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The Scullys of Kilfeakle — Catholic Middlemen of the 1770s

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The eighteenth century saw the almost complete triumph of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. Advances by the Gaelic and Old English Catholic interests in the Restoration years were nullified in the aftermath of the Williamite Wars. The new dominant clique were unrelenting in their efforts to keep the reins of powers and prestige in their own hands.

Catholicism, or Popery as they perceived it, was denigrated continuously. A series of legislative proceedings (the Penal Code), the foundations for which were laid in the reigns of William and Anne, greatly reduced Catholic influence and property. Catholic Ireland was now leaderless, a rudderless ship foundering on the intransigent Protestant rock.

The Penal Laws, contrary to popular belief, were not primarily religiously motivated. The laws against property were more stringently enforced than those against clerics and religious practices. Consequently, most Catholic landowners conformed to Protestantism eventually.¹

The 'Popery Act' of 1704 delivered a body-blow to Catholic landowners.² Catholics could no longer buy land or lease land for more than 31 years, and a lease had to be at a rent of at least two-thirds of the yearly value — though this last clause proved unenforceable. Catholic estates were to be subdivided on an owner's death unless the eldest son conformed, and where there existed a Protestant heir to a Catholic estate, the holder was reduced to the status of a tenant for life.

Another Act of Parliament in 1709 closed many loopholes inherent in its predecessor, with further restrictions and the introduction of the 'discoverer'. If an evasion of the law was discovered in property dealings, the discoverer was entitled to the land in question. Thus legislation, naturally, led to a drastic reduction in the area of land left in Catholic ownership.³

In the final quarter of the eighteenth century a new political consciousness in Ireland, allied to government anxiety over Irish loyalty, helped to produce the first major Catholic relief measure, enabling Roman Catholics to take leases of land for 999 years and to inherit in the same way as Protestants.⁴ In 1782 a mere sweeping Relief Act abolished disabilities relating to land, and permitted Catholic secular clergy to perform ecclesiastical functions.^{5 6}

This legislation impinged on all Catholic landowners. The Scullys of Kilfeakle were not intimidated, and appear to have played the game according to the rules. As will appear later, James Scully was quick to exploit the more favourable conditions existing in the final quarter of the century.

Middlemen were an eighteenth-century phenomenon, and their subsequent 'bad press' can be partly attributed to Arthur Young, who wrote that 'living upon the spot, surrounded by their little undertenants, they prove the most oppressive species of tyrants that ever lent assistance to the destruction of a country. Not satisfied with screwing up rent to the uttermost farthing, they are rapacious and relentless in the collection of it'.⁷

Middlemen were, however, attractive propositions for financially troubled landlords, as it was

*Revised version of an undergraduate paper, U.C.C.



only about 1800 that the assumption of land as a continually appreciating asset became common.⁸ Leases were often granted because of the short-term financial needs of the landowner. In West Tipperary this process continued into the nineteenth century. The benefit accruing to James Scully from the Mathew indebtedness of 1809 – 14 will later be discussed.

The under-tenants of the 1740s were solvent enough to become direct tenants by the 1770s, and were increasingly tempted to sublet portions of their farms because of the growing demand of cottiers for holdings.⁹ Cullen asserts that middlemen contributed decisively to the gradual and almost imperceptible modernisation of rural life.¹⁰ Roger Scully and his son James personify these developments.

National generalisations are partly superfluous when considering the Scullys, whose lands were concentrated primarily in the barony of Clanwilliam. County Tipperary was at the time unique in many respects.

The soil of the great plains and vales [of Tipperary] consists of calcareous loams of various quality but for the most part exuberantly fertile, and forming in parts of the southern and southwestern baronies of Clanwilliam, Middlethird, Iffa and Offa the most productive parts of the county.¹¹

Arthur Young outlined the sheep system of Tipperary on the dry sandy loam soil, where in general 'the land will carry three to five sheep to the acre, and bear some calves besides, and one acre and three quarter a bullock the year through, one half for hay.'¹² In the eighteenth century the beef, mutton and pork per lb. averages for Tipperary were well above the national mean.¹³ The Golden Vale had an average valuation of over 20s. an acre. According to Jones Hughes, stability and continuity were among the most pertinent factors in a study of the development of large farm structures in Tipperary.¹⁴

The more typical large Tipperary home, with a valuation over £10, was the three-storey Georgian block, as high as it was long, with five or seven bays in its principal front. Mantlehill, built by James Scully Jnr. between 1815-20, was such a house.¹⁵ The Scullys were fortunate to hold their possessions in the best farming land. Through their efforts and expertise they were guaranteed a generous return on their investment. However, Tipperary was also unique in the social and religious dimension, and the Scullys and their Tipperary Catholic contemporaries reaped the benefits of these characteristics.

The Ormond Butlers were sympathetic to Catholics, and the Cahir branch of the family did not conform, even nominally. Thus, in county Tipperary, there was a strong Catholic interest faced by an active Protestant interest, concentrated in the north-west and in the south along the lower reaches of the Suir.¹⁶ An equally significant group of Catholic families were centred around the Mathew dynasty, representatives of the pre-Reformation Catholic gentry forced by political and economic pressure to conform in the eighteenth century; guardians of the Catholic liberal interest.

Besides these two major family groupings, Tipperary also provided a whole host of lesser Catholic gentry who performed a similar, if more local, function. Beneath this group, and to some extent corresponding to them, was a middleman group. This included such families as the Keatings of Cahir, the O'Donnells of Seskin near Clonmel, the Mahers of Turtulla near Thurles, and the Scullys of Kilfeakle and Mantlehill, 4 miles south-west of Cashel. These Catholic middlemen, brokers of the culture, emerged as a significant social group.¹⁷

The 1775 oath of loyalty to the British monarchy offers further evidence of the unique Tipperary position. Many Catholic landowners stressed their fealty to the Crown; 1,539 Catholics took the oath and Tipperary, with 364, had the largest county representation. This was because of Butler pressure and a desire for greater acceptability by the ruling elite. Arch-

bishop Butler II and George Mathew took the oath. So did the MacCarthys of Springhouse, Kilshane, many branches of the Butlers and Keatings — and, significantly, the Scullys of Kilfeakle.^{18 19}

As a further indication of the Scullys' favourable position in the Penal Law era, a look at the electoral results is rewarding. Cullen explains that the Mathew candidature was vigorously espoused by Catholics in the 1761 election.²⁰ It was said of Francis Mathew, who sat for Tipperary from 1768 to 1783, that in the 1768 election he 'came in by the papist interest'.²¹ Since Kilfeakle is next door to Thomastown, the Scullys almost certainly formed part of this interest.

The agrarian revolts of the second half of the eighteenth century occurred predominantly in the more fertile parts of the country, with Tipperary to the forefront.²² Although some Whiteboys levelled a wall around the Rock of Cashel in the spring of 1763, their activity was mainly confined to South and North-East Tipperary.²³ The Rightboys achieved a broader range of social support, penetrating Tipperary town, and even enjoyed some success in eliminating middlemen, but did not encroach on the Scullys, who remained locally popular.

The Scully family in this socially troubled century do not fit the picture of poor, downtrodden Catholic landowners, portrayed in nationalist historiography. Nor do the emotions aroused by the Scully name do justice to these eighteenth-century Scullys who built up large profitable estates in a county which was peculiar to the time and allowed prudent men like Roger and James Scully scope to manoeuvre.

Their honest endeavours have been irrevocably tarnished by the assassination of the unpopular James Scully, son of Denys, in 1842; the 1856 Tipperary Bank Crash with Scully familial connections and the actions of William Scully who at Ballycohey in August 1868 was involved in a fracas with his tenants, with two of his entourage killed and he himself injured. This last incident has often been cited to portray Irish landlords as cruel and tyrannical.²⁴

The Scully connection with West Tipperary stretches back to the second half of the eighteenth century, when Jeremiah Scully (1645-1710) of Ryallstown or Lyonstown, in the parish of St. Patrick's rock (near Cashel) with his brother Roger (c.1704) settled near Cashel, after the Restoration of Charles II. According to family tradition they came from King's county or Longford.

Jeremiah's eldest son, Timothy or Teige Scully (1674-1748) of Donohill, county Tipperary, married in 1708 Mary, daughter of Roger Ryan of Kilnamanagh, county Tipperary. His second son, Roger Scully of Kilfeakle and Dualla, married Mary, daughter of Gilbert Maher of Tullamaine, near Cashel. They had two daughters and seven surviving sons,²⁵ and it is with the lineage of Roger that this article mainly deals.

Roger, who married in 1736, resided at Ballysheehan near Cashel until 1750, when he moved to Dualla, Cashel on to a farm of a Mr. Lathan; there he remained until 1774. Although Catholics could not take very long leases or inherit land until the Relief Acts, Roger became an extensive middleman, acquiring a temporary interest in large amounts of land. For instance, in the mid-1760s he leased Garnacanty, in the parish of Corroge bordering Tipperary town, a townland of 445½ acres, from Smith-Barry for two lives and 21 years. This was renewed in 1791 with his son James at a yearly rent of £500, and did not revert to the Smith-Barrys until 1867.

Roger gave Dualla to his son William, moving to Kilfeakle. This he left in 1780, on the death of his wife, to James. At his prime he held up to 4,000 acres, residing in Cashel up to his death in 1783.

In his lifetime Roger gave his family about £8,000, and at his death he left another £8,000 to them. The residue, probably about £14,000 in lands and money, he left to James.²⁶ In an age when litigation was a habit he never indulged, passing on his business-acumen to his sons. His



third son, Jeremiah of Silverfort, near Cashel, left almost £60,000 when he died in 1807.^{27 28}

James Scully (Roger's son) married Kitty Lyons of Croom in 1760. He got £1,500 from his father to begin with; with his wife's dowry of £1,000, £2,500 was not a bad start! However, in the 1760s he lived with his father-in-law for a time, and with the prices for land produce very low his career was slow to develop. He lost many cattle with murrain, but persevered. From 1762 to 1765 he lived at Cashel.

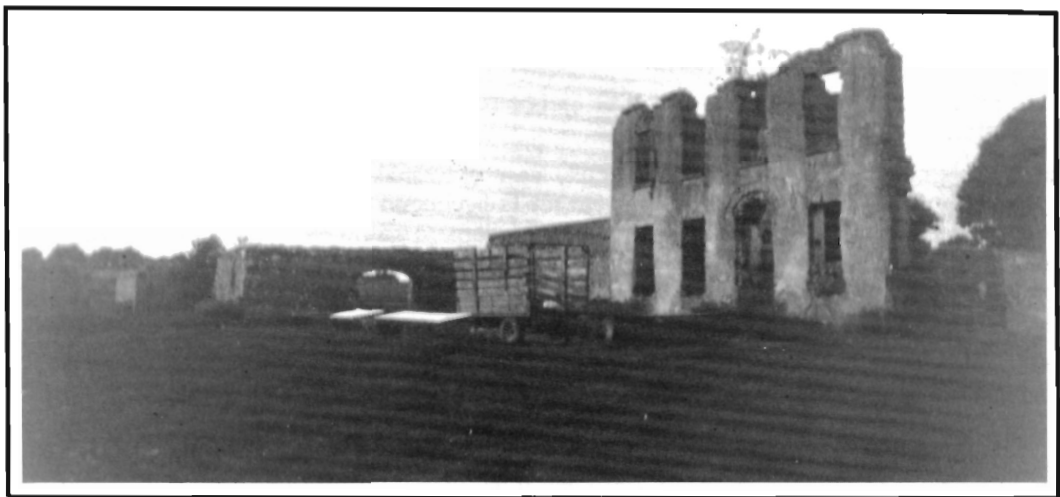
There followed five years at Garnacanty, until in 1770 he heard of a large farm going cheap at Ballyvouden, near Kiltely, county Limerick. He bid for the farm, got it and rose gradually in stature, raising the value of the property in ten years to nearly £8,000 through hard work and keeping expenses down. When his mother died in 1780 he inherited Kilfeakle.²⁹

With his strengthening financial position James Scully took on extra lands, leasing from local landlords who were satisfied with the rent received and the reduction in their immediate tasks. Kilfeakle had been leased to James Scully by Matthew Bunbury, who then lived in England, for three lives – for £620 p.a. in 1772 for nearly 700 acres, including a mansion house. In 1775 Scully leased Mantlehill from the Earl of Clanwilliam for 99 years. Mantlehill and the townland of Knocknoe were purchased in 1808 for £14,200 and £1,950, respectively.³⁰

Shanballymore, in the parish of Kilmucklin, some four miles north-west of Tipperary town, was originally taken for lives in 1789 from the Earl of Llandaff (Mathew) at 30s. per acre, together with a loan of £500 to the earl. Six years later a new agreement, a lease for lives renewable for ever from Llandaff and his son, with the help of Nicholas Meagher, at a rent of £180 p.a. for 192 acres, was arranged.³¹

In 1775 James Scully took 105 acres at Carrigkettle, Kiltely, county Limerick, at 34/- an acre for 31 years, with a surrender clause every 3 years and liberty to till twelve acres out of each 100 acres. On August 28 1782 he took Ballycohey (near Shronehill) and Shronehill for the lives of Roger, James and Edmund at £800 p. year, £200 to be allowed £200 the first year:

Yet it is deemed not dear — I believe it is not too dear — the Dwelling Hse. of Irnill Gardens etc. contains 12A 3R 34P, Deer Park 141A OR IOP, Groves 21.1.12 in all 201A IR 27P and Ballycohey at 30/- p. acre and 20 Guin.s — it comes to yearly £481:II:6 I believe not dear.³²



All that remains of the Scully mansion at Kilfeakle

In 1783 James agreed with a Mr. Barry for the lands of Garnacanty for 5 years from November at 34/- an acre, being £464:2:0p p.a. The diary for 1787 has James receiving a letter from a Mr. Anderson 'to let me know I might have Ballynagonactagh at £104: 18:10p. year . . . I have now 650 acres at £800p. year being 24/4p. acre'.³³ In 1875 he obtained Mantlehill Little from the Earl of Clanwilliam.

James, showing an acute entrepreneurial spirit, availed himself of the Relief Acts. In the 1780s he took new farms such as Castlemore (in the parish of Emly) Shronehill, Ballycohey and Shanballymore, and obtained longer leases of others such as Ballyvouden, Kilfeakle, Garnacanty, Ballynaclogh and Rathmacon. The year 1783 was an important one in his career, as there was a large accession to his property on the death of his father, giving him greater command of money for stocking such of the farms he had taken after 1783, and for giving fines upon some of the leases.³⁴

In the 1780s land value was generally low, but from 1788 on it began to rise again and leases previously taken were of high and increasing value. While Catholics had been limited to 31-year leases, many Protestants had received leases in perpetuity, leases for three lives renewable for ever. An example was the Moore estate of Mooresfort, in the parish of Lattin, four miles west of Tipperary town, leased from James Dawson of Ballynacourty in 1703 and from Joseph Damer in 1719.³⁵

After the Relief Acts some Catholics, including Scully, used their capital to acquire a primary interest in the land. These men proved much more durable in the post-1815 period, when middlemen in general were on the wane. By 1792 James Scully had about 4,000 acres by leases of three lives or 31 years, which stocked about 1,500 acres, underletting the rest at easy profit rents.³⁶ In 1796 his holdings totalled 9,332 Irish acres.³⁷

As the eighteenth century ended, ushering in the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, which he strongly favoured, James Scully continued his career in a manner that gives credence to his son's later comment — that his father's 'principal object was that of acquiring wealth, his next, that of preserving it. His views on public matters were dependent on these objects'.³⁸ By 1804 he was letting 6,043 acres and reaping a profit rent value of £6,702.6.8.³⁹

At this time the Earl of Llandaff had over 4,068 acres in fee simple, receiving from them £4,542.18.3. These included Ballyneale in the parish of Donohill, Shanballymore and Ballyracane (also in the Donohill parish) just four miles north of Tipperary town, which were in Scully hands.⁴⁰ In 1806 James Scully purchased further lands from the Earl of Clanwilliam for £1,650, and in 1808 he acquired Mantlehill Great from the Earl.⁴¹ This land passed to his second son, Denys, who built the mansion-house there already mentioned: James's eldest son died in 1797 from a fall off a horse.⁴²

In 1812 John Massy died, ending the Scully lease of Killinaliff. That same year William Ryan offered James a £200 fine and £300 a year for Ballyvouden for his life, his son Tim's and his grandson's life, provided Scully's title held; the agreement was implemented. In 1813 James set John Keefe 2 acres near his house at 4 guineas per acre fine for his life or 21 years, and he also had to provide good workmen and a right of way.⁴³

By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century the Earl of Llandaff was in serious financial trouble. He was in debt to the tune of £97,750, including £20,000 to James Scully. Between 1809 and 1814 he sold estates with a rent value of £6,277 for £148,950.

In 1813 Alleen Hogan (Donohill), Shanballymore, Ballybeg, Ballysimon, Emlagh and Glebe, all of the parish of Kilmucklin, just north of Tipperary town, were all parts of the 4,000 acres obtained from Llandaff by James for £13,227.⁴⁴ The following year James Scully purchased Drishane, in the parish of Rathlynin, 3/ miles north-east by east of Tipperary town, and two



other estates from the second Earl. Thus, by his death in 1816 James Scully had propelled himself into the group of leading landowners in the county, and was recognised as one of the leaders in Tipperary society.

As James Scully prospered, ever increasing his holdings and profits, certain distinctive trends are noticeable. Cork was a main focus for business-dealings, and both James and his son Denys were made freemen of that city. In 1774 he sent about 42 bullocks to Cork at c.20 cwt., 18/6p. each; they made about £270. He expected his bullocks to make £3,700 in 1775.

Fair-days, such as those at Cork, Hospital, Adare and Tipperary, were major dates on the farmer's calendar. In 1775, on James's annual visit to the Ballinasloe sale, he bought 196 bullocks and 40 more at Roscrea on his return home. Horse-racing and steeplechasing are mentioned regularly in his diary, with the Cashel Races an important social event.⁴⁵

His diary gives an insight into the care and precision which James Scully exercised in his dealings, and a valuable insight into contemporary agricultural practices. At Garnacanty in 1778 he had 320 store of wool after shearing the 820 sheep there. In 1779 he had 503 lambs, and about 1,816 sheep and cattle worth £3,800. Sheep were the major animal livestock in West Tipperary, with bullocks a distant second in aggregate numbers.

He settled with the Rev. Mr. Lloyd in December 1779, and paid tithes for Killnagony and Cotinstown, in Solloghmore parish, which came to £2:5:2 and £2:16:2. In 1786 he noted that sheep prices were very dear at 20/- for 'Midling' ewes; 27/- for wethers; wool about 16/-p. stone and lambs from 9/- to 15/- each. James calculated in 1787 that he should receive £6,500 for his bullocks, £600 for cows and £1,250 for 1,000 sheep with another £1,050 for their wool — in all, about £9,400.

Some of his advice to young farmers, based on his own experiences, includes a warning never to buy stock visibly high: always to buy good grain; to take long leases and to keep business moves secret. At Shanballymore in 1789 he sowed ryegrass and clover, and had 46 men at work there levelling a bog and making a ditch through it. This gives some indication of his means. By 1792 he had stock worth around £14,000, which, when added to the value of farms and money, might have made his entire property worth near £40,000.⁴⁶

In 1803 he bought 270 stone bulls at Ballinasloe, at from 40/-s. to £3 over 1802 prices, and about £5 higher than 1801 prices. His 'his waste not, want not' philosophy shines through the diary pages; in 1808 he sold 560 trees marked at Mantlehill to Pat Londergen and his brother for £450.0.0.

James displayed his economic awareness; in 1809 he commented on the pronouncements of the Chairman of the Victualling Board in London, and the potential resultant effect on prices. He was also politically aware. His diary contains comments on the American War, the work of the Catholic Committee, the French fleet in Bantry Bay in 1796, and the 1798 Rising.

In 1809 he bought 150 good store bullocks at £13.4 each. Three years later James had 323 bullocks and 37 cows, feeding 3 Kerrys and 26 2-year-old heifers, 315 wethers and 185 ewes. These with his 300 stones of wool 'should make £6,250'.⁴⁷

James Scully was not one to rest on his laurels. He was famous for his breed of sheep. In 1792 he sent his eldest son Roger (d.1797) to England to visit noted breeders. That same year he hired one of Mr. Bakewell's famous rams for 50 guineas, and in 1796 paid 200 guineas for the Bakewell ram he then had. Lord Dorchester's comments on James — 'he was one of the most acute, strong-minded and honest men he ever knew' confirm the impressions gained from the diary.⁴⁸ He also possessed the ability to avoid costly litigation, though (as will be explained) he was posthumously responsible for a destructive law-suit.

James Scully was meticulously careful in his recording of financial dealings, epitomising the



'mind the pennies; the pounds take care of themselves' philosophy. He details his purchase in 1784 of a 26-ton rick of hay at Kingswell for three guineas, and his 1785 loan of eight guineas to Tim Scully.⁴⁹ He had large sums lent on bonds at interest, and in 1790 for the first time he loaned £3,000 to a Mr. P. J. Power on the mortgage of an estate in Waterford, which was repaid in two or three years.⁵⁰

His diary for 1811 contains an account of money due to him.⁵¹ In 1812 he wrote that 'my balance in our bank is £24,486 and by the 1st of January 1813 will be over £25,000'.⁵² By 1815 his estimated annual income was £10,360. Cash was never a problem for James. He gave his engaged grand-daughter a wedding gift of £750. When one of his daughters married Thomas Mahon in 1791 he gave a dowry of £1,500, with a further £500 to follow the birth of a son.

He also loaned his new son-in-law £2,400 for his business, and saved him from going under in 1792 by borrowing £3,000 for him from one I. Roche.⁵³ James commonly dealt in large sums, proof of his wealth and the extent of his interests.

As was typical of a person with his social status, James Scully was very loyal to the English Crown, and opposed any local agrarian or national militancy conflicting with the government's policies. In many instances he took the lead in opposing unrest or disorder. Together with Richard Sadlier of Kingswell and Tipperary, Mr. Kissane and Counsellor William Baker in 1793, he met some of the Whiteboys and spoke to them in Donohill. A further meeting was prevented by an official order from a Mr. Ledger.

Scully agreed with this decision after thirteen of the army in Bruff and several people in Pallasgrean were killed in disturbances. In August 1793 he was 'paid a great compliment' when 'Mr. Bagwell put 4 R.C.s on the Grand Jury — vis. Uliack Allyne, James Scully, L. Smith and Denis Meagher'.⁵⁴ This honour was conferred on him to acknowledge his loyalty and potential service to the government.

The *Carrick Morning Post* of 8 March 1816 carried James Scully's obituary. It tells that his first use of his new office as Commissioner of the Peace after the Catholic Relief Act of 1793 was to quell in a few days an alarming disturbance excited by the tithes system.⁵⁵

James Scully was the target for United Irishmen in March 1798. These men on their first call to Kilfeakle obtained some weapons; on their second they were resisted and a shot was fired. The year 1798 proved to be a troublesome one for James. Denys writes later of the fall in his father's popularity as a result of his denunciations of the 1798 Rising.⁵⁶

In 1802 James Scully and his brother, William of Dualla, were just two of 21 gentlemen of Clanwilliam who signed a petition to the government regarding law and order in the locality following a meeting in Tipperary on 20 March 1802. Exactly 20 years later James's son, James Jnr. of Shanballymore, was one of the magistrates of the town and neighbourhood of Tipperary who wrote to William Gregory, Under Secretary at Dublin Castle, requesting that 60 more soldiers be sent to the town to better enforce the Insurrection Act.

This was after a number of outrages, including the burning of a large dwelling-house in Garnacanty belonging to James Scully and a cottage school sponsored by the London Hibernian Society.⁵⁷ Although Catholics were officially second-class citizens, the Scullys aligned themselves closely to the government, which received them gracefully.

An interesting (and ambiguous) attribute of the Catholic gentry was their dual allegiance to the government and to their oppressed religion. It was not uncommon for James Scully to have the Archbishop of Cashel and Emly dining at his home, and the location of churches in these years relied heavily on the sponsorship of prominent Catholic families.

The Ryans aided the church at Inch in mid-Tipperary. The chapel in Kilmoyler received financial support from the Meaghers. The Scullys contributed to Kilfeakle Church.⁵⁸ Scully



benevolence also extended into educational matters; in the 1820s James Scully of Shanballymore paid £10 to the extension of Kilfeakle school, which had 94 Catholic pupils and 63 Protestant children.⁵⁹

James Scully Snr. was progressive in his thinking, and one of his major business advances came in 1803 when he established a bank in Tipperary town in partnership with his son James. His eldest surviving son Denys replaced his father in 1816. At the end of the eighteenth century James Snr. leased property in the town from the Smith-Barry estate, and one of these houses became the location for Scully's Bank. The Bank had an honourable reputation as one of the few private banks in Ireland that never defaulted.

However, legislation passed in 1821, breaking the Bank of Ireland monopoly and allowing the establishment of joint-stock banks with more than six partners outside a radius of 50 miles of Dublin, ended the need for private banks.⁶⁰ The Scully Bank was voluntarily wound up in 1827.⁶¹ By the 1850s five grandsons of old James Scully of Kilfeakle were Westminster MPs, a fact which alone shows the prestige and influence of the family.

Denys Scully (b. 1773) was one of the foremost Catholics of his generation. When the Bar was once more opened to Irish Catholics, Denys entered Gray's Inn, London, and in 1794 studied at Trinity College Cambridge, only the second Catholic admitted there since the sixteenth century. He was admitted to the Irish Bar in 1794, and started practising in 1796.

Denys became one of the most active members of the Catholic body. Amongst his many correspondents on Catholic affairs were Fox, Grattan, Lords Grey, Holland, Granville, Hardwicke and Donoughmore, Sir Henry Parnell and Daniel O'Connell. With O'Connell he was on intimate terms and was his staunch ally in many a Catholic contest. In 1812 he published his famous 'Statement of the Penal Laws', recognised as the definitive Catholic account.⁶²

Denys Scully possessed many of the admirable qualities of both his father and grandfather. However, he lacked power and brilliancy; his final syllables were peculiarly monotonous, his delivery slow, and his introductions cautious — in striking contrast to his political tendencies. He was called the 'Nestor' of the Catholic Committee, of which he was the leading personality in the interregnum between Keogh and O'Connell, because his advice was so wise and suited to the circumstances of the time.⁶³

He seldom made a mistake — because he seldom made a decision. He had an astute mind, and was an invaluable backroom adviser and subordinate. In 1815 his customary prudence deserted him when he lent O'Connell £2,274 for 6 months only. He was still trying to get it back nine years later! Denys shared his father's belief that the Union and loyalty would bring emancipation as a reward. He had no use for Protestants or Grattan's Parliament, which he thought was the clubhouse of the Ascendancy.⁶⁴

Denys was centrally involved in the disastrous Scully law-suit of 1816, which arose out of the conflicting arrangements of old James for his wife. The latter (d. 1818), received only £1,000 p.a. from her husband's will as opposed to the one-third estate allowed for her in their marriage settlement. However, she was successful in her appeal.

But, as it was not finally resolved until 1825 in the House of Lords (where O'Connell represented Denys Scully), it brought Mrs. Scully no benefit. For the defendants, Denys and James of Shanballymore, it was very costly, their loss being estimated at about £30,000.⁶⁵

In the late 1820s James Jnr. continued to extend his holdings by leasing in 1827 (for three lives for ever) from Lady Caroline Damer both Cappagrattin and Gorteenphooka, in the parish of Donohill. In 1828 under the same terms he leased parts of Breansha, Clashdrumsmith, Emly, Farran, Coolboy, and Moanmore all in the parish of Emly, eight miles west of Tipperary town on the Limerick border. James also held the other townland of Moanmore in Solloghmore



parish, also spelt Monemore. When Denys died in 1830, after a number of years of crippling paralysis, the Scully position in Tipperary was solidly entrenched.

Roger, James and Denys Scully were prudent men, particularly in financial affairs. Old James Scully was noted for his probity. His son Denys felt 'an honest pride in belonging to a faithful and loyal class of people, who . . . redeemed themselves from servitude by their wisdom and unbroken energies'.⁶⁶

The old Tipperary saying — 'any name is a good name while it is well taken care of' — is applicable to the Scully family up to the early decades of the nineteenth century. The progression of the Scully family, from Roger's initial forays into leasing land, through James's massive estates, thence to the nationally renowned political presence of Denys, is remarkable.⁶⁷

It showed that Catholics who had a conscientious approach, expertise and ability, a suitable environment, sympathetic neighbours and a good deal of luck and fortune, could prosper. The Scully example cannot be generalised into the national trend. On the contrary, it was a rare occurrence and for that reason alone surely deserves recording.



*Appendix I**

ESTATES OF JAMES SCULLY OF KILFEAKLE - 1796

	Irish Acres	Goods	Perches
Kilfeakle	418	0	0
Garnacanty	275	0	0
Rathmacan	820	0	0
Ballyvouden	197	0	0
Knockroe	147	0	0
Ballinagrena	222	2	13
Ballynegononthea	92	1	1
Knockalegan	112	2	0
Killinamalif	353	3	9
Monemore	192	3	32
Castlemore	241	2	33
Shronehill	208	3	16
Ballycohey	322	0	0
Carron	237	0	1
Ballygerald	332	3	0
Ballina	193	0	0
Ballinalagh	192	3	17
Mantlehill	183	0	0
Shanballymore	193	0	0
Ballyneale	1,103	0	0
Coote Estates	2,200	0	0
Mantlehill Golden	500	0	0
Knocknoe	155	0	0
Forgestown	181	0	0
Springmount	61	0	0
Ballyrickane	100	0	0
Tipperary Field	10	0	0
Mount William	27	0	0
Mount Bruis	60	0	0
Total	9,332	1	2
Total (English acres)	15,426	0	0

*NLI, MS 27577.



Appendix II*

General Rental of James Scully's Estates As Executed 26 October 1803

No.	Description	Irish acres	Rent	Out of lease Rent	Gross Rent	Profit Rent or Value	Remarks
1.	Coote Estate fee	945		in 1802.1724	568.14.8	538	for ever rise £150
2.	Other Leasehold	1,159	234.13.4	1803.11.35	1,200	965.6.8	lives renewable for ever will rise 800
3.	Ballyneale House	1,017	100	1831 -	—	425	999 yrs. from 1733. Will rise 200 in 15 yrs. and 200 more in 27 yrs.
4.	Shanballymore	190	200 -	in hands	—	370	lives renewable for ever
5.	Garnacanty	274	500	mostly in hands	—	596	2 lives and 21 years
6.	Ballinalagh	193	100	let for yrs.	—	265	999 yrs. and will rise 100
7.	Kilfeakle	430	620	in hands	1,290	670	2 lives
8.	Shronehill and Ballycohey	532	800	do. -	1,596	796	do.
9.	Ballyvouden House	660	800	do. -	1,980	1,180	do.
10.	Castlemore	242	210	let for yrs.	398	188	do.
11.	Monemore	177	186.7	in hands mostly	356	180	lease ?
12.	Ballygerald	—	—	—	—	100	one old life
13.	Knocklegan	113	150	let for 21	282	169	2 lives
14.	Mantlehill	108	—	—	—	100	79 years
15.	Killinaliff	320	—	—	—	100	old life W. Murphy
16.	Tipperary House.	10	—	—	—	60	at 60 years
Totals		6,043 acres				£6,702.6.8	

*NLI, MS 27490



Appendix III*

Copy Agreement, Llandaff and James Scully

1813	To the purchase money of Shanballymore, Lisheenfrank and	13,227.1.6
JULY	Ballyrahane - Rent £734.16.9 at 18 yrs. Purchase —	
1813	Payments vix. —	
May 10	Paid in cash as with his Lordship's rent	3,026.17.9
May 26	Paid to Mr. Lanigan in cash —	500
June	Paid your drafts (with Denys Scully £300, £100 and £200	600
July	Paid by my order on D. Scully at right	6,600
July	Hayseed 13 barrels with your steward's rent —	4.11.0
July	L. Doherty's bill for costs of bond stamps	24.17.5
		10,756. 6.3
	To be retained until the execution of deeds	
	by Trustees, fines levied, released by Thos.	2,000
	Lanigan and others. Indemnity by General	
	Mathew and Lady Eliz. and other outgoings,	
	that may hereafter appear. Balance to compleat	
	the payment, of the purchase money above mentioned	470.15.3
		13,227. 1.6

N.B. Mr. Scully is to get up his counterparts of the leases, of Shanballymore, Ballyrahane etc.

I have now received from Mr. Scully the above mentioned balance of four hundred and seventy pounds, fifteen shillings and three pence and find the account right stated — there remains two thousand pounds unpaid -July 30th, 1813

Llandaff.

*NLI, MS 27494 (i)

Appendix IV*

James Scully Journal 1773-1814
1809 August 29th

Due to me, viz:	£
Bank —	8,810
Due of me two bills —	240
	8,570
Still due of Quinlans beside Allyn	210
of Leary's money	715
Ed. Dwyer to me c.	185
of Kearney's for sheep	125
Wool	400
73 sheep to sell	170
About 20 cows and 10 bullocks	430
21 Bullocks sold at £21 each	4,620
Tenants will leave profit after rent	1,500
	16,850
185 Stores to buy	2,750
	14,100

*NLI, MS 27579



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Footnotes

1. J. G. Simms: The Protestant Ascendancy, 1691-1714, in T. W. Moody et al, (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume IV* (Oxford, 1976). For a contrary view, see L. M. Cullen in 'Eighteenth Century Ireland, Vol 1.
2. 2 Anne, c.6 (4 March 1704).
3. 8 Anne, c.3 (30 August 1709).
4. 17 and 18 Geo. III, c. 49 (14 August 1778).
5. 21 and 22 Geo. III, c. 24 (4 May 1782).
6. R. B. McDowell: Colonial Nationalism, 1760-82, in Moody et al., *op. cit.*
7. *Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland 1776-1779*, ed. by Hutton (London, 1892), pp. 24-29 (hereafter referred to as *Young's Tour*).
8. David Dickson: Middlemen, in T. Bartlett and D. Hayton (eds.), *Penal Era and Golden Age* (Belfast, 1979), pp. 174-5.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
10. L. M. Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1900* (London, 1981), p. 48.
11. S. A. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (London, 1837), vol. ii, p. 630.
12. *Young's Tour* pp. 388-9. See also: C. Topham Bowden: *A Tour Through Ireland* (Dublin, 1791), pp. 158-68; T. Campbell, *A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland* (London, 1777), pp. 140-70.
13. *Young's Tour*, p. 74.
14. T. Jones Hughes; 'Landholding and Settlement in Co. Tipperary in the 19th century,' in W. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: History and Society* (Dublin, 1985), p. 347.
15. W. Nolan: 'Patterns of living in County Tipperary from 1770 to 1850' in Nolan, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
16. L. M. Cullen, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
17. K. Whelan: 'The Catholic Church in County Tipperary, 1700-1900' in Nolan (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.
18. The MacCarthys had in the 1770s 9,000 acres, 8,000 sheep, 2,000 lambs, 560 bullocks, 86 fat cows, £20,000 value of stock, 200 yearlings, 200 2 yr. old- 200 3 yr. olds, 80 plough bullocks, 180 horses, mares and foals, 150 to 200 labourers and 200 acres tillage, and paid £10,000 in rent. Denis G. Marnane, *Land and Violence: A History of West Tipperary from 1660* (Tipperary, 1985), p. 28.
19. Whelan, *op. cit.*, p. 221.



20. L. M. Cullen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
21. Edith M. Johnston: *Great Britain and Ireland 1760-1800: A Study in Political Administration*, (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 134.
22. See J. S. Donnelly: 'The Whiteboy Movement, 1761-5' in *Irish Historical Studies Vol. xxi*, 81, 1978, pp. 20-59; 'Irish Agrarian Rebellion: The Whiteboys of 1769-76' in *Proc. R.I.A.*, Vol. 83C, 1982, pp. 293-331; 'The Rightboy Movement, 1785-8', in *Studica Hibernica, XVII-XVIII*, 1977-8, pp. 120-202.
23. J. S. Donnelly, 'The Whiteboy Movement, 1761-5' (see n. 22).
24. John Sadleir (of this bank) was a son of Johanna Scully, sixth daughter of James of Killeakle. For William Scully, see E. Socolofsky; *Landlord William Scully*. (Kansas, 1979), and R. V. Comerford's review in *Irish Historical Studies XXII*, 85, 1980, p. 86.
25. Sir Bernard Burke: *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry in Ireland* (1904).
26. Gleanings concerning our family history by Denys Scully c. 1806, (*Scully Papers*, MS. 27577, National Library of Ireland) (hereafter referred to as 'Family History').
27. Marnane, *op. cit.* p. 96
28. Jeremiah's fourth son, James Darby, grandson of Roger, married Catherine Moylan, niece of Dr. Francis Moylan, bishop of Cork. See letters of John Scully to James Duff Coghlan 1923-1927; (ed.) B. C. MacDermott, in *The Irish Genealogist*, Volume 6, No. 2, November 1981, pp. 232-3 (hereafter referred to as 'Letters Scully to Coghlan').
29. Family History.
30. 'Diary of James Scully for 1808', (*Scully Papers*, MS. 27579, National Library of Ireland – hereafter referred to as 'Diary').
31. Letters Scully to Coghlan, No. 4, November 1983, p. 509.
32. Diary, 1782.
33. Diary, 1787.
34. Family History.
35. Marnane, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 99.
36. Family History.
37. See Appendix I.
38. Family History.
39. See Appendix II.
40. Legal documents etc. regarding sales to James Scully, (*Scully Papers*, 27494 ii, N.L.I.).
41. Memoirs of O'Scullly Family compiled by Sir Bernard Burke, (*Scully Papers*, 27577, N.L.I.), hereafter referred to as 'Memoirs'.
42. In 1850 Mantlehill House was No. 18 in a list of principal residences in Clanwilliam, with a Griffith's valuation of £30. Marnane, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
43. Diary, 1813.
44. For Copy of Agreement between Llandaff (Mathew) and Scully, see Appendix III.
45. Based on Diary.
46. Family History; also Diary.
47. Diary.
48. Memoirs.
49. Diary 1784-5.
50. Family History.
51. See Appendix IV.
52. Diary 1812.
53. Letters Scully to Coghlan, No. 2, November 1981, p. 242.
54. Diary 1793.
55. Letters Scully to Coghlan, no. 2, November 1981, p. 242.
56. Family History.
57. Marnane, *op. cit.*, pp. 42; 46; see also J. S. Donnelly; Pastorini and Captain Rock, in Clark and Donnelly (eds.), *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest 1780-1914* (Dublin, 1983), p. 226.
58. Whelan, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
59. Marnane, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
60. 1 and 2 Geo. IV, c. 72.
61. Letters Scully to Coghlan, No. I. November 1980, p. 75.
62. Memoirs.
63. Extract from Popular Scenes in Ireland (Paris, 18;0), (*Scully Papers*, MS 27577, N.L.I.).
64. Charles C. Trench: *The Great Dan: A Biography* (London, 1984), pp. 124-125.
65. Letters Scully to Coghlan, No. I, November 1981, pp. 69 & 74.
66. *Ibid*, No. 3, November 1982, p. 362.
67. For Denys's career, see: Brian Charles MacDermott (ed.), *The Catholic Question in England and Ireland: The Papers of Denys Scully*, (Dublin, 1988).

