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A Nineteenth Century Tipperary Diary

by Denis G. Marnane

Background

In 1955 a little book of memoirs was published, written by Dr. Jeremiah Dowling whose medical practice was in Tipperary town.¹ In this book there are a number of references to the author's uncle, also Jeremiah Dowling and also a medical doctor.

I lived from my early years with a paternal uncle who was a bachelor. Born in Tipperary, he received a good classical education at the Abbey, the local Grammar School, and after a distinguished course in Arts and Medicine in the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, obtained the M.D. degree of the Queen's University.²

Dowling (senior) was born in 1830, the same year as John O'Leary, and was probably a son of Jeremiah Dowling, cabinet maker, with an address in Henry Street.³ The Dowlings and O'Learys both appear to have settled in Tipperary at the beginning of the nineteenth century and to have come from Fermoy.

The author of the diary obtained his final medical qualifications in Edinburgh in 1858, and it was remarked at his death in 1906 that he, O'Leary and about four others formed a group of catholic young men from Tipperary town who benefited from the educational opportunities offered by the Queen's Colleges before the catholic hierarchy turned against them.⁴

Jeremiah Dowling was of an age with John O'Leary and, at least in their younger days, they shared a commitment to Young Ireland. Dowling was a contributor to the *Nation* newspaper, probably writing some poetry. While not actively involved in politics in later life, he subscribed to the type of romantic nationalism that admired violence — so long as it was safely locked in the past.⁵

After qualifying as a doctor Dowling returned to Tipperary and soon after was appointed one of the two medical officers attached to the workhouse, at a salary of £80 p.a.

This salary was never increased, although at the time of his death, he had held the appointment for forty five years.⁶

Dowling therefore took up his appointment in the early 1860s, and in the following decades he cultivated a range of other interests such as literature and botany. He was a central figure in the various literary and debating groups that formed and reformed in the town over the decades, and also served as secretary to the Tipperary Loan Fund Office, which functioned as a kind of credit union.⁷

In contrast to the life of quiet service which Jeremiah Dowling lived was the career of his brother Thomas, who in 1870 was listed as cabinet maker and auctioneer.⁸ In 1880 Thomas Dowling described himself as formerly a land agent but now a landed proprietor, holding over 1,600 acres.⁹ In 1876, in an official government return, his address was given as Harcourt St., Dublin.¹⁰

Thomas Dowling achieved notoriety because of a long-running dispute with his tenants on his estate at Cappawhite. Evictions had taken place there in 1881, and five tenants were still out of possession more than a decade later.¹¹

The Diary

The diary kept by Jeremiah Dowling (senior) is a small notebook and runs from 1857 to 1887. It contains accounts of Dowling's medical training, important family occasions, holidays taken, drafts



of some speeches delivered at debating societies and of some letters, newscuttings and — of greatest public interest — accounts of important political occasions in Tipperary.

Unfortunately, as is often the case with such sources, a number of pages have been cut from the diary, dealing presumably with purely family matters.¹² Of greatest interest are Dowling's account of three important political figures of the period — John Mitchel, P. J. Smyth and John O'Leary.

John Mitchel

Mitchel was born in county Derry in 1815, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He contributed to the *Nation* and supported radical action against Britain. He was sentenced to 14 years' transportation, but in 1853 he escaped from Tasmania and went to the United States. His celebrated *Jail Journal* first appeared in 1854.

In the general election of 1874, Mitchel was put forward as a candidate for both Cork City and Tipperary County, in the interest of radical nationalists and against conventional Home Rule candidates. Mitchel was still in America and was defeated in both constituencies. In Cork City he received 8 per cent of the votes cast and in Tipperary County he did rather better, coming in third after the two Home Rule candidates who were elected. Mitchel got about 19 per cent of the votes cast.

In 1875 however, one of the members elected for Tipperary in the previous year resigned, thereby causing a by-election. Mitchel, still in America, had let it be known that he was interested in running again, with of course no intention of taking his seat if elected.

The more moderate nationalists in Tipperary decided not to put up a candidate, so that Mitchel was elected unopposed on 16 February 1875. He was then 60 years of age. Mitchel did not reach Queenstown (now Cobh) from the United States until the following day, and immediately travelled to Tipperary. Dowling's account takes up the story at this point.

On Wednesday 17 Feb., John Mitchel arrived in Tipperary. He was accompanied from Limerick Junction by two to three thousand persons, men, women and children (from whom he received cheers). He rode in a carriage drawn by two horses and with him were four of his friends. Two bands playing national airs headed the procession. Green flags with mottoes might be seen here and there flying over the heads of the crowd. The procession traversed the entire town as far as the Spittal and then returned to James St. where Mitchel briefly addressed the multitude from a window. He had been returned to Parliament in his absence and he thanked the people for conferring on him so great an honour. He had come, he said, 3,000 miles, but he would come from the North Pole for such an honour. He spoke of Mr. Disraeli as a man in London who writes novels. Mr. Disraeli had given notice of his intention to move that Mr. Mitchel was disqualified to sit in the House. Mr. Mitchel is a nice looking gentleman with a strong moustache, but no whiskers or beard, over sixty years of age. He looked weak and pale and was nervous and worn out. He left Tipperary for Clonmel in the evening and was accompanied to the Railway Station by a large crowd. It was a lovely day.

The following was written at a later date.

About seven o'clock in the evening (of Mitchel's visit), the town was startled by the bellman crying out that it was expected that the inhabitants should all illuminate their houses. There appeared to be no alacrity in complying with this suggestion; for an hour at least elapsed before half a dozen houses were illuminated. Then one house after another, in quick succession, was lighted and the windows in those houses in which there were no lights, were, about nine o'clock, smashed by the mob with stones.

The bellman was (for a fee) the disseminator of public notices and in this instance worked for those behind Mitchel's candidacy. The smashing of windows was presumably not officially sanctioned.

The remainder of Dowling's account of John Mitchel was written after Mitchel's death on 20 March, just one month after his visit to Tipperary. The account is of interest for the description of polling in Tipperary, but even more for Dowling's attitude to both Mitchel and his cause.



A day or two later, Mr. Disraeli, in the House of Commons, moved that John Mitchel, having been found guilty of felony in 1848 and not having fulfilled his sentence nor received pardon under the great seal, was ineligible and that a new writ be issued for Tipperary. After a debate, the motion was carried by a large majority.

A new election was accordingly held on Thursday, 11 March. John Mitchel was again put forward and it was again expected that he would be returned without opposition, but at the last moment, Mr. Stephen Moore of Barne, near Clonmel, a conservative gentleman, was nominated as a fit and proper person to represent the county.

Stephen Moore, who was then 39 years old, had served in the army and two years earlier had inherited the 1,813 acres Barne estate. There was, of course, no hope of getting a Tory elected in Tipperary. However, in the absence of a moderate nationalist candidate, there was always the prospect that Moore could get the seat by default.

On polling day there was a very low turnout — about 37 per cent of those eligible to vote. Moore's vote was 746, against Mitchel's 3,114. Dowling's account of the campaign is as follows:

Great efforts were now made by the nationalists and deputations visited almost every village and town in the county to stir up the electors. In this town [Tipperary], great enthusiasm was manifested throughout the working classes in favour of John Mitchel. On the day of the election, strong contingents of voters from Emly, Cullen and Glenbane marched into the town, four or five abreast, accompanied by a band and a large crowd of persons who had gone out to meet them.

The voting as was well known was almost all on the one side, the law was supposed to be on the other. Notice was served on every voter by Mr. Moore's agents that Mitchel was disqualified. On the evening of the next day, the telegraph flashed the news that Mitchel was returned by a large majority, more than 2,000. Here, the bellman was again sent out to order 'illuminations'. This time the order was more generally obeyed and with a greater show of alacrity than on the last occasion. Everything went on well until about 10 o'clock, when upon the police attempting to put out a fire, that a serious riot occurred. The police were attacked with stones, one of which struck Mr. McCarthy R.M. in the eye with such violence that he lost the use of that organ. This brutal violence made even the perpetrators of it ashamed, and excited universal sympathy for a courageous and energetic magistrate. Several persons arrested and charged by the police with rioting were fined in sums varying from £1 to £10 or in default from a month to six months imprisonment.

It should be remembered that the candidacy of Mitchel was the third such attempt in Tipperary to break up the love affair between moderate nationalists in the county and Westminster. The first was the candidacy of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa in a by-election in 1869. On that occasion Rossa was elected with 1,131 votes, to 1,028 for his moderate nationalist opponent. The Tory candidate got 12 votes. The Tipperary electorate, faced with such a choice, stayed at home. The turnout was 23 per cent.

However, in the Tipperary town region, the turnout was somewhat better at 35 per cent. The most interesting aspect of this election was the support for Rossa in the Tipperary town region. He got 497 votes, against 10 for his moderate nationalist opponent who had the support of the church. Comparable figures for the Cashel region were Rossa 142 and his opponent 132, and for the Clonmel region Rossa 45 against his opponent's 129.¹³

Rossa, being a convicted felon, was disqualified and the election was held again the following year, 1870. This time the advanced candidate was Charles Kickham, whose contempt for parliament was absolute. His moderate nationalist opponent was the same as in the previous election. This time, the Fenian interest was defeated by a mere four votes — 1,668 to 1,664 votes.

Again, the Tipperary town region showed its colours: Kickham got 560 votes and his opponent 21. Between these by-elections and the Mitchel by-election in 1875 the secret ballot was introduced in 1872. However, there is no reason to think that the Tipperary town support for Mitchel was any less than for his colleagues.



While people were speculating whether Mitchel would go into the House of Commons, he issued a manifesto in which he said that none of his constituents who had read any of his public writings could ever expect him to do so. Mr. Moore might have the seat, the County Tipperary would then be virtually disfranchised. The sooner other counties would also be disfranchised, the better, for parliamentary representation was the cunningest [sic] device of the enemy for perpetuating their bondage. The manifesto, as might be expected, displeased many of his supporters, because if it were a gain to hand over the representation of the county to a Tory, it occurred even to simple minds that this could be more easily affected by abstaining from voting than by entering into a troublesome contest.

The point made here by Dowling is correct. Even those most enthusiastic about Mitchel's election in 1875 cannot have been pleased in the longer term with Moore representing the county from May 1875 (when he was officially assigned the seat) until the general election in 1880. Those who supported Moore's candidacy in March 1875 included landlords such as Osborne of Beechwood Park (Nenagh), Barton of Grove, Riall of Anneville (Clonmel), Perry of Woodrooffe, Cooke of Kiltinan and Philips of Gaile.¹⁴

Moore's reaction to the economic crisis of the late 1870s was, to say the least, unhelpful. For example, in late 1879 he categorised the reaction of tenants to the depression, as "crying out before they are hurt".¹⁵

Intelligence was received that John Mitchel had died on Saturday morning, the 20th of March — only nine days after his second election — in the house of his brother-in-law who lived in Newry. The intelligence evoked a general feeling of regret, even among those who differed individually from his political views. By his death, Ireland lost no ordinary citizen. However mistaken his views might be in asserting her rights, his courage was indomitable and his sincerity undoubted.

Twenty seven years of weary exile, borne without a murmur, appealed to the sympathies of his countrymen and secured for him on his return to Ireland, the highest honour it was in their power to bestow. He was returned to Parliament, simply as John Mitchel. In those years a great change for the better had been wrought in the condition of the people. The State Church had been disestablished and a larger measure of Tenant Right had been granted the farmers, than they ever dreamed of. But like a man labouring under colour-blindness, Mitchel could see no change in the condition of his country. Did not the Union Jack still fly about the public buildings and the English soldiers still occupy her strong places.

This whole account of Mitchel has been the appearance of a set piece, and its interest lies more in what we learn about Dowling's attitude, than anything new about Mitchel. Dowling in his younger days was sympathetic towards Young Ireland; but as with many people the fires of revolutionary fervour dampened with age. Whatever change had taken place in the country's economy had nothing to do with the desire of the republicans to break the connection with England.

Dowling was far too sanguine about the satisfaction experienced by tenant farmers arising from the 1871 Land Act. Emotionally Dowling had some sympathy with Mitchel and what he represented, but practical politics beckoned in a different direction. It may be inferred from the fact that his windows were smashed at the time of the O'Donovan Rossa election by Rossa supporters that Dowling did not vote for these republican candidates.

P. J. Smyth

The next entry in the diary relates to 1880 and is an account of P. J. Smyth, who in that year (together with John Dillon) was elected M.P. for County Tipperary. Smyth is not well remembered today, but he had a long and interesting career. His chief claim to fame, as John Mitchel described graphically in his *Jail Journal*, was his role in the rescue of Mitchel from Tasmania in 1853.¹⁶

Smyth, from a prosperous Dublin background, was born in 1823. Like many of his generation he made the progression from support of O'Connell to the more radical politics which found



expression in the '48 Rising. Smyth fled to America, where he worked as a journalist and remained active in Irish affairs. Apart from the rescue of Mitchel, he was also involved in a later plan to rescue Smith O'Brien, which proved unnecessary as O'Brien was released.

Smyth returned to Ireland in 1856, and was called to the Bar in 1858. By now his politics had moderated and he opposed the Fenians, though he spoke publicly in their defence and took part in the Amnesty Movement. He was elected as M.P. for Westmeath at a by-election in 1871 and retained that seat until 1880.

In his speeches he beat the drum of Repeal, which did him no harm in gathering clerical support, but he kicked against the discipline being promoted by the Home Rule movement. Like many before him, Smyth may have sounded the rallying cry of his youth; but in terms of practical politics, that was then, while caution was the watchword now.

In 1880 Smyth came forward as a candidate to represent County Tipperary in parliament.

On St. Patrick's Day [1880], Mr. P. J. Smyth, who had been invited by the nationalists of Clanwilliam to seek the representation of the county, came to Tipperary to prosecute his canvas. Though the persons who took upon themselves (getting a candidate elected), were most of them in a humble position in life, they belonged to a party that had in some previous contests proved that they were able to return the man of their choice. The election of O'Donovan Rossa . . . had indeed been carried by violence and intimidation . . . the same weapons had been employed almost successfully to secure the return of Mr. Charles Kickham, but even under the shelter of the [secret] ballot, Mr. John Mitchel had been triumphantly returned. Mr. Smyth then, though he had good ground for hoping for success, if his candidature were endorsed by the nationalist party, *left nothing undone to secure the support of Archbishop Croke and the catholic clergy.*

The words italicised were crossed out in the original, even though they are the truth. Croke supported Smyth and was then embarrassed when, after he was elected, Smyth refused to support Parnell.¹⁷

About two p.m., [Smyth] addressed a crowd, chiefly of non-electors, from a window of a house in the Main Street and though he spoke in his usual terse and nervous style, he failed to awaken anything like enthusiasm. His voice is rather weak for speaking in the open air and his style too finished for the crowd. Four or five years before I had heard him making his famous speech against Home Rule and since then he appears to have changed considerably in appearance, showing more traces of advancing years.

The reference to Smyth's "famous" speech was probably his attack on 30 June 1876 in the Commons against Home Rule — a speech which won praise from Disraeli, which of itself indicates how far Smyth had moved from the heady days of '48, when he had rushed to Ballingarry. From this, it was probable that Dowling made an annual trip to London, where his sister lived.

In the evening I called on [Smyth] at his hotel and as I had met him once before and as he was on friendly terms with my brother [Thomas] who was then residing in Dublin, we were soon at our ease. As he sat at the fire with me, smoking a cigar, we chatted away on politics. What manner of man was he? Frank and gentlemanly, very nervous and very sensitive. His grey beard became his pale, thoughtful face, but the uneasy twitching of his cheek rather spoiled its appearance. When next I met him, he had been adopted at the County meeting which had been held at Thurles and was very cheerful. On the 6th April, he was nominated at Clonmel with John Dillon, who was then in America and was elected without opposition. I heard on good authority that the Archbishop [Croke] sent a cheque for £183 by the Rev. William Cantwell, to pay the sheriff's fees in case of a contest, and from Mr. Smyth himself, I heard that the Archbishop acted in the most friendly way to him.

The Fr. Cantwell mentioned was more likely James Cantwell, then administrator of Thurles, and active politically. Dowling added a brief note, dated August 1881, to the above account.

Mr. Smyth, not having joined in the Land League agitation, which was carried on in the most violent way, lost his popularity among the great body of his constituents.

Smyth remained M.P. for Tipperary until he resigned in 1885 to take up a job in the gift of the

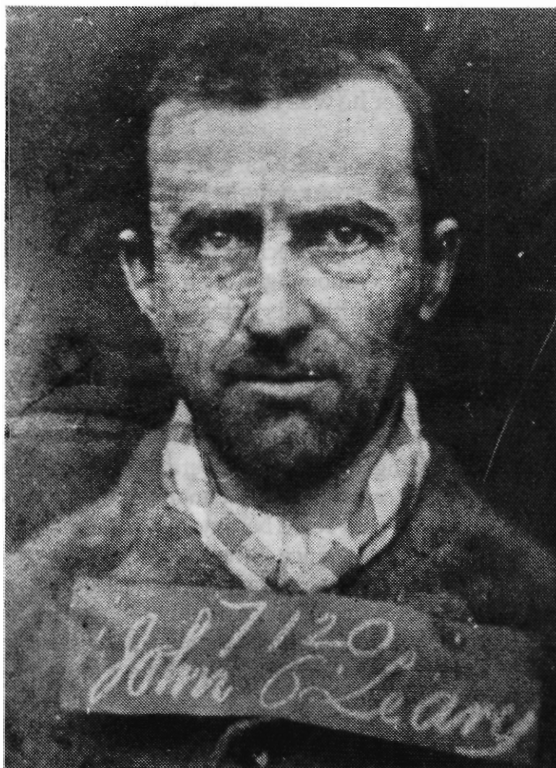


government worth £300 p.a. Members of parliament were not paid, and Smyth was anxious to provide for his family. To the Parnellites, with whom he had been at odds, this appeared to confirm their view that Smyth, like Sadleir and Keogh, was a traitor to the national cause. Smyth never enjoyed his post; he died in January 1885.

Jeremiah Dowling has one further entry in his diary about Smyth, dated 23 November 1880.

After the interval of three or four years, the anniversary of the death of the Manchester Martyrs was celebrated here [Tipperary town] by a torch light procession. Mr. P. J. Smyth, who was specially invited to be present, came from Dublin and addressed a considerable crowd (as I am told) (sic). His argument was, that as the Irish people were at war with England, at the time of the murder of the policeman, that the killing of him was no murder. It both rained and blew hard during the proceedings, which no doubt thinned the audience, if it did not dampen the ardour of the processionists. In connection with the Fenian movement, a number of innocent persons were killed by the Clerkenwell explosion, but the English people never speak of it as a reproach to the Irish people. Would it not be as well to let by-gones be by-gones?

Whatever about Dowling's youthful flirtation with Young Ireland, thirty years on he envinced that not untypical Irish political double-standard, namely, rejection of contemporary political radicalism, while dining out on the 'extremism' of one's youth.



John O'Leary — a jail photograph taken in 1865.
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John O'Leary

Dowling's last entry in his diary dealing with matters of public interest describes an individual for whom the politics of both his youth and age were one—John O'Leary. O'Leary had been sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude in 1865. However, in January 1871 he was released on condition that he remained out of the U.K. until the full sentence had expired.

He was allowed back to Tipperary on a private visit in March 1878, during which, much to the displeasure of the townspeople, he refrained from political statements. This was probably a condition of his visit.¹⁸ Dowling's account deals with O'Leary's return to Tipperary in 1885.

This day [14 March 1885], having spent about 7 years in penal servitude and 13 years in exile, John O'Leary returned to his native town. As he stepped onto the platform of the railway station, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Mr. W. King, he was welcomed with enthusiastic cheers by a large crowd that awaited his arrival, and escorted him to his niece's house in Grattan St. A kind of irregular procession having been formed, headed by a brass band of music. In consequence of the crowd pressing towards the railway carriage, I was unable to welcome him when he alighted as I intended, but immediately he had left the station, I succeeded in joining him and bid him welcome, but it was only after an effort that I could get through the crowd pressing around him, cheering and demonstrating their admiration in various ways. After shaking hands with him, he turned to me and said, 'Is not this ludicrous'; Well, I replied, this is the penalty public men have to pay for their popularity. After arriving at his sister's house and in response to repeated cheers and indeed very unwillingly, he briefly addressed the crowd waiting outside to see him and hear him speak. I remained chatting with him about an hour and then I left. Subsequently, as I was informed, an address was presented to him by the nationalists and at night the town was very generally illuminated.

The absence at the station of all the local clergy and the town commissioners and of some others who are always trumpeting their patriotism was remarkable, but yet it did not surprise me. O'Leary never courted popularity, was known not to favour the abolition of landlords and was of the opinion that any settlement of the Land Question, which was the craze of the crowd, was a mere secondary matter compared with the settlement of the National Question.

On Friday evening, 24th April, after a short excursion which (O'Leary) made to the city and county of Cork, he returned here and stayed with me until the following Thursday, when accompanied by his sister Ellen, he set out for Dublin where they intended to reside in the future. During the visit, he seemed to me very happy and to enjoy his newly recovered liberty to the full. He laughed more than I had ever seen him before to do, and was much more vivacious than he had ever been, even in his youth. As there was no one with us but my young nephew, we were able to converse freely on every subject but naturally the conversation was on Irish politics, Irish politicians and Irish literature. He was greatly moved lest the threatened war with Russia should break out just then and I was just as much moved lest it should break out at all. I regarded a war with horror and spoke of Mr. Gladstone's administration in more measured terms. On leaving my house for Dublin, he walked to the Junction, accompanied by Miss King, his niece and myself and we afterwards observed that he was very silent, having scarcely spoken at all. At the Junction he was joined by his sister who went with him by train. Having said both farewell and expressed a hope that I should soon see him again, I returned by road to Tipperary.

The remainder of the diary recounts family matters and holidays. Visiting Kilkee in 1863, "the tea seemed to have been made of salt water; went to bed — an unpleasant end to a very pleasant day." In October 1863 his sister was married in St. Michael's Church, Tipperary, John O'Leary acting as best man. This appears to have been one of the first weddings to take place in this new church; "Lucy was the first bride that entered the church by the front door or walked along the nave towards the middle altar".

In July 1873 Dowling again set out for Kilkee, this time bringing his nephew with him on his first trip away from home. "I was greatly afraid he would be troublesome . . . poor Jerry began to cry again and say, that he would like to go home". This was Dr. Jeremiah Dowling junior, still remembered by many Tipperary people, who may have difficulty coming to terms with the fact that he was once a homesick child!

In September 1886 Dowling (senior) was appointed senior medical officer to the workhouse infirmary and fever hospital. His salary remained unchanged at £80 p.a. In August of that year he spent a brief holiday in Youghal, during which he heard a sermon of which he very much approved. The topic was the sinfulness of defrauding any man by keeping that which belonged to him — "a very sound catholic doctrine but little heard of during this last seven years".

In October 1886 Dowling and his brother-in-law paid a visit to Mount Melleray, being motivated



more by curiosity than piety. His account is amusing. That evening the chanting of the monks, "in the most discordant and sepulchral tones" was a distraction to his devotions. Having to retire at 7 p.m., he was very glad to have a newspaper to read.

The following day he aroused some suspicion when he sought to leave for a day's visit to Lismore. The monks thought he might be going to the races which were being held in Lismore on that day. The diary concludes in 1887 with an account of his brother-in-law's illness.

Dowling's nephew began his medical studies in Cork in 1887, and during the last years of the diarist's life was able to help him in his practice. Towards the end of his life, Dowling became interested in the Irish language, and two years before a Gaelic League branch was formed in Tipperary, initiated language classes. He later became vice-president of the branch. He died after a short illness on 3 December 1906.¹⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. Jeremiah Dowling: *An Irish Doctor Remembers* (Dublin, 1955).
2. *Ibid.*, p.20. This Jeremiah Dowling was the eldest son of Thomas Dowling remembered for the Cappawhite evictions. This episode is not covered in his memoirs.
3. *Pigot's Irish Directory, 1824; Salter's Directory of Ireland, 1846; Slater's Directory of Ireland, 1856*; the address in 1824 is Main St., thereafter Henry St.
4. Marcus Bourke: *John O'Leary* (Tralee, 1967), p.3. *Clonmel Chronicle* (hereafter "C.C."), 5 Dec. 1906.
5. T. F. O'Sullivan: *The Young Irelanders* (Tralee, 1944), p.99; one of Dowling's poems was *The Claddagh Boatman*, an indication of the poor nature of much of the poetry published in the *Nation*. See Edward Hayes: *The Ballads of Ireland*, (5th. ed., n.d.), ii, pp. 91-2.
I am a Claddagh boatman bold,
And humble is my calling,
From Morn to night, from dark to light
In Galway Bay I'm trawling.
6. Dowling, op.cit. p.22.
7. *Guy's Directory of Munster, 1886*.
8. *Slater's Directory, 1870*; his address is given as Church St.
9. *Bessborough Commission, 1881*, xviii, p.108.
10. *1876 Return of Land Owners to Ireland*, (c. 1492), p.161.
11. *Tipperary People*, 23 Sept., 21 Oct., 4 Nov. 1881; *Evicted Tenants Commission, 1893-4*, xxxi, appendix G, pp. 689-95; Dillon Papers, 6770/200 (Trinity College Dublin); *Nationalist* (Clonmel), 15 Dec. 1906.
12. The whereabouts of the diary is unclear. The present account is from a typescript made some years ago. Perhaps the publication of this account will prompt the re-appearance of the original.
13. D. G. Marnane: *Land and Violence: a history of West Tipperary from 1660* (Tipperary, 1985), pp. 83-5.
14. *Tipperary Free Press*, 5 March 1875.
15. C.C., 27 Aug. 1879.
16. J. Mitchel: *Jail Journal* (1983 ed.), pp. 278-92; O'Sullivan, op.cit., pp. 256-71.
17. M. Tierney: *Croke of Cashel* (Dublin, 1976), p. 103; J. O'Shea: *Priest, Politics and Society in Post-famine Ireland* (Dublin, 1983), pp. 149, 200-203.
18. Bourke, op.cit., pp. 153-4.
19. C.C., 5 Dec. 1906.

