

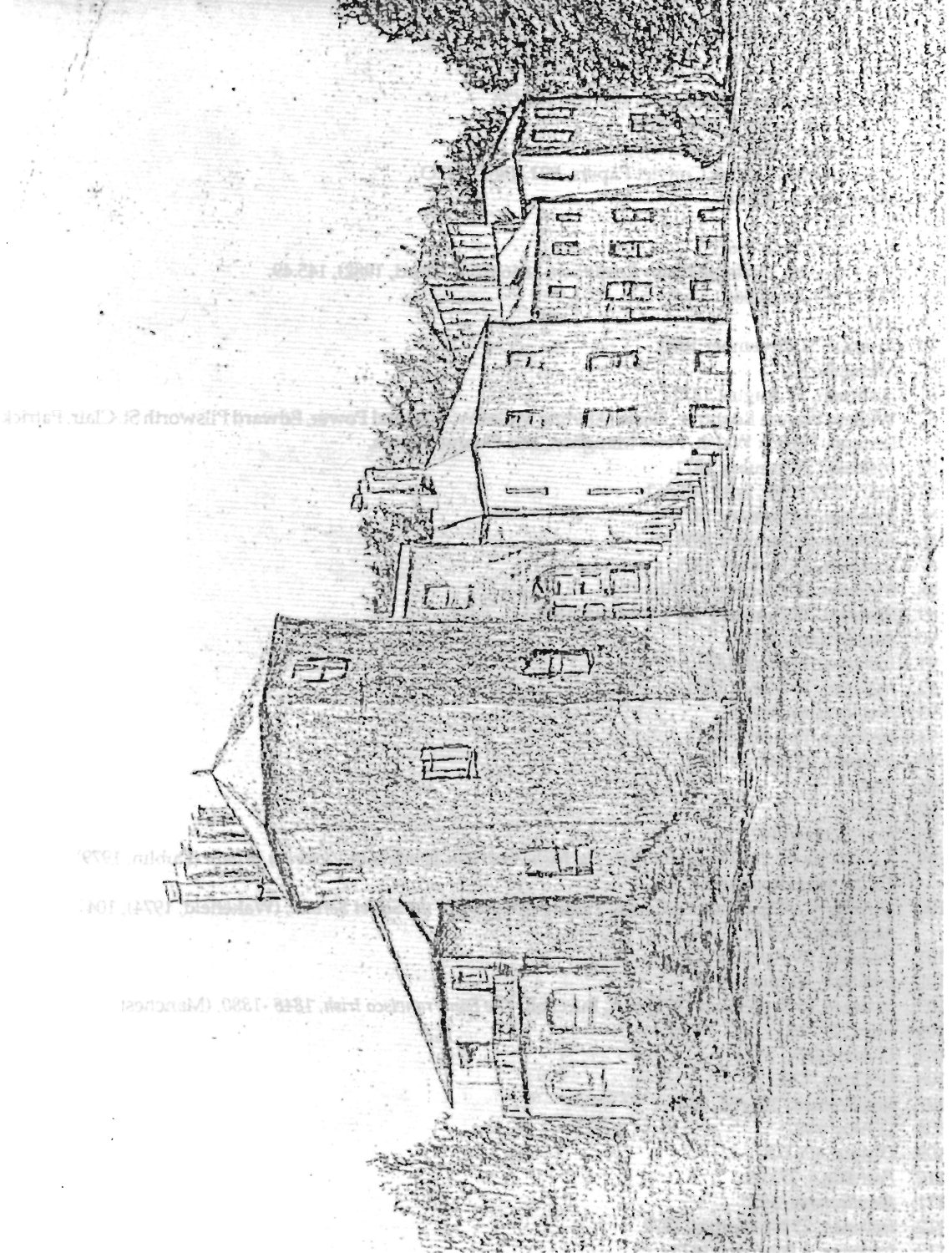


**TIPPERARY HISTORICAL JOURNAL
1991**

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ISSN 0791-0655



Ballynacourty House — a late 19th century drawing.

(ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF HENRY BRENNAN, AHERLOW).

A Tipperary Landlord's Diary of the 1860s

by Denis G. Marnane

Preliminary

Among the papers of the Massy-Dawsons of Ballynacourty in the P.R.O.I. (now the National Archives) is a diary kept by Captain George S.K. Massy-Dawson (1816-97) covering the years 1862-68.¹ The diary is not a comprehensive daily journal and, while there was no such thing as a typical landlord, this source does allow an intimate glimpse at the range of topics central to life of any mid nineteenth-century landlord.

The topics covered include travels from both inside and out of Ireland, family matters, details of estate management, relations with tenants (especially matters outside routine), the role of the agent, the related topics of the weather and the condition of crops and livestock, social intercourse with neighbouring landlords, the writer's role as magistrate and in local government, incidents of agrarian crime and, given the period covered by the diary, the Fenians. Where appropriate, information from the diary has been supplemented in this paper from other sources.

Tenants & Travels

George Massy-Dawson succeeded his brother in 1850 to the 19,093 acres estate in Tipperary, over 16,000 acres or 26 townlands the greater part of which was in the Glen of Aherlow. The remainder of the property was divided between Knockroe (Eliogarty), Clonbrogan and Buffana (Middlethird), Lodge and Ballyveera (Iffa and Offa West) and Toomyvara (Upper Ormond). There was also a holding of 165 acres in county Limerick. The valuation of the Aherlow estate, which included nearly 7,000 acres of mountain, was very low, so that the total valuation of the estate at £6,528 was disproportionate to its size.²

Unlike a number of other Tipperary estates, the Massy-Dawson property was solvent, so that it escaped the clutches of the Incumbered Estates Court. During the period covered by the diary, the aggregate rental was £43,214 (an average of £7,202 p.a.) and of this sum, £16,232 was remitted to the landlord.³ One of the prime inconveniences faced by a landlord was numerous siblings, all of whom had claims on the estate.

George Massy-Dawson's father (d.1834) had 14 children, all but two of whom survived infancy (including 5 sons). By the time George Massy-Dawson inherited the estate, over £52,000 was owed to various creditors, most of whom were family members. The interest on these debts was paid annually at four to five per cent, so that during the 1862-68 period, an aggregate of £13,809 was paid from the receipts of the estate.⁴

George Massy-Dawson, who was 46 years of age in 1862, left his home at New Forest or Ballynacourty on 7 July 1862 for the continent and did not return to Tipperary until 8 October 1864.⁵ For most of this period he and his wife lived in Geneva. The most usual reason for living abroad, namely debt, did not apply in his case. The reason may have been his wife's health.

Certainly, it was this move that prompted him to keep a journal. Massy-Dawson married in 1854 a daughter of Sir William Leeson, Genealogist of the Order of St. Patrick.⁶ Their son James was born in 1857 and another son George was born in Geneva on 8 October 1864. By coincidence, this was the exact date on which Massy-Dawson arrived back in Ballynacourty, "where everything seemed in the same place and condition that they were when I left on the 7th July 1862".



Massy-Dawson only remained in Tipperary about three weeks, during which he attended to estate business and visited some of his neighbours. One of his first tasks was to visit Lisvarrinane — “Went after breakfast round the old cabins which are very bad and looked over the ground for building new ones”. According to Griffith’s Valuation (1851), one of the main middlemen in that townland was Denis Fahey, on whose land were 15 cabins.

Such middlemen, who desired to “obtain comparatively high rents without any outlay and with the least possible sacrifice of land, has led to the building of ... houses ... little better than hovels”.⁷ When Fahey’s lease expired around the time of Massy-Dawson’s visit, some new houses or cottages were built c.1865 with money borrowed under the Land Improvement Loan Act (23 & 24 Vict., c. 19).⁸

Three days after Massy-Dawson’s return to Ballynacourty, his cousin John Bolton Massy (1816-71) of nearby Ballywire, drove him to Knocklong railway station, where he caught the train to Charleville in order to visit Thomas Sanders (1816-92) of Sanders Park, who was married to Massy-Dawson’s first cousin — and who, more to the point, was his agent.⁹ Sanders, who managed a number of estates and whose own property was about 2,000 acres, had a long relationship with the Massy-Dawson estate and provided very professional management, for which he was paid about £300 p.a.¹⁰

An example of Sanders’s duties occurred on 19 October, when he travelled to Clonmel in connection with the trial of an estate worker who had assaulted some trespassers on Cappanica Mountain. A guilty plea was entered and £3 had to be paid to each injured party. Sanders stayed that night at Ballynacourty.

By the end of October Massy-Dawson returned to Geneva, staying briefly in London, where he made inquiries on behalf of some of his tenants about emigration to New Zealand. He found only one agency that offered free passage. In May 1865, he noted two communications from Ireland; on 1 May “heard from Sanders who sent me an abstract of my accounts” and on 15 May, he had news of the death in Dublin of his sister Anna Maria Saurin.

Massy Dawson returned to Ireland, and by 22 May was back in Ballynacourty. This time he remained in Tipperary until the end of July. Among his activities was a visit to the national school at Stonepark, (of which he was a patron); and on 10 June he paid a visit to Fr. John Noonan (1803-68), P.P. of Galbally (1862-68). Unfortunately, Massy-Dawson’s diary rarely moved beyond the factual, so that the reader is not taken into the writer’s confidence. One can only wonder what Massy-Dawson thought about his neighbours.

One of the people with whom he had a lot of contact was Leopold Cust (1831-78), agent to the Smith-Barry estate from 1857 to his death and who lived at Cordangan Manor.¹¹ For example, on 17 June (1865) Massy-Dawson dined with Cust and his wife at Cordangan Manor, and four days later Cust visited Ballynacourty, largely to give his opinion with regard to the host’s new business venture.

This was a quarry on the estate, from which it was hoped slates could be taken. Much of Massy-Dawson’s attention was given to this project during June and July.¹² On 19 July, he was visited by an expert from the well-established slate quarries near Killaloe, who “told us we were working in a wrong way ... that the proper way would be to make a trench into the mountain, which in case we found slate worth working, would carry off the water and act as a road to bring out the slates”.

This was reckoned to cost about £500 and with no guarantees. The expert’s opinion was that, if the mountain was his the work would be undertaken, but Massy-Dawson doubted this. The impression given was that Massy-Dawson thought the odds of success not good enough, in the context of the capital investment required.

Massy-Dawson was a liberal in politics, and in the general election of 1865 he recorded casting

his vote for Charles Moore (1804-69) of Mooresfort, who was elected. In the last ten days or so of July, Massy-Dawson travelled about quite a bit, and this at a time when for many people moving ten miles was a major expedition. He travelled from Tipperary to visit Sanders in Charleville, then on for a brief visit to Killarney. He returned to Tipperary, where he cast his vote; from there he went on to Clonmel to attend the summer assizes. He appears to have got out of serving on the grand jury, the only social engagements he recorded being visits to Marlfield and to the Rev. B.H. Banner, rector of Bansha.

Massy-Dawson left Ballynacourty for his third recorded visit to Geneva at 8.30 a.m. on the morning of 31 July 1865, and did not return to the Glen until 2.30 p.m. on the afternoon of 20 October. In September, he noted in his journal, his wife was unwell and there was a visit from Bolton-Massy. On his return to Ballynacourty (again alone) in October, Massy-Dawson's routine resumed its old pattern.

For 26 October he recorded that "Sanders collected rent all today". On Sunday 29 October, after attending church at Clonbeg he went to dine at Cordangan Manor, where the company included A.H. Smith-Barry (1843-1925), later Lord Barrymore. Apart from his unusual round of visits to Cust, Bolton-Massy and the Massys of Riversdale (across the border in county Limerick), Massy-Dawson did his duty as a magistrate at the petty sessions in Tipperary and Galbally and also attended as an *ex-officio* guardian at their meeting in Tipperary Workhouse.

On 9 November, after attending petty sessions in Tipperary, Massy-Dawson was dining with Edward Bagwell-Purefoy (1819-83) of Greenfields near Cappawhite, when around 9 p.m. he received a telegram "to say poor Grace (his wife) was very ill". His diary entry continued:- "Started at once from Tipperary and by mail for London, where I arrived at 6 p.m." He stayed in London on the night of 10 November and left for Geneva, *via* Paris, on the following morning. He finally arrived in Geneva at midday on the 12th, only to find that "poor Grace had died on Thursday, the day I received the telegram at Purefoys".

Because of bad weather, he had great difficulty bringing her body back to Ireland. The remains did not arrive at Ballynacourty until 28 November, just two days short of three weeks following her death. "At first daylight we had the funeral" to Clonbeg. The sparse attendance included Bolton Massy, Sanders, Hugh Massy of Riversdale and Richard Mansergh (1800-76) of Grenane.¹³

On the following day Massy-Dawson left again on his fifth and final recorded visit to Geneva, where, having stayed a few days in London, he arrived on 8 December and "found all the children well". On this occasion he remained in Geneva settling his affairs until 22 March 1866.

Fenian Threat

His anxiety to return home was increased by the topic that absorbed a lot of his attention over the coming months, namely the spread of Fenianism. The first reference to this occurred in a letter he received on 30 January from Sanders, who proposed calling the Aherlow tenants together in order that they might condemn the movement.

According to the writer, an "outbreak" was expected. In his diary entry for 22 March, the day he arrived back in Tipperary, Massy-Dawson noted:- "Heard very gloomy reports as I came through Dublin". There was a state of uncertainty everywhere. However, on the following day, he was more sanguine. "From what I can see and hear, affairs do not seem in so bad a state as I expected". Three days later he recorded the comforting words of one of his estate workers, that "the Cappagh tenants have no sympathy for the Fenians".

For the remainder of 1866 the Fenian threat remained in the background as Massy-Dawson got on with his life. For example, on 27 November he noted that there was a great deal of talk about the Fenians and some days later commented that the papers were "full of the Rising of which at home we see and hear nothing".



His social life was much as before, except that in early September, together with his sister Louisa (whose husband, one of the O'Briens of Dromoland, had died in 1840), he moved somewhat further afield and visited the Armstrongs and Moyaliff (near Thurles), the Trants of Dovea and the Lenigans of Castle Fogarty (both also near Thurles). Massy-Dawson used this opportunity to visit his property in Toomyvara.

One deficiency in the local social scene was a club where select members could recreate the masculine atmosphere of their school days. On 28 August (1886) Massy-Dawson chaired the proceedings at the opening of such a club in Tipperary town. Called the Clanwilliam Club and located next to Dobbyn's Hotel, the inaugural banquet was attended by a large cross-section of the local gentry, with the families of Chadwick, Massy, Butler, Roe, Mansergh etc. well represented. The club was a haven for officers stationed in the town, who ran no risk of being black-balled.¹⁴

One of the duties attached to social position was to serve as a justice of peace, to which office an individual was appointed by the Lord Chancellor on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant of the county. Massy-Dawson was also one of a select number who were Deputy Lieutenants of the county (an honorary position), and in a much more practical exercise of influence, he served as High Sheriff in 1854.

For the most part, serving as J.P. was a tedious routine of dealing with drunks, vagrants and family squabbles. On 15 October 1866 John Blake Dillon, who had been elected one of the two M.P.s for the county in the general election of the previous year, died and a by-election was fixed for late October. At a meeting of Tipperary magistrates following the petty sessions on 18 October it was arranged that Massy-Dawson would accompany a troop of Lancers detailed to keep order in the Spittal (the Cashel end of the town) on polling day, Saturday 20 October.

The two candidates were Laurence Waldron, a substantial Tipperary land owner but not favoured by the catholic clergy, and the Hon. Charles White, 28 year-old son of Lord Annaly, who at the time of the election was not a Tipperary landlord. (He purchased an estate in the county a few years later.) Before the 1872 Ballot Act, such elections could arouse much partisan feeling, exacerbated by blatant landlord interference. On a number of estates, for example the properties of Smith-Barry, Bagwell-Purefoy, Hawarden, Lismore, Charteris, and Donoughmore, Perry, Moore in the vicinity of Clonmel, tenants were dragooned by the respective agents to vote for Waldron.¹⁵

Interference by some catholic clergy was equally blatant. For example, James O'Connell, the C.C. in Golden, harangued tenants both from the altar steps in Golden and from an upper window of a public house in Tipperary town!¹⁶

"At 6.30 a.m. started for Tipperary", wrote Massy-Dawson in his journal for 20 October, "to do magistrate duty ... at the election ... stationed at the Spittal where everything so quiet - [after 2 p.m.] moved to Market Place ... great deal of stone throwing and several people much injured. Francis Low [of Kilshane] got a bad cut about the eye". In spite of all this strong feeling, Massy-Dawson commented with satisfaction that both he and "his" troops were well received by the crowd.

The result of the election was that White won by 3,419 votes to Waldron's 2,865. Opinion in the region of Tipperary town (in Clanwilliam barony) was in favour of White also, by a modest 543 votes to 472. Waldron only secured majorities in two baronies, Iffa and Offa West (the region about Clogheen, which was dominated by a handful of large estates) and Owey and Arra (the region about Newport).¹⁷

Waldron and his supporters decided to try and unseat White on the grounds that he owed his success to undue clerical intimidation. So on 27 March 1867, when Massy-Dawson's attention was concentrated on the Fenian scare, he received a summons from the Speaker of the House of Commons to attend in London as a witness to the official election enquiry.

Massy-Dawson arrived in London on 3 April and remained in England for a month. His diary



entries for the period deal with his social life and not with evidence before the committee of inquiry. However, his evidence is on record and reflected what he had expressed in his diary regarding the peaceful nature of his experience that day. He commented how he had seen people like Smith-Barry, his agent Leopold Cust and Count de Jarnac of Thomastown, walk around town unmolested.

He was circumspect with regard to incidents of stone-throwing, which he had mentioned in his diary account; but he may not have actually witnessed these incidents.¹⁸ The truth of the situation, at least in Tipperary town, was summarised by the R.M. Charles de Gernon, who told the inquiry that the election passed off no worse than previous elections. The attempt to take the seat from White failed.

Massy-Dawson was by no means the archetypal harsh landlord. On the contrary, his basic instincts appear to have been quite benign. Allowing that death generally calls forth the good word, the public tributes paid to Massy-Dawson following his death in 1897 exceeded the dictates of good manners. Even such a flayer of landlords as John Cullinane of Bansha (former National League organizer and M.P. 1900-1918) had nice things to say and (more remarkably) appeared to mean them.¹⁹

This benign attitude on the part of Massy-Dawson is reflected in his journal and is most obvious in his treatment of the Fenians, whom he appears to have regarded more in sorrow than in anger. Nowhere does he indulge in vituperation, which was a typical response of others of his class and of some middle-class opinion.²⁰

On 31 December 1886 Massy-Dawson closed the year by recording his weight, 14 stone 4.5 pounds. Perhaps in consequence of this on New Year's Day he walked to Tipperary town and home again. For much of January and early February he was in England and four days later occurred the Fenian raid on Chester castle, recorded at length this incident, together with the rebellion in Kerry. On 15 February he crossed to Kingstown from Holyhead, meeting Leopold Cust and Charles de Gernon, the latter an R.M. based in Tipperary.

Massy-Dawson would have received up-to-date news about the crisis from de Gernon, who had spent the previous two months in France at the behest of the British government watching out for James Stephens; de Gernon, who was born in France and who still had relatives in that country, was well placed to glean such information.²¹ He was a central figure in the official response to the rebellion in Tipperary two to three weeks later.

Back in Ireland, Massy-Dawson's life continued as before. On 27 February, he dined with some army officers in Dobbyn's Hotel in Tipperary town, after which he made the short journey to Roesborough, the residence of George Roe (1827-85), where some amateur theatricals were being performed, and did not return home until a 2.45 the following morning. One week later, the rumours and reports of the previous year became real and a different kind of performance was enacted in the vicinity of Tipperary.

On Monday 4 March 1867, Massy-Dawson noted in his journal that there was trustworthy information that an insurrection was to break out near Thomastown.²² This on Massy-Dawson's part was on more a reflection of the general mood of excited speculation rife at the time.²³

On the following day, as groups of Fenians began to gather, some houses of the gentry were attacked in a search for arms. That night, at about ten o'clock, Massy-Dawson began to hear musket fire, which around midnight he concluded was coming from the direction of Gortavoher police barracks. If attacked, Massy-Dawson had seven guns with which to defend Ballynacourty.

On Wednesday 6 March (Ash Wednesday) Massy-Dawson noted in his journal that Gortavoher barracks had been "well defended" by its four policemen.²⁴ He knew that there had been "skirmishes" between the rebels and the military, but with results as yet unknown. Massy-Dawson could not have been aware of the contact between the rebels and the government forces in the



vicinity of Corroge.

Also, Massy-Dawson may not have heard of the debacle at Ballyhurst which took place on the morning of Ash Wednesday. On the night of Ash Wednesday, about 20 people (relatives and friends) stayed at Ballynacourty, though there was little rest for any of them as watch was kept all night, the company being ready to defend themselves if necessary with the 13 guns available to them. In the event, there was no disturbance except the occasional sound of a distant bugle.

1867 Outbreak

By Thursday the worst was over, a relief reflected in the diary. For people of Massy-Dawson's class, the whole episode was an uncomfortable reminder of the danger lurking beyond the demesne walls. Massy-Dawson's entries for the days following Ash Wednesday sustained the note of satisfaction at the failure of the insurrection but were devoid of triumphalism. He noted the reports from various parts of the country detailing government success.

His entry for Friday 8 March described how Gernon "distinguished himself" in dealing with the rebels. By then and in the weeks following the insurrection de Gernon was leading a "flying column" of troops, scouring the snow-covered countryside for the remnants of the rebel army.²⁵ On 9 March, Massy-Dawson noted that 44 people slept at Ballynacourty that night. On the following day, Sunday, de Gernon called at Ballynacourty while sweeping the Glen of Aherlow for rebels. Massy-Dawson rode with the flying column as far as Galbally. The column's work was concluded on 29 March.

On 11 March Massy-Dawson's attention was distracted from the Fenians and focused on the news of his sister Louisa's illness. He left immediately and was away for about a week, during which time his sister (the widow of Edward O'Brien of Dromoland) died. Shortly after his return to Tipperary on 26th March, Massy-Dawson, together with Hugh Massy (probably of Riversdale, Galbally) went to Tipperary town and "bailed Pat Fox and three others arrested for the attack on Gortavoher police barracks".

Four days later Massy-Dawson was again in Tipperary serving as magistrate, together with Robert Bolton Massy of Ballywire and John Massy of Kingswell. This time Massy-Dawson could not go against the weight of opinion held by "a large body of magistrates" who were not in favour of releasing Fenian prisoners on bail. Massy-Dawson shared the view that a distinction was to be made between the Fenian leadership, which was viewed as pernicious, and the rank-and-file membership, viewed as dupes.

As mentioned above, Massy-Dawson was in London for the month of April 1867 in connection with the official inquiry into the October 1866 by-election. Undoubtedly, he dined out on tales of his experiences during the insurrection — a narrative which would have lost nothing in the telling. He was in England on two other occasions in 1867. In October he accompanied his 10-year-old son James to his 'prep' school in Brighton, and the following month he returned to England for the funeral of a relative.²⁶

Massy-Dawson spent most of 1868 in Ireland, during which time his life followed a comfortable routine of looking after his estate, public duties and a social life involving a well-established and predictable circle of friends. However, on 14 August 1868, he wrote in his diary:

"... to Tipperary where I heard of an encounter (involving) Mr. Scully's party who were serving ejections (on) the people. I went to the farm house near the railway belonging to John Dwyer and there I saw two dead men, one a policeman and the other a bailiff. It was difficult to say how many shots were fired ... Mr. Scully had three grazes near the jaw and one graze on his throat. We had left our car at Ballykisteon and when we returned from Dwyer's house we found Mr. Scully was there and was able to go home."

It has to be said that this brief account adds nothing to what is already known about the



Ballycohey incident. There was, however, a sad footnote to the incident, which Massy-Dawson recorded. On 15 October, following a meeting of the Clanwilliam Club, Massy-Dawson and de Gernon rode out to Ballycohey to sign an order for admission to a "lunatic asylum of a girl ... who had gone mad since the fatal affray".

Massy-Dawson lived another 29 years after completion of his journal in 1868. Whether he kept a diary for other years is not known. Towards the end of his life George Massy-Dawson was declared "a person of unsound mind" and Thomas Sanders's son was appointed receiver.²⁷ Following his death in 1897, a younger son George Henry (whose birth in Geneva in October 1864 is referred to above) took over the estate, which was in the process of being let to its tenants at the time of his father's death.

FOOTNOTES

1. Massy-Dawson papers, M 4478/19, P.R.O.I. (now National Archives).
2. U.H. Hussy de Burgh: *The Landowners of Ireland* (Dublin, 1878), p.311; E. Walford: *The County Families of the United Kingdom* (1881 ed.), p.704; Griffith's Valuation, barony of Clanwilliam (1851).
3. Massy-Dawson papers, M 4470/3,4, P.R.O.I.
4. Massy-Dawson papers, M 4470/1,5; M 4478/16.
5. Massy-Dawson always referred to his home as New Forest.
6. Burke: *Peerage* (1877 ed.), p.823; P. Galloway; *The Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick* (Sussex, 1983), pp. 34, 135-6.
7. Report by T. Sanders, 1865 (Massy-Dawson papers, M 4478/15, P.R.O.I.)
8. *Ibid.*; Sanders made reference to the widespread problem of the all but impossible task of enforcing the restrictions against sub-letting in pre-Famine leases.
9. Sanders's son Robert Massy-Dawson Sanders eventually inherited Ballynacourty.
10. See Sanders's evidence before the Bessborough Commission regarding the Massy-Dawson estate (Evidence, (C 2799-ii), 1881, xix, pp. 878-83)
11. Cust was related to the Earl Brownlow. In 1876 Cust's father received a baronetcy and, as he pre-deceased his son in 1878 by a few months, Cust had a very brief enjoyment of the title. Cust's father had been master of ceremonies to Queen Victoria. Cust's daughter Aleen had her own claim to fame. She was the first woman veterinary surgeon in the United Kingdom. (See *The Veterinary Record*, 123, No. 1, (2 July 1988), p.19).
12. This quarry was in the townland of Lyre, and rough slates appear to have been removed from it for a number of years. (My thanks to Tom Whyte, Mackanagh, Aherlow.)
13. George Massy-Dawson remarried in 1869, a year after his journal concluded. His second wife was Harriet Sophia Steele, a member of a county Monaghan family; her sister had married the 4th earl of Donoughmore some years earlier. There were no children from his second marriage. (For Harriet Steele's marriage articles and her 1888 will, see D 17361, D 71117, P.R.O.I.)
14. For this club see *Tipperary Face Press* (hereafter *T.F.P.*), 31 Aug. 1866; Bassett, *Book of County Tipperary* (1889), p.241.
15. *T.F.P.*, 9, 12, 16, 26 Oct. 1866.
16. See Marnane: *Land and Violence*, (Tipperary, 1985), p.83.
17. *T.F.P.*, 23 Oct. 1866.
18. *Minutes of evidence before the Select Committee of the Tipperary election petition* (211), 1867, viii.
19. *Clonmel Chronicle*, 17 Nov. 1897.
20. For an example of such bitter opposition, see Garret to Denis O'Rourke, 22 Jan. 1866 (copy in County Library, Thurles).



21. de Gernon died in a drowning accident in 1875, at which time he was R.M. in Rathkeale. The editor of the *T.F.P.* commented on his fairness during the Fenian period (29 Jan. 1867); de Gernon correspondence with Under Secretary Thomas Larcom (Larcom papers, MSS 7590, N.L.I.).
22. For a general account of the insurrection about Tipperary see Marnane: *Land and Violence*, pp. 78-82.
23. Letter from Tipperary magistrates (including Massy-Dawson) demanding 100 more infantry and a squad of cavalry, 4 March 1867 (C.S.O.R.P., 1867/3475, State Paper Office).
24. Tradition has it that J.J. Finnan ("Myles") took part in this attack (see *Tipperary Annual*, 1913), pp. 39-42. The police constable in charge of the barracks was one of nine police decorated on the occasion of the Irish Constabulary receiving the designation Royal on 6 Sept. 1867 (see R. Curtis: *The History of the R.I.C.* (Dublin, 1869), pp. 169, 189).
25. See L. O Broin; *Fenian Fever: an Anglo-American Dilemma* (London, 1971), pp.157-60.
26. This son James (Jim in the diary) appears to have been something of a disappointment to his father. In 1882 Massy-Dawson received a letter from his nephew in London, explaining how he had met Jim, who was determined to make a new start in Australia and, perhaps, join the police there. There was reference to gambling debts; in the writer's view, emigration was for the best, as it would enable 25-year-old Jim "to break off entirely all those ties and associations which at home have caused you so much anxiety". In a subsequent letter, dated a week later, Jim's departure was described. His passage was on a ship carrying wine and bear to Brisbane and he expected to land in Australia with about £15, but Massy-Dawson's nephew arranged for a further £75 (which Massy-Dawson repaid). (F.S. Massy-Dawson to George Massy-Dawson, 22 June, 27 June 1882, Massy-Dawson papers, M 4478/17, P.R.O.I.).
27. Massy-Dawson papers, M 4471/53, P.R.O.I.

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