--	--	6	--	--	1	7
Assault (with intent to murder)	10	6	7	4	5	5	21	6	--	--
Manslaughter	--	--	--	--	6*	7	14	--	--	6
Assault	--	1	4	8	1	13	--	--	--	1
Assault (with intent to rob)	--	--	--	--	1	--	3	1	--	--
Burglary	13	14	11	10	7	16	12	7	18	21
House Robbery	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--
Cattle Stealing	1	2	3	4	2	3	1	4	7	12
Horse Stealing	1	2	3	4	2	3	1	4	7	12
Sheep stealing / killing	5	4	6	5	5	--	4	13	1	2
Highway robbery	1	6	3	2	10	4	8	11	4	11
Larceny	40	12	23	37	42	60	36	55	42	50
Riotous assembly	1	4	1	9	7	12	9	--	1	10
do. appearing armed at night	2	4	--	26	20	7	50	27	19	25
Oaths (taking or administering of)	1	2	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
Forcible possession	--	12	--	11	--	6	--	--	7	5
Threatening letters	--	1	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	1
Sedition / treason	2	--	--	--	1	9	--	--	1	3

Source : P.P. Return of Criminals (Irl.) XIII 1813-14 (264) pp. 137-40;  
 XI 1814-15 (331) p.36 (332) p.32.

Note : The table attempts to isolate those returns on crime which may have had an agrarian content. Excluded are returns on perjury, rape, mail robbery, forgery, and vagrancy.

\* manslaughter and riot

Table L : Arms attacks in Co. Tipperary, 1793-1798.

Date	Location	Victim	Observations	Source
1793 2 May	Noan	G. Taylor	1 apprehended	1
1796 Dec.	Cloghleigh, Horeabbey	'certain persons'		2
1797 Nov.	Ardfinnan / Newcastle (?)	not stated	coming from Co. Waterford	3
1798 4 Mar.	near Cashel (?)	G. Meagher	He was at home at the time of the robbery	4
7 "	Thurles	not stated	part of general unrest	5
21 "	Cashel environs	not stated		6
23 "	Kilfeacle	J. Scully	His diary records : "the Defenders taking away from every house all arms"	7
26	Golden	S. Alleyn	Ballintemple Cavalry to have given up arms	8
	Castle Fogarty	T. Lanigan	He resisted and they dispersed	9
	Newport	D. Ryan, J. Evans, J. Ewer, W. Phillips	Some of Newport Yeomanry also robbed	10
27 "	Templemore area	'every house'		11
28 "	Newforest (?)	Lord Massy	80 stand	12
	Noan	Taylor		13
	Lanespark	Lane		14
	[Littleton]	Rev. T. Grady		15
	Ballydavid	Russell	18 stand taken ; Russell had Grady's arms for safe-keeping	16
7 Apr.	Cahir			17
26 "	Kilfeacle	J. Scully	He resisted & no arms were taken	18

Sources : 1. FLJ 4-8, 25-29 May 1793 ; 2. Agar papers (resolution dated 21 Dec. 1796 at Cashel) ; 3. CG 22-25 Nov. 1797 ; 4. Agar papers (Hare to archbishop of Cashel, 4 Mar. 1798) ; 5. Ibid. (Garnett to same, 7 Mar. 1798) ; 6. Ibid. (Hare to same, 21 Mar. 1798) ; 7. NLI Ms 27571 p.275 ; 8. Agar papers (Alleyn to archbishop of Cashel, 28 Mar. 1798) ; 9. FLJ 31 Mar.-1 Apr. 1798 ; 10. PRO HO 100/80 (Camden to Portland, 28 Mar. 1798) ; 11 - 16 Agar papers (Alleyn to archbishop of Cashel, 28 May 1798) ; 17. PRO HO 100/76/43-4 (Camden to Portland, 7 Apr. 1798) ; 18. NLI Ms 27571 p.276.

Table LI : Valuation of tithes by parish in Tipperary, 1640.

Amount in £	Number of parishes
1 - 5	11
6 - 10	17
11 - 15	17
16 - 20	27
21 - 25	11
26 - 30	27
31 - 35	5
36 - 40	18
41 - 45	3
46 - 50	8
51 - 55	2
56 - 60	5
61 - 65	--
66 - 70	4
71 - 75	1
76 - 80	2
81 - 85	1
86 - 90	3
91 - 95	--
96 - 100	2
101 - 150	2
151 - 200	1

Source : CS I, II.

Table LII : Tithe rates per acre decreed by the vicars court of Cashel,  
1766-1785.

Year	Potatoes s. d.	Wheat s. d.	Barley s. d.	Oats s. d.	Meadow s. d.	Flax s. d.	Rape s. d.
1766	3. 0.			3. 0.	1. 6.		
1767	5. 0. 6. 0.			3. 0.	1. 6.		
1768	3. 0. 5. 0.				1. 6.		
1769		5. 0.	5. 0. +	2. 6. 4. 0.	2. 6.		
1771	6. 0. 8. 0.	5. 0. 8. 0.	5. 0. +	3. 6. 4. 0. 6. 0.	3. 0.		7. 0.
1772	8. 0.		5. 0. 7. 0. +	5. 0.	1. 6. 3. 0.		
1774	4. 2. 8. 0.	5. 0. 7. 0. 8. 0.	5. 0. + 6. 0. + 6. 6.	3. 6. 4. 0.	4. 0.	6. 0.	8. 0.
1775		6. 0.	5. 0. 5. 0. + 25. 0. +	3. 6.			
1777	2. 0.	5. 0.		0. 10.			
1778			5. 0.	3. 6.			8. 0.
1780	3. 6. < 8. 0.	1. 3. < 7. 0.	0. 5. 5/8 < 6. 0.	4. 0.			
1783	0. 3. > 3. 0. 9. 9. <		0. 8. >	0. 9. > 7. 0. <	4. 6.		
1785	0. 4. >			0. 6. >	42. 0. >	4. 0. >	

Source : Parliamentary register viii (1788) pp.200-203.

+ = bere      < = per barrel      > = per stone

Table LIII : Tithes rates in Tipperary and Ireland, 1776-7.

Crops	Lower Ormond s. d.	Derry s. d.	Castle Lloyd * s. d.	Ireland (average) s. d.
Potatoes	6 0	5 0	11 0	7 2
Wheat	6 0	5 0	8 0	6 9
Barley	3 0	5 0	7 0	5 4
Oats	3 0	2 6	4 6	3 8
Bere	6 0	5 0	7 0	5 11
Meadow	--	2 0	2 8	3 3
Sheep	--	--	--	0 2 3/4

\* Although in Co. Limerick the rates apply also to the barony of Clanwilliam, Co. Tipperary (Young, Tour i p. 450).

Source : Young, Tour i pp. 437, 447, 457 ; ii p. 108.



## Sources :

Column I : Authenticus, Defence (1788) p.28 quotes these rates in Cashel and Emly for 'several years preceding 1786'.

Column II : Ibid. p.13 gives the average rates for 5 years preceding 1785.

Column III : Hibernian Chronicle 25 Sept.1786. These are the rates cited by Rev. P.Hare, vicar general of Cashel.

Column IV : D.Trant, Considerations (1787) p.38. Trant, who was a lawyer, owned a large estate near Thurles.

Column V : Authenticus, op.cit. p.14.

Column VI : Ibid. p.13.

Column VII : 1. Theophilus, An address to the nobility and gentry of the Church of Ireland (1786) pp.111-2.

2. Walker's Hibernian Magazine Aug. 1786 p.446.

3. A congratulatory address to His Majesty from the peasantry of Ireland vulgarly denominated White Boys or Rightboys p.17.

4. Trant op.cit. p.39.

Column VIII : Charles [Brodick, archbishop of] Cashel, Cashel to the archbishop of Dublin, 22 Mar. [ ] (c.1800) (NLI Ms 8893 (3)).

Column IX : PP xiv (1822) (304) pp.15,25 ; xiv (1824) (426) p.35.

Table LV : Methods of tithe payment in the parishes of Ardmayle and Ballysheehan, 1791.

Total tithe payers per denomination	Valuation	Composition from valuation	Composition without valuation	Valuation without composition
1	--	--	1	--
1	--	--	1	--
1	--	--	1	--
1	--	--	1	--
1	1	1	--	--
3	3	3	--	--
6	6	6	--	--
9	9	9	--	--
20	16	16	--	4
14	10	10	--	4
6	6	6	--	--
5	4	4	1	--
4	1	1	--	3
5	5	5	--	--
21	20	20	--	1
2	1	1	--	1
17	5	5	--	12
5	4	4	--	1
9	7	7	--	2
4	4	4	--	--
5	2	2	--	3
1	1	1	--	--
1	--	--	1	--
1	--	--	1	--
1	--	--	1	--
1	--	--	1	--
15	10	10	1	4

Source : Tithe book for the parishes of Ardmayle and Ballysheehan, 1790-1801 (Tipperary County Library, Thurles).



Note to Table LV : In those denominations where there was a single, large landholder holding an extensive area, no valuation was undertaken but a composition was agreed. There were 10 such cases of composition without valuation for persons including Richard Pennefather, William Scully, and Daniel Mansergh.

In those denominations where there were a large number of tithe payers, i.e. over 10 per denomination, a valuation and composition was arrived at. There were 5 such denominations. Where the number of tithe payers per denomination was less than 10 (usually between 3 and 6, but not single persons), there was some valuation undertaken but a greater degree of composition is evident. There were 12 such denominations.

So far as the amount of payment is concerned, where there was a valuation the amount paid in composition was equal or, more commonly, less than the valuation. In the vast majority of cases the amount demanded and paid was less than £1 per tithe payer, the remainder being less than £10, and only 5 between £10 and £25. Those who obtained composition without valuation paid the larger sums, e.g. J.&T. Comman (£37.10s.), D.&J. Dwyer (£74), and D. Ryan and others (£100). The total number of denominations was 27, and the total number of tithe payers 159.

Denomination	Number of Tithe Payers	Valuation	Composition
1	1	£10	£10
2	2	£10	£10
3	3	£10	£10
4	4	£10	£10
5	5	£10	£10
6	6	£10	£10
7	7	£10	£10
8	8	£10	£10
9	9	£10	£10
10	10	£10	£10
11	11	£10	£10
12	12	£10	£10
13	13	£10	£10
14	14	£10	£10
15	15	£10	£10
16	16	£10	£10
17	17	£10	£10
18	18	£10	£10
19	19	£10	£10
20	20	£10	£10
21	21	£10	£10
22	22	£10	£10
23	23	£10	£10
24	24	£10	£10
25	25	£10	£10
26	26	£10	£10
27	27	£10	£10

Source : A. Lynch (1864), *Annals of the Parish of St. Mary's, Drogheda*, pp. 111-2, 113, and 114-5, 116, 117-6, 118-9, 120-1, 122-3, 124-5, 126-7, 128-9, 130-1, 132-3, 134-5, 136-7, 138-9, 140-1, 142-3, 144-5, 146-7, 148-9, 150-1, 152-3, 154-5, 156-7, 158-9, 160-1, 162-3, 164-5, 166-7, 168-9, 170-1, 172-3, 174-5, 176-7, 178-9, 180-1, 182-3, 184-5, 186-7, 188-9, 190-1, 192-3, 194-5, 196-7, 198-9, 200-1, 202-3, 204-5, 206-7, 208-9, 210-1, 212-3, 214-5, 216-7, 218-9, 220-1, 222-3, 224-5, 226-7, 228-9, 230-1, 232-3, 234-5, 236-7, 238-9, 240-1, 242-3, 244-5, 246-7, 248-9, 250-1, 252-3, 254-5, 256-7, 258-9, 260-1, 262-3, 264-5, 266-7, 268-9, 270-1, 272-3, 274-5, 276-7, 278-9, 280-1, 282-3, 284-5, 286-7, 288-9, 290-1, 292-3, 294-5, 296-7, 298-9, 300-1, 302-3, 304-5, 306-7, 308-9, 310-1, 312-3, 314-5, 316-7, 318-9, 320-1, 322-3, 324-5, 326-7, 328-9, 330-1, 332-3, 334-5, 336-7, 338-9, 340-1, 342-3, 344-5, 346-7, 348-9, 350-1, 352-3, 354-5, 356-7, 358-9, 360-1, 362-3, 364-5, 366-7, 368-9, 370-1, 372-3, 374-5, 376-7, 378-9, 380-1, 382-3, 384-5, 386-7, 388-9, 390-1, 392-3, 394-5, 396-7, 398-9, 400-1, 402-3, 404-5, 406-7, 408-9, 410-1, 412-3, 414-5, 416-7, 418-9, 420-1, 422-3, 424-5, 426-7, 428-9, 430-1, 432-3, 434-5, 436-7, 438-9, 440-1, 442-3, 444-5, 446-7, 448-9, 450-1, 452-3, 454-5, 456-7, 458-9, 460-1, 462-3, 464-5, 466-7, 468-9, 470-1, 472-3, 474-5, 476-7, 478-9, 480-1, 482-3, 484-5, 486-7, 488-9, 490-1, 492-3, 494-5, 496-7, 498-9, 500-1, 502-3, 504-5, 506-7, 508-9, 510-1, 512-3, 514-5, 516-7, 518-9, 520-1, 522-3, 524-5, 526-7, 528-9, 530-1, 532-3, 534-5, 536-7, 538-9, 540-1, 542-3, 544-5, 546-7, 548-9, 550-1, 552-3, 554-5, 556-7, 558-9, 560-1, 562-3, 564-5, 566-7, 568-9, 570-1, 572-3, 574-5, 576-7, 578-9, 580-1, 582-3, 584-5, 586-7, 588-9, 590-1, 592-3, 594-5, 596-7, 598-9, 600-1, 602-3, 604-5, 606-7, 608-9, 610-1, 612-3, 614-5, 616-7, 618-9, 620-1, 622-3, 624-5, 626-7, 628-9, 630-1, 632-3, 634-5, 636-7, 638-9, 640-1, 642-3, 644-5, 646-7, 648-9, 650-1, 652-3, 654-5, 656-7, 658-9, 660-1, 662-3, 664-5, 666-7, 668-9, 670-1, 672-3, 674-5, 676-7, 678-9, 680-1, 682-3, 684-5, 686-7, 688-9, 690-1, 692-3, 694-5, 696-7, 698-9, 700-1, 702-3, 704-5, 706-7, 708-9, 710-1, 712-3, 714-5, 716-7, 718-9, 720-1, 722-3, 724-5, 726-7, 728-9, 730-1, 732-3, 734-5, 736-7, 738-9, 740-1, 742-3, 744-5, 746-7, 748-9, 750-1, 752-3, 754-5, 756-7, 758-9, 760-1, 762-3, 764-5, 766-7, 768-9, 770-1, 772-3, 774-5, 776-7, 778-9, 780-1, 782-3, 784-5, 786-7, 788-9, 790-1, 792-3, 794-5, 796-7, 798-9, 800-1, 802-3, 804-5, 806-7, 808-9, 810-1, 812-3, 814-5, 816-7, 818-9, 820-1, 822-3, 824-5, 826-7, 828-9, 830-1, 832-3, 834-5, 836-7, 838-9, 840-1, 842-3, 844-5, 846-7, 848-9, 850-1, 852-3, 854-5, 856-7, 858-9, 860-1, 862-3, 864-5, 866-7, 868-9, 870-1, 872-3, 874-5, 876-7, 878-9, 880-1, 882-3, 884-5, 886-7, 888-9, 890-1, 892-3, 894-5, 896-7, 898-9, 900-1, 902-3, 904-5, 906-7, 908-9, 910-1, 912-3, 914-5, 916-7, 918-9, 920-1, 922-3, 924-5, 926-7, 928-9, 930-1, 932-3, 934-5, 936-7, 938-9, 940-1, 942-3, 944-5, 946-7, 948-9, 950-1, 952-3, 954-5, 956-7, 958-9, 960-1, 962-3, 964-5, 966-7, 968-9, 970-1, 972-3, 974-5, 976-7, 978-9, 980-1, 982-3, 984-5, 986-7, 988-9, 990-1, 992-3, 994-5, 996-7, 998-9, 1000-1.

Table LVI : Rates prescribed by the 'Munster peasantry' (i.e. Rightboys) and the catholics of Golden parish for duties performed by catholic priests, 1786.

Duty	'Munster Peasantry'		Catholics of Golden parish	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Marriage	5	0	5	5
Baptism	1	6	1	7 1/2
Confession	2	0	1	1
Parish priest's funeral mass	1	0	2	8 1/2
Other priest's mass	1	0	1	1
Extreme unction	1	1	1	0
Christmas & Easter dues	0	6	--	--

Sources : A Layman (Theophilus), An address to the nobility and gentry of the Church of Ireland . . . (Dub. 1786) pp. 111 - 2; WHM Aug. 1786 p. 446; CG 3 - 6 July 1786.

Table LVII : Annual amount of county cess for Tipperary 1738, 1750, 1775-1820.

Year	Amount £	Year	Amount £
1738	200	1796	21,403
1750	1,453	1797	9,798
1775	7,366	1798	18,429
1776	8,967	1799	20,817
1777	8,100	1800	26,229
1778	10,257	1801	25,124
1779	10,165	1802	27,814
1780	10,790	1803	24,512
1781	12,146	1804	25,862
1782	12,156	1805	35,769
1783	11,183	1806	39,839
1784	11,281	1807	36,872
1785	11,234	1808	[47,171] (1)
1786	12,281	1809	[47,171] (1)
1787	13,694	1810	56,611
1788	12,407	1811	53,011
1789	14,462	1812	54,098
1790	15,411	1813	64,952
1791	15,536	1814	57,694
1792	14,281	1815	40,785
1793	15,155	1816	75,059
1794	19,455	1820	52,727
1795	20,204		

Note (1) : No figure available. Figure given computed as an average taking the preceding (1807) and succeeding (1810) years.

Shillings and pence have been excluded.

Sources : 1738 - Dublin Corporation Library, Pearse St. Gilbert Ms 36 p.370 ;

1750 - NLI Ms 8914 ;

1775 - 1820 - J.P.Kennedy, Digest of Evidence ii (1848) pp.1002-11.

Table LVIII : Annual amounts of church rates levied in Shanrahan 1725-1796  
and Duntryleague 1766-1811.

Date	Shanrahan £. s. d.	Duntryleague £. s. d.	Date	Shanrahan £. s. d.	Duntryleague £. s. d.
1725	8. 0. 0.		1782	60.0.0.	71.14.2.
1734	9. 0. 0.		1783	30.0.0.	22.3.3.
1741	5. 0. 0.		1784	60.0.0.	40.0.0.
1749	15.13.1		1785	40.0.0.	33.7.0.
1752	9.14.4.		1786	49.3.10.	27.14.0.
1760	40.18.2		1787	28.11.9.	27.14.0.
1761	17.8.5.		1788	26.17.2.	27.14.0.
1762	15.1.2.		1789	34.15.5.	27.14.0.
1763	14.2.8.		1790	21.7.6.	27.14.0.
1764	11.19.3.		1791	15.0.0.	27.14.0.
1765	17.15.11		1792	31.6.7.	27.14.0.
1766	13.17.1.	26.3.0.	1793	31.16.3.	27.14.0.
1767	18.8.8.	21.0.0.	1794	49.11.8.	33.7.0.
1768	15.15.3.	36.0.0.	1795	83.6.3.	40.0.0.
1769	17.12.4.	25.2.6.	1796	34.0.0.	27.14.0.
1770	16.0.0.	24.15.0.	1798		33.7.0.
1771	16.17.2.	118.0.0.	1799		33.7.0.
1772	16.1.4.	58.10.10.	1800		40.0.0.
1773	20.0.0.	61.14.2.	1801		80.0.0.
1774	21.0.0.	50.14.10.	1802		118.9.0.
1775	20.0.0.	34.13.6.	1803		118.9.0.
1776	20.0.0.	35.7.0.	1804		118.9.0.
1777	23.0.0.	33.4.4.	1805		118.9.0.
1778	50.0.0.	30.1.6.	1807		88.18.6.
1779	24.15.9.	44.2.2.	1808		228.19.1.
1780	28.18.8.	61.14.2.	1809		88.18.6.
1781	25.11.7.	92.19.7.	1810		88.18.6.

Source : RCB Mss E.2-5 (Duntryleague), P. 79 (Shanrahan).

Table LIX : Rates of labour in Tipperary / Limerick and average for Ireland,  
1776-7.

Location	Hay and harvest	Winter	All year	Increase
Castle Oliver +	6d.	5d.	6d.	1d. per day in 20 years
Tipperary	6d.	5d.	6d.	
Johnstown	8d.	6 1/2d.	5d.	'considerable'
Derry	6 1/2d.	5d.	[ ]	'none'
Castle Lloyd *			5 1/2d.	1d. per day
Ireland (average)	8 3/4d.	6 1/2d.	6 1/2d.	1 3/4d. in 20 years

+ = Co.

\* = The County Limerick rates apply also to the barony of Clanwilliam,  
Co. Tipperary (Young, Tour i p.450).

Source : Young, Tour ii pp.50-51.

Table LX : Applotment for raising the militia in Tipperary, 1793.

Barony	Number of men	Number of parishes	Number of houses	Ratio of men : houses
Iffa & Offa (E)	63	10	3037	48
Iffa & Offa (W)	53	12	2864	54
Middlethird	54	21	2909	53
Clanwilliam	76	18	4076	53
Kilnamanagh	42	11	2230	53
Owney & Arra	39	9	2073	53
Eliogarty	49	11	2983	60
Ikerrin	48	9	2575	53
Lower Ormond	68	16	3640	53
Upper Ormond	34	10	1807	53
Slievardagh	34	13	1805	53
	560	140	29,999	53

Source : CG 15-18 May 1793.

Table LXI : Summary of returns of the 1659 census for Tipperary.

Barony	Barony total		English as % of Total	English titulados			Other Titulados
	Irish	English		Gent	Esq	Total	
Slievardagh	2 10 1	30 7	12.74	10	3	13	10
Iffa & Offa	4 72 7	22 3	4.50	14	3	17	25
Middlethird	3 77 8	13 4	3.42	14	4	18	16
Clanwilliam	2 71 3	18 0	6.34	16	6	22	15
Eliogarty & Ikerrin	4 33 9	32 6	6.98	22	5	27	38
Owney & Arra	98 9	23 5	19.19	11	6	17	3
Lower Ormond	2 73 1	34 1	11.10	22	6	28	12
Upper Ormond	1 63 1	9 2	5.33	15	1	16	12
Kilnamanagh	1 74 9	8 6	4.68	3	2	5	1
	24 76 0	1 92 4		127	36	163	132

Source : S. Pender (ed.) Census of Ireland c. 1659 pp. 295 - 329.

Table LXII : Hearth tax returns 1665, 1666-7 : total households and New English households.

Barony	Total Households		Total New English Households		New English Households as % of total households		
	1665	1666-7	1665	1666-7	1665	1666-7	Average
Middlethird	702	1655	140	235	19.94	14.19	17.06
Iffa and Offa	1562	1785	320	173	20.48	9.69	15.08
Slievardagh	397	974	64	126	16.12	12.93	14.52
Clanwilliam	690	1511	106	134	15.36	8.86	12.11
Kilnamanagh, Kilnalongurty, & Ileagh	338	971	44	55	13.01	5.66	9.33
Owney & Arra	469	679	85	78	18.12	11.48	14.80
Upper Ormond	698	933	59	65	8.45	6.96	7.70
Lower Ormond	948	1145	134	128	14.13	11.17	12.65
Eliogarty, Ikerrin	776	1547	101	104	13.01	6.72	9.88
	6,579	11,200	1053	1098			

Note : This table excludes waste houses for which see Chapter I note 105.

Source : T. Laffan, *Tipperary's families* (1911). For a critical note on this source see Appendix I.



Table LXIII : Population estimates for Co. Tipperary , 1706 - 1841.

Year	Houses	Families	Individuals	Total	Source / Note reference
1706			74449	74449	1
1732		18092	99506	99506	2
1744	15998		95998		3
1745			20600		4
1752	16895		101370	101370	5
1766	18057			108342	6
1776	18325			109950	7
1777	19951			119706	8
1788	28339			170034	9
1791	30793			169361	10
1792	30703			169000	11
1813	50224			290531	12
				293027	13
				300000	14
1821				346896	15
1831				402563	16
1841				435553	17

## Sources / Notes

1. TCD Ms 883 / 2/ 330. Figures imply a multiplier of 5.1.
2. Lambeth Palace Library Ms 1742 fols.43-8. Household multiplier of 5.5 used.
3. J.E. Weeks, A new geography of Ireland (1762) pp.7-8. Figures give a multiplier of 6.
4. BL Add Ms 29252 p.39. Total number of males ages 16-60 capable of bearing arms.
5. J.E. Weeks, A new geography of Ireland (3rd. ed., 1752) pp.13-4. Figures give a multiplier of 6.
6. M.Elstob, A trip to Kilkenny, 1776 (1776) pp.64-5. Multiplier of 6 used.
7. B. Scale, An Hibernian atlas (1776) p.37. Multiplier of 6 used.
8. Hibernian Chronicle 29 July 1784. Multiplier of 6 used.
9. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xiii, ccxix. Multiplier of 6 used.
10. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xv pt.1, ccii. Multiplier of 5.5 used.
11. D.A.Beaufort, Memoir of a map of Ireland (1792) p.102. Figures give a multiplier of 5.5.
12. PP xiv (1822) p.737. Figures give a multiplier of 5.7.
13. TCD Ms 1729 (loose newspaper cutting).
14. NLI Ms 27537.
- 15, 16, 17 : W.E.Vaughan, A.J.Fitzpatrick, Irish historical statistics : population 1821-1971 (1978) p.10.

Table LXIV : Population estimates for towns in Tipperary.

Town	1665 *	1666-7*	1734 *	1766	1783	1790
Borrisoleigh	13	<u>24</u>				
Cahir	<u>24</u>	67 +				
Carrick	<u>130</u>	104 +	552	8000		
Cashel	136	<u>256</u>	1828	2000		
Clogheen	31	<u>40</u>				
Clonmel	<u>357</u>	114 <	779	7953		8460
Fethard	<u>48</u>	201 +	215			560
Roscrea	58 +	106 +				
Templemore	9	<u>16</u>				
Thurles	50	<u>177</u>				
Tipperary	<u>36</u>	66 +				
Nenagh	66 +	104 +				

Town	1798 *	1799	1800 *	1806	1821	1831
Borrisoleigh						
Cahir					3288	3408
Carrick		10907			7466	9226
Cashel	896	899 *	871		5974	6971
Clogheen						
Clonmel	1231	1243 *	1349	12000	15590	15134
Fethard	496	437 *	471		2878	3405
Roscrea					5239	5512
Templemore					2970	2936
Thurles					6044	7084
Tipperary					6348	6972
Nenagh					6335	8466

\* = houses

— = more accurate of the two returns for 1665, 1666-7

+ = town return can not be distinguished from a larger parish return

&lt; = incomplete

## Sources

1665 : T.Laffan, Tipperary's families : being the hearth money returns for 1665-6-7 (1911).

1666-7 : T.Laffan op.cit.

1734 : PROI Co 577.

1766 : W.H.Rennison, Succession list of the bishops, cathedral, and parochial clergy of Waterford and Lismore (n.d., c.1920) p.233 (Clonmel).

PROI 1766 census (Cashel) ; BL Add Ms 29252 p.38 (Carrick).

1783 : Sir J.Newport, The state of the borough representation of Ireland in 1783 and 1800 (1832) p.23.

1790 : D.A.Beaufort, Memoir of a map of Ireland (1792).

1798 : Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) xix pt.2 dccclxi-dccclxiii.

1799 : BL Add Ms 11722 (Carrick) ; Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) op.cit. dccclxv-dccclxvii.

1800 : Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) op.cit. dccclxix-dccclxxi.

1806 : RCB Ms O.9 p.70.

1821 & 1831 : W.E.Vaughan, A.J.Fitzpatrick, Irish historical statistics : population 1821- 1971 (1978) p.34.

Table LXV : Protestant population in Tipperary categorised from 109 statistical units in the 1831 census.

Total units by percentage of total population			
< 5 %	6 - 10 %	11 - 20 %	> 20 %
Total protestant population by unit			
< 50	51 - 100	101 - 200	> 200
43	20	20	26

Source : Tipperary : history and society, ed. W. Nolan (1985) pp.283-7.

Table LXVI : Conversions to the Established Church for Tipperary, 1705-1810.

I Year	II Tipperary	III Cashel & Emly	IV Killaloe	V Lismore	VI Dublin	VII Total	VIII National total
1705	1					1	3
1706	1					1	5
1707					1	1	2
1709	1				1	2	38
1710	1	1			1	3	28
1711	1		1			2	10
1712					1	1	13
1715					1	1	10
1717	2				2	4	19
1719					4	4	30
1720	1				2	3	24
1721	1					1	33
1722	3		1		2	6	35
1723					2	2	35
1724	1					1	27
1725	3				6	9	41
1726	2	1			3	6	35
1727	1				2	3	39
1728		1			3	4	51
1729	2				1	3	34
1730	1				1	2	39
1731	3	1			5	9	62
1732	1	2			4	7	50
1733		1			2	3	43
1734	2	1			5	8	99
1735	2					2	61
1736	2				3	5	39
1737					1	1	50
1738			1		1	2	58

1739	2	1			1	4	59
1740	7	1			6	14	71
1741					3	3	68
1742	2	2	1		1	6	45
1743	2	1	1		1	5	54
1744	4	1				5	48
1745	1					1	48
1746	1	1	1		3	6	50
1747	24	3	2			29	88
1748		1	1		1	3	46
1749	5	3			1	9	58
1750	3	2			1	6	71
1751	2					2	41
1752	1	2	1		1	5	65
1753	4				4	8	70
1754	2					2	79
1755	1	1	1		2	5	69
1756	1	3			2	6	67
1757	2	7		1	3	13	93
1758		1			1	2	73
1759	7	2			1	10	83
1760	1	3			6	10	84
1761	3				8	11	150
1762	13	3			4	20	108
1763	7	7			5	19	126
1764	8	8			3	19	104
1765	3	10			3	16	101
1766	14	7			2	23	130
1767	6	1			5	12	124
1768	22	2	6	1	4	35	210
1769	22	4		4	6	36	169
1770	14	6		1	4	25	132
1771	3	3		1	4	11	117
1772	5	2			1	8	88
1773	7	3			2	12	85
1774	7 ) 7*	3				10 ) 7*	139
1775	3 )				1	4 )	121
1776	5	1			1	7	99

1777	3	2			1	6	68
1778	6				1	7	71
1779					1	1	43
1780	2				2	4	38
1781	2	2	1			5	41
1782	1					1	
1783	3				2	5	
1784	2					2	
1786	1				1	2	
1787	3					3	
1788	6					6	
1789	4				1	5	
1790	2				2	4	
1791					2	2	
1792	4					4	
1802	3					3	
1810	1					1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>587</b>	<b>4707</b>

\* 7 converts ascribable to both years jointly (Freeman's Journal 23-25 May 1775)

Notes :

Column I : Date of enrolment of the certificate of conformity is taken as the standard. References to converts in newspapers are recorded under the year of publication.

Column II : Converts with specific addresses in Co. Tipperary, and those who by virtue of the placename can be so ascribed to it.

Column III : Converts whose addresses are recorded as 'Diocese of Cashel'.

Column IV : Converts whose addresses are recorded as being in those parts of the diocese of Killaloe in Tipperary, or which can be so ascribed.

Column V : Converts whose addresses are recorded as being in those parts of the diocese of Lismore in Tipperary, or which can be so ascribed.

Column VI : Converts who conformed in Dublin giving their Dublin address as city of Dublin, parishes in Dublin, or diocese of Dublin who, on the basis of surnames and particular information, can be ascribed as being of Tipperary origin or association.

Column VII : Totals of columns II - VI.

Column VIII : National totals of converts who filed certificates of conformity in the court of chancery.

## Sources :

- (1) PROI : Calendar of convert rolls i 1703-1789, ii 1789-1838 ; Lodge Ms 'Alphabetical list of converts'.
- (2) BL Egerton Ms 77.
- (3) J.Brady, Catholics and catholicism in the eighteenth century press (1965).
- (4) Other newspaper references not recorded by Brady.
- (5) National totals : 1. TCD Ms 3788 ; 2. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) ix, cxciv. 3.Dublin City Library, Pearse St. Gilbert Ms 36 p.367 for 1773-81.



Table LXVII : Social class and occupations of Tipperary converts, 1703-1790.

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1703																												
1704																												
1705	1																											
1706																							1					
1707																												1
1708																												
1709			1																									1
1710	3																											
1711	1	1																										
1712																												1
1713																												
1714																												
1715																												1
1716																												
1717																									1			3
1718																												
1719	1	2																										1
1720																							1					2
1721																												1
1722			2																									4
1723	1	1																										
1724																												1
1725		1																										8
1726		1	2																				3					
1727			1																									2
1728			1																									3
1729			1																				1	1				
1730	1																											1
1731	2		3																				1	1				2
1732	2	1	1																				1					2
1733	2																											1
1734	5		1	1																			1					
1735			1																								1	
1736	2	2					1																					
1737																												1
1738															1								1					
1739		1	1						1																			1
1740	5	2	2																				1					4
1741	1																											2
1742																							1					5
1743	1																									1		3

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
1744			1																				1					3	
1745																													1
1746		1																										5	
1747	1		6				1			1				1		1		1				1	7					10	
1748																								1				2	
1749	2		1	1																			1					5	
1750	1		1								1																	3	
1751	1																											1	
1752																												5	
1753			2																									6	
1754		1																										1	
1755	1																											4	
1756	1	2																										3	
1757	2	1												1														9	
1758																												2	
1759		2	2																	1			2	1				2	
1760	2	2	4																									2	
1761	1	2	1							1																		6	
1762	1	4	4	2																								9	
1763	1		5																						1			12	
1764	1		2	1														1			1							13	
1765	2		2	1				1															1					9	
1766			1					1				1											1					19	
1767			3												1								1					7	
1768	1	2	2	4																			1			1		24	
1769	4		1	1				1					1										2			1		25	
1770	1	1	2											1			1										1	18	
1771		1	1	1																					1			7	
1772			2	1				1																				4	
1773			2		1																							9	
1774			1																									6	
1775		1																										5	
1776			1																							1		5	
1777	1																											5	
1778		1	1																						1			4	
1779																												1	
1780																												4	
1781				1				2																				2	
1782																												1	
1783																												5	
1784																												2	
1785																												2	
1786																												2	
1787					1																							2	
1788																												6	
1789			1					1																	1			2	
1790																													4

Source : As for Table LXVI.

List of occupations :

- |                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Mr.         | 18. Woolcomber    |
| 2. Esquire     | 19. Shoemaker     |
| 3. Gentleman   | 20. Flaxdresser   |
| 4. Farmer      | 21. Shopkeeper    |
| 5. Lord / Lady | 22. Servant       |
| 6. Baroness    | 23. Wife / Mrs.   |
| 7. Honourable  | 24. Spinster      |
| 8. Merchant    | 25. Widow         |
| 9. Clergy      | 26. Miss          |
| 10. Lawyer     | 27. Brasier       |
| 11. Clerk      | 28. Not specified |
| 12. Yeoman     |                   |
| 13. Innkeeper  |                   |
| 14. Carpenter  |                   |
| 15. Apothecary |                   |
| 16. M.D.       |                   |
| 17. Wigmaker   |                   |

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Mr.	18	1.0
Esquire	19	1.0
Gentleman	20	1.0
Farmer	21	1.0
Lord / Lady	22	1.0
Baroness	23	1.0
Honourable	24	1.0
Merchant	25	1.0
Clergy	26	1.0
Lawyer	27	1.0
Clerk	28	1.0
Yeoman	29	1.0
Innkeeper	30	1.0
Carpenter	31	1.0
Apothecary	32	1.0
M.D.	33	1.0
Wigmaker	34	1.0
Woolcomber	35	1.0
Shoemaker	36	1.0
Flaxdresser	37	1.0
Shopkeeper	38	1.0
Servant	39	1.0
Wife / Mrs.	40	1.0
Spinster	41	1.0
Widow	42	1.0
Miss	43	1.0
Brasier	44	1.0
Not specified	45	1.0
Total	366	100.0

This is a copy of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in London.

Table LXVIII : Social class and occupations of oath subscribers in Tipperary, 1775.

Class / Occupation	Number	Class / Occupation	Number
Gentleman	63	Dyer (clothier & dyer)	1
Farmer	46	Shopkeeper & comber	1
Merchant	36	Farmer (tanner) & skinner	1
Reverend	30	Bootmaker (boatmaker)	1
Esquire *	23	Boatmaker (boatmaster)	1
Clothier	23	Tulow chandler	1
Shopkeeper	14	Cordwainer (carpenter)	1
Publican	11	Baker & farmer	1
Innholder	10	Auctioneer & shopkeeper	1
Maltster	7	Master & innholder	1
Farmer (Tanner)	7	Joint-owner rape mills	1
Distiller	6	Tobacconist	1
Apothecary	5	Cooper (comber)	1
Carpenter	4	Gardener	1
Schoolmaster	4	Clothier (comber)	1
Land surveyor	3	Cider merchant	1
Clothier & Woolcomber	3	Comber & clothier	1
Master cooper	3	Skinner & glover	1
Shoemaker	3	Farmer	1
Chandler	3	Tanner (farmer) & maltster	1
Skinner	3	Joiner	1
Surgeon	3	Slater	1
Merchant & Clothier	2	Gent (farmer)	1
Shopkeeper & Tobacconist	2	Sadler	1
Grocer	2	Woolcomber	1
Carpenter & Joiner	2	Wheelwright	1
Comber	2	Farmer (victualler)	1
Clothier & shopkeeper	2	Weaver	1
Musician	2	Upholsterer	1
Perukemaker	2	Farmer (farrier)	1
Tailor	2	M. D.	1
Clerk	2	Not stated	10
Mr.	1		
Brewer & distiller	1	Total	386
Boatmaster	1		

\* including one esquire (clerk)

Source : Fifty ninth report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland (1956).

Table LXIX : Oath subscribers in Tipperary and select Munster counties, 1778-92.

Year	Tipperary (unadjusted)	Tipperary (adjusted)	Waterford	Limerick	Cork
1778	420	484	263	610	810
1779	50	59	100	9	31
1780	11	21	18	17	19
1781	22	30	12	12	46
1782	46	67	33	39	20
1783	19	38	16	43	59
1784	21	29	7	0	27
1785	0	3	5	0	57
1786	2	9	11	0	5
1787	2	6	15	0	8
1788	39	43	2	0	76
1789	56	71	44	0	28
1790	42	46	29	0	27
1791	10	7	0	0	15
1792	0	0	0	0	0
n.d.	0	1	0	0	0
	740	914	555	730	1228

Source : PROI : Catholic qualification rolls 1778 - 1791  
(IA 5210) ; Commons Jnl. (Ire) XV pt. 1 clxxxv.

Note : The adjusted Tipperary figure accounts for those from the  
county who took the oath at centres outside it.

Table LXX : Social class and occupations of oath subscribers in Tipperary, 1778-91.

Class / Occupation	Number	Class / Occupation	Number
Farmer	190	Miller	2
Priest	23	Grocer	2
Merchant	20	Lord	1
Gent	17	Labourer	1
Esquire	12	Farrier	1
Widow	8	Innkeeper	1
Clothier	8	Yeoman	1
Shopkeeper	7	Smith	1
Tanner	7	Publican	1
Chandler	7	Gardener	1
Carpenter	7	Dealer	1
Distiller	5	Thatcher	1
Apothecary	4	Nailor	1
Mason	4	Flour dresser	1
Cooper	4	Weaver	1
Victualler	4	Cordwainer	1
Maltster	4	Tutor	1
Land surveyor	4	Proctor	1
Dr. Physic	4	Currier	1
Blacksmith	4	Plasterer	1
Broguemaker	3	Wife	1
Baker	3	Painter	1
Spinster	3	Carman	1
Inn holder	2	Tobacconist	1
Schoolmaster	2	Count	1
M. D.	2	Not stated	525
Tailor	2		
Shoemaker	2	Total	914

Source : PROI : Catholic qualification rolls 1778 - 1791 (1A 5210)

Table LXXI : Social class and occupations of oath subscribers in Tipperary, 1793-6.

Class / Occupation	Number	Class / Occupation	Number
Farmer	312	Nurseryman	1
Gent	40	Wigmaker	1
Merchant	23	Ironmonger	1
Priest	14	Mason	1
Shopkeeper	13	Baker	1
Esquire	12	Innkeeper	1
Maltster	7	Nailer	1
Publican	6	Clerk	1
Victualler	5	Staymaker	1
Doctor of Medicine	5	Painter	1
Tailor	4	Cordwainer	1
Cooper	4	Grocer	1
Servant	3	Weighmaster	1
Clothier	3	Weaver	1
Chandler	3	Cornfactor	1
Broguemaker	3	Tanner	1
Innholder	3	Surgeon	1
Distiller	3	Widow	1
Labourer	3	Druggist	1
Shoemaker	3	Merchant's clerk	1
Miller	3	Maltster & farmer	1
Hatter	3	Butcher	1
Apothecary	2	Constable	1
Brewer	2	Gardener	1
Breechesmaker	2	Leather cutter	1
Carpenter	2	Not stated	22
Comber	2	Total	534
Porter	1		
Feltmaker	1		

Source : PROI : Catholic qualification rolls (Munster) & (Leinster) 1793-7 (1A52 76, 78)





Appendix I : The hearth tax returns of 1665,1666-7.

The document edited by Laffan (1) contains two series of hearth tax returns one for 1665 collected under the first hearth money act (14,15 Chas.II, 1662), the other for 1667 administered under the amended act of 1665 (17,18 Chas.II). Both documents are duplicates returned under the seal of three justices of the peace to the Exchequer. One is dated 4 April 1665, the other is datable to after 25 March 1667.

The act of 1662 required all habitations to pay 2s. annually for each hearth contained therein. Owners and occupiers were obliged to give an account to the constable of the number of hearths and stoves in their households. If no account of hearths was forthcoming the constables were empowered to enter in the daytime and count them. Justices of the peace were to have a copy of the returns forwarded to the Exchequer. The sheriff and his appointees were responsible for the actual collection of the hearth tax and they had power to distrain goods in default of people paying. Private ovens and kilns were exempted from the tax as were widows. The tax was to be one on occupiers only not on landlords who may have leased or owned the premises concerned.

The amending act of 1665 was necessitated by 'the negligence of constables and other officers', and sought to rectify deficiencies in the earlier act. Henceforth the justices of the peace were authorised to examine and question the constables and other officials on the accuracy and truthfulness of their returns. An attempt to eliminate duplicity among the occupiers was made when it was stipulated that henceforth any occupiers failing to return a hearth had to pay double the rate, i.e. 4s. per hearth so omitted. The lord lieutenant was empowered to appoint officials to accompany the constables on their rounds to ensure that the number of hearths per household in fact tallied with the constables' return. All former collectors were to be discharged and the new appointees were obliged to take an oath not to exact fees for their duties. Since doubts had arisen as to what constituted public and private ovens it was now enacted that the former category included all ovens in bakers' houses, inns, taverns, and victualling houses, and all kilns where malt and grain was dried for sale. All other ovens and kilns were taken to be private and subject to the tax. Houses and buildings in the vicinity of cathedrals and collegiate churches were to have their hearths taxed as were those of widows unless a certificate of exemption signed by two justices of the peace could be obtained.

Despite this amending legislation it is evident that in Tipperary at least malpractice continued to be common among the hearth money collectors. At the Clonmel Spring assizes of 1669 four collectors for the baronies of Iffa and Offa, Lower Ormond, and Middlethird, having being bound over at Cashel in September 1667, were charged with having exacted contrary to statute the half year's hearth money to Michaelmas 1666 on the inhabitants of these baronies who had already paid it to the sheriff. They were also

charged with illegally distraining for the same without invoking the assistance of the constables, and also with issuing warrants to the inhabitants to travel three or four miles to pay them the money, whereas by statute the collectors themselves were required to go to each household and collect the tax (2). Another collector, William Armstrong, was charged at the same assizes with raising 'greate sumes of money for hearth money in . . . 1666 and not accompting for it' (3). These instances of duplicity must be taken into account when the accuracy and completeness of the returns for Tipperary are assessed.

Both returns cover all baronies in the county. In general the 1667 return is more comprehensive than that of 1665, though in the case of the towns of Clonmel and Carrick the latter is more complete. The returns are made by barony and within barony by parish and townland or village. The householders names with their number of hearths and the tax leviable thereon are given. The majority of those returned lived in single hearth households, this group in rural areas forming the middle rank of the farming community. The returns do not cover cabins, so we have no way of knowing how extensive New English settlement was beneath the level of the single hearth owner. However, where the latter are in evidence there is likely to have been a proportionable number of accompanying cabins.

The document is very inadequately edited despite Laffan's claim that 'those records have been twice gone over with the greatest care'. His transcription of surnames is often faulty though this may in part reflect difficulties encountered by the collectors, and many of them he records as illegible. These have been included here in the non-English totals, since they are not sufficiently numerous they are unlikely to sway the proportion of New English significantly either way. Similarly in cases where names were obliterated Laffan made no attempt at transcription but simply gave the total number involved. Since we have no means of knowing otherwise these have been included in the non-English totals. From this it can be concluded that the total of New English as computed in Table LXII is very likely to be a minimum figure, but then not an entirely inaccurate one.

The identification of New English by means of surnames is on the whole a straight forward process and for this purpose E. MacLysaght, The surnames of Ireland (1978) was employed, although in some respects this book is too general for this period. The scientific study of surnames in Ireland on a county or regional basis has hardly begun, though recent work in England shows how valuable such research can be for settlement patterns and population movements over time (4). Such work one would deem essential for Ireland which, more than most countries, has had a long history of inward movement by settler populations. The Tipperary hearth money returns have been used by Smyth to illustrate the effects of this process in one county (5).

1. T.Laffan, Tipperary's families being the hearth money records for 1665-6-7 (1911).
2. NLI Ms 4908 fol.65 (Clonmel assize book, 1663-75).
3. Ibid. fol.70v. In the margin for both cases is 'quaished'.
4. R.A.McKinley, The surnames of Lancashire (1981) ; idem, The surnames of Oxfordshire (1977) ; idem, Norfolk and Suffolk surnames in the middle ages (1975).
5. W.J.Smyth, 'Land values, landownership and population patterns in County Tipperary for 1641-60 and 1841-50 : some comparisons' in Cullen & Furet pp.159-84.

1. Clonmel	1663
2. Clonmel	1663
3. Clonmel	1663
4. Clonmel	1663
5. Clonmel	1663
6. Clonmel	1663
7. Clonmel	1663
8. Clonmel	1663
9. Clonmel	1663
10. Clonmel	1663
11. Clonmel	1663
12. Clonmel	1663
13. Clonmel	1663
14. Clonmel	1663
15. Clonmel	1663
16. Clonmel	1663
17. Clonmel	1663
18. Clonmel	1663
19. Clonmel	1663
20. Clonmel	1663
21. Clonmel	1663
22. Clonmel	1663
23. Clonmel	1663
24. Clonmel	1663
25. Clonmel	1663
26. Clonmel	1663
27. Clonmel	1663
28. Clonmel	1663
29. Clonmel	1663
30. Clonmel	1663
31. Clonmel	1663

## Appendix II : List of fairs founded in Co.Tipperary in the seventeenth century.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Date of patent</u>
<u>Founded before 1650</u>	
1. Fethard	1607
2. Kilnockan	1607
3. Killerke	1607
4. Kilshennan	1607
5. Knockarding	1607
6. Knockelly	1607
7. Clonmel	1608
8. Kilfeacle	1608
9. Templemore	1608
10. Solohead	1609
11. Tipperary	1610
12. Moycarkey	1611
13. Cahir	1614
14. Ballyboy	1615
15. Lissinisky	1615
16. Drohid	[1619]
17. Tyone	1619
18. Thurles	1626
19. Ballycallane	1627
20. Tome	1627
21. Crannamenagh	1632
22. Roscrea	1633
23. Cullen	1634
24. Cashel	1637
25. Borrisokane	[1638]
26. Kilcooley	[1638]
<u>Mentioned in the Civil Survey</u>	
27. Abbyinislounaght	[ ]
28. Ballyclerihan	[ ]
29. Clonoulty	[ ]
30. Holy Cross	[ ]
31. Pallice	[ ]

32. Portnecask	[ ]
<u>Founded after 1650</u>	
33. Clonuharp	[1658]
34. Ballyduff	1678
35. Otway (Cloghenan)	1684
36. Clogheen	[1693]
<u>Existing in 1685 exclusive of the above</u>	
37. Callaghege	[ ]
38. Ballingarry	[ ]
39. Dundrum	[ ]
40. Graystown	[ ]
41. Goldenbridge	[ ]
42. Mahirebereskin	[ ]
43. Cloughjordan	[1682]

- Sources : (1) PP Report of the commissioners : fairs and markets (Ire.) xli (1852-3).  
 (2) PROI Lodge Ms : fairs and markets (1A 53 63).  
 (3) CS I pp.64,307,313 ; II pp.142,189,361.  
 (4) Bodleian Library, Oxford Carte Ms vol.161 pp.161-2 for Cloughjordan.

### Appendix III : Rural unrest before c.1760.

In the Restoration period there was some resentment expressed against the expansionist activities of sheep graziers in the county, and a number of cases are recorded between 1665 and 1684 of the rescuing of livestock impounded for arrears of rent (1). A certain degree of agrarian motivation accompanied the activities of the tories and rapparees in the county, particularly at the time of economic hardship such as the early 1690s when they appear to have successfully disrupted the commercial life of the county (2). Thereafter in the period up to 1750 a scattering of instances of rural outrage are on record but these appear to be largely associated with more general criminal activity or else, if agrarian in nature, were localised and uncoordinated and therefore not symptomatic of widespread grievances (3). An analysis of one composite source indicates that for the period 1713-53 of crimes which might be legitimately labelled agrarian, 22 came specifically under the acts against tories, while 17 others did not (4). Those designated as coming under the tory acts related largely to preying on the better off sections of the rural community, and were concerned mainly with burglary and periodically with assault, murder, and abduction. On the whole robbery was their most characteristic pursuit accompanied occasionally with other acts of brigandage.

In the 1750s evidence of agrarian unrest centres on two issues : the killing or maiming of livestock, and the forcible possession of land. Regarding the killing of farmstock at least two serious instances are recorded for the decade. In 1750 30 sheep the property of William Finch were slaughtered on the lands of Tullomore and in early 1751 a brace of deer in the deer park of John Damer at Shronell were killed (5). The motive for the first outrage is not apparent. In the second the intention was partly profit-seeking and partly to provoke hostility between the landlord and his head tenant who, commenting on the fact that some of the slaughtered deer were placed on his lands, remarked that it was 'with a design to prejudice my interest and good neighbourhood with Mr.Damer' (6).

Forcible possession of lands became more common in the 1750s. In 1751 Michael and William Carroll of Garrynoe, farmers, were reported to the house of commons as having entered on William Annesley's lands at Earl's Hill, stocked it, destroyed his cottagers' houses, and maintained forcible custody thereafter (7). A similar case happened in 1757 when the Blakes of Crossoyl, yeomen, resisted the high sheriff executing a possession order on the lands of Crossoyl in favour of Thomas Lanphier (8). Very likely both cases are instances of tenants either attempting to regain possession after the determination of their leases, or resisting ejectment proceedings brought for arrears of rent. Whatever the cause it is clear that the practice of forcible possession became sufficiently serious by 1751 to warrant an act of parliament (25 Geo.III c.13) in that year to curtail its incidence.

This act may be symptomatic that access to land was becoming an issue of contention

on some estates by mid-century expressing itself in rural unrest. Previous to that time the general absence of serious and organised agrarian crime is consistent with a county where the local economy was undeveloped. After 1760 with increasing commercialisation of agriculture sections of the rural community responded to the changes in a more organised fashion.

1. Based on the Clonmel assize books for 1665-84 (NLI Mss 4908-9). For resistance to one large sheep master in 1665 see in particular Ms 4908 fols 22v, 23, and for the rescuing of stock impounded for arrears of rent Ms 4908 fols.50v, 102v, Ms 4909 fols 14,60. See also T.Bartlett & D.W.Hayton, Penal era and golden age (1979) p.176.

2. PROI : Wyche 2/122, Mr.Philip Moore's opinion, Clonmel, 20 June 1694 . In this he remarks that so widespread had the activities (robbing of houses and travellers, intimidation, and attacking those attending fairs), of the tories become that 'trade or commerce in this county is almost totally dampt, and it deters such as would come to inhabit and stock it'. For the experience of one proprietor at their hands in 1691 see TCD Ms 749/4/423.

3. Regrettably the assize records do not survive for the county as these would allow of a precise analysis of the dimensions of pre-1760 rural unrest in the county. In their absence and as a substitute a conspectus of the evidence from the proclamations and associated sources is not sufficiently conclusive to allow one to imply an agrarian motive in a large number of cases. However, the exceptions may be the robbery and attempted murder of Rev.Peter Hickes of Lisduff and his family (one son was actually murdered) in 1727 ; the setting on fire of the house of William Carden of Knockin esq. in 1732 ; and the robbery and murder of Thomas Hutchinson of Slevire in 1735 (SPO : Privy Council Office V1.B.11.12 ; PROI : Proclamatio of July 1732). Evidence from 1750 suggests that it was common for damages to property and losses by robbery, carried out by those later indicted under the acts against tories, to be compensated for by the levying of an acreable tax known as 'robbery money' (a term suggestive of the main thrust of tory crime), on the catholic inhabitants of the barony where the crimes occurred or on the county as a whole. Thus in 1750 the total sum leviable on the county for this purpose was £34.10s.2d. which was apportioned on a baronial basis (see NLI Ms 8913 which is the return for the half barony of Ikerrin in 1750). The 'rapparee tax' was levied on the barony of Kilnamanagh in 1765 (NLI Ms 19822 pp.272-85).

4. The calendar of presentments, affidavits, and informations made to government (PROI 1A 52 159).

5. Munster Journal 10 May 1750, 21 Feb.1751. Neither incident elicited a proclamation from central government though local rewards were offered. The

perpetrators of the Finch crime were unknown, but the offenders in the Damer case were suspected to be Buckston Hayes ( a poacher), the Dwyers of Solohead, and the Ryans of Bruis 'commonly called Coneens' a designation which suggests some clan association.

6. Munster Journal 21 Feb.1751. The comment was made by Richard Chadwick, Ballinard, a head tenant to Damer.

7. Comms.Jnl.(Ire.) v p.104. They were subsequently ordered into custody for the offence *ibid.* p.109).

8. DG 15-18 Oct.1757.



Appendix IV : Note on parish and county cess.

The annual parish rate struck by the vestry for Shanrahan Union increased from £21.7s.6d. in 1790 to £34 in 1796. In Shronell it rose from £25 (1790) to £30 (1796) to £40 (1799) ; in Relickmurry from £36.13s.6d. (1790) to £37.13s.6d.(1796) ; and in an urban parish, St.Patrick's and St.John's, Cashel it grew from £174.14s. (1790) to £266.5s.6d. (1796) to £290.9s.6d.(1799) (1). In the years 1790-93 the county cess was static or declining but in 1794 it increased sharply and continued at about the £20,000 level for the next few years (Table LVII). In 1798 it fell below this mark to £18,400 which with the low amount claimed for losses sustained in that year, is an indication of the relative absence of serious unrest. Even in 1799 it did not rise markedly and only with the renewal of widespread agitation from 1805 does a sharper upward trend become more continuously evident.

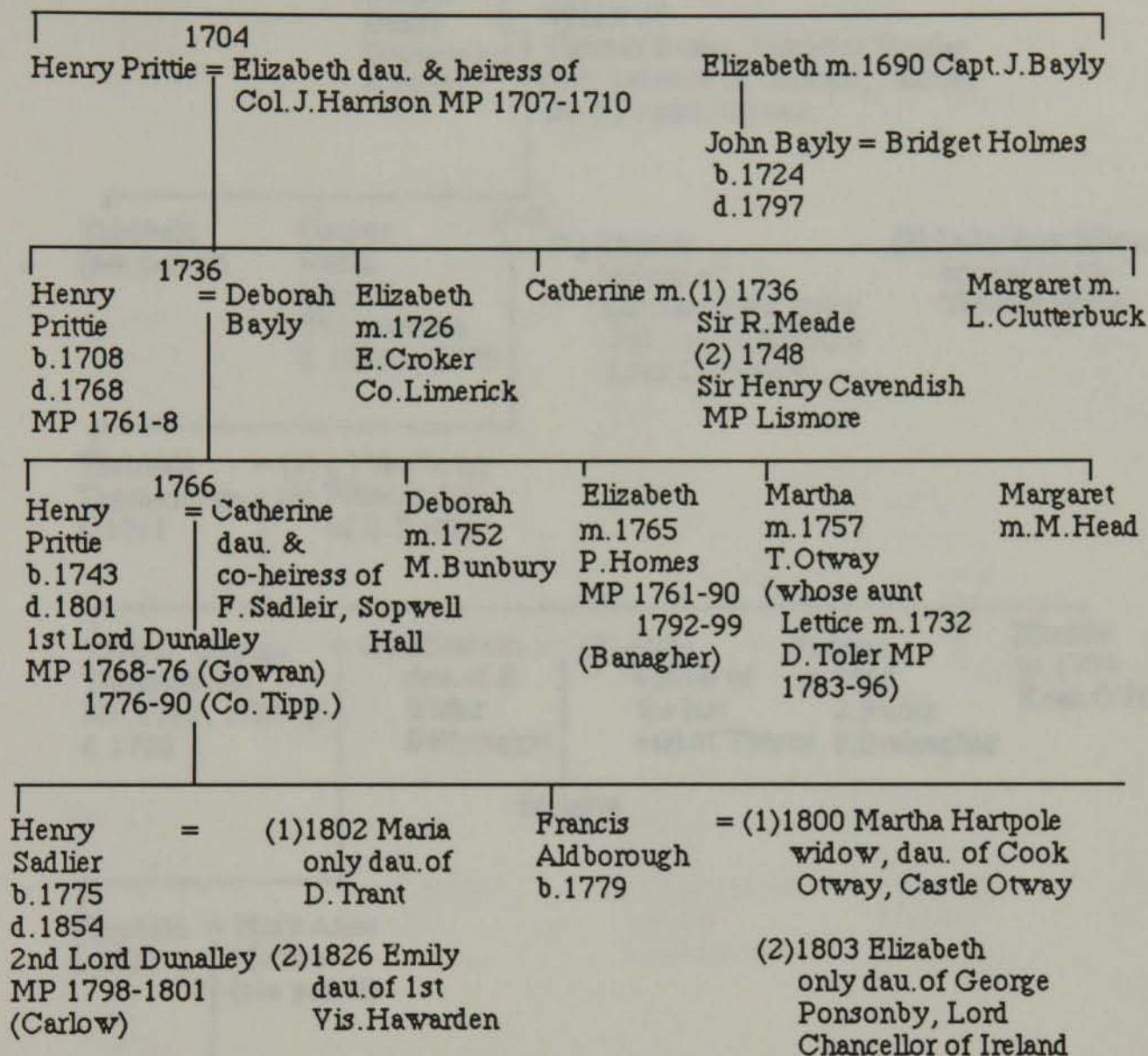
(1). RCB Ms P.78-9 ; Cashel Deanery : Vestry minute book Shronell 1757-1832, Relickmurry 1770-1809 St.Patrick's and St.John's 1786- to date.

## GENEALOGIES

Henry Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	Martha Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	John Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	Elizabeth Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	William Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	Thomas Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812
Henry Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812 1st Lt. Dragoon MP 1794-1812 (No. 100)	Martha Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	John Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	Elizabeth Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	William Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	Thomas Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812
Henry Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812 (Carroll)	Martha Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	John Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	Elizabeth Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	William Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812	Thomas Fisher b. 1774 d. 1812 MP 1794-1812

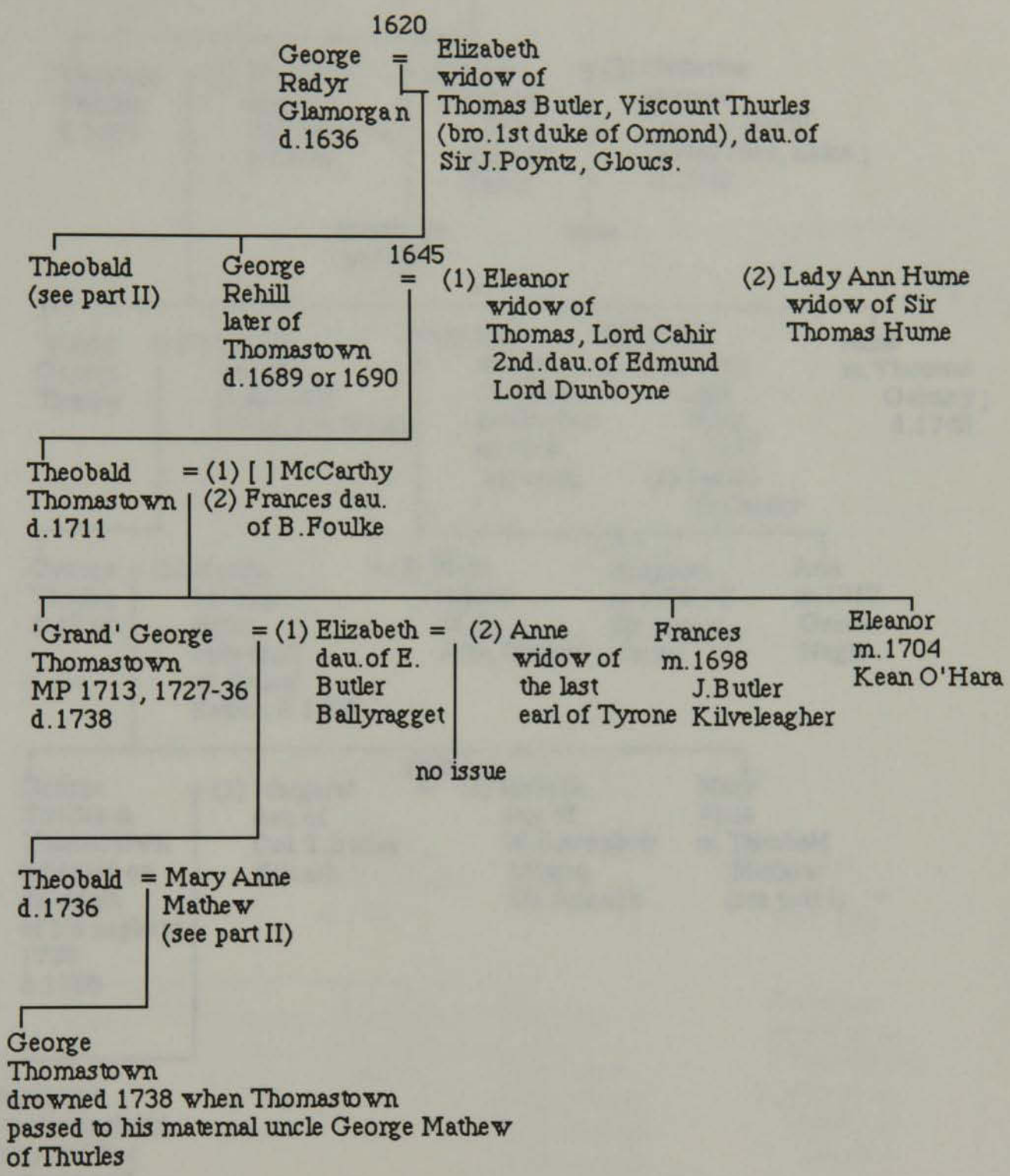
Source: CO No. 100, p. 177

## Genealogy I : Prittie of Kilboy.

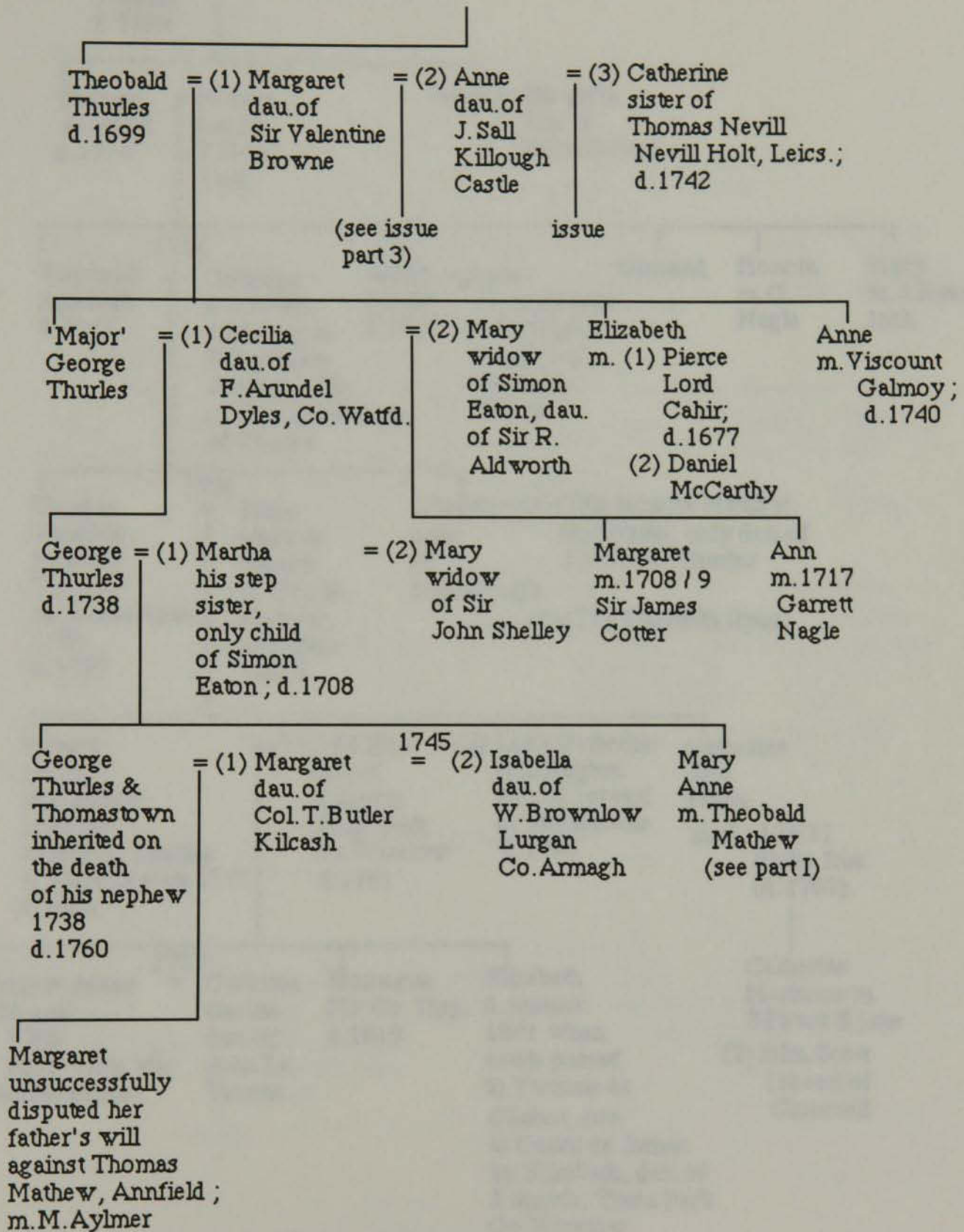


Source : GO Ms 576 p.177.

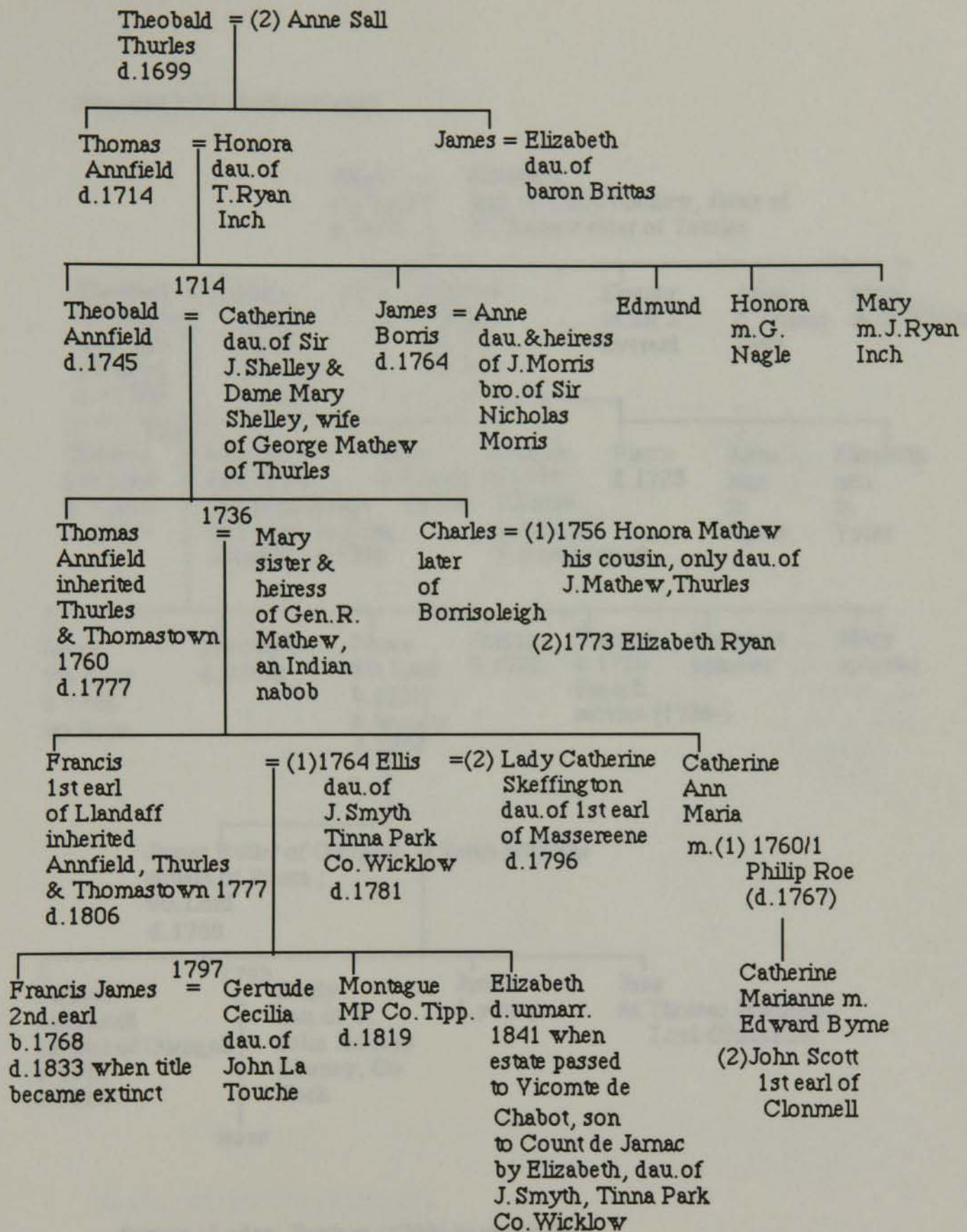
Genealogy II (part 1) : Mathew



## Genealogy II (part 2) : Mathew

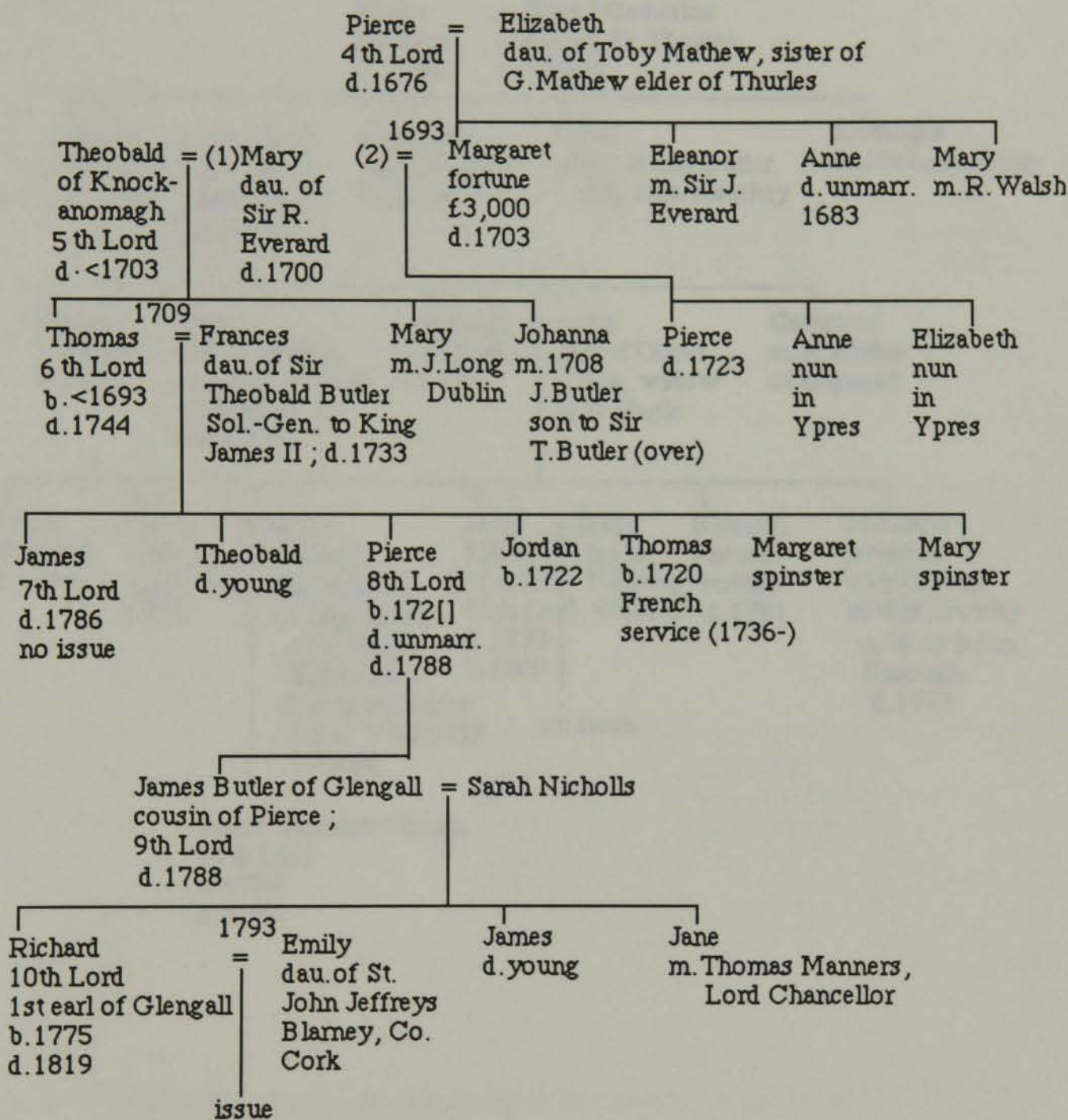


## Genealogy II (part 3) : Mathew



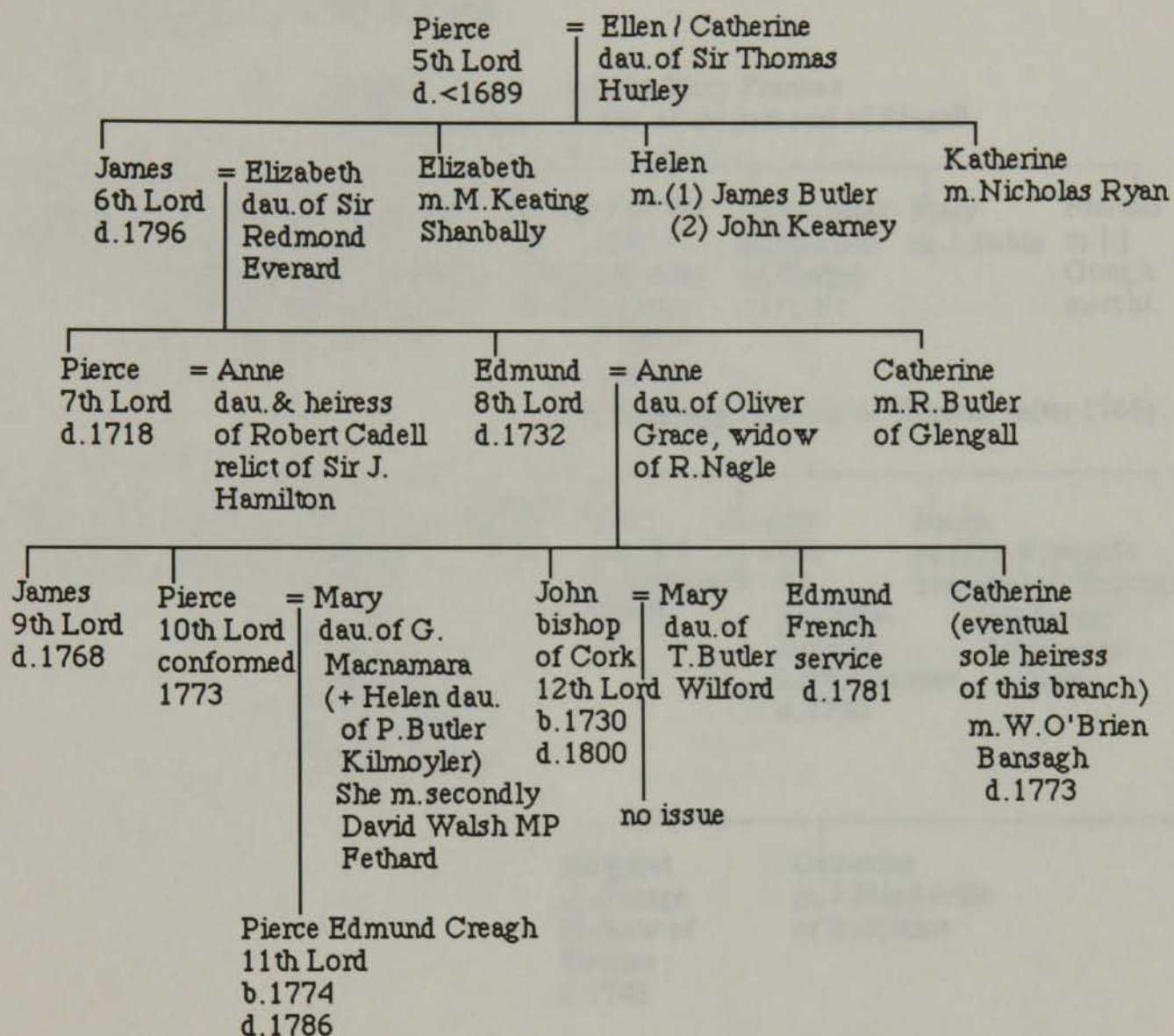
Sources : GO Ms 814 (3,8) ; Genealogy of the earls of Llandaff of Thomastown  
Co. Tipperary, Ireland (1899) ; Burke's, Irish family records  
(1976) pp.793-4.

## Genealogy III : Butler (Cahir)



Source : Lodge, Peerage (1789) iv pp.68-71.

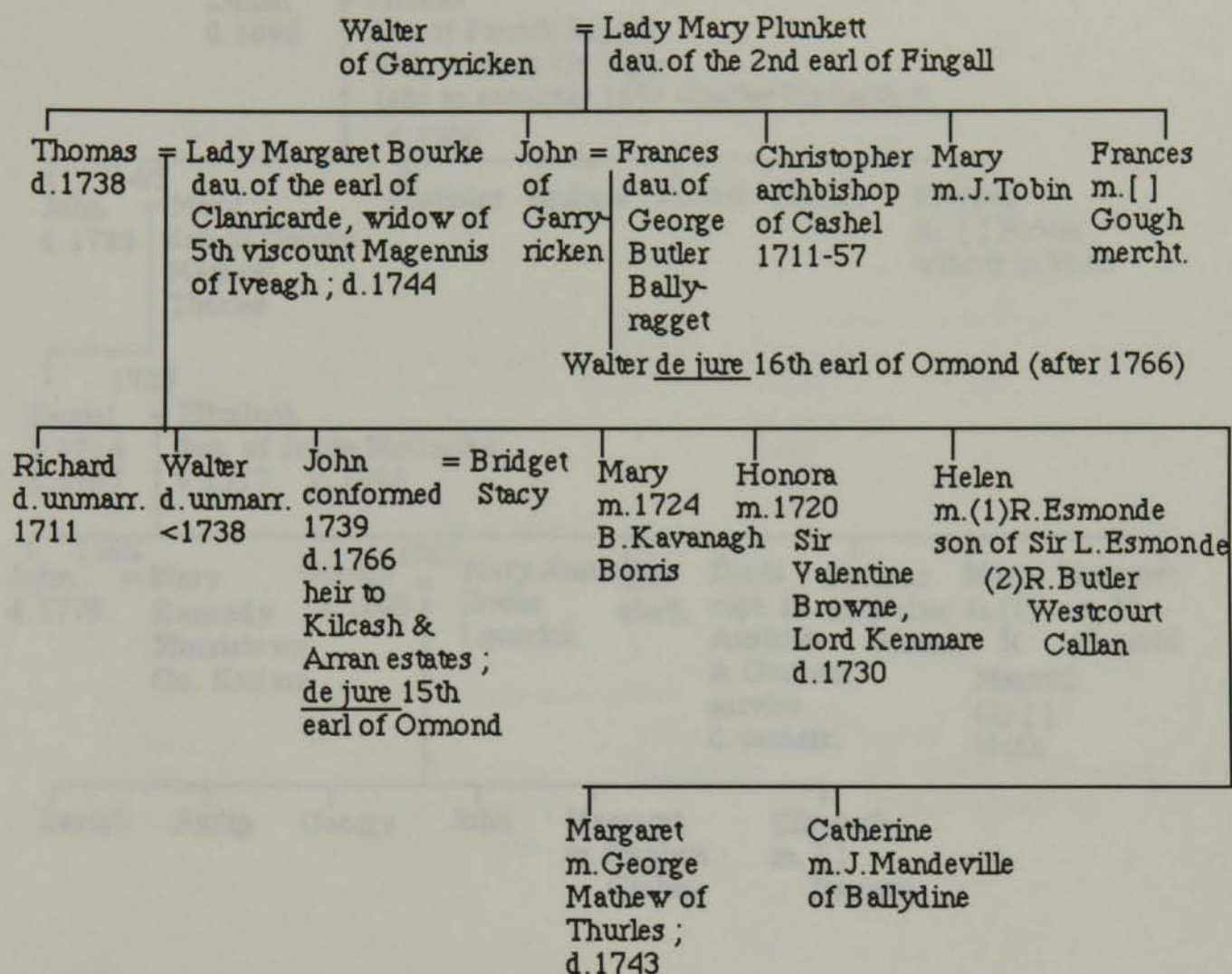
## Genealogy IV : Butler (Dunboyne)



Source : GO Ms 170 pp.300-302.

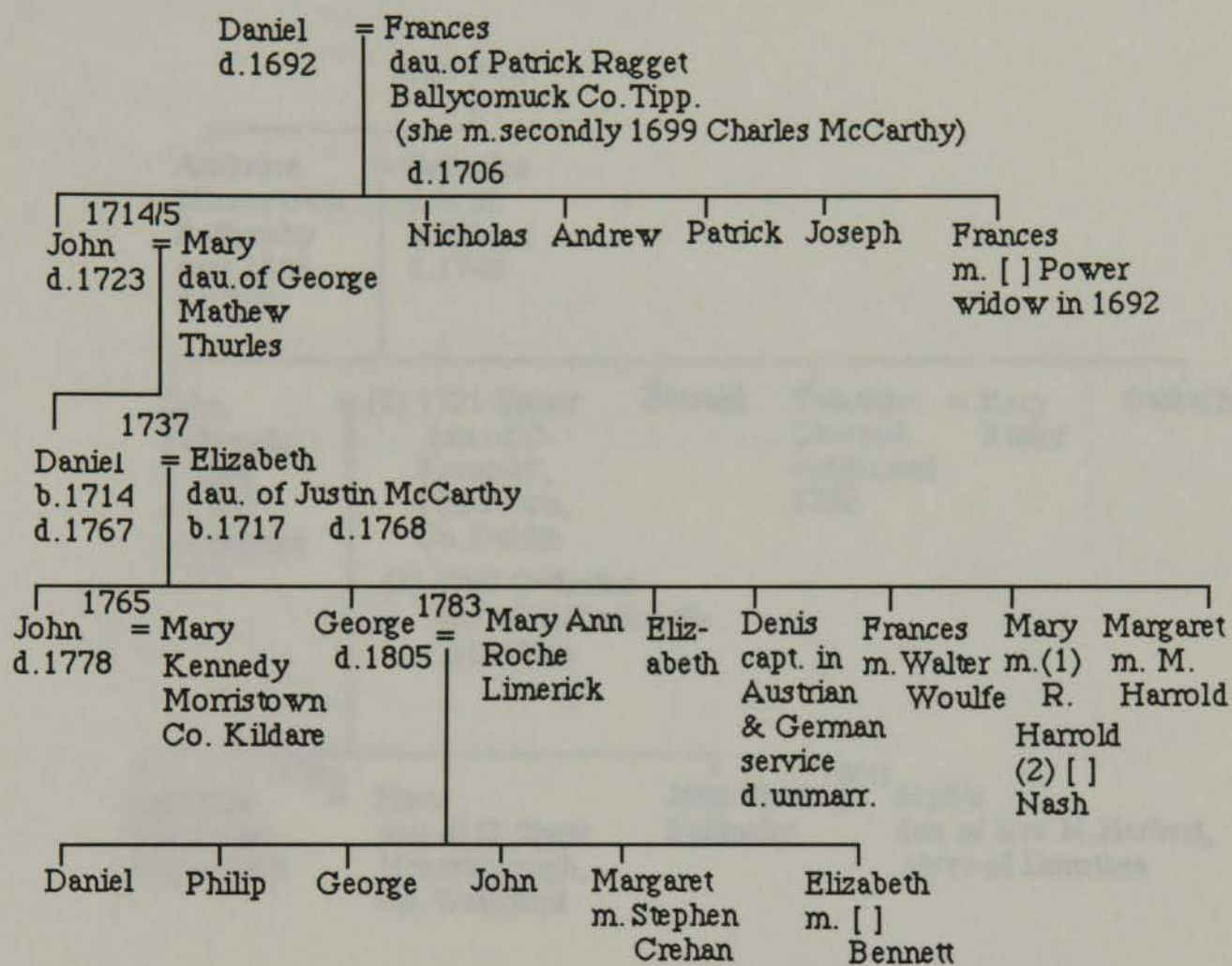


## Genealogy V : Butler (Kilcash)



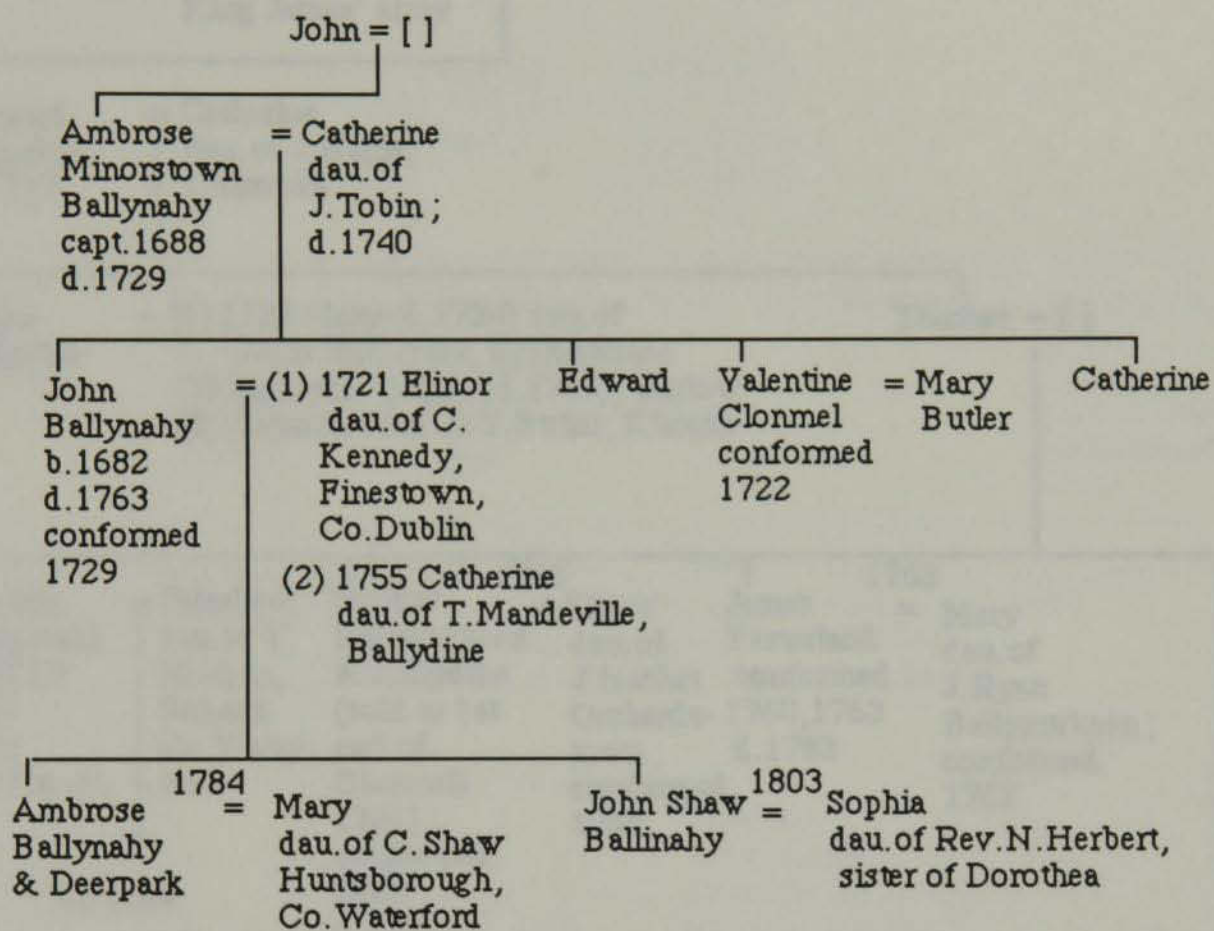
Source : reconstructed from details in the will of Thomas Butler, 7 Oct. 1730  
(NLI Ormond papers) ; Lord Dunboyne, Butler family history (1967).

## Genealogy VI : Ryan of Inch



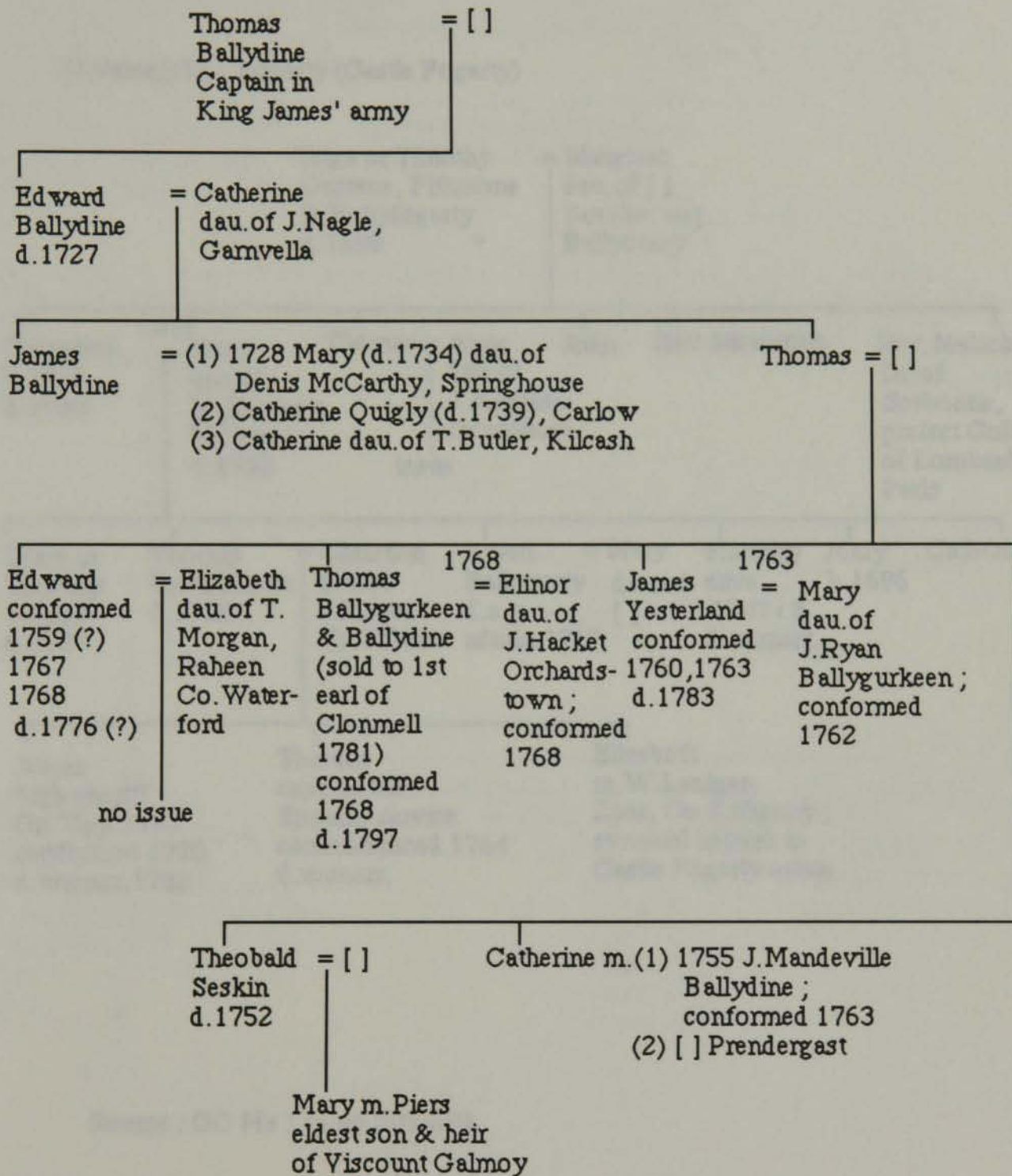
Sources : PROI M 5306 ; will of Daniel Ryan, 22 Aug.1757 (NLI Mic.P.5489) ;  
FLJ 24-28 Oct.1767.

## Genealogy VII : Mandeville (1)



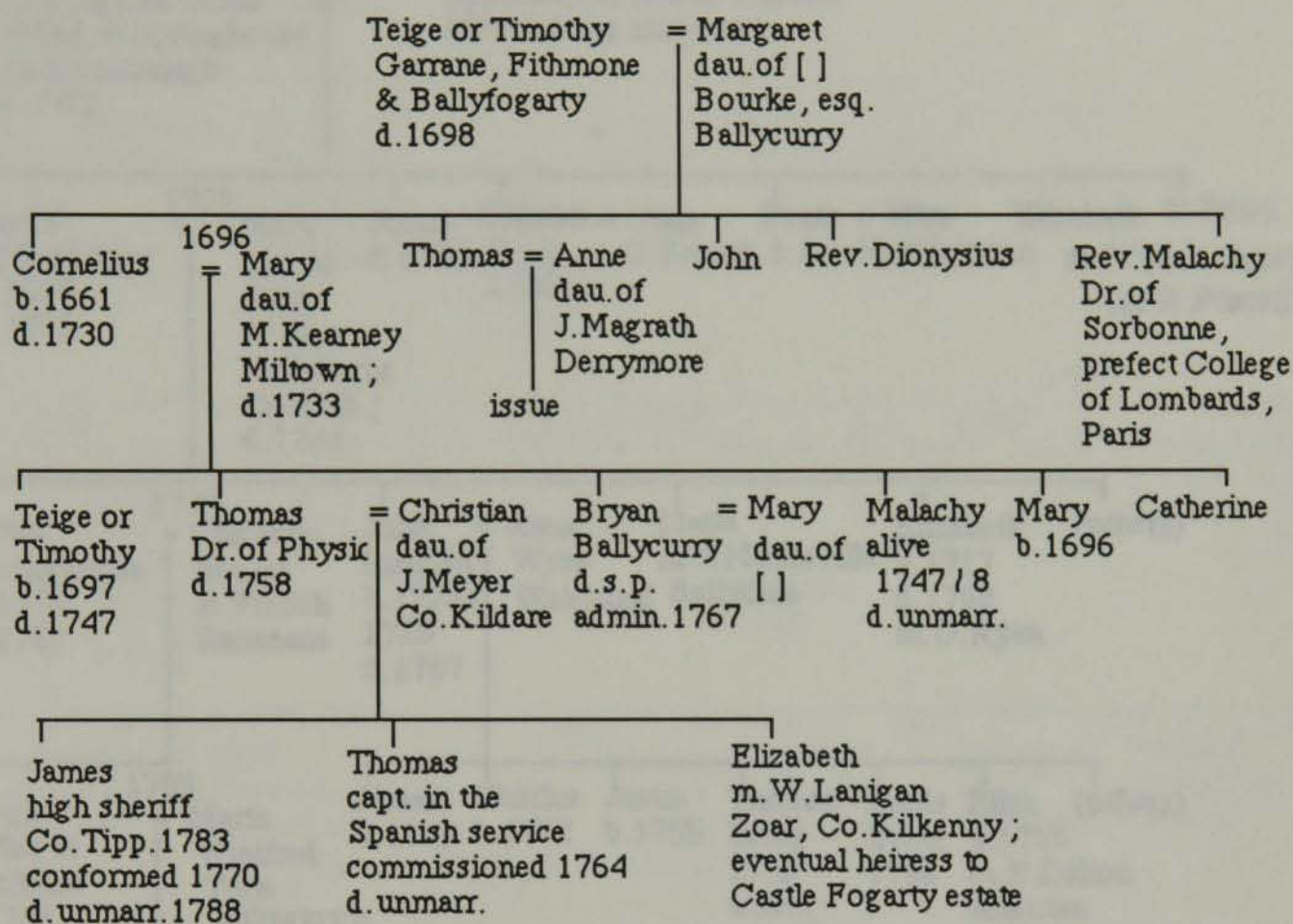
Source : Burke's, Irish family records (1976) pp. 779-80

## Genealogy VIII : Mandeville (2)



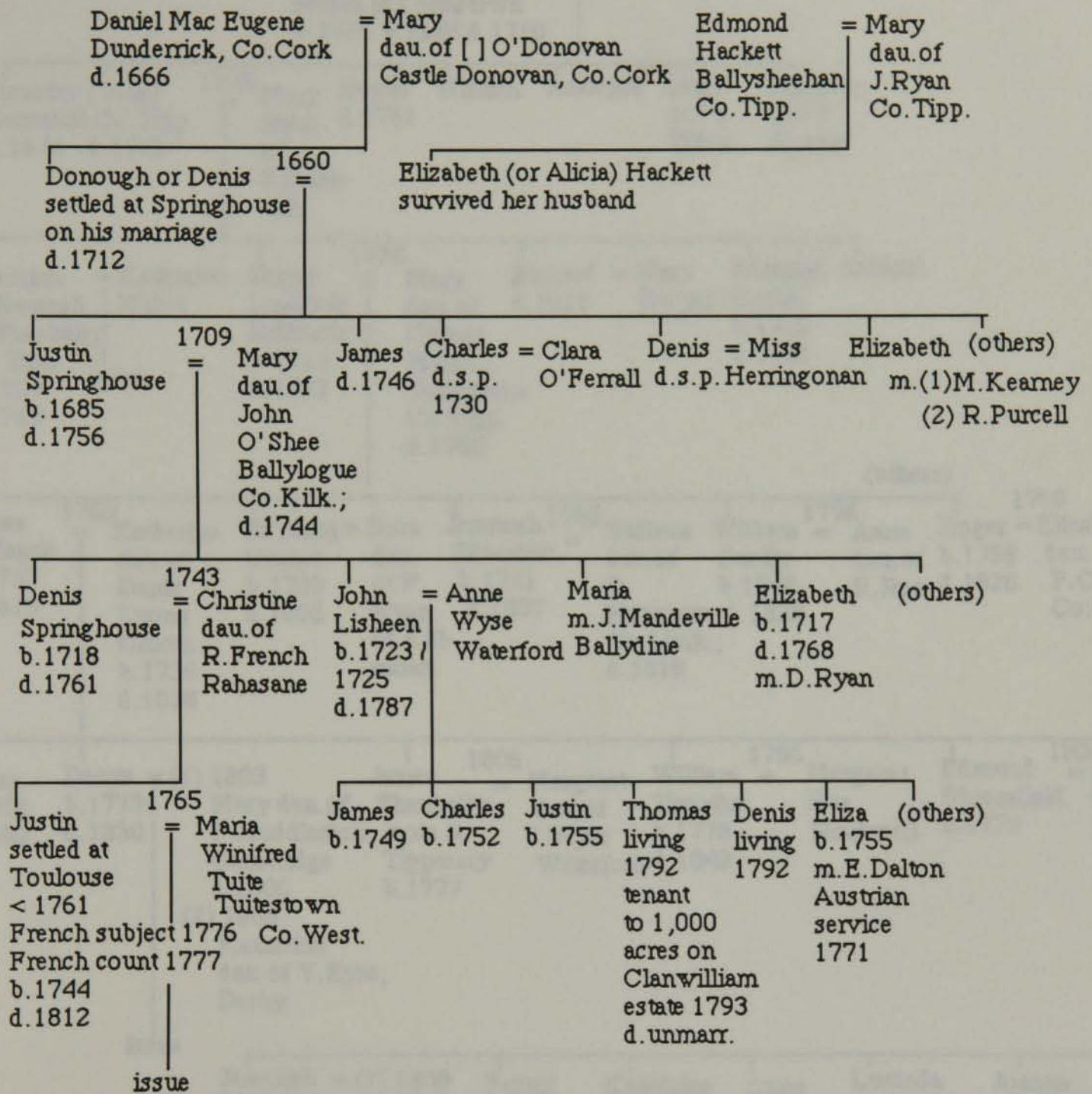
Source : Burke's, Irish family records (1976) pp.779-80.

## Genealogy IX : Fogarty (Castle Fogarty)



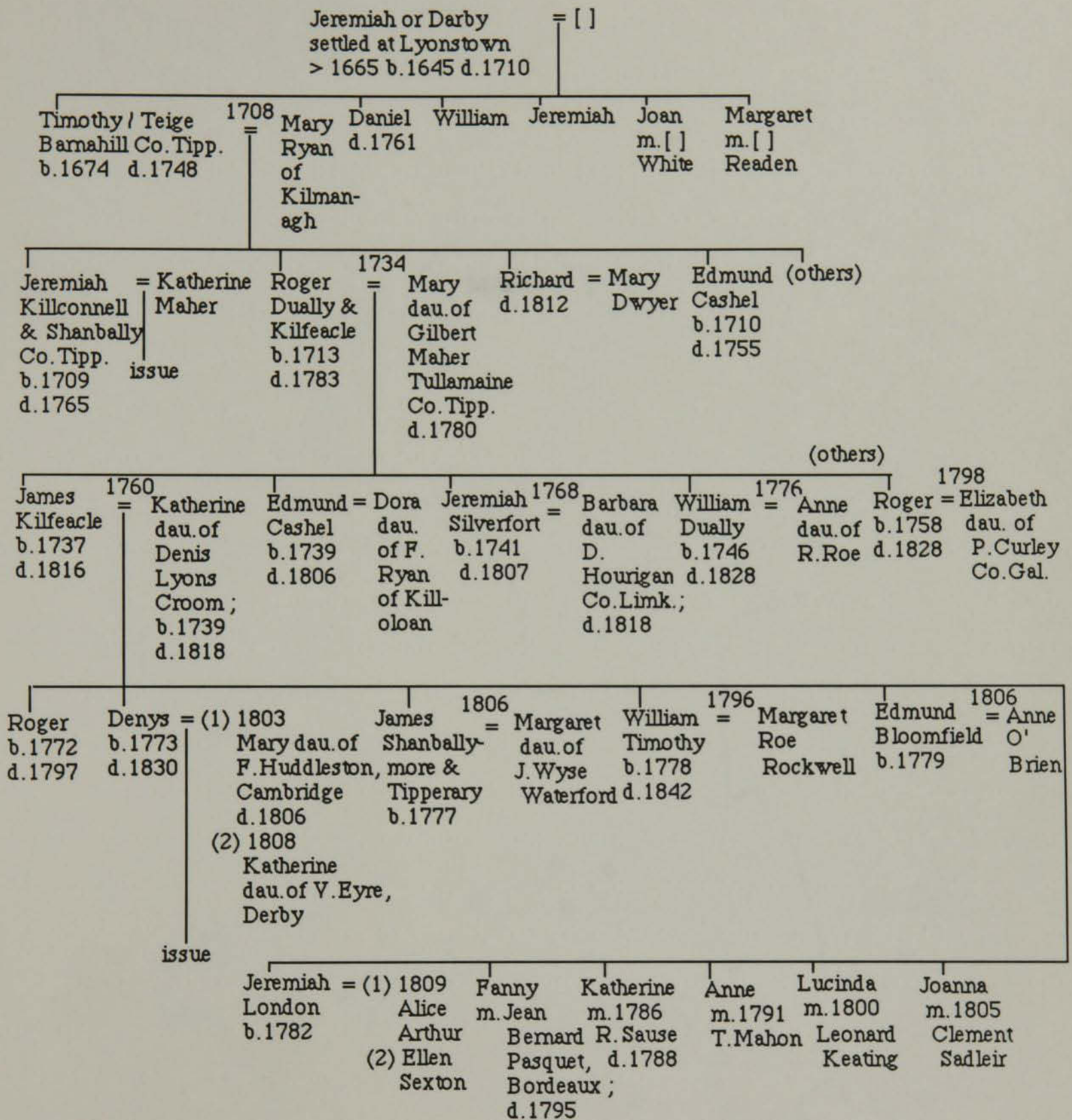
Source : GO Ms 170 pp.209-210.

## Genealogy X : McCarthy (Springhouse)



Sources : GO Mss 164 pp. 164-8 ; 175 pp. 63-4 ; S. T. McCarthy, The McCarthys of Munster (1922).

## Genealogy XI : Scully (Kilfeacle)



Sources : GO Ms 18-0 pp.132-43 ; Burke's, Landed gentry (1914) pp.407-8.

1895

# MAPS



1895

1895



Map I : Fair sites, 1685.



Not located : Gray, Mahirebeskin, and Dundan.

Source : Bourk's, Almanack (1685).

Map II : Fair sites, 1743.



Source : Watson's, Almanack (1743).

Map III : Fair sites, 1788.



Source : Watson's, Almanack (1788).

Map IV : Fair sites, 1815.



Source : Watson's, Almanack (1815).

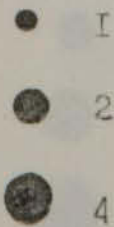
Map V : Location map of flour mills in Tipperary sending flour to Dublin, 1768-1794. (Map references refer to Table XXXVII).



Map VI : Incidence of major agrarian crime in Co. Tipperary  
1760-1766.



Source : As Table XLVIII.



Map VII : Incidence of major agrarian crime in Co. Tipperary,  
1770-1776.



Source : As Table XLVIII.

Map VIII : Incidence of major agrarian crime in Co. Tipperary,  
1785-1788.



Source : As Table XLVIII.



Map IX : Incidence of major agrarian crime in Co. Tipperary,  
1799-1803.



Source : As Table XLVIII.

1988-1990

1991-1993

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3. Reference

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12. Specialized works

13. General

14. Reference works

15. Composite works

16. Unpublished works

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- (1) Bibliographies
- (2) Guides

II Manuscript sourcesIII Printed sources

- (1) Records
  - 1. General
  - 2. Parliamentary
    - (a) Statutes, private acts and bills
    - (b) Journals
    - (c) Debates
    - (d) Parliamentary lists
    - (e) Other
    - (f) Parliamentary papers
  - 3. Legal
- (2) Contemporary works
  - 1. General
  - 2. Newspapers and periodicals
  - 3. Reference
- (3) Source compilations

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- (3) Composite works

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