

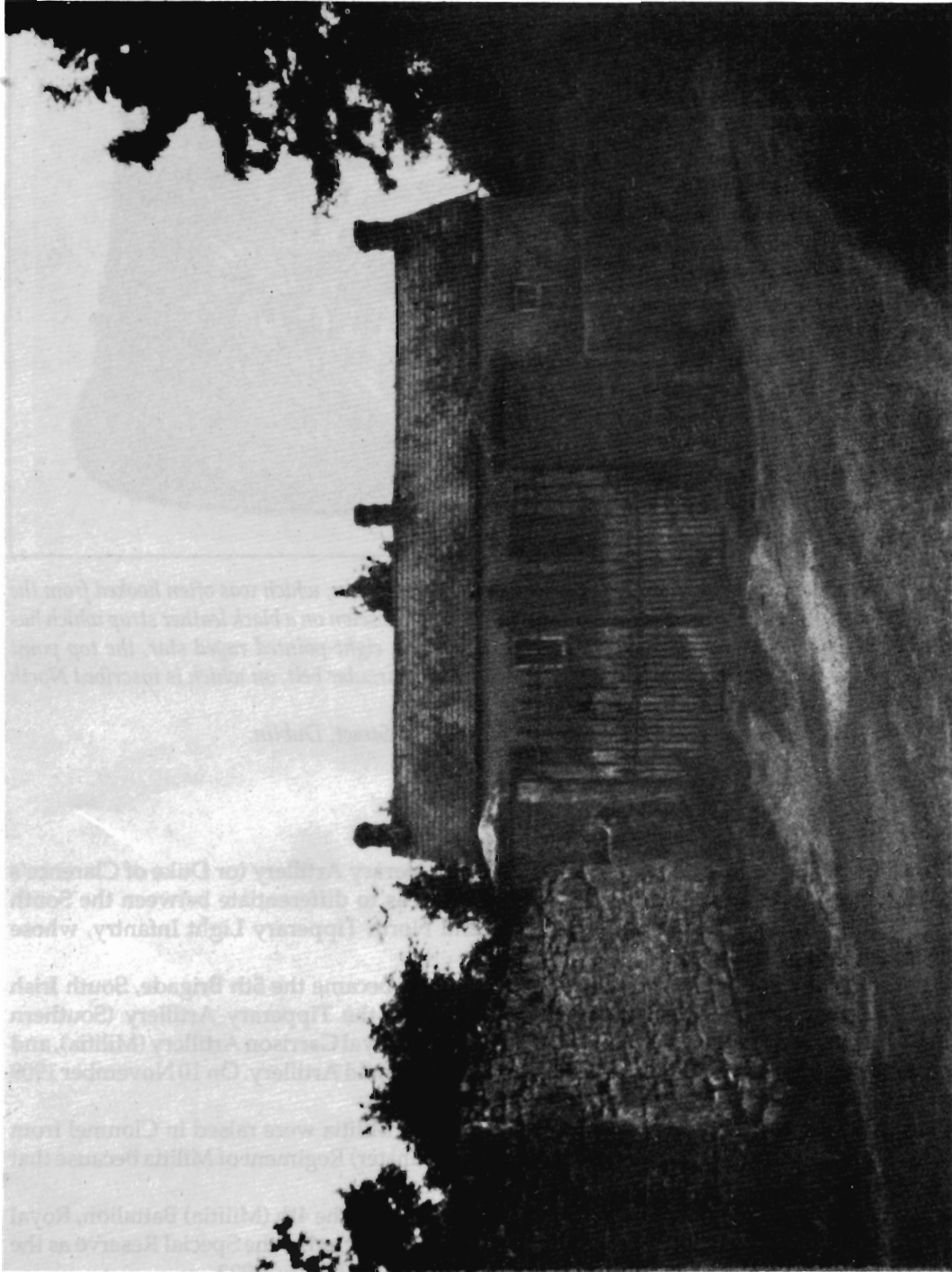


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The Ryan farmhouse at Ballycohealy, from a modern photograph.
MRS. SHIRLEY THOMPSON.

“The Galling Yoke of Oppression”: Images of Tipperary and Australia, 1853–1868

by David Fitzpatrick

The letters exchanged between Irish settlers in Australia and their relations in nineteenth-century Ireland were mainly intimate, personal documents showing little concern with the political divisions of either society. Private correspondence across oceans is now widely regarded as an indispensable source for the social historian, whether concerned with migration, family or social organisation. Yet its lessons for the political historian have often seemed negative, suggesting that political matters were largely superfluous to the domestic preoccupations of emigrants and stay-at-homes alike. When politics did intrude upon Irish–Australian correspondence, the issue was almost always the tenure of land.

This theme colours the two brief sequences of letters presented here. Both sequences emerged from the troubled agrarian backdrop of Tipperary’s Golden Vale or Vein, where deprivation stalked prosperity and violent resentments seethed beneath the well-touched cap. Michael Hogan of Cappawhite or Cappagh, transported to New South Wales in 1834 from a bitterly divided locality, retained his indignation at Ireland’s ‘Galling Yoke of oppression’ when writing four letters to his brother Mathew from South Yarra (Victoria) between 1853 and 1857. Thomas John Ryan, having emigrated voluntarily to Moreton Bay (Brisbane) in 1850, was painfully reminded of the arbitrary outrages of a ‘very bad landlord’ by his father in Ballycohey, who sent Thomas three letters between 1866 and 1868.

The Ryans and the Hogans came from locations about eight miles apart, close to the Limerick border and in the hinterland of Tipperary town. Both sequences, though sent in opposite directions, document the attempts of families fractured by migration to maintain group cohesion through correspondence. Indeed, both were prompted by requests for money, illustrating the family’s continuing importance as an economic as well as affective unit. Even in Tipperary, public drama was secondary to private crisis in the messages passing to and from Australia.

Like many Irish–Australian families whose correspondence has survived, the Hogans and the Ryans were fairly humble rural Catholics without much education. Michael Hogan was recorded on the indent of his convict transport as being able to read and write; and unlike his bride he was able to sign the marriage register in 1842. Yet his four surviving letters were inscribed in four distinct hands. While this may have resulted from Hogan’s eye ailment (H3a, H4a), it might also reflect the optimistic but widespread concept that a person able to sign his name was entitled to declare himself literate.

John Ryan’s three letters were written in a single fluent, fairly practised, calligraphy, and there is no internal evidence to suggest use of an amanuensis. His son Thomas, like Michael Hogan, was able to read and write, according to the passenger lists of the *Emigrant* in 1850. In the following year he too signed the marriage register while his bride made her mark.

Yet Thomas was to cover several pages of a fascinating book of jottings (compiled in Australia between 1850 and 1869) with laboured repetitions of his own signature and address, the names of his relatives, and copybook doggerel presumably memorised at Shronell national school. He essayed quite a flourishing copperplate, but the awkwardness of the result strongly suggests the experiments of a barely literate man struggling to better himself. He clearly valued education,



offering subscriptions in the mid-1870s towards the building of two new schools which his children were to attend in the Warwick Agricultural District of the Darling Downs.

His success in self-betterment is borne out by his father's startling response to a letter from Thomas in 1866: 'I Received your Letter of the 17th Augt which gives me the greatest pleasure possible, in my old days, to find you were alive and well (*If I could rely on your Identity*)' (R1a). Clearly Thomas's hand was either uncomprehended, forgotten or unfamiliar. He seems to have responded with an outpouring of words unmistakably his own, for his father later expressed his 'infinite Satisfaction, Knowing by your expressions you were my Son' (R2a).

As the flow continued, John responded with a touch of desperation that 'you need not trouble yourself any more with Tokens of Identity as I am convinced long ago' (R3a). Correspondents like the Hogans and the Ryans, far from belonging to a lettered and unrepresentative élite, were struggling to master the written word as an essential tool for maintaining the link with home.

I. The Hogans

Michael Hogan was born in about 1806, being the son of Matthew Hogan, 'farmer', and Ellen Dwyer. By 1826 his father was evidently dead, for the tithe applotment book for Cappagh in the civil parish of Toom [*Toem*] returned only a Widow Hogan, occupier of half an Irish acre of first-quality land subject to a ninepenny composition. Twenty years later, Michael's younger brother Mathew Hogan was renting from the Hunt family a modest house beside the fair green in the townland of Cappagh, with just over a statute acre of garden.

The house was 46 feet long and 14 feet wide, with a ceiling only 6 feet high. Together with its workshop and piggery, Mathew's house was valued at 15 shillings annually in 1851. Mathew Hogan had married Catherine Ryan in February 1847, at the depth of the Famine; but the letters indicate that within a decade he had achieved a comfortable livelihood as a cooper and publican.

Indeed, his brother in Victoria had heard reports that Mathew was 'as well knowing and in as good Oppolense as many in the Parish of Cappawhite'; and had been 'told and glad to hear it that you are doing well and not in want of any thing' (H1b, H2a). These fragmentary records suggest that Michael Hogan emerged from a background of rural poverty, which his brother had transcended by taking up two of the few trades always in demand in a country village.

Cappawhite was prominent in the annals of Tipperary crime in the early nineteenth century. This was largely attributable to its busy and rowdy fairs, which were 'remarkable for a large attendance of buyers' and generated tolls and customs leased for £30 annually in 1849. By 1807 a local variant of the Shanavest vigilantes, known as the 'Liberty Rangers', was active in battle with the more proletarian Caravats. Faction fights were so fearsome that in 1821 the new parish priest ran away from the town after his first administration of the eucharist.

A coroner's return of inquests for the years 1832–1836 records five cases from Cappawhite, including deaths caused by 'excessive drinking and inclemency of the weather', 'apoplexy induced by the over-use of liquor', 'fits', injuries inflicted by a large gang, and fracturing of the skull 'by persons unknown'. Michael Hogan, presumably accustomed from infancy to the crackle of splintering crania in the adjacent fair green, was himself convicted of 'maiming' at the Cashel Quarter Sessions on 10 January 1834. It is unclear whether Hogan had maimed cattle or people, both offences being capital felonies.

He was returned in the printed convict indent as an unmarried, literate, Catholic 'farm laborer' aged 27 years, just over 5'6" tall; with a 'dark ruddy freckled' complexion, brown hair, bluish eyes, and 'scar top of left side of forehead, top joints of both little fingers crooked'. Along with several others tried that day, he was sentenced as a first-offender to seven years' transportation. He was despatched from Cork in the *Blenheim* on 27 July 1834, and reached Port Jackson on 14 November.



Hogan became a convict servant in the household of Robert Innes Allan, who had sailed cabin-class with his family from England to Port Jackson in 1829, subsequently settling at Bangalore on Goulburn Plains. One of his neighbours was an Edinburgh emigrant named David Lindsay Waugh, who wrote home in October 1834 that 'three miles above us, across the [*Wollondilly*] river, Captain Currie's farm is possessed by two Allans from Edinburgh'.

Waugh, a pastoral overseer, told his mother that he had 'fifteen men under me, all Irish but two, of the strangest names you ever heard. Three fourths of the prison population are Irish, most of them admirers of O'Connell.' Waugh later wrote that all his male government servants, English and Irish, were 'good and civil fellows'; whereas he had thankfully disposed of his only female servant, a Dubliner who 'would do nothing but dawdle about, and took a week to wash my fortnight's clothes'. Michael Hogan was clearly one of a multitude of Irish servants in the district, appearing with Allan as his master in a return based on the census of 1836.

Before long, however, the Allan brothers and their servants had moved to Port Phillip, apparently as part of Joseph Hawdon's pioneering cattle and sheep drive from the Murrumbidgee River to that almost untouched southerly swamp which became the site of Melbourne. According to a modern newspaper story of doubtful veracity, Michael Hogan led the drovers on this expedition, during which a spring of water was discovered after three parching days through scratching by irritated animals. Hogan was to remain in Melbourne for the last 36 years of his life.

In June 1837 Robert Innes Allan bought a block of land on the corner of Bourke and Swanston Streets in the first sale of Melbourne allotments. Fifteen months later, Michael Hogan was enumerated as one of 17 members of the Allan household in the second census of Melbourne and Williamstown. The harmony of the household had recently been shaken by a case before the Melbourne Magistrates' Court, in which Michael Hogan was reprimanded for having 'refused to do what he was ordered'.

This incident did not, however, prevent Hogan from receiving his ticket of leave on 25 March 1840, some months before the end of his seven-year term. He might now acquire property and seek private employment, provided that he spent the residue of his term within the Port Phillip district, eschewed misconduct, reported regularly to the magistrates and attended divine worship weekly.

Having endured these constraints, Hogan celebrated his emancipation by marrying Margaret O'Brien, a bounty immigrant who evidently had left Tipperary for Port Phillip in 1839. The witnesses of their marriage in September 1842 at the Catholic church of St Francis, which continues to defy urban redevelopment at the corner of Elizabeth and Lonsdale Streets, reappeared more than a decade later in Michael's letters home.

Over the next 13 years Margaret bore seven children, of whom two died including their eldest son Mathew, drowned while bathing in the muddy and uninviting Yarra River. Then, in July 1855, Margaret prematurely joined the two children in the family plot in Melbourne's Old Cemetery. Michael had achieved a measure of respectability in his dealings with death, having purchased not only a capacious grave measuring 8 feet square, but also a long funeral notice for his wife in the virulently anti-Irish *Argus* newspaper.

There are other signs that the convict and servant of the 1830s was doing well in the volatile society of mid-century Melbourne, rapidly becoming Australia's major city as gold-seekers poured into Victoria. Admittedly, no credence can be given to the extravagant claim that 'in the year 1852 he was the wealthiest man in Melbourne'. The directories and electoral rolls suggest a more pedestrian career, with Michael Hogan being returned variously as a stonemason (1842), labourer (1847), dairyman (1856), park-keeper (1870) and, in death, labourer once more (1873).

By 1847 he was already living in the present suburb of South Yarra (then part of South Melbourne), a mile or so from the city centre on the opposite side of the river; and nine years later



he occupied a freehold property on Gardiner's Creek Road (now Toorak Road). His persistent residence in a single suburb masked considerable local mobility, for his name appears under five different streets between 1856 and 1873.

In writing to his brother, Michael never alluded to his early struggles or indeed to his convict past, whereas he dropped numerous hints of his present prosperity. He made light of sending his brother two drafts for £30 each (H1b, H1f, H2a), referred casually to the presence in his house of servants (H3d, H4b, H4e), and displayed readiness to pay for the passages of several relations and neighbours (H3b, H3c, H4a, H4e). Michael Hogan's self-image was that of a man who had made good, and wished this to be recognised.

The society in which Michael Hogan shone was overwhelmingly Irish. Dr Jacob, his ophthalmologist, was unique in bearing an alien surname. The letters show that two decades of absence from Tipperary had not distanced him from the web of friends and neighbours stretching outwards from Cappawhite. Several relations had emigrated to Australia, and the letters chart the movements of eleven Ryans (many of whom were doubtless related to brother Mathew's wife Catherine Ryan) as well as two Hogans.

Almost all the other names of Australian settlers recited in the letters were likewise familiar from Tipperary—Calihan, Dwyer, English, Feehan, Hammersley, Hayes, Kilbride, Leamy, Moore and White. This network was by no means confined to Melbourne: the letters refer to four arrivals from Van Diemen's Land or Adelaide, and three others living in Sydney and Moreton Bay. Several acquaintances had moved to country districts of Victoria, including nine to the 'diggins'.

Only twice did Michael Hogan allow his references to this thriving circle of Irish–Australians to be coloured by resentment. A Ryan connection at the Ovens goldfield had 'told me he would wrigh when he went to the diggins but he did not wright'; while one of the four Hayes brothers chasing gold had come over and 'borrowed 3 pounds of me and he going to the diggins and he never came near me since [?th]en. When parents dont give their children industrious habits they Seldom need expect them do much good afterwards' (H3d, H4b, H4d).

In general, Hogan's letters brought welcome news of *camaraderie*, good health and prosperity, given with sometimes comical precision: 'Michl. hogan of hospitle [*Hospital, Co. Limerick*] and family are well and in good health. He is worth from 200 to 300 pounds of shared money' (H4b). Such tidings were calculated to arouse admiration and possibly envy among anxious friends in Ireland. Indeed his greetings to folk at home referred almost exclusively to those with Australian connections. Michael Hogan's locus was neither Tipperary nor Melbourne, but the transient world of the Tipperary diaspora.

Hogan's chronicle of Irish–Australian success and satisfaction was reinforced by more general affirmations of the attractiveness of life in Victoria. Like many emigrant correspondents, Hogan used statistics to excite and entice his readers: 'This is a good Place for young men and Weoman now. Wages rules as follows. Single Men £60. to 70 per annum or per Day 12 to 15 Shilling. Single weoman 26 to 35 Pounds with rations of the Best. Married Couples with family 60 to 80 Pounds' (1d).

More imaginatively, he appealed to the contrast between freedom in Australia and constraint at home, in terms highly persuasive to those who had lived through the insecurities and deprivations of the Famine and the painful social reorganisation that followed: 'This is the place where a man makes all for himself independent of any master for at once you purchase land here you have it for ever without taxes or any other Cess. . . . This is the Country where we Can Enjoy ourselves with the Best of every thing independen of a landlor of the Galling Yoke of oppression' (H3b, H3c).

While liberty and a livelihood might also be found in other colonies or overseas, Hogan emphasised the particular excellence of Victoria. He noted that Dora Ryan was prospering in Victoria after leaving Adelaide 'in consequence of low wages'; and expressed willingness to pay for

John Dwyer's passage to Melbourne, since 'instead of Coming here his vessel was put into Morton Bay' (H4b, H2b). The introduction of a nomination scheme for emigrants in 1856 encouraged Michael to declare that 'all persons Imigrating ought to try to Come to Melbourne not to being paying their passage to Sydney or Adelaide' (H3d).

While offering no explicit comparison of Victoria with America, he noted the frequency of movement between the two countries and also the decision of one Tipperary man to leave America for the Victorian diggings (H2b, H3d). Victoria was indeed 'the Country where we Can Enjoy ourselves with the Best of every thing'.

Hogan's account of the general and particular attractions of Victoria served to reinforce his campaign for further emigration from Tipperary. He willingly sponsored at least one nephew as a remittance immigrant, acting on instructions from Mathew (H3c, H4a, H4e). But his cardinal aim in writing home was to induce brother Mathew to uproot his own household from Cappawhite and reconstitute the extended Hogan family in Melbourne.

His sometimes frantic appeals in the third letter (1856) must be interpreted in the context of family crisis, death and fear of abandonment. The earlier letters from 1853 and 1854 also encouraged Mathew to emigrate, but without insistence: 'I hope as soon as Opportunity offers you will come to me for it would Be the greatest Pleasure of mind for me to have you in this Cuntry with me as I know you could do well even by your trade' (H1b).

Michael realised that so long as their widowed mother lived her support would take priority in family strategy. He acknowledged his own share of responsibility by sending substantial remittances to brother Mathew 'as a Token of gratitude', while rebuking another brother in America for irresponsibility in escaping Cappawhite only to avoid Melbourne: 'Me brother James acted very unkind when he was leaving Ireland in not coming here as he knew where I was. But I am very thankful to you in Stopping with My Mother in her old age' (H1b).

Two events gave new urgency and moral force to Michael's campaign: the successive deaths of Ellen Hogan in Cappawhite and Margaret Hogan in Melbourne. Bereft of his wife, and released from responsibility for his mother's welfare, Michael rammed home the logic of rebuilding the shattered Hogan family under his own paternal protection: 'I dont see as my mother is dead why you should not Come out to me for whilst my mother was alive I should never encourage you to Come out here. But as She is dead I request of you to Come to me' (H3c). He promised a 'happy home' for Mathew and also for James, whom he again reproached for choosing America (H3b, H3c).

The final letter made no further explicit appeal to Mathew, but argued in the case of another Hogan group that kinship responsibilities were better served by migration than immobility: 'John hogan requires if his brother could leave his parents to come to this country he would do well in this country. Whether he is married or Single he would press on him to come but he is Slow in doing So in consequence of how his parents and brother are circumstanced at home. I think he could Serves his parents or friends better in this country than in Ireland' (H4c). The remaining Hogans, Ryans and Dwyers would gain more from Mathew's remittances than his company.

Michael Hogan's tone suggests the assertiveness of an elder brother dealing with recalcitrant siblings, and the frustration of a man with money and children but without a wife to share them with. His resentment when flouted betrays the enduring stigma of transportation, which always threatened to undermine the hard-won respectability of the ex-convict. The letters do not reveal the outcome of Michael's struggle. Upon his death aged 67 in 1873, he left five grown-up children of whom at least one was evidently still living with him in South Yarra. He was buried by his wife's undertaker in the Melbourne General Cemetery, receiving an almost identical funeral notice in the *Argus*.

But his dream of family reunion was not, after all, to be disappointed. In 1866, nine years after the



surviving correspondence ceased, Mathew and his family succumbed to Michael's entreaties. Between 1867 and 1871 Mathew Hogan also lived in South Yarra, a few doors from Michael's house. Mathew seems to have left Melbourne shortly before his brother's death, for by 1875 he was listed as a cooper in the heavily 'Irish' town of Kilmore not far north of Melbourne, where a Michael Hogan (possibly the ex-convict's eldest son) had been returned as a farmer between 1868 and 1871.

Matthew was to die there in 1882, but his children continued to practise the trades of cooping and dressmaking in Kilmore well after the turn of the century. The will of Michael Hogan had prevailed.

II. The Ryans

Thomas John Ryan was nearly twenty years younger than Michael Hogan, being born on Christmas Eve 1824. His parents, John Ryan and Catherine Hayes of Ballycohey in the parish of Shronell, had been married for almost five years. John Ryan was one of the more comfortable farmers in the townland, with fourteen and a half Irish acres in 1825—equivalent to the 23 statute acres returned under Griffith's Valuation in 1851.

His farm was valued at £31, together with £2 for buildings. The townland belonged to the Portarlinton estate until sold to Charles Grey, then agent to the Earl of Derby, in 1855. The valuation exceeded the current rental, which Grey raised by one fifth; but it seems that Ballycohey tenants seldom, if ever, fell into arrear. During the 1850s John Ryan secured Michael Ryan's adjacent plot, half the size of his own, and according to his own account 'was doing well' (R1b). Having survived the Famine, the Ryan parents seemed on course for a secure old age.

Meanwhile, however, their son Thomas had joined the migratory multitude, leaving Plymouth in April 1850 on the *Emigrant*, bound for Moreton Bay. The passenger lists indicate that he was a farm labourer aged 23 years, with an uncle in Sydney. The voyage became a nightmare as a result of a furious epidemic of typhus fever, first evident on 12 May when the ship was off Cape Verde on the African west coast, and lingering until the last surviving passengers were released six months later, after three months in quarantine on North Stradbroke Island, Moreton Bay.

At least forty passengers and others died, most of them in quarantine; while the majority of the 235 emigrants who finally reached Brisbane had shown symptoms of the disease. Among the dead were the Surgeon-Superintendent, one of the doctors who replaced him, and the 18-year-old daughter of two victims—who drowned herself while in quarantine. Such carnage was rare on the run to Australia, although the length of the voyage led on occasion to multiple shipboard mortality from infections raging through cramped and insanitary quarters.

Despite the horror, half of the survivors were generous enough on 11 November to thank the surviving medical officer for his 'unceasing attention' during his 'long and dangerous stay at the Quarantine Station'. In response, he asked 'that each and all of you may long enjoy all the health, happiness, and prosperity which the sunny land of Australia can afford'.

Two passengers who lived out the doctor's dream were Thomas Ryan and Julia McMahan, a Catholic domestic servant from Clare aged 21 years, who had travelled out with her younger sister Biddy. No doubt the island encampment of tents and makeshift shelters, in its grotesquely attractive setting, encouraged freer association between the male and female convalescents than that tolerated on shipboard. Thomas and Julia were married on 27 February 1851 at the new Catholic church of St Mary in Ipswich, a booming town planned only nine years earlier, about 25 miles up the Brisbane River from Moreton Bay. Their witnesses James and Ellen Real had also endured the voyage of the *Emigrant*. Eight months later Julia Ryan was delivered of twins, the first of 12 children of whom one was still-born while three died in infancy.

While in Ipswich on 20 August 1852 Thomas began to keep his copybook of jottings and transcriptions, an engrossing record of his experiences and preoccupations. This indicates that the



Ryans remained in Ipswich until 1859, with Thomas undertaking a variety of labouring jobs including roadwork, digging cellars and cutting timber. In 1857, for example, he was shearing up to 3 March; working for his landlord for six weeks from 9 March; working 'on the Road' from 20 April, at a pound a week with rations of flour, meat, sugar and tea; and measuring timber on 19 August.

Then, in June 1859, he 'came out to the hut' at Emu Creek as a shepherd. Here he counted sheep and consumed the rough rations of a bushman until 1867. Emu Creek was an out-station of Canning Downs, the famous run established by the Leslie family in the early 1840s in the vicinity of the future town of Warwick. In Thomas Ryan's time it belonged principally to Gilbert Davidson, until the sale of Canning Downs to Frederick Wildash in 1865 resulted in insolvency for the purchaser and the leasing out of sections such as Emu Creek.

Sections of Canning Downs had already been designated in 1863 as a portion of the Warwick Agricultural Reserve, and other parts of the run were reclaimed by the state in 1868 for 'free selection' by farmers. The legislation which ruined the squatters of Canning Downs also offered exciting openings to men like Thomas John Ryan.

Thomas's copybook, with its 51 tattered pages of signatures, addresses, scrawled and undated accounts, prayers, cures, ballads and birthdays, is a treasury of Irish-Australian popular culture. It provides rare insight into the curious *mélange* of recollections and discoveries which brightened the mind of one Tipperaryman holding at bay the alien environment of sub-tropical Queensland.

The litanies of names and addresses are particularly haunting. Again and again, Thomas inscribed the names of himself and his parents, with the distant address 'Shronehill [Shronell] Tipperary Ireland'; of his wife 'Judith' or 'Julie McMahan County Clare Ireland'; and of friends such as James Real, witness to their marriage. He recorded the addresses of uncles, aunts and relations in Sydney and elsewhere, and of his errant brother John in Albany, New York.

Thomas also expressed family solidarity in material terms by recording a short-term loan of one hundred pounds sterling to brother John, a sum which he had raised in 1856 by borrowing from a storekeeper. Outside the family, he referred specifically to only about sixteen acquaintances, most of them traders, employers or landlords. The social world evoked by Thomas's copybook was defined by family and sustained by memory.

When Thomas rested from digging cellars or counting sheep, his mind often turned to the Catholic religion, in those hybrid and sometimes magical manifestations which have so captivated historians of pre-Famine Ireland. He laboriously wrote out eight of the indulgences prescribed by Pope Pius VII at the beginning of the century, offering as much as a year's relief from purgatory for the recital 'with an humble and contrite heart' of prayers such as these:

Blessed be god. Blessed be his holey name. Blessed be Jesus Christ. True god & true man. Blessed be they name of Juses. Blessed be Juses in they most holey Sacrament of they alter. Blessed be Mary the most holey mother of god. Blessed be the name of mary virgin and mother. Blessed *be god in his angels and Saints*. In Reperation of the most grivious offences which are commited aggainst him by blasphemers the above prayer is to be Said.

The curious orthography suggests that this eighth indulgence was transcribed from memory, whereas others were so accurately rendered as to imply access to a written text. Ryan's anxiety to curtail his sojourn in purgatory was matched by eagerness to postpone his arrival there; and his copybook teems with cures and remedies. Some of these prescriptions (like his recipes for ginger beer, boot polish, and an 'Effectual Specifick for the Aphis') were probably copied from local newspapers or household manuals. There is nothing obviously magical or indeed national about the 'Cure for Liver complaint' (1857), the 'ointment for old woonds Such as Tistulas [*fistulas*] and they like', the 'Water to wash a sore', or the powder 'for healing *old Sores*'.



On the other hand, three successive cures in the copybook are variants of well documented Irish folk remedies. Ryan's 'ointment' for unspecified ailments closely resembles the 'green plaster' used in late nineteenth-century Mayo as a treatment for warts, sores, foot and skin infections. The Mayo version was composed of bees' wax, white resin, burgundy pitch, verdigris, hog's lard and sweet oil, corresponding to Ryan's 'Bees wax', 'Rosin', 'Burgandy Pitch', 'french verdigrace', butter and 'comon turpentine'. The substitution of 'fresh May Buter or comon fresh Buter Clarified' for hog's lard might equally well signify Ryan's Tipperary background or his Darling Downs foreground-- were it not for the association of freshness in butter with the northern month of May.

His 'Receipt for a toothache' is a rhyming variant of a charm reportedly found in Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, Breton and Highland as well as Westmeath, sources:

Peter Sat on a Marvel Stone
 Our Savour came to him all alone
 He Says Peter what makes you quake
 Because my tooth doth ach
 Raise up Peter be made whole of thy tooth ach not they onley but those that has these words in
 Remebrance of my Shall never take faver or tooth ach.

Finally, the 'Receipe for Stoping *Blood*' accomplishes a neat splicing of Catholic superstition with pishoguary:

You are to Repeat they following woords nine times with they right hand on they head also repeat they lords prayer each time when you *commence the words*.
 Words.
 By they Blood of christ Sin was taken
 By they Blood of Christ Sin was Shaken
 By these words I Repeat at large (he or She)
 Thy Blood Shal Run no more at large.

Logan states that a prayer of similar function was vouchsafed to the grandfather of a Wicklow informant by the local Catholic curate, but that its words remain 'a family secret'. Clearly the folk culture which Thomas Ryan exported to Queensland was by no means specific to Tipperary, or indeed to Ireland.

The diversity of Irish-Australian culture is confirmed by examination of the three ballads inscribed in the copybook: 'The Flowers of Green', 'Purty Molley Brallaghan' and 'The Suceen bawn'. 'The Flowers of Green' is a picturesque if somewhat confusing version of 'The Nobleman's Wedding', an English traditional song widely known throughout the British Isles and North America, including Newfoundland.

Hugh Shields gives two tunes for the song as performed in North Derry, and remarks that 'from the 1850s it became the object of Anglo-Irish literary adaptation and Irish airs were often published for it. Present-day versions vary greatly, perhaps because the Irish popular press had little hand in its dissemination.' The poet Padraic Colum cited it as being typical of country songs, 'which, in Ireland, are narrative, coming out of reverie and not out of a dramatic confrontation'.

P.W. Joyce (from Glenosheen, Co. Limerick), remembered that 'this pretty ballad was a favourite in my father's house, from whose singing I learned it in my childhood'. Joyce's brother's version was one of four cited in 1855 by the antiquarian George Petrie, who also reported performances by his daughter's nursemaid and a 'poor blind Limerick woman', as well as by the rumbustious John Philpot Curran from Newmarket, Co. Cork (1750-1817).

The ballad, though international, was clearly commonplace in mid-nineteenth century Munster; and it appears that the opening lines of Ryan's version concerning 'The Flowers of Green' have only two known counterparts in recorded versions, one of them from Tipperary. The Ryan text is particularly vindictive towards the unfortunate 'fair one that proved to my unkind', ending



abruptly when the bridegroom 'arose and fond his bride dead'—her punishment for dumping 'her former true lover'. The song exemplifies the dreaded process of Irish expropriation of English popular culture—anglicisation.

'Purty Molley Brallaghan', sometimes known under aliases such as 'Judy' and 'Brannagan', illustrates the reverse process of 'hibernicisation'. It remains a popular party piece in Tipperary and far beyond, being sung to the eighteenth-century jig or reel, 'The Green Fields of America'. It appeared in English as well as Irish broadsides, and became generally known through publication in Samuel Lover's *Lyrics of Ireland* (London, 1858). The ballad recently achieved a new life upon reproduction in Jerry Silverman's *The Liberated Woman's Songbook* (New York, 1971).

Ryan's version, though evidently transcribed from memory, is virtually identical except in spelling to the published texts. Here it is the victim rather than the betrayer who contemplates death, admittedly with a giggle. The disappointed lover reminisces about a rainy encounter in 'they medowes where She Swore I was they onley Man', parades his chivalry when 'I rowld her in my frieze coat tho the devil a waiscoat I had on', and reflects that 'I cant afford to lose both my heart and my breches to, yet what need I Care when I have onley to Die'.

The least familiar ballad in Thomas Ryan's copybook is 'The Suceen bawn', presumably a corruption of 'An Súisín Bán' ('The Little White Blanket'). This is the title of a reel transcribed by Edward Bunting at Deel Castle, Ballina, Co. Mayo, in 1792. Ryan's stanzas bear no resemblance to those recorded in Irish by Bunting, which eloquently expressed the sexual frustration of a monk cut off from female society 'under the white blanket', and yearning for the women of the night who 'would give love to me and welcome under the yellow blanket'. He also hoped for a couple of assignations under the white blanket before coming 'down from the white mountain'.

In Ryan's version, the white blanket is not only the song but also the 'glade', and indeed the 'Sporting dame' herself—for all her 'auburn locks in waving ringlets'. The lover's stuttering questions as to her divine or mythological origins, provoking robust denial that 'this amiable fair dame' was 'arora' [*Aurora*], 'helan' [of Troy] or 'vulcans venus fair', call to mind a similar if more polished exchange in 'The Lovely Maid of the Shannon Streme'. For once the lover's satisfaction is not followed by rejection, though no detail of the encounter is provided.

The provenance, distribution and music of 'The Suceen bawn' remain obscure; but Hugh Shields assures me that Ryan's words could be sung to the familiar reel—'with some pushing and pulling that seems quite legitimate in view of the orthography'. The lyric, with its half-buried classical allusions and half-emergent lustfulness, is redolent of winter evenings in Tipperary and pubescent fantasy. The songs that Thomas Ryan carried to Australia in his memory were an Anglo-Irish medley with a Tipperary gloss and a common theme—not exile, not politics, not piety, not shamrocks, but sex.

Clearly Thomas Ryan had forgotten neither home nor family as a result of emigration, but his father's letters indicate that they had been out of touch until August 1866. It seems likely that Thomas had recently resumed written contact in the hope of getting money from his father, at a time when he was changing his status from shepherd to free selector. The paternal response was cagey. John Ryan wrote in 1866 that 'I may have something else to say to you before I die'; in 1867 that 'I will Send you the help before I go please god'; and in 1868 that 'I could not at present send you money, but you may be Sure any thing I have to spare at my Death will be put safe and conveyed to You' (R1c, R2b, R3b).

Thomas's prospects of benefit should have been enhanced by the death of his brothers John in America and William in Tipperary: 'He was married only 4 Years when he was Killed at the races of Barronstown, leaving a Wife myself, and 2 Children after him. I live with them as usual and have only my Support as a useless old Invalid dependant on a strange woman' (R1b). But his father



implied that co-residence with a daughter-in-law was a costly business: 'I am living with Williams Wife who has two Children after him and foresee she may change my circumstances altogether' (R2b).

Nor could he expect her to act as surrogate wife, and he was 'getting very old and of course feeble requiring assistance which *I have not*, being dependant on a Strange woman' (R3b). The old man seems to have taken a jaundiced view of marriage, remarking that he had been 'doing well when my son John eloped with Ellen Heffernan and emigrated to america where he since died. I then after My Wifes Death gave the whole place to your Brother William in Marriage with Mary Diggin from the Parish of Solohead' (R1b).

John Ryan also seems to have lost touch with his married daughters, being unable to supply their addresses in 1868 (R3c). He asked Thomas rather wistfully to 'let me Know are you married and who your Wife is and wherefrom' (R1e).

John Ryan's recalcitrance in assisting his son reflected not only family crisis, but also mounting conflict between landlord and tenant in Ballycohey. The tranquillity of the townland had been shattered in 1866 upon its sale by Charles Grey to William Scully, whose family had owned it before the Earls of Portarlington. This event was announced by John Ryan in stump-oratorical terms: 'William Scully (the great Exterminator) has purchased the Townland of Ballycohey lately and it is feared by all that he will evict every one in it' (R2b).

As the epithet implies, William Francis John Scully was already notorious for bitterness, violence and contempt towards his tenantry. Many members of his family, Catholic patriots though they might seem, had come into violent conflict with their tenants. William's bitterness owed much to his discovery, in 1842 when he had just turned 21, of the body of his elder brother James—shot while shooting duck.

He inherited much of his brother's estate, and amassed a vast fortune in American land; yet wealth and frequent absence from Tipperary did not mollify him. In the 1840s he had acted with startling duplicity in wresting the big house at Ballinaclough from a strong farmer named Dalton, and had been acquitted at the Clonmel Assizes after shooting two sons of another tenant whom he wished to evict.

Then in 1865 he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for fracturing the skull of a pregnant woman whose family in Co. Kilkenny was also in process of eviction. The baby was lost, but Scully later boasted that he had never served his sentence. Scully's managerial methods, together with his apostasy from the Catholic church, made him a favourite target for public abuse. He had indeed long since 'rendered himself notorious for his exterminating propensities'.

John Ryan's first two letters were written in November 1866 and April 1867, long before Scully had made any overt attempt to evict his tenantry. Yet he was wise to be on his 'guard' against that 'very bad Landlord' (R2b), for in December 1867 William Scully offered the tenants of Ballycohey a novel form of lease which all declined to accept. This document required the tenant to grant 'immediate possession' to the landlord at 21 days' notice, 'any law, custom, or thing to the contrary notwithstanding'.

No justification was required for repossession, no compensation for crops or disturbance was to be claimed, and the notices of ejection might, in defiance of law, be posted on walls or doors rather than being served personally to the occupier. The tenant was thus asked to surrender all his admittedly puny legal and customary entitlements, with the miserable consolation that he too might terminate the lease at 21 days' notice—provided that he did not deface the walls or doors of Ballinaclough in so doing.

Since his tenants were in good standing and in some cases prepared to pay higher rents, Scully's manifest intention was to clear the townland of its inhabitants rather than to exploit them more



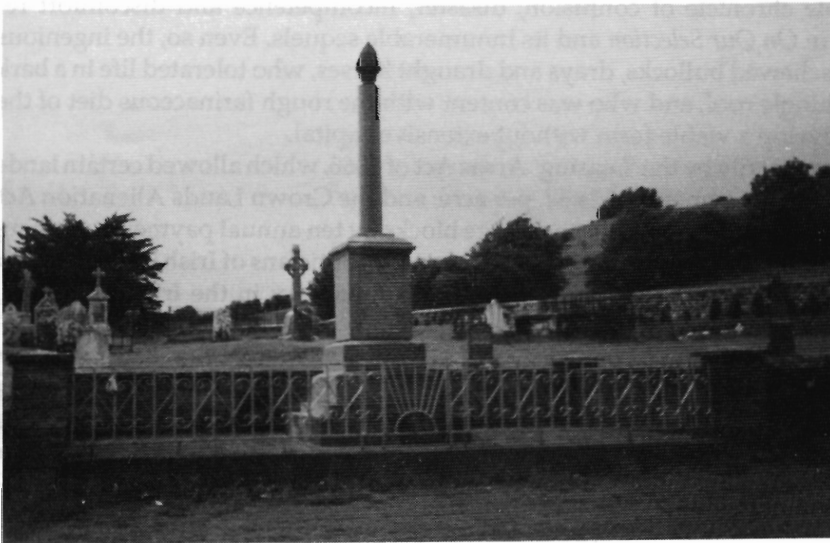
productively. As the *Freeman's Journal* observed, 'Mr. Scully preferred increased power to increased rent'. Before May 1868, two tenants had already received notices to quit. One of them was John Ryan. By 12 May, when Ryan wrote his final surviving letter to his son, Scully was 'beginning to eject the whole of the property and has already served 4 of them and if things go on as it is feared we cannot escape so that I will have to live on the little I have Kept to guard myself' (R3b). In a striking display of Tipperary reticence, John Ryan neglected to identify himself as one of the recipients of Scully's notices. On that cryptic note, his account of the conflict in Ballycohey ceases.

The sequel was to become one of the great melodramas of Irish history, providing a major impetus for Gladstone's ingenious if flawed attempt in 1870 to protect the conscientious tenant against arbitrary eviction and exploitation. On 11 August 1868 Scully was received in Ballycohey with 'hoots, shouts, and fierce menaces', but raised to at least eight the total number of notices served. Though he had allegedly been warned by the constabulary of a murder conspiracy, he made a second visit to the townland on 14 August with an escort of policemen and servants.

After visiting three farms emptied of adult inhabitants, 'the party then went to the house of a man named Ryan, where some time was spent. On leaving Ryan's the crowd had become so large and so hostile in appearance and language—many of the people crying out it was better to die at once than be turned out to starve—that Constable Cleary advised Mr. Scully to retire.' After seeming to accept this advice, Scully nevertheless entered the farmyard of Patrick Dwyer, a near neighbour of John Ryan's and occupier of a slightly smaller farm.

Here occurred the 'Battle of Ballycohey', as shots assailed Scully's party from lofts and outhouses while Scully, though promptly wounded, responded with manic ferocity. The outcome was the death of his steward and a sub-constable, and fearful injury to Scully from which, amidst universal regret, he rapidly recovered. Despite numerous arrests, the Dwyer shooting party was never identified with sufficient certainty for charges to be brought to trial.

However, its membership is indicated by the names inscribed on the centennial Ballycohey monument. These thirteen names correspond closely to the households on whom Scully had served notices, or which he visited on 14 August 1868. Almost all of those involved came from moderate or substantial farms, whereas those occupiers in the townland without known involvement were mainly small farmers or labourers. Among those commemorated was a John Ryan.



The monument erected at Shronell to those who participated in the "Battle of Ballycohey" in 1868.

Despite Scully's reputed eagerness to pursue the clearance of Ballycohey from his sickbed, his commercial sense eventually outweighed his vindictiveness. Scully had been unmoved by the stern rebukes of the Tipperary magistrates, his brother landlords, the *Irish Times* and politicians of every faction. But by October 1868 he had agreed to sell his Ballycohey estate to Charles Moore of Mooresfort, member of parliament for Co. Tipperary.

Scully's loss, though massive, was less than he might have expected. Moore paid dearly for a property whose value had been slashed by the recent conflict, being obliged as an advocate of tenant right to abjure rent increases and being forced almost to litigation by Scully's idiosyncratic terms of sale. But he received applause from the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, modestly refrained from mentioning the purchase in his election address (a fact which was widely mentioned), and was re-elected unopposed on 23 November after his opponents had withdrawn in despair.

A few weeks earlier, the entire tenantry of Ballycohey had published a large placard supporting his election in gratitude for having been 'rescued from oppression' and enabled to exchange 'a state of serfdom, misery, and uncertainty for one of hope, confidence, and security'. Moore died in the following year, but was long remembered as an angel of deliverance. A year or so later, John Ryan too was dead. The dexterity of this 'useless old invalid' in reloading the guns being emptied by his neighbours, probably drawing upon skills learned as a militiaman, was also to enter local folklore.

While John Ryan in Tipperary struggled grimly to defend his patrimony, his son was preparing to acquire one in a very different environment. As a shepherd on Emu Creek station, he would have had little opportunity to advance himself and his multiplying family. Most of his wages were consumed by the cost of provisions supplied by the squatter; and in some places the wages of shepherds are said to have fallen sharply between 1862 and 1865.

As a selector, he faced daunting risks without promise of early profits, but also without high initial costs. In the Darling Downs the risks seemed formidable in the 1860s and 1870s, with serious droughts in 1864–68, 1871 and 1876–78, as well as destructive floods affecting the rivers and creeks around Warwick in 1862, 1863 and 1873. Yet by comparison with other parts of Queensland the Warwick district was easily tamed, the selector being faced with 'apparently endless fertile plains' and 'no wilderness to subdue'.

It was alleged in 1897 that the typical new settler 'has nothing to do but to enclose his land, and put in the plough at once—there is no clearing to be done'. Such sanguine accounts should be set against the more plausible chronicle of confusion, disaster, incompetence and discomfort recounted by 'Steele Rudd' in *On Our Selection* and its innumerable sequels. Even so, the ingenious and handy selector who eschewed bullocks, drays and draught horses, who tolerated life in a bark hut or slab cottage with shingle roof, and who was content with the rough farinaceous diet of the bush, could eventually develop a viable farm without extensive capital.

This was made possible primarily by the 'Leasing' Areas Act of 1866, which allowed certain lands to be selected with eight annual payments of 2s.6d. per acre; and the Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1868, which provided for conditional purchase of large blocks by ten annual payments, ranging from 6d. to 1s.6d. per acre according to quality. Priests and certain politicians of Irish Catholic stock portrayed the selection acts as the foundation of 'a peasant proprietary in the Irish Tradition', urging their followers to seek respectability upon the soil.

Thomas Ryan made his first foray into farming in May 1867, evidently under the 1866 Act, when he leased 118 acres near Swan Creek in partnership with James McMahon. It seems likely that he had asked his father for help in this investment, for an apologetic refusal arrived in the previous month (R2b). In 1869 he sold his share and selected 121 acres of pastoral land at Bald Ridge near Yangan under the 1868 Act, supplementing this two years later with a 'homestead selection' of 79 acres.



By 1873, possibly with the long-promised 'help' from his father, he was ready to select a more substantial farm at Danderoo which he nostalgically dubbed 'Golden Vale'. In fact the name Danderoo was still more evocative of Ballycohey, being an aboriginal term meaning 'place of murder'! Like Michael Hogan's migrations through South Yarra, Thomas Ryan's peregrination in search of a livelihood had been intensely local since he left Ipswich fourteen years earlier, his four addresses being clustered over an eight-mile stretch between Warwick and Killarney.

He now had 800 acres, an immense property by Ballycohey standards, and was able to slice off 200 acres for a son in 1882. He had become a man of property whom William Scully and his like could never disturb. Yet even in the Darling Downs farmers like Thomas Ryan intermittently found themselves embroiled in class conflict with the great landholders. In some respects the relationship of Warwick selector to squatter resembled that of Ballycohey tenant to landlord. The squatter, like the landlord, had lost some but far from all of his political and economic power by 1870, and struggles for supremacy could be bitter when the former 'Ascendancies' sought to reassert their fading domination.

This evidently occurred at Canning Downs after insolvency compelled Frederick Wildash to sell out in 1875 to John Donald Macansh, who exerted sufficient political influence to fix improved access to his station against the selectors' interests. In 1876, Thomas Ryan was among 38 'landholders, farmers, selectors, and others' who opposed the decision to close a local road and replace it by a route that could 'only benefit one person, that is to say, the resident at Canning Downs'. Ryan supported the petition with quiet dignity before a parliamentary committee, declaring that he 'would sign the same a hundred times if necessary again'—as he had signed his name perhaps a hundred times in his copybook.



Thomas and Julia Ryan at Golden Vale, Danderoo, about 1890.

MRS. SHIRLEY THOMPSON.





'Dad', by the Queensland artist A. J. Higston, first published in 'Steele Rudd's Magazine' (1905).

In his last years Thomas Ryan liked to suggest that he had prospered as a farmer, and is said to have posed for a photograph with his wife holding a newspaper rolled up in bank notes, in order to suggest to his Irish relations that they were rolling in money. In fact the property was to remain heavily mortgaged long after his death, and it is likely that only a fraction of the land was used productively in the early years.

By 1876 less than 100 acres of the typical Warwick selection of 223 acres had been enclosed for stock, and only nine acres placed under cultivation. Survival rather than comfort or wealth was the ambition of most early selectors, and comparison of photographs suggests that the Ryan homestead of 1890 was an even less pretentious building than the farmhouse in Ballycohey.

Thomas Ryan himself, with his impressive white beard, defiant posture and ill-fitting waistcoat, developed a striking resemblance to certain caricatures of that archetypal selector of the Downs, Steele Rudd's Dad. Unsmiling, sweltering in their extensive costumes, Thomas and Julia Ryan gazed unflinchingly at the photographer and the world.

Upon his death aged 67 years in 1893, Thomas was celebrated as 'a hale, hearty old fellow' who was 'widely respected for his many upright qualities', his hearse being followed from Emu Vale to Warwick by a long cortège. In 1907, when Julia died in her 77th year, she was remembered with pleasure and gratitude for her hospitality to 'visiting sportsmen', calling to mind 'that sporting dame called the Suceen Bawn'. The *Warwick Argus* pronounced that the Ryans had pursued 'the strenuous agricultural life . . . with undoubted success, for Golden Vale has long been recognised as one of the finest of farms in the fertile valley of Killarney'.

FOOTNOTES

1. Four letters from Michael Hogan to Mathew Hogan, a cooper in Cappawhite, are preserved in Ms 12427: La Trobe Library, Melbourne. Extracts are cited as (H1) 8 December 1853; (H2) 2 February 1854; (H3) 22 June 1856; (H4) March 1857. The paragraph divisions in the text (reproduced below) are signified by the letter appearing in each citation. As in my earlier study of Tipperary-Australian letters in the previous issue of this journal, all transcriptions follow the original spelling, capitalisation and syntax, apart from interpolation of paragraph and sentence breaks.
2. Three letters from John Ryan of Ballycohey, Shronell to his son Thomas in the Darling Downs (Queensland) have generously been made available by Mrs Shirley Thompson of Brisbane. The original documents are in the care of Mr. George Thompson, Toowoomba. I am deeply grateful to Mrs Thompson and to Mr Marcus Bourke for their unstinting assistance in interpreting and documenting the Ryan correspondence. Extracts are cited as (R1) 12 November 1866; (R2) 24 April 1867; (R3) 12 May 1868.
3. I am grateful to Kevin and Pat Haley, Mrs. Shirley Thompson and Mr. Richard Flatman for background information on the Ryans. The letters, with an introduction by Mr. Flatman, have already been published in *Irish Family History*, iv (1988), pp, 9-12, under the title "Dear Son if You are My Son."
4. Michael Hogan's death certificate gives his age and parentage, together with other details of his resid-

ence in the colonies which confirm beyond doubt the biographical reconstruction in this article. Hogan and Dwyer were among the most common surnames in the Catholic parish of Cappawhite, whose registers for the nineteenth century record three other couples of Hogan husbands and Dwyer wives, but not Matthew and Ellen: Index to Registers (1986), consulted at presbytery by kind permission of Fr Curtin, P.P.

5. It seems undesirable to clutter this article with innumerable citations of standard genealogical data. My Australian sources include assisted immigration lists, convict indents, ticket of leave butts, civil registers, electoral rolls, and directories. Most of these are widely available in microform, often with nominal indices. The basic Irish sources—which unhappily are often less conveniently available—include tithe applotment books, valuation records (including field, house, primary valuation and revision books), parish and civil registers, directories, and family schedules for the 1901 census.
6. The Cappawhite parish registers record Mathew's marriage and the baptism of eight children, two of whom evidently died in infancy. Mathew Hogan acquired an additional half-acre of garden on the Nenagh Road in the mid-1850s.
7. Incumbered Estates Court, notice of sale of Vere Dawson Hunt property, lot 2 (Cappagh), 5 November 1852, O'Brien Rentals 18/55: National Archives, Dublin. This notice refers to 'annual fairs', five in number according to Seamus Fitzgerald (ed.), *Cappawhite and Doon* (Pallaskenry, circa 1981), p. 89; while monthly fairs are specified in *Thom's Official Directory* for 1883.
8. Paul E.W. Roberts, 'Caravats and Shanavests', in Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly, Jr. (eds.), *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest 1780–1914* (Madison, 1983), pp 94–5.
9. Fitzgerald, *Cappawhite*, p. 89.
10. House of Commons Papers [HCP], 1836 (226), xlii, pp 6–8.
11. A diligent search by Mr Marcus Bourke of the *Clonmel Herald*, *Clonmel Advertiser* and *Tipperary Free Press* elicited no account of Hogan's trial. However, the *Limerick Chronicle* for 18 January 1834 (microfilm in National Library of Australia, Canberra) reported that 'at Cashel Quarter Sessions this week, six offenders against the person and property, including a private of the Royal Artillery for stealing a gentleman's cloak, were sentenced to transportation for 7 years each'. Among those convicted and transported along with Hogan was a weaver from Louth who received a seven-year sentence for 'stealing cloak'. Hilary Term Quarter Sessions were often held in Cashel rather than Tipperary town.
12. Those found guilty of maiming cattle (but not other animals), or of acting with intent to maim the person, were to 'suffer Death as a Felon' under statutes of 1828 and 1829; and even after amelioration in 1842 and 1837 these offences remained punishable by transportation for terms longer than Hogan's seven years: 9 Geo. IV, c. 56, s.17; 10 Geo. IV, c. 34, s. 15; 5&6 Vict., c. 28. s. 13; 7 Wm. IV, c. 85, s. 4. In practice the courts frequently ignored the statutory punishments for such felonies. In common law, a personal 'maim' connoted not merely permanent weakening or deprivation of the use of a bodily member, but also 'of any sense which he can use in fighting': Hume R. Jones (ed.), *The Irish Constable's Guide* (7th ed., Dublin, 1918), p. 294.
13. *Three Years' Practical Experience of a Settler in New South Wales* (6th ed., Edinburgh, 1838), pp 25, 42. Biographical details for Robert Allan, whose name appears in none of the standard dictionaries, have been extracted from the usual genealogical sources.
14. N.G. Butlin et al. (eds.), *General Return of Convicts in New South Wales, 1837* (Sydney, 1987), p. 302.
15. Joseph Hawdon, *The Journal of a Journey from New South Wales to Adelaide* (Melbourne, 1952), p. 1; undated press cutting, circa 1950, with Hogan Letters. Hogan's overlanding with Hawdon is confirmed by James Alipius Maher, *The Tale of a Century: Kilmore 1837–1937* (Kilmore, 1972; 1st ed. 1938), p. 45, probably on the basis of information from Hogan's surviving niece.
16. Michael Cannon (ed.), *Historical Records of Victoria*, III (Melbourne, 1984), pp 83, 109, 436, 394. By a droll mispronunciation, mishearing or else mistranscription, the name of Hogan's transport appears as the *Blue Name* rather than the *Blenheim* (p. 394).
17. Regulations of 1835 are given in *Guide to Convict Records in the Archives Office of New South Wales* (Sydney,



- 1971), p. 115. Hogan's leave had been recommended by the Melbourne bench in November 1839, and it is unclear whether he accompanied Allan to Western Port after his master had leased the pastoral run of Balla Balla in that year. According to *Kerr's Melbourne Almanac, and Port Phillip Directory*, Allan held land in Little Collins Street in 1841 but in 'Balabail' in 1842. Allan later moved to Buninyong while retaining the freehold of the Western Port property, becoming a magistrate before his death in 1878. See R.V. Billis and A.S. Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip* (Melbourne, 1974), p. 14; Neil Gunson, *The Good Country: Cranbourne Shire* (Melbourne, 1968), p. 37; electoral rolls for 1856; *Argus*, 16 March 1878.
18. The three lists of passengers for the *William Metcalfe*, in which Hogan's bride seems to have travelled unaccompanied on one of John Marshall's £18 bounties, variously give her name as Brien or O'Brien, her occupation as housemaid, general servant or dairymaid, her age as 19, 23 or 24, and her educational status as literate or illiterate. Along with Dennis and Mary Leary, she was snapped up as servant to a Dr Patrick at £70 annually for the three, with rations provided.
 19. In 1854, Hogan and Mick English were both willing to bring a mutual friend down from Moreton Bay (H2b); while the Mary Leary or Leamy of the marriage certificate may correspond either to Margaret O'Brien's fellow passenger, or to the Mary Leamy who was 'living with' the widowed Hogan in 1857 (H4e).
 20. See letters (H1a, H3a, H3e); *Argus*, 8 December 1851, p. 2.
 21. Marjorie Morgan, *The Old Melbourne Cemetery 1837–1922* (Oakleigh, 1982), p. 65; *Argus*, 20 July 1855, p. 8. By 1855 the old cemetery was closed to all those who had failed to purchase a grave or vault before the opening of the massive new Melbourne General Cemetery, in which Michael was himself to be buried. Insertion of the funeral notice would have cost about four shillings at the current advertising rate of a shilling for 16 words.
 22. Undated newspaper cutting with Hogan Letters.
 23. All of these surnames appear in the primary valuation for Cappagh, with the exception of the Hammersleys from 'Tuam' [the parish or townland of *Toem*, in whose graveyard several are buried]; the Leamys from the neighbouring parish of Solohead; Maurice Feehan and the Hayes family (untraced). Several of the Hogans and Ryans came from localities some miles from the village, including Hollyford, Ballagh, Bonarea, and Hospital (Co. Limerick).
 24. A possible exception was the returned emigrant Richard 'Penfeather' or Pennefather, a village middleman and close neighbour of Mathew's (H1d).
 25. His sister's son Michael Moore, labourer, reached Melbourne in December 1857.
 26. The informant of Michael's death was his youngest son James of South Yarra, then aged 19 years.
 27. Hogan's age at death was given as 67 in his death certificate, 73 in his death notice in the *Argus* for 12 June 1873, and 78 in the cemetery register. Of these ages the first corresponds to that in his convict's indent.
 28. Matthew's widow Catherine died in Kilmore in 1905, but two daughters were listed as electors in 1908.
 29. Mr. Richard M. Flatman has kindly allowed me to cite his genealogical findings concerning the Ryan family, summarised in his commentary on the letters entitled 'Dear Son If You Are My Son', in *Irish Family History*, iv (1988), pp. 9-12.
 30. Grey paid £13,500 for the townland, equivalent to 24 years' rental. After adjustment the rental exceeded both Griffith's Valuation and that obtained by Kincaid's special survey: *Nation*, 19 September 1868, p. 70.
 31. He was however returned as 'Patrick' Ryan, evidently a mistranscription since his parentage was given accurately; and his religion was variously given as Catholic and Church of England.
 32. Reports in *Moreton Bay Courier*, August to November 1850, and other cuttings supplied by Mrs Shirley Thompson; Ross Patrick, *Horse Whip the Doctor: Tales from our Medical Past* (St Lucia, 1985), pp 7–16.
 33. It is noteworthy that while the birthdate of the twins appears as 26 October 1851 in the official register, it is given as 27 November in Thomas Ryan's copybook (also in family keeping).
 34. Thomas Hall, *The Early History of Warwick District and Pioneers of the Darling Downs* (Toowoomba, circa 1920s), pp 5, 26–7; D.B. Waterson, *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper: A History of the Darling Downs, 1859–93* (Sydney, 1968), pp 47–8, 283.



35. See especially S.J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780–1845* (Dublin, 1982), ch. 3.
36. The aphid specific is in fact ascribed to ‘C.B. Cox Esqr. of Burrumdulla’ [Burrumdulla, near Mudgee in central New South Wales], and was taken down from ‘The Mudge Paper’ on 20 August 1861. The article may have been sent on by a friend, or conceivably extracted by a Queensland newspaper.
37. Patrick Logan, *Irish Country Cures* (Belfast, 1981), pp 77, 127–8, 87.
38. This commentary is based largely on information and leads kindly provided by Dr Hugh Shields of Trinity College Dublin, and Mr Tom Munnely of the Department of Irish Folklore, University College Dublin. Others who pursued my quest were Dr Cormac O Gráda, Dr Joanna Bourke, Mr Marcus Bourke, and Mr Eddie Dalton of Cloughleigh, Co. Tipperary.
39. Hugh Shields, *Shamrock Rose and Thistle: Folk Singing in North Derry* (Belfast, 1981), pp 41–3, 165 (catalogue of Irish sources and variants). The dissemination of the ballad is documented in G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., *American Balladry from British Broad-sides* (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 264 [ballad P 31]; and in Patricia Pate Havlice, *Popular Song Index* (Metuchen, N.J., 1975), p. 113, together with its 2nd Supplement (1984), pp 30, 83.
40. Padraic Colum, *Broad-Sheet Ballads: Being a Collection of Irish Popular Songs* (Dublin, 1913), pp viii–ix, 5, 75. In fact Colum had heard it sung but not seen it on broadsides (p. xv).
41. P.W. Joyce (ed.), *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* (Dublin, 1909), pp 224–5. Glenosheen is about 16 miles south-west of Ballycohey.
42. George Petrie (ed.), *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*, I (Dublin, 1855), pp 178–80. Petrie considered that these versions of the lyrics were ‘all so rude and imperfect as to be unworthy of publication’, substituting a nauseatingly improved rendering by William Allingham.
43. Mr Munnely cites tapes with comparable references to ‘the flowers of the field’, from Ballysloe, Co. Tipperary (TM 521/2) and Shillelagh, Co. Wicklow (TM 346/B/3; 374/A/2–B/1).
44. Hugh Shields, ‘Some “Songs and Ballads in Use in the Province of Ulster . . . 1845”’, in *Ulster Folklife*, XVII (1971), p. 22. This article provides a select bibliography for the ballad, and indicates that it was current near Hillsborough, Co. Down, in 1845.
45. See, for example, the text of ‘Molly Brallaghan’ in *The Universal Irish Song Book: A Complete Collection of the Songs and Ballads of Ireland* (New York, 1897; 1st ed. 1884), pp. 156–7.
46. Edward Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (Dublin, 1840; facs. ed. 1969), p. 51; Donal O’Sullivan and Mícheál O’Súilleabháin (eds.), *Bunting’s Ancient Music of Ireland edited from the Original Manuscripts* (Cork, 1983), pp 111–12 (giving words). A variant tune appears in the great Irish–American collection by Francis O’Neill, *O’Neill’s Music of Ireland* (Chicago, 1903; facs. ed. New York, 1963), p. 336.
47. Broadside reproduced in James N. Healy (ed.), *The Mercier Book of Old Irish Street Ballads*, I (Cork, 1967), pp 289–90.
48. The primary valuation records a John Heffernan in Ballycohey with a farm of 56 acres worth £56, and a William Diggin in Moanmore (civil parish of Solloghmore) with a holding similar to Ryan’s own, occupying 38 acres valued at £25. John’s elopement with the daughter of a substantial farmer may reflect the reluctance of the latter to bestow her dowry upon a family of markedly inferior status.
49. Just before the sale Grey had attempted fruitlessly to introduce leases for tenants at will upon payment of a large fine. Scully paid £8,500 more for the townland than Grey had done in 1855, and his outlay was equivalent to no less than thirty-two and a half years’ rental. To justify this outlay, Scully aimed to raise the rental by half: *Nation*, 19 September 1868, p. 70.
50. See *Nation*, 29 August 1868, p. 22. Scully resided intermittently at Ballynaclough throughout his long life, though several Daltons remained in the townland in the 1850s. There are several disparaging references to Scully and his family in the letters of William Dalton of Athassel Abbey: see my ‘News from Home: Letters from Golden and Bruree to Sydney (1851–1859)’, in *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1990), pp 79–80, 84.
51. See, for example, Homer E. Socolofsky, *Landlord William Scully* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1979), pp 1–48; Denis



G. Marnane, *Land and Violence: A History of West Tipperary* (Tipperary, 1985), pp 34, 49, 56–8, 84, 95–9; A.M. Sullivan, *New Ireland* (16th ed., London, 1877), pp 363–5; *Nation*, 22 August 1868, p. 7.

52. *Waterford Citizen*, extracted in *Nation*, 29 August 1868, p. 22.
53. *Nation*, 22 August 1868, p. 6, from *Cork Examiner*. The authenticity of this report of the Ballycohey lease was universally accepted—even by the Tory *Saunders's News-Letter*, which had 'no hesitation in saying that no more monstrous conditions were ever attempted to be imposed even on the most submissive tenantry. They are of such a nature as to tempt one to doubt the sanity of the man who proposed them': 18 August 1868, p. 2.
54. *Nation*, 22 August 1868, pp 5–6.
55. See the assessments by R.V. Comerford and W.E. Vaughan in *A New History of Ireland*, V (Oxford, 1989), pp 448, 747, 749, 758, 762, 770–1, 775. Vaughan emphasises that 'isolated incidents' such as Derryveigh and Ballycohey 'could not be compared with the famine evictions' (p. 747). Consequently, Gladstone's attempt to make further Ballycoheys impossible was beside the point. The tenants of Ballycohey would have thought otherwise.
56. My account is based on reports in the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Nation*, the *Irish Times*, *The Times* and *Saunders's News-Letter*; together with published chronicles such as A.M. Sullivan's *New Ireland*. The *Nation*, though Sullivan's journal and unashamedly partisan, provided the most detailed coverage including invaluable copies of reports in local newspapers of all political persuasions.
57. Extract from *Freeman's Journal*, in *Nation*, 22 August 1868, p. 5. Since John Ryan was the only tenant farmer of that surname in Ballycohey, the house was almost certainly his.
58. Among those arrested but discharged was Edward Ryan, a servant from Kilfeacle probably unconnected with John Ryan.
59. I am grateful to Mr Marcus Bourke for transcribing these names and interpreting their likely significance, after conversation with several local experts.
60. This tentative assessment is based on collation of the primary valuation of 1851 with the monument list, and with names transcribed in newspaper reports. It is, however, possible that the John Ryan so commemorated was not Thomas's father, but the 70-year-old householder of that name returned in the 1911 census for Ballycohey.
61. Moore's purchase price of £14,500 fell £7,500 short of that paid by Scully in 1866, reflecting the diminished potential rental: *The Times*, 8 October 1868, p. 10.
62. *Nation*, 14 October 1868, p. 204.
63. I owe this story to Mr Marcus Bourke.
64. Copybook entries for 1859, showing prices of flour, boots, tobacco, sugar, soap and hats set against (and exceeding) balance of wages due; David Adams (ed.), *The Letters of Rachel Henning* (Sydney, 1963), p. 208 (South Kennedy district, near Rockhampton).
65. Waterson, *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper*, pp 51, 145; 'Among the Warwick Farmers', in *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, I (1897), p. 423.
66. Waterson and other regional historians treat the comic tales of Arthur Hoey Davis as an authentic source of social history, drawn from the experiences of a free selector's son at Emu Creek who, like Thomas Ryan, had worked as a shepherd. Ryan's Emu Creek was about 40 miles south of that made legendary by Dad and Dave. See Arthur H. Davis, *On Our Selection* (1st ed., Sydney 1899); Eric Drayton Davis, *The Life and Times of Steele Rudd* (Melbourne, 1976).
67. Waterson, *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper*, pp 148–9; J.D. Lang, *Queensland, Australia; A Highly Eligible Field for Emigration* (London, 1864), p. 278; 'An Eight Years' Resident' [Ebenezer Thorne], *The Queen of the Colonies; or, Queensland as I Knew It* (London, 1876), pp 214–17. Thorne estimated that the cost of instalments for conditional purchase of a characteristic farm of 470 acres would amount to £180 over 5 years, whereas a team of bullocks with dray alone might cost £120. Lang claimed that a slab-house covered with bark could be built for between £5 and £50, 'according to its size and conveniences'.



68. Waterson, *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper*, pp 114–23, in which the conditions and restrictions of these statutes are tabulated.
69. Waterson, *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper*, pp 103–4, 108. Scarcely apposite to Ryan’s case is Waterson’s assertion that ‘the agrarian myth harmonized particularly well with the beliefs of the numerous free Irish immigrants to whom a small farm with its cultivation patch and tiny herd or flock was paradise indeed after the unbearable conditions in rural Ireland’ (p. 108).
70. The copybook refers to a rent payment for about 124 acres in January 1869, which seems to refer to a different holding. All information on land holdings is drawn from documents provided by Mrs Shirley Thompson, apart from details of Ryan’s selections near Yangan, recorded in *Supplement to the Queensland Government Gazette*, XIV (8 March 1873), p. 402.
71. Joseph McKee, *The Warwick Story* (Warwick, 1972), p. 37.
72. *Report of Select Committee on the Warwick to Killarney and Farm Creek Roads: Queensland Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1876*, III, pp 865 et seq.; Waterson, *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper*, pp 47–8. Macansh alleged that Wildash had got up the petition out of personal malice.
73. Waterson, *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper*, p. 101.
74. *Warwick Argus*, 14 October 1893 (transcript) and undated cutting [March 1897], supplied by Mrs Shirley Thompson.

LETTERS

(H1)

Melbourne December 8th. 1853

Dr. Brother

(a) I Avail meself of the opportunity of writing you those few lines in Receipt of your letter Dated June 2nd. 53 for which I am very happy to hear that you your W [wife] and Children & me Mother is in good health as this leaves me me Wife & Children Thanks be to God for it. (b) Dr. Brother you accuse me of Being very ungreatfull To you and not Sending you any remittance. Not knowing your P. Prst Name I wrote to you before Margret Calihan came to Victoria wishing to know who I might remit you some money through. But I am told to Direct to yourself you Being as well knowing and in as good Oppolense as many in the Parish of Cappawhite. I send you £30..0..0 thirty Pounds as a Token of gratitude and I would have sent you More But hearing of your welfare you keeping a Public house in the old Place. But I hope as soon as Opportunity offers you will come to me for it would Be the greatest Pleasure of mind for me to have you in this Cuntry with me as I know you could do well even by your trade. Me brother James acted very unkind when he was leaving Ireland in not coming here as he knew where I was. But I am very thankfull to you in Stoping with My Mother in her old age.

(c) I have never herd of John Dwyer until I Reseived your letter. But through enquiry i found that he is in Morton Bay a long way above Sidney A Place very Difficult for Me to Send for him as he has never written to me and there are no People there i know. He has never written to me But I hope i will be able make off his address. Phillip White I herd of one Day Pr [prior] to me writing this note. He is at the Bendigo Diggings the Mounted Police. I was Speaking to Jermiah Ryan Richards Son he is gone to the Diggings in very good health. I saw James Ryans Nailor two Daughters they a[re] in Melbourne in very good health and in good Situation.

(d) This is a good Place for young men and Weoman now. Wages rules as follows. Single Men £60. to 70 per annum or per Day 12 to 15 Shilling. Single weoman 26 to 35 Pounds with rations of the Best. Married Couples with family 60 to 80 Pounds. Michael Ryans Boam son holyford is living near me in good health and Doing very well. I wonder you never let me know how John Mc.Grath was. His friends Thos Ryan Bulloghs are very Independant here in Melbourne. I am very sorry to hear that young Patt Kilbride was not getting on as well as the father or uncle. I am very happy to hear that Richard Penfeather is Back Again and Doing well in Cappagh.

(e) Dear Brother I am Sorry to Inform you that I Buried the two oldest of my children Mathew and Margret Hogan. Mathew was eight years & Margret Six years old. May god be with Them. I have four Children remaining by name Michael, Ellon, Mary & James Hogan.



(f) Dr. Brother I am sending you Enclosed in this note a Draft for £30 Thirty Pounds and in case of any Delay I will write to you By next Mail. Please answer this as quick as Possible and Direct your letter to me Michael Hogan N.S.Wales Victoria South Melbourne. No more at Present from your ever Affectionate and loving Brother

Michael Hogan

Mr. Mathew Hogan
Cooper Cappa White
County Tipperary
Ireland

(H2)

Melbourne Feby 2d 1854

My Dear Brother

(a) I have written to yo[u] about eight weeks since and sent a draf[t] for thirty pounds. For fear of a disappointment with the first I now send you the other part which you will understand is for the same sum the first was for if you received it. You were mistaken in regard to the thirty eight pound you were of opinion my wife sent some time ago. She sent the ten pounds and the other part was sent by a friend unknown to her or me untill your letter reached here. I would have sent more money but I am told and glad to hear it that you are doing well and not in want of any thing. The times here are more uncertain than home. A person with a family [m]ust keep a reserve for fear the times might change as they have often done.

(b) I have made all enquiry about John Dwyer but Could not hear anything of him untill lately. Instead of Coming here his vessel was put into Morton Bay. Both me and Mick English are endeavoring to learn of some of them who Come from there where to direct a letter to him and are both willing to pay his passage to here as soon as we Know where to write to. If you hear from My Brother James send me word. I might have an oppertunity of writing to him as there are a great many vessels from here to America. I have seen the two Terry Ryans one from Moon-Voan and Ter from Bun a rea. They are both Gone to the deggings. Ter of Moon Vane was with his Brother John in Vandiamens land. He has a big family and doing well. Margret Callaghan is married and doing well about forty miles from here. She told me she meant to send money to have her sisters come out. If they are Coming out you might send a letter by them along with one by post and then I am sure to get either.

Yours &c.
Michl Hogan

(c) Direct to the Care of Mr. Maurice Feehan friend in hand Little Collins Street for *me*.

Mr. Mathew Hogan
Cooper Cappagh White
Tipperary
Ireland

(H3)

South Melbourne
June the 22nd. 1856

Dear Brother,

(a) I have to inform you that I buried my wife on the 18th. of July 1855, may the lord have mercy on her soul. Dear Brother I have also to inform also that I have 5 Children 2 boys and 3 Girls and buried 2 more. I have also been very ill this long time with sore eyes but they are mending a little now.

(b) Dear Brother I am most anxious that you and family would Come out here where I Can make a happy home for you and myself. This is the place where a man makes all for himself independent of any master for



at once you purchase land here you have it for ever without taxes or any other Cess. So I Expect you will have no hesitation but Come out at once for the sooner you Come the Better, which ever is the quickest way to Come out hear that is wat I desire. If you wish [omitted: me] to pay your way out hear I will do so or either to Come by Imigration. The most speedy way is the way I require for about paying for your passages I matter not. I want to have ye with me where we Can be happy together for ever and the sooner the better.

(c) I also wish to Know from You have you heard from my Brother James who went to America for I understant in your last letter there was no account from him in it. I was very angry with him when he was about to imigrate that he would not Come to me where I Could make a happy home for him for ever and I dont see as my mother is dead why you should not Come out to me for whilst my mother was alive I should never encourage you to Come out here. But as She is dead I request of you to Come to me for as I have said or mentioned before this is the Country where we Can Enjoy ourselves with the Best of every thing independen of a landlor of the Galling Yoke of oppression. I also inform you that if my sisters son wish to Come out here Thomas Moore I will pay his passage.

(d) Michael Hogan of Hospital who Came out here sends his best respects to Mathew Hogan an family. He is in Good health and doing well. John Hogan your aunts son went to Hobartown—from here I received a letter from him in which he mentioned that he was doing well. Daniel Ryans his wife Cousin was doing very well here. He went to the ovens diggins he told me that he would wrigh when he went to the diggins but he did not wright. Let James Hammersly tuam Know that his Brother son is with me this 12 Months sins my wife died and his sister is living Convenient to him and has 30 £ per year. He got a letter a few days ago from his Brother James from Sydney and when he got the letter he wrote to him. All persons Imigrating ought to try to Come to Melbourne not to being paying their passage to Sydney or Adelaide. Williams Hayes 3 sons were here they are gone to the deggins and their other Come out hear from America and is with them at the diggins.

(e) Dear Brother I hope You will let me Know the names of your Children in your letter. The names of my Children are as follows Michael Ellon Mary James and Margaret Hogan.

No More at present But I remain

Your Sincerely, and faithfully
Michael Hogan

(f) To Mrs. Mathew Hogan

Direct your letters as follows

To Mr. William Ryan Carriers Arms Elizabeth street

To be forwarded to Michael Hogan South Melbourne.

(g) Dear Brother I expect an answer to this as speedy as possible. And let me Know whether you will Come or not.

(H4)

South Melbourne March 1857

Dear brother

(a) I avail myself of the opportunity of writing these few lines to you hoping to find you wife and family in good health as this leaves me and family at present thank god. I recd. your letter about the first of Jany. last and would have written an answer to you ere now were it not for I being paying Michl. Moores passage as required by you and I was waiting until I could mention all particulars to you about it. I am Still under the care of Dr. Jacob and my eyes are mending only very Slowly.

(b) Mathew Hammersley has left me and has gone to the harvest about 3 months ago and John Hogan is with me Since. Mathew Hammersley's Sister is in Service near me and we recd. a letter from him a few weeks ago. He and his Sister are well and in good health as are all the friends. In consequence of low wages being in adalede Dora ryan has come over to melbourne and has 36 £ a year. She has had the pleasure of reading your letter and paper. She comes to See me occasionally. Your friend danl. ryan has gone to the ovens diggins. He promised to write to me a letter but he has not done So as yet. Michl. hogan of hospitle and family are well and in good health. He is worth from 200 to 300 pounds of shared money.



(c) John hogan requires if his brother could leave his parents to come to this country he would do well in this country. Whether he is married or Single he would press on him to come but he is Slow in doing So in consequence of how his parents and brother are circumstanced at home. I think he could Serves his parents or friends better in this country than in Ireland. Tell Mr Kilbride that I have got no account of his Son any more than that I heard about 3 years ago that he was then in Sydney. I would not Spare nor will not if I possibly can get any information respecting him, Spare any trouble.

(d) Dora ryan sees the hayes continually. One of them Jas. came over and borrowed 3 pounds of me and he going to the diggins and he never came near me since [?th]en. When parents dont give their children industrious habits they Seldom need expect them do much good afterwards.

(e) I have paid Michl. Moores passage through the government immigration. There is living with me a Servant girl named Mary Leamy formerly of the parish of emly and a cousin of John Leamy's of Solohead and She being Sending for a brother and a sister of hers we considered it the best and cheapest to bring them 3 out on the Same form. If you go to paddy hogans house this girl formerly lived near terry higginsis and any of terry higginsis children will make them out for you.

(f) As william ryan has left the carriers arms you have better direct your letter to
Michl. Hogan
South Melbourne.

No more at present from
Your affectionate brother
Michael Hogan

(R1)

Ballycohey Nov 12th 1866

My Dr Son Thomas

(a) I Received your Letter of the 17th Augt which gives me the greatest pleasure possible, in my old days, to find you were alive and well (*If I could rely on your Identity*).

(b) I had Michl Ryans ground along with my own after you left and was doing well when my son John eloped with Ellen Heffernan and emigrated to america where he since died. I then after My Wifes Death gave the whole place to your Brother William in Marriage with Mary Diggin from the Parish of Solohead; which I suppose you already Know from your sister Mary. He was married only 4 Years when he was Killed at the races of Barronstown, leaving a Wife myself, and 2 Children after him. I live with them as usual and have only my Support as a useless old Invalid dependant on a strange woman.

(c) Now I expect, on receipt of this, you will first make sure to me that it is no other but yourself that addresses me and I may have something else to say to you before I die. Send me an account of how you are Situated and how you have spent your time in that Country while there and Believe me

Your affectionate
Father
John Ryan

(d) P.S.

William Scully (the great Exterminator) has purchased the Townland of Ballycohy lately and it is feared by all that he will evict every one in it.

Yours
John Ryan

(e) N.B. let me Know are you married and who your Wife is and wherefrom.

J.R.



(R2)

Ballycohey Ap 24
1867

Dr Thomas

(a) I received Your Note of February 10th which gave me infinite Satisfaction, Knowing by your expressions you were my Son and now the only one alive.

(b) I like to hear from you often while I live. I intend to send you some help, but I am on my guard for a little time as Ballycohy is now under a very bad Landlord William Scully who purchased it lately. Also I am living with Williams Wife who has two Children after him and foresee she may change my circumstances altogether. I will send you more particulars in my next. The children are very well a little Boy and a girl William and Bridget. Willy is no[?]t 5 years and Bridget 6 years. I am in good health, but very old 78 years and of course coming near the end—I will Send you the help before I go please god—

Hoping to hear from you again soon with all the inform you can collect

I remain
Your
Affectionate Father
John Ryan

(R3)

Ballycohey May 12th
1868

Dr Thomas

(a) I received your Letter of the 22nd of Feb and am glad to find you and yours are in good health and likely to do well. You need not trouble yourself any more with Tokens of Identity as I am convinced long ago—

(b) I am in pretty good health but getting very old and of course feeble requiring assistance which *I have not*, being dependant on a Strange woman (the widow of my Son). The Townland of Ballycohey, as I told you, was purchased by a bad man William Scully, who is beginning to eject the whole of the property and has already served 4 of them and if things go on as it is feared we cannot escape so that I will have to live on the little I have Kept to guard myself. Under such circumstances I could not at present send you money, but you may be Sure any thing I have to spare at my Death will be put safe and conveyed to You.

(c) I have not at present the means of Sending you Lyne's and Bargry's address. Please—send me a line now and then as it gives me pleasure—and you shall be Kindly remembered by your old & affectionate

Father
John Ryan

THE BALLADS

Note: The Ryan ballads contain many curious spellings which have been retained here, though some conjectural readings appear in brackets. Like many of his contemporaries, Thomas Ryan often wrote 'my' for 'me', 'they' for 'the', and 'on' for 'one'.



(1) THE FLOWERS OF GREEN

No. 1

The Flowers of Green is a very fine blossom
It bloms every Season through out the year
Where young [*?omitted: men*] and maidins Spend many an hour
Kissing and courting but never the [*?they*] near.

No. 2

Once I was envited to a noble mans weddig
All by that fair one that proved to my unkind
Now She begins to lament on her folley
Her former true lover Still Runs in her mind.

No. 3

When Supper were over and all things decided
Every on was to Sing a Song
And well became her former true lover
The Song that he Sung were the days the are long.

No. 4

Hear is apiece of the gold that was broken
Come take it come take it now from my
You gave it to my as a true lovers token
No longer no longer Shall it remain it my [*with me*].

No. 5

The Bride and the bridegroom at the head of the table
Every word that he Said She remarked it wright wel
To hold any longer She was not then able
It was down by they nees [*the knees*] of her groom then She fell.

No. 6

On [*one*] favour on favour on favour I ask love
On favour now grant it and give it to my
Its the very first niught along with my mamma
The rimainder of my Life Shall it remain with my.

No. 7

This unfortunate favour was already granted
Up Stairs She went and Strait went to bed
Its earley its earley very earley next morning
This Young Man arose and fond his bride dead.



(2) PURTY MOLLY BRALLAGHAN

A then mam deare did you ever here of purty Molly Brallaghan
Troth deare ive lost her and ill never be a man a gain
Not a spot on my hide will a nother Summer tan a gain
Since Molly She has left alone for to die.

The place where my heart was you might aisy rowl [*easily roll*] a turniph
Its they size of all dublin and from dublin to they divels glin [*Devil's Glen*]
If She She choose to take another Sure She might have Sent mine back a gin
And not to leave my heare alone for to die.

Mam dear I remember when the milking time was past and gon
We went into they medowes where She Swore I was they onley Man
That ever could possess her heart yet oh they base and cruel on [*one*]
After all to leave my heare alone for to *die*.

Mam dear I remember as we came home they rain began
I rowld her in my frieze coat tho the devil a waiscoat I had on
And my Shirt was rather fine drawn yet oh they base and cruel one
After all to leave my heare a lone for to die.

I went and told my tale to Father McDonold mam
And then I went and axd advice of Councilor O Connol mam
He told my broken breeches had been ever since they world begun
Now I have onley one pair mam and they are courduroy.

Arrah what could he mean mam or what would you advise My to
Must my corduroys to Molly go in throth iam bothered what to do
I cant afford to lose both my heart and my breches to
Yet what need I Care when I have onley to Die.

Oh the left Side of my carcass is as weake as water gruel mam
And the divel a bit a pon [*upon*] my bones since Mollys proved So cruel mam
I wish I had a carabine id go and fight a duel mam
Sure its wholear [*holier*] to be Murderd than to Lie down and die.

I am hot and determind as a live Salamander mam
Wont you come to my wake when I go my long meander mam
Oh I feel trully as valiant as they famious allixander mam
When I hear yez. cring [*crying*] all round me why did you die.



THE SUCEEN BAWN

No. 1

Its true [*through*] a verdant valley once I Strayed
I heard a females voice recoing [*echoing*] in a Shade
Where Many a note did Join put hers exceled them all
And the Song She Sung was the Suceen bawn.

No. 2

Surrounded in this vernal Shady alcove
Where appolo tuned his harp to charm the grove
Where the Lerious [*delirious*] thronged the lamkins and the fawn
To hear the melting themes of the Suceen bawn.

No. 3

I asked as I approched this amiable fair dame
Was She arrora [*Aurora*] bright or venus queen of love
Was She the bost of greese [*boast of Greece*] that caused troy to fall
And brought the glimps of Love to the Suceen bawn.

No. 4

She Said I am not arora bright the proctrees [*protectress*] of the day
Nor helan So unchaste whome paris Stole away
No nor vulcans venus fair whose tune was Seldom Calm
But I am that Sporting dame called the Suceen bawn.

No. 5

Your aspect love made my So Surprised
Each transparent glance[?] did eclips my eyes
For to See your auburn locks in waving ringlets fall
I thought the Glade was changed to the Suceen bawn.



“The Galling Yoke of Oppression”: Images of Tipperary and Australia, 1853-1868

Readers of this article (*Tipperary Historical Journal* 1991, pp. 83-108) may have noted that, although 74 footnotes appear on pp.96-101, no footnote markers appear in the actual text of the main article on pp.83-96. Unfortunately, in the course of the transfer of word-processing data from the disk, due to incompatibility of disk and computer, footnote markers on those pages were not reproduced.

The following list will enable readers to insert the footnote markers. Alternatively, the list may either be cut out and inserted in the 1991 *Tipperary Historical Journal* or photo-copied for that purpose.

- Insert (1) after “1857” in p.83, par. 2, line 6.
- Insert (2) after “1868” in p.83, par. 2, line 9.
- Insert (3) after “Downs” in p.84, line 2.
- Insert (4) after “Dwyer” in p.84, par 4, line 2.
- Insert (5) after “1851” in p.84, par. 5, line 2.
- Insert (6) after “publican” in p. 84, par. 5, line 4.
- Insert (7) after “1849” in p.84, par. 7, line 3.
- Insert (8) after “Caravats” in p.84, par. 7, line 5.
- Insert (9) after “eucharist” in p. 84, par. 7, line 6.
- Insert (10) after “unknown” in p. 84, par. 8, line 4.
- Insert (11) after “1834” in p. 84 par. 8, line 6.
- Insert (12) after “felonies” in p. 84, par. 8, line 7.
- Insert (13) after “clothes” in p. 85, par, 2, line 5.
- Insert (14) after “1836” in p. 85, par, 2, line 7.
- Insert (15) after “animals” in p. 85, par.3, line 6.
- Insert (16) after “ordered” in p. 85, par.4, line 6.
- Insert (17) after “weekly” in p. 85, par. 5, line 4.
- Insert (18) after “1839” in p.85, par. 6, line 2.
- Insert (19) after “home” in p. 85, par 6, line 5.
- Insert (20) after “River” in p. 85, par. 7, line 2.
- Insert (21) after “newspaper” in p.85, par. 7, line 6.
- Insert (22) after “Melbourne” in p. 85, par. 8, line 4.
- Insert (23) after “White” in p.86, par.4, line 3.
- Insert (24) after “connections” in p.86, par. 6, line 6.
- Insert (25) after “H4e” in p.87, par. 3, line 3.
- Insert (26) after “Yarra” in p.87, par. 8, line 6.
- Insert (27) after “Argus” in p.87, par. 8, line 8.
- Insert (28) after “century” in p.88, par. 2, line 2.
- Insert (29) after “1851” in p.88, par. 3, line 5.
- Insert (30) after “arrear” in p.88, par.4, line 4.
- Insert (31) after “Sydney” in p.88, par. 5, line 3.
- Insert (32) after “afford” in p.88, par.7, line 4.



- Insert (33) after "infamy" in p.88, par.8, line 9.
- Insert (34) after "Creek" in p.89, par.2, line 6.
- Insert (35) after "Ireland" in p.89, par.7, line 3.
- Insert (36) after "manuals" in p.89, line 3 from end of page.
- Insert (37) after "secret", p.90, 5th par. from end of page, line 2.
- Insert (38) after "bawn" in p.90, 6th par. from end of page, line 3.
- Insert (39) after "dissemination" in p.90, 3rd par. from end of page, line 4.
- Insert (40) after "confrontation" in p.90, 3rd par. from end of page, line 5.
- Insert (41) after "childhood" in p.90, 2nd par. from end of page, line 2.
- Insert (42) after "1817" in p.90, 2nd par. from end of page, line 5.
- Insert (43) after "Tipperary" in p.90, last par. line 3.
- Insert (44) after "1858" in p.91, par.2, line 5.
- Insert (45) after "texts" in p.91, par.3, line 2.
- Insert (46) after "mountain" in p.91, par.4, line 7.
- Insert (47) after "Streme" in p.91, par. 5, line 5.
- Insert (48) after "(R1b)" in p.92, par.2, line 6.
- Insert (49) after "Portarlinton" in par.92, par.4, line 4.
- Insert (50) after "Dalton" in p.92, par.6, line 3.
- Insert (51) after "sentence" in p.92, par.7, line 3.
- Insert (52) after "propensities" in p.92, par.7, line 5.
- Insert (53) after "doing", in p.92, line 3 from end of page.
- Insert (54) after "Ryan" in p.93, line 3.
- Insert (55) after "exploitation" in p. 93, par. 2, line 3.
- Insert (56) after "servants" in p. 93, par. 2, line 6.
- Insert (57) after "retire" in p.93, par.3, line 4.
- Insert (58) after "trial" in p. 93, par.4, line 5.
- Insert (59) after "monument" in p. 93, line 4 from end of page.
- Insert (60) after "Ryan" in p. 93, last line of page.
- Insert (61) after "sale", p. 94, par. 2, line 4.
- Insert (62) after "security" in p. 94, par. 2, line 3.
- Insert (63) after "folklore" in p. 94, par. 3, line 6.
- Insert (64) after "1865" in p.94, par. 4, line 5.
- Insert (65) after "done" in p.94, par. 6, line 2.
- Insert (66) after "sequels" in p. 94, par. 6, line 4.
- Insert (67) after "capital" in p. 94, par. 6, line 7.
- Insert (68) after "quality" in p. 94, par. 7, line 4.
- Insert (69) after "soil" in p. 94, par. 7, line 6.
- Insert (70) after "acres" in p. 94, end of page.
- Insert (71) after "murder" in p. 95, line 9.
- Insert (72) after "copybook" in p. 95, end of page.
- Insert (73) after "cultivation" in p. 96, par. 2, line 3.
- Insert (74) after "Killarney" in p. 96, last par. (before Footnotes), last word.