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Samuel Cooper of Killenure (1750-1831) — a Tipperary Land Agent and his Diaries

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Introduction

The year before Samuel Cooper was born, Handel's *Music for the Royal Fireworks* received its first performance. The year after Samuel Cooper died, Mendelssohn's *Fingal's Cave* overture was heard for the first time. A comparison between these two pieces of music illustrates the total change in sensibility through which Samuel Cooper lived: the objective calculation of the Georgian period giving way to the subjective expression of, for example, the Gothic Revival. This account of Samuel Cooper is based on his diaries and, as he was a product of the Georgian Age, it is not surprising that his jottings do not reveal anything about what he felt, only about what he did.

The diaries cover the years 1782, 1785, 1786, 1795, 1802, 1804, 1806, 1807, 1809, 1814 and 1823, starting therefore when the writer was 32 and ending when he was 73. The last of the Cooper family in Killenure was Austin Francis Cooper (1909-72). He sold Killenure in the 1960s, and the diaries are now the property of his son Anthony Austin Cooper, who lives in England. They were transcribed by his cousin Richard Austin Cooper, a descendant of the diarist's brother Austin (1759-1830).¹

In many respects the diaries are more in the nature of an *aide-memoire*, as this extract from 1795 demonstrates:

1 Feb. Set out to Dublin in the coach. **2nd.** Arrived there this evening. **8 March.** Left Dublin in the coach. **9th.** Arrived at Cashel. **16th.** Assizes of Clonmel. **19th.** Set out on horseback, lay at Durrow. **3 May.** Left Dublin in the new phaeton, lay at Ballyroan. **4th.** To Cashel and Killenure, used post horses. **8th.** Mr Preston inducted, Mr Hare dined with us. **11th.** At fair of Holycross and dined at Ardmayle. **12th.** Dined at Mr Allyn's. **25th.** To the Seven Churches, lay at Bray, returned the 26th. **27th.** A Board of Erasmus Smith Schools. **31st.** We went to the Barn. **5 June.** Parliament prorogued. **7th.** Bess and I left Dublin in the phaeton, lay at Ballybrittas. **18th.** Arrived at Cashel. **9th.** To Killenure. **16th.** The Archbishop and family came from town. **24th.** Visitation. **28th.** Left Killenure in the phaeton to go to Galway, dined at Castleconnell with Lord Hawarden. **9 July.** To fair of Hospital and Tipperary in the evening and to Killenure. **27th.** To Clonmel Assizes and stayed till Friday. **31st.** Returned to Killenure. Lord Hawarden and Mr Maude at Dundrum and Mr Harwell went to England. **17 Aug.** Cashel Races began and ended on Saturday 18th. The Archbishop and family left Cashel to go to England. **29th.** Dixon, Bess and I set out in the chaise to Cork, this evening lay at Clogheen. **30th.** Arrived at Cork.

This extract touches on many of the activities and interests of Samuel Cooper, the most obvious of which was the very great amount of travelling he did in the course of a year. This was at a time before many of today's roads were built. Much of this travel was in the course of his business as a land agent but, as the reference to the Seven Churches at Glendalough makes clear, there was time for tourism.

There were certain fixed points in the course of Cooper's business year, such as his attendance

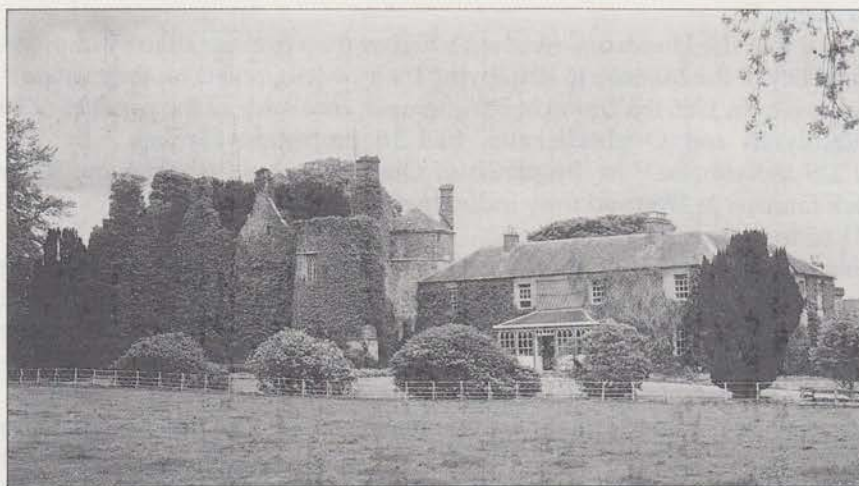
at the meetings of the Board of Governors of the Erasmus Smith Schools, for whom Cooper acted as agent. His connection with individuals like the archbishop of Cashel and Lord Hawarden was also a matter of business, though it had its social content too.

Apart from immediate family members, such as his daughter Bess and brother-in-law Dixon, Cooper was also part of a network of extended family, relations and friends spread throughout the country. On his many visits to Dublin for example, he very often stayed at "the Barn", which is a reference to Barn Hall near Castletown in Kildare and the home of his second cousin Jonathan Cooper (1777-1850). The diaries are also a reminder of the social network of "Big Houses", of which Killenure was part. The extract above makes reference to Ardmayle, the home of the Price family, and to Mr Alleyn, who was probably Samuel Alleyn of Golden.²

The Cooper Family

Samuel Cooper the diarist was only the second generation of his family settled at Killenure.³ Austin Cooper, the first of the family to settle in Ireland, was part of what one writer has described as "a large new propertied class, protestant in religion and mainly, though not exclusively, English by birth".⁴ Cooper's wife was a niece of Erasmus Smith, one of the most substantial beneficiaries of the mid-seventeenth century upheaval in land ownership, and this connection continued to be of benefit to the Coopers into the nineteenth century.

Austin Cooper or "Austin the Settler" lived in county Wicklow and died towards the end of the seventeenth century. His younger son, also Austin (1653-1743), lived in county Meath. He had a large family, of whom a younger son settled at Barn Hall. This house in county Kildare was one of the diarist's regular ports of call during his frequent trips to Dublin.



Killenure Castle — photograph by Ruth Austin-Cooper, 1992

The eldest son Samuel (1686-1761) also had a large family, the eldest of whom settled at Cooper Hill in county Meath and for many years held an important and lucrative government post in Dublin. He died in 1808, and his house was also frequently visited by the diarist. Samuel's third

son, William George Cooper (1721-69), was the first of the family to settle in Tipperary, at Killenure near Dundrum.

The crucial event in bringing William Cooper to Tipperary was the appointment of Arthur Price as archbishop of Cashel in 1744, an office he held until his death in 1752.⁵ Today Dr Price is popularly (though perhaps incorrectly) blamed for unroofing the cathedral on the Rock of Cashel.⁶ Before Price's appointment to Cashel, he was bishop of Meath (1734-44), and as William George Cooper was born in that county, perhaps Price was acquainted with the family. Price was also responsible for bringing another family to Tipperary, that of Henry Wayland, who settled at Kilmore House near Killenure, whose history was to be intimately linked through marriage and friendship with the Coopers.

Being a younger son, William George Cooper had to make his own way in the world. He learned his business at the Prerogative Office in Dublin in 1745/6 and when he was still in his early twenties Archbishop Price appointed him Diocesan Registrar of Cashel.⁷ (The diocese of Emly had been united to Cashel in 1569.) Apart from matters spiritual, there was much else to be done in an important diocese like Cashel. Before 1858, for example, the Anglican Church was responsible for the administration of wills.

Also of course, prior to Disestablishment, the Church of Ireland was in control of substantial amounts of land.⁸ Irish dioceses were wealthy. In the words of one writer: "In the eighteenth century, the richest Irish bishops were nearly ecclesiastical princes and even the poorest was an ecclesiastical nobleman".⁹

Being associated with the Anglican Church establishment in Ireland, William Cooper played an active part in an extraordinary anomaly; a structure of wealth and privilege that rested on a tiny population base, at least in this part of the country. At the time of Samuel Cooper the diarist's death, about 3 per cent of the population of Cashel was Anglican and about 1 per cent of the diocese of Emly.¹⁰ Around the time of Cooper's death, 18 parishes in Cashel and Emly had no protestants.¹¹

It so happened that the Dundrum area had a higher than average density of protestants, due mainly to the policy of the Maudes in employing their co-religionists on their estate. The figures are quite remarkable. In 1766 the Union of Ballintemple, consisting of the parishes of Ballintemple, Kilpatrick, Rathlynin and Oughterleague, had 16 protestant families.¹² By 1831 this had increased to 229 individuals.¹³ In the parish of Oughterleague, in which lay Killenure, there were four such families in 1766 and forty individuals in 1831. (The 1766 figures relate to families, those of 1831 to individuals.)

William Cooper was only a very short time in Tipperary before he purchased Killenure. This was in 1746 and from the Coppinger family, who had used Killenure as a shooting lodge.¹⁴ The main feature of Killenure was not the house but the adjacent castle or tower house. This had been an O'Dwyer stronghold, and in the mid-seventeenth century was described as "one demolished castle irreparable and one thatched house".¹⁵

The Coppingers had obtained land in the neighbourhood of Dundrum from the interest who had immediately benefited from the land settlement of the 1660s. Many of the transactions involving land ownership in the decades following this period are obscure, as individuals with title to Irish lands sought to divest themselves for a quick profit. The Coppingers owned several townlands in the parish of Oughterleague, two of which, Killenure and Knockavilla, a total of 486 acres, became the core of the small Cooper estate. The remaining Coppinger interest passed to the Usher family when Helen Coppinger married Robert Usher. After their death the estate was divided among their daughters.¹⁶

During the diarist's lifetime another townland, Lackenacoombe in the parish of Donohill, was

purchased from William Morland in 1813. This made a total holding of 826 acres.¹⁷ The family also rented some other townlands or portions of townlands, for example about 100 acres of Ballywalter, which lay to the south of Knockavilla. This was rented from a son-in-law of Robert and Helen Usher.¹⁸

At the time of the diarist's death in 1831 Lackenacoombe House was the residence of Samuel Chadwick. This family, the Chadwicks of Ballinard, together with the Waylands of Kilmore, were the families with whom the Coopers had the closest connection. Regarding the Waylands, in May 1747 the diarist's father married Jane, the daughter of Henry Wayland of Kilmore House.

The diary has many references to Francis Wayland, the writer's first cousin, and to a continuous and close intercourse with Kilmore House. "**21 March 1785** — To Dundrum and lay at Kilmore." "**13 Aug. 1786** — Frank Wayland and I set out post to Dublin". The Waylands appear to have been less prosperous than the Coopers; Kilmore House, in the parish of Kilmore, was held from the Agar family, later earls of Normanton. (The parish of Kilmore was originally part of the estates of the diocese of Cashel, until it was "appropriated" by Charles Agar, archbishop of Cashel (1779-1801) who was subsequently archbishop of Dublin and was created earl of Normanton in 1806.¹⁹

The connection between the Coopers and Chadwicks was solidified by a number of marriages. Samuel Cooper the diarist married twice, his first wife being a daughter of David Butler of Garranleagh.²⁰ She died in 1810 and Samuel Cooper married Elizabeth Chadwick. Of the diarist's three sons, only one survived to maturity. This was William (1772-1850); contrary to the published pedigree, the relevant dates would suggest that William's mother was Frances Butler, his father's first wife.²¹ This is of some interest, because in 1798, William Cooper married Rebecca, the daughter of the Rev. Richard Chadwick, rector of Doon.

A third marriage connection between these two families was when William Cooper's only sister Elizabeth the following year married Rebecca Chadwick's first cousin, John Craven Chadwick (1768-1851) of Ballinard.²² In many respects (and certainly in terms of estate size) the Chadwicks of Ballinard in the parish of Shroneill were a very similar family to the Coopers. The Ballinard estate consisted of three contiguous townlands, a total of about 890 acres, leased in perpetuity from the Damer estate.²³

This Damer estate, in the later eighteenth century owned by Joseph Damer Lord Milton, was under the management of Samuel Cooper the diarist. Like the Coopers, the Chadwicks also held additional land on terminable leasehold. A fourth marriage between these two families in 1855, when the diarist's great-grandson married the eldest daughter of William Chadwick, gave rise to the Cooper-Chadwick family of Ballinard.

The latter years of Samuel Cooper's diary contain many references to the close intercourse with the Chadwicks. In 1807 for example:

- 20 July** — To Ring Lodge with Wm. Chadwick, two men and cook, dog boy, twenty one couple hounds and three horses.
- 3 Aug.** — John C. and Neville came.
- 4 Aug.** — Hunting.
- 5 Aug.** — They went home.
- 1 Sept.** — Youghal with Wm. Chadwick to see his father and mother.

William Chadwick was the seven-year-old son of Samuel Cooper's daughter Elizabeth; John C. was the boy's father and Neville was one of the Waylands. Ring in county Waterford was the scene of family holidays over a number of years, the pursuit and killing of wild animals being its obvious focus. His daughter and her family, for example, spent Christmas 1813 at Killenure, arriving on 20 December and staying until the following 13 January.

On 19 April 1814, his daughter, son-in-law and their family returned to Killenure, remaining until 2 May. On 10 July, for example, the diarist and his son William paid a visit to Ballinard, rather going out of their way as they travelled on to Clonmel the following day.

The diarist's son William did not live at Killenure, but up to 1814 appears to have lived just east of Cashel in a house called Rockview, which was in the townland of Hughes Lot West or perhaps Cooper's Lot, both small denominations held by the family. It was likely that when Killenure passed to William Cooper in 1831 his son Samuel lived in the Cashel house.²⁴

The diary has a reference for 20 March 1811 regarding an auction at Kilmore which lasted for three days. Then for 28 May 1814, there is the entry: "William settled at Kilmore". The circumstances of the Waylands leaving this property are not clear, but around this time they lived at the neighbouring property, Ballywalter House.²⁵

An indication of the limited nature of Samuel Cooper's diary is the fact that he makes no reference to the agrarian violence which was rife in Tipperary during his lifetime. His diary conveys no sense of the exposed position of his class, their houses often besieged fortresses in a hostile landscape.²⁶

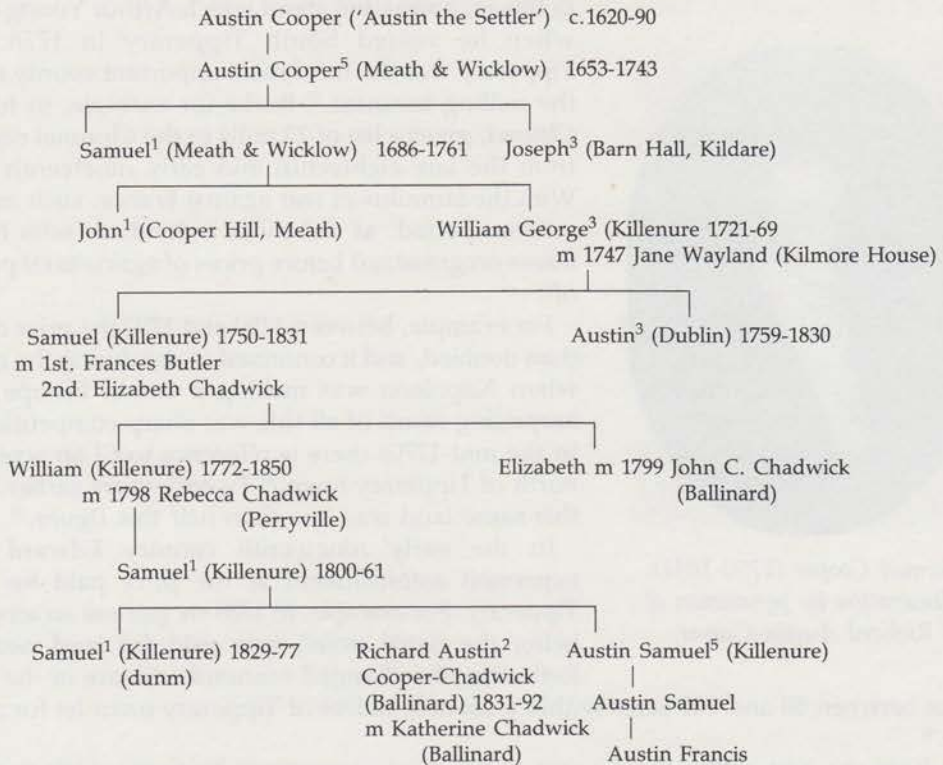
Cooper and his fellow landowners in Dundrum were dramatically reminded in 1817 just how vulnerable they were. (The diary does not cover that year, but in any case it is unlikely that the following incident would have been recounted.) In July 1817 Ballywalter House was attacked by four men, one remaining on watch outside the house while the other three entered and in their search for arms threatened Neville Wayland, shooting and wounding him. Two of the attackers were caught, not because of police detection but due to the more usual work of informers.²⁷

Ten years later and four years before Samuel Cooper's death this kind of violence struck even closer to Cooper when Richard Chadwick, a close relative of Cooper's daughter-in-law, was murdered near Holycross. The murdered man had been acting as agent for his uncle and had aroused the spectre of Whiteboyism "by the measures he adopted in the collection of rents".²⁸

Both the diarist's son and daughter had large families, eleven children in each case and, as Samuel Cooper lived to be 82 years of age, he lived long enough to see some great-grandchildren. His diary, kept (or at least extant) for his seventy-third year, gives the impression of someone still very active and interested in life. Certainly, the enormous amount of travelling that was so much a feature of his life hardly seemed to decrease. Unlike other journals, Cooper did not use his to chart the history of his health. Only one reference relates to this subject. For 24 Sept 1811, he wrote: "Visitation at [Cork]. I was very unwell". Whatever the nature of this illness, it appeared to make little difference to his schedule.

The latter years of his diary are filled with references to the comings and goings of his large extended family, which very much included his brother Austin and his family, to whom, according to family records, "he was most deeply attached". When Austin Cooper died in August 1830, "that sad event preyed so deeply upon his mind that he never recovered from it" and died seven months later.²⁹

Simplified Family Tree of Cooper of Killenure³⁰



(Note. — Numbers refer to position in family. Thus, 1 = eldest son, etc.)

Economic Background

When Samuel Cooper was born in 1750 there was "remarkable" growth in the Irish economy.³¹ This growth reached its peak between 1793 and 1815, a period of war with France, and by the time of Cooper's death in 1831 there had been a sustained decline in the economy, especially marked in the mid-1820s.³² In July 1823, for example, having attended a board meeting of the Governors of the Erasmus Smith Schools, Cooper noted in his diary that rent abatements had been made.

During the 80 years of Samuel Cooper's life the nature of agriculture in Tipperary changed, usually in response to market forces, helped at times by interventionist legislation. Nine years before Cooper was born a gentleman from Cashel noted complainingly that he lived in a county "abounding with pasture", where vast tracts of lands, held by individuals and used mainly for sheep, were devoid of habitation. In his opinion: "Nothing but tillage can relieve us".³³ As discussed below, Samuel Cooper's work as estate agent brought him very much into contact with many of these landholders.



Samuel Cooper (1750-1831).
Illustration by permission of
Richard Austin-Cooper.

By the late eighteenth century there was a marked increase in tillage; a situation about which Arthur Young commented when he visited South Tipperary in 1776.³⁴ By then Tipperary was the third most important county in Ireland in the milling business.³⁵ Burke for example, in his *History of Clonmel*, gives a list of 23 mills in the Clonmel region, dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³⁶ With the stimulus of war against France, such mills enjoyed a boom period, as did those individuals who had secured leases on grassland before prices of agricultural produce took off.

For example, between 1750 and 1792 the price of beef more than doubled, and it continued to rise during the golden years when Napoleon was making a stir in Europe.³⁷ One not surprising result of all this was sharp competition for land. In the mid-1770s there is reference to £2 an acre being paid north of Tipperary town.³⁸ Twenty years earlier the rent for this same land was less than half this figure.³⁹

In the early nineteenth century Edward Wakefield expressed astonishment at the price paid for ground in Tipperary. For example, in 1808 six guineas an acre (Irish acres being the usual units) was paid for land near Cashel.⁴⁰

Reflecting the changed economic climate in the mid 1830s,

farms between 50 and 100 acres within a six-mile radius of Tipperary town let for about £2 an acre.⁴¹

Perhaps the best subjective account of the rural economy of Tipperary is that of the noted English agriculturalist Arthur Young, who visited South Tipperary in 1776 and again a year later. His first visit is of particular interest as he included Dundrum, where he was especially taken with the estate of Lord de Montalt, Thomas Maude, who died ten months after Young's visit.

De Montalt was succeeded by his brother Cornwallis Maude (1729-1803), who was created Viscount Hawarden in 1793. Samuel Cooper acted as agent for him and perhaps for his predecessor also. Young very much saw de Montalt as an improving landlord. He had a practice of taking land into his own hands when leases expired and then "throwing down the old miserable fences which split the farms into little scraps of fields and made new ditches for drains and water-courses, disposing the new fields to the best advantage, drained them with stone drains where wet, broke up such of the grass as was bad, cultivated it enough to bring it into proper order and laid it down again to meadow".

Due to de Montalt's high-level involvement in his estate, his management of the estate's field-pattern was hardly typical of the period. In this manner, according to Young, de Montalt had improved some 2,000 acres of the 15,000-acre estate. His primary livestock was sheep, some 1,500 head, for the feeding of which he cultivated 30 to 40 acres of turnips. "I viewed his crop and found them very regular and of a good size." Given the degree of personal involvement and interest shown by de Montalt in the cultivation of his estate, it was not surprising that Young was impressed.⁴²

De Montalt's successors to the estate were his brother (1777-1803), the latter's eldest son (1803-7) and then the latter's half-brother, who was 27 when he inherited in 1807, and who died in 1856. Of these three the first two had nothing like the involvement in the estate that de Montalt had.

Samuel Cooper was especially engaged in the affairs of the property during their tenure when this pattern of landlord disengagement was much more to the tenant's liking. The demesne land in the landlord's hands was drastically reduced; this, of course, meant more land available to the tenants.

When the third viscount controlled the estate from 1807 to 1856 there was something of a return to the kind of close management exercised by de Montalt and admired by Arthur Young. When, from the vantage point of the 1840s, tenants looked back, they saw the years prior to 1807 as a better time, when their landlord interfered little with the estate other than to draw rent.

Samuel Cooper was in charge during that period. How long his management continued under the third viscount is not clear, but 1822 certainly marked an important change, for in that year a new and more assertive agent, John Stewart, was brought in to manage the estate.⁴³ The last entry in the Cooper diary regarding Hawarden is a note to the effect that the third viscount arrived at Killenure on 21 January 1809, where he stayed until 3 February. Such a lengthy visit suggests a purpose other than the merely social. Perhaps Dundrum House was being renovated.

Cooper as Land Agent

In Irish popular memory land agents have not been thought of kindly. In a Tipperary context, Charles Kickham said it all. Witness, for example, Mr Somerfield in *Knockagow*, of whom it is said: "He has several agencies and a damn bad agent he is". It was much the same with the agent with the Dickensian name, George Noodle, in the much less well known Kickham story *Never Give Up*.

Looked at from another perspective, the Report of the Devon Commission in 1845 noted that upon the conduct of agents "the comfort of a large population and the tranquility of a district frequently depend". The commissioners expressed the opinion that where the landlord was not resident the agent should reside either upon or near the estate to be managed. They went on to note that such estates were frequently managed by some resident gentleman and that in former times the business of such agents was confined almost exclusively to the letting of farms and enforcing the payment of rent.⁴⁴

Such remarks are relevant to Samuel Cooper who, apart from the Maude estate referred to above, also was agent to the substantial estates of the Board of the Erasmus Smith Schools and of Joseph Damer, who died in 1720. The proprietors of each of these estates was an absentee.

In another respect Samuel Cooper fitted the profile of the land agent of the period, he himself being a landed gentleman. The land agent from this social background was far more common in Ireland than England and, of course, while it put him closer to his employer, it also removed him even further from many (though by no means all) of the tenants for whom he was responsible.⁴⁵

Agents from such a background generally had no professional training. The individual's status as a gentleman and general education, with its emphasis on the classics, were thought to provide the necessary aptitude. Specifics could be learned on the job, and in the case of an agent like Samuel Cooper his experience from his own estate was thought to be of value.⁴⁶ A commentator like Edward Wakefield writing in 1812 emphasised that, apart from practical skills, an agent above all else had to have integrity.⁴⁷

The facile assumption that the correct social standing provided this was not always the experience of tenants. However, it has to be said that for most of the period during which Samuel Cooper acted as agent the advantage was more often than not with the tenant rather than the



landlord. This was especially the case with regard to the larger tenants, whose leases allowed them full advantage of the benefits of price increases. Such tenants were not likely to be pleased when they were refused renewal on the leases.

In 1811, for example, on 9 March Cooper was in Roscrea where Lord Milton had property. On that date Cooper noted in his diary that he dined with T. Birch. In light of what happened subsequently, something of the conversation may be imagined. On 23 March Cooper was back in Roscrea and in his diary for 25 March noted: "T. Birch refused possession". In situations like this an agent less honest than Samuel Cooper might well be tempted to offer a favourable renewal for a suitable bribe.

The role of the agent was easier in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than it was later to become. Many estates were let to a relatively small number of substantial tenants, many of whom in their turn sublet to a myriad of smaller tenants who actually worked their land. This, of course, made the job of the agent easier, a situation confirmed by Wakefield.⁴⁸ The downside of this from the point of view of the landlord was that these middlemen benefited more from the income potential of the land than did the actual landlord.

According to one writer, the role of the eighteenth century agent was to let farms, draw up leases and tenancy agreements, to see that tenants observed these terms and, of course, to collect rents each half year.⁴⁹ On an estate like that of the Maude family the agent also presided over the manorial court. For example, Cooper's diary entry for 4 April 1786: "Held a manor court at Dundrum". This manorial court, which in its form was a legacy from the middle ages, dealt with matters of estate administration which involved the tenants. In the case of the Dundrum estate the manor was created in 1711 for Sir Robert Maude.⁵⁰

Samuel Cooper's income from his own land is unclear; but there is little doubt that most of his income derived from his agency work. However, it was unlikely that his annual income was anything like that of his brother Austin, who besides his government job (which paid him a pension of £800 p.a. when he retired in 1806) also acted as land agent for some very large estates. One estimate of his income is £3,681 for 1803, an enormous amount of money in terms of its purchasing power.⁵¹ (In 1815, Austin Cooper purchased Abbeville House in Kinsaley, now the home of a retired politician.)

The most important estate in Tipperary for which Samuel Cooper was agent was that of Lord Milton, created earl of Dorchester in 1792 and who died in 1798. The main residence of Milton was Milton Abbey in Dorset, which in part necessitated Samuel Cooper's frequent trips to England. The size of Milton's holdings of land in Tipperary is impressive: over 21,000 acres in south-west Tipperary; extending into east county Limerick, another 2,500 acres; nearly 8,000 acres centred on Borrisoleigh, and finally the town of Roscrea.

The income from all this property was equally impressive. In 1814, for example, it came to over £17,000, made up as follows: £2,218 from Roscrea, £5,266 from Borrisoleigh and just over £10,000 from the remainder of the estate. By then the estate was owned by Lady Caroline Damer. Lord Milton's eldest son had committed suicide in 1776, so on Milton's (or Dorchester's) death in 1798, the property was inherited by his second son, who, however, died unmarried in 1808, leaving his sister Caroline to inherit.

As explained above, because much of the estate was leased to middle tenants, the owner of the estate did not extract anything like what the land was worth. Some examples of what was being paid per acre (Irish) at the period have already been cited. This hardly compares with a rent of about 24 pence per acre (Irish), to give just one example from the Milton estate, based on an agreement made in 1769. In this particular case, the land was let in perpetuity, as were nearly 10,000 acres in the part of the estate in south-west Tipperary and just over 900 acres in Borrisoleigh.

Most of the property was held by tenants on terminable leases. This meant that when such leases expired there was a substantial gain to the estate. For example, 353 acres let for £106 in 1773 were relet to the same family in 1808 for £500.⁵²

Samuel Cooper's job in looking after this estate was in dealing with tenancies when agreements expired, and above all collecting and forwarding the rent to England. A common practice at the period was to let land, not on the basis of a stated number of years, but on the basis of the length of a number (usually three) of specified lives, usually members of the lessee's family.

In cases where the lease was perpetually renewable, the lessee could keep nominating a new life when one of the specified three lives died. An agreed sum of money or fine had to be paid to the landlord for this right, and it was the agent's duty to know when such fines were due and to see that they were paid. The remuneration paid to the agent was usually 5 per cent of the rental; this was the figure that applied to Cooper's agency of the Milton estate.⁵³

Cooper's diary has a few references regarding his conduct of the affairs of this estate. The specific denomination of the estate mentioned most in the early years of the diary is Bannixtown, in the parish of Coolmundry in the barony of Middlethird. This had been let since 1736 on a perpetual lease to the Clutterbuck family, the proprietor in the late eighteenth century being Laurence Clutterbuck, who was in fact the diarist's brother-in-law, having married Dorothea Cooper in 1776.

In the following century there was a second marriage connection between these two families when the diarist's nephew (his brother Austin's son Samuel) married Laurence Clutterbuck's daughter Lydia.⁵⁴ As might be expected, Cooper's references to Laurence Clutterbuck are mainly social. It was probably just as well that Clutterbuck's tenure was a perpetuity as this removed any conflict of interest. In 1782, for example, and to a lesser extent in 1785, Cooper had occasion to make a number of visits to part of the Eyre White estate near the Kilkenny border. During these visits, Cooper stayed with his brother-in-law whose home at Bannixtown was not too far distant.

- 9 Nov 1782 — Went to Bannixtown to meet Kylatlea tenants.
- 8 Dec 1782 — Returned to Bannixtown.
- 22 Dec 1782 — To Kilmore before breakfast, then to Bannixtown, returned to Fethard (to do some business) and returned and lay at Bannixtown.
- 29 Dec 1782 — To Bannixtown and returned [home] next day.
- 18 April 1785 — To Bannixtown in the evening.
- 19 April 1785 — To Modeshill and distrained.
- 20 April 1785 — Returned home.
- 21 Nov 1785 — To the fair of Fethard and to Bannixtown.

The reference to distraint being exercised against tenants on the Eyre White estate is a reminder that agents like Samuel Cooper had to take action for recovery of rent, which in this case involved the seizure of stock.

All but three years of the diary (1782, 1814 and 1823) recount Cooper's visit to England. These visits were a mixture of business and tourism. In 1786 he spent three days with de Montalt. In 1795 he was detained in London for about two weeks by Lord Dorchester's illness. In 1802 he spent some time in Bath, where he was joined by his brother Austin who had two of his daughters with him, aged thirteen and ten.

- 16 May 1802 — Settled with Lord Hawarden and dined there.
- 17 May 1802 — Settled with Lord Hawarden and executed leases.

Hawarden was not an absentee landlord, but this did not mean that people like him did not spend a good deal of time out of the country; and few places were more congenial and fashionable than Bath. As Jane Austen and other writers of the period made clear, Bath was a place where the best of society could meet the best of society. "Their acquaintance was exceedingly sought after. Everybody was waiting to visit them. They had drawn back from many introductions, and still were perpetually having cards left by people of whom they knew nothing." Thus wrote Jane Austen about some of her characters in *Persuasion*, which was published in 1818.⁵⁵

In 1804 on 1 May Samuel Cooper "took possession of Ardavullane". This was a townland of 540 acres in the parish of Bruis near Tipperary town. This land had been leased in perpetuity in 1714 by Samuel Smith, a son of Erasmus Smith, to Joseph Damer. On 1 May 1773 Ardavullane was leased for 31 years to Roger Scully of Dualla, the founder of the famous Scully family of Kilfeacle. Roman Catholics like Scully had shorter term leases than their protestant neighbours; not until 1778 were the final tenurial restrictions on catholics removed. Roger Scully died in 1783 and his interest in Ardavullane was inherited by his younger son William.

The Scullys were exactly the kind of affluent catholic family calculated to irk certain protestants. Whatever about Samuel Cooper's view, his brother Austin was not happy about the relaxation of laws against catholics. For example, he wrote in his diary for 17 Nov 1784:⁵⁶

Passing along Arran Quay, I found a number of men at work rebuilding the popish chapel there . . . it is on a more enlarged and elegant plan than the old one, which we need not be surprised at when we consider these happy days of inconsiderate toleration. Days that the protestants yet unborn will heartily execrate hereafter.



Samuel Cooper (1686-1761),
grandfather of Samuel the diarist.

When in February 1813 Colonel William Bagwell presented to the House of Commons an anti-catholic petition from the protestants of Tipperary, the signatures of both Samuel Cooper and his son William were included. In the circumstances, the reaction of Denys Scully (Roger's grandson) was rather mild, even understanding.⁵⁷ Regarding Samuel, he wrote: 'This old gentleman holds the places of registrar of the Cashel diocese and agent to the Archbishop. Could his name be refused?' About William Cooper, he merely commented that he was Samuel's only son. When William Scully vacated Ardavullane, the new lessee was Samuel Cooper's son-in-law John Craven Chadwick, and the yearly rent increased from £260 to £400.⁵⁸ The new lease was for three lives.

Also in 1804, while on his annual visit to England, Samuel Cooper spent three days at Milton Abbey, the home of Lord Dorchester in Dorset. On leaving there Cooper travelled to London, where he remained from 4 June to 19 June "and often with Lord Hawarden at Reddick's Hotel". Cooper's account of his visit to England two years later has a number of references to dining with Lords Dorchester and Portarlington, who were first cousins. Portarlington's son eventually inherited the Dorchester lands in Ireland. Cooper also dined with Hawarden in London and paid a brief visit to Bath to meet Lady Hawarden. This may be a reference to the widow of the first viscount Hawarden, who was to survive her husband by nearly half a century.

The second viscount Hawarden died in London on 26 February 1807 at the age of 39, and Cooper simply noted the death in his diary, giving 28 February as the date. For the remaining years of the diary, starting with 1807, there are references to Cooper going to Borrisoleigh and Roscrea in order to collect rents from the Dorchester estates there. By 1823, at 73 years of age, Cooper was likely too old to make the strenuous journey to England, and so his grandson Austin Chadwick made the trip to Milton Abbey instead.

There are different kinds of remoteness. On the one hand there was the geographical distance between a proprietor like Milton/Dorchester and his tenants in, for example, his 21,000-acre estate in south-west Tipperary. When the second earl of Dorchester paid what was probably his first visit to Tipperary town since his father's death a year earlier, it was obviously a special occasion and the earl gave a dinner at Read's King's Arms Inn. This was attended by his local tenants.⁵⁹

However, the remoteness was of a different nature when the landlord was not an individual but a corporate entity. The extraordinary history of the seventeenth century adventurer Erasmus Smith has been outlined elsewhere, as have the circumstances of the setting up of an educational endowment to provide protestant education for the sons of his protestant tenants.⁶⁰

The endowment was charged with responsibility for four grammar schools, Drogheda, Galway and Tipperary and (established in the late eighteenth century) Ennis. This endowment in the form of land was entrusted to a self-perpetuating board of governors based in Dublin. The charter of the endowment made provision for the appointment of a registrar at a salary of £10 p.a., which by the end of the eighteenth century has been increased to £50. The registrar acted as secretary to the board of governors.

On 26 March 1756 John Cooper of Cooper Hill, county Meath, was appointed registrar. More to the point and much more lucrative, he was also appointed agent, a post which the original charter did not specify. This John Cooper was the diarist's uncle, and on 20 February 1784 the 33-year-old Samuel Cooper joined with his uncle in the said offices. Security of £2,000 was given by them for the "faithful performance of their trust". A commission of one shilling in the £ or 5 per cent was to be paid on rents collected for the board of governors.

In the words of an official inquiry of 1791 into the endowment: "They appear properly qualified for their duty by their known and tried character and abilities".⁶¹ When John Cooper retired, just as his Dublin government post was filled by his nephew Austin (the diarist's brother), so also was his post as agent for the estates of the educational endowment.

Estates of Erasmus Smith Educational Endowment 1807/08⁶²

County	Acreage (Statute)	Valuation (£)	Rent (£)
Tipperary	2,903	1,641	1,387
Limerick	4,280	3,400	2,157
Sligo	177	196	627
Westmeath	747	397	630
Galway	1,585	1,753	1,791
Clare	4	60	100
Offaly	756	136	25
Total	10,452	7,583	6,717

The agent's commission or poundage on this rent of £6,717 was £335.85, which of course was divided between Samuel and his brother Austin Cooper. In Tipperary county the bulk of the estate was divided between Drumbane in North Tipperary and Soloheadbeg townland in the parish of the same name in the south of the county. There were also some smaller lots of land in the vicinity of the school itself.⁶³ At the period indicated in the above table the main tenant in Drumbane was Simon Pepper, who had a lease of 21 years from 1791. In Soloheadbeg the main tenant was Richard Sadlier, whose lease for 21 years ran from 1793.

The treasurer to the board of governors in the late eighteenth century was a man with Tipperary connections, namely John Hely-Hutchinson, father of the first earl of Donoughmore, whose seat was Knocklofty near Clonmel.⁶⁴ Hely-Hutchinson gathered many offices to himself, including that of provost of Trinity College (1774-94), and of him it was said: "If you were to give him the whole of Great Britain and Ireland for an estate, he would ask for the Isle of Man for a potato garden".⁶⁵

A great deal of power regarding the finances of the educational endowment lay with the treasurer and, not surprisingly, the agents had a good deal of contact with him. As the Galway estate was in and around the city, the administration of building leases occupied more of the agent's time than was the case in relation to agricultural land.

- 25 Oct 1785 — To Knocklofty by Woodrooff [home of the Perry family] where the Provost executed the Galway building leases. Fourteen miles from thence to Clonmel and Bannixtown and lay there.
- 14 Nov 1785 — [Galway] Saw all the leases of the building lots executed by the different parties which I delivered to the tenants and they paid a year's rent to May last, except [for] a few. . .
- 27 May 1795 — A board of Erasmus Smith Schools.
- 28 June 1795 — Left Killenure in the phaeton to go to Galway, dined at Castleconnell with Lord Hawarden. Set out at 9 p.m. — went to Granaghan [county Clare] by 2 a.m.
- 30 June — To Galway, lay at [Erasmus Smith School]. At Galway receiving rents until the 7th. Tuesday.

Even in his seventies, Samuel Cooper continued to act as agent for the board of governors. His diary for 1823, for example, records his attendance at a board meeting in Dublin. Where land was leased to substantial tenants and rent continued to be paid, there was little effort required from the agent. But where smaller amounts of land were let, rent payment was more problematic.

One of the smaller denominations of land held by the governors was the 59-acres townland of Rathsasseragh, in the parish of Corroge near Tipperary town. In 1823 Cooper reported to the governors that two tenants had been evicted from the townland and that he would let the land for one year at the best terms. He also intended to proceed against one of these tenants for arrears.⁶⁶

Following Samuel Cooper's death in 1831 his grandson Austin Cooper took over from him. Austin was William Cooper's second son and lived at Camas near Cashel. On 5 April 1838, while travelling towards Tipperary town in the company of his brother Samuel and Francis Wayland, they were shot at and Austin Cooper was killed. He was 36 years of age and left a family of four daughters. The actual target of the attack was Wayland, who was also shot and died later.⁶⁷ The following month the governors of the Erasmus Smith Schools offered a reward, equal to the highest sum given by any landlord, for information leading to the conviction of the attackers.⁶⁸

Social Life and Travel

One aspect of being part of a minority is that it reinforces group solidarity. Allowing the limited nature of Samuel Cooper's diary and his emphasis on "what did" rather than "what felt", the degree to which the world and lives of the majority population are excluded is remarkable. Yet much of the diarist's life involved contact with the majority population — most of those with whom he came in contact during his travels around the country, from servants to coach drivers to, of course, many of the tenants whose rents he collected.

In the course of a given year Dublin was Samuel Cooper's most frequent port of call. In 1785, for example, the second year of the diary that is extant, he visited Dublin on six occasions. That same year he also made major trips to Cork, Galway and, in what appeared an annual event for most of his life, a visit to England — made that year in July. All of these trips had their social side.

No matter what part of the country he was travelling through, he rarely had to stay in inns or hotels, finding instead ready hospitality in the homes of relatives, friends and acquaintances. In spite of the amount of travelling which he did, Samuel Cooper retained something of the tourist about him, showing an interest in what life had to offer.

For example, in 1782 Cooper made a point of being on hand in order to see the "Carlow Review" and a few weeks later on 29 August, he recorded in his diary: "Saw the Review and lay at Tipperary . . . returned home next morning". Four days earlier he had been in Tipperary on business and had stayed with "Mr Aldwell", who was the second master at the grammar school. The next day Cooper went on to Limerick, stopping for breakfast at Derk, the home of William Heffernan near Pallasgreen, dining and staying that night at "Mr Sheppard's".

The "Reviews" mentioned by Cooper refer to the Volunteer Corps formed by landlords in order to defend the country against the prospect of a French/Spanish invasion, at a time when many British troops normally stationed in Ireland were sent overseas. One characteristic of these Volunteer Corps was their splendid uniforms, which a review allowed the opportunity to display. The Clanwilliam Union Cavalry Corps had been formed in 1779 by the earl of Clanwilliam, who had a residence near Golden. They wore a scarlet coat with blue facings piped with white. Samuel Cooper would, of course, have been acquainted with all of the officers of these corps, including a number of Chadwicks.⁶⁹

Cooper most obviously adopted the characteristics of the tourist during his visits to England. First, of course, he had to get there and in this regard, the reader may empathise with the position on the matter of crossing the Irish Sea adopted by Lady Margaret Charteris of Cahir Castle. During a long life she paid no more than two or three visits to Cahir because, it was said, she could not face the sea crossing from her home in England.

Cooper was much tougher and again and again faced crossings, which, given the time taken to make the crossing then, hardly bear thinking about. The worst he records was an endurance test of some 36 hours in November 1795:

- Nov 1795** — Detained in London by Lord Dorchester's illness until the 15th. Set out in Chester Coach, arrived there the 16th., at 11 that night.
- 17 Nov** — Went to Park Gate, wind bound until Thursday 19th. at 5 p.m. [when] we sailed in the Prince of Wales.
- 21 Nov** — Landed at Pidgeon House early this morning, after lying to all night outside the bar.

Chester is familiar to many people as a station through which one passes while making the train journey from Holyhead to London. On this occasion Cooper did not sail from there but from a port much nearer to Chester.



On three occasions in 1804, according to his diary, Cooper made the crossing from Waterford to Milford Haven in South-West Wales.

- 19 May— Left Killenure for England, lay at Clonmel.
- 20 May— To Waterford.
- 21 May— To Cheek Point, sailed at 8 p.m., Capt. Nuttal.
- 22 May— Landed at Milford at 10 a.m.
- 23 May— Set out in the Mail.
- 24 May— Arrived at Bristol.
- 25 May— To Bath. . . .

Cheekpoint is a short distance from Waterford city and is where the Suir, Barrow and Nore come together. Fourteen hours seem about average for this crossing. By all accounts Cooper was a good sailor. Returning home from England in 1785, sailing from Holyhead to Dublin, a journey that took nearly two days, his comment on 12 July, having spent all of that day at sea, was: "Fine weather, Little Wind, Not sick". This was the only time he commented on his health, rather paradoxically, as he made the crossing in very much worse weather.

That year, 1785, his particular reason for going to England was to bring his thirteen-year-old son William to Shrewsbury School. Samuel himself was educated at Drogheda Grammar School and, given the close connection with the Erasmus Smith Educational Endowment, the decision to send his son to an English public school is difficult to understand, except perhaps in social terms.

Samuel and his son left Killenure on 26 June, staying with the Coopers of Barn Hall on the way, and arrived in Dublin two days later. They were accompanied on the crossing by the young son of the Dean of Cashel. They set sail on 2 July, and by 4 July were in Chester, where they stayed at the Pied Bull Hotel, which is still in business. The following day they travelled by stage coach to Shrewsbury.

However, William does not appear to have been abandoned to his fate until 9 July, the intervening time being used to meet his first cousin Captain Nathaniel Cooper of Cooper Hill, then serving with the 68th Regt. Also on 8 July all three Coopers and a friend went to see one of the wonders of the age, the iron bridge across the Severn Gorge, the first such bridge in the world, erected about six years earlier.

It has been said that the British Empire owed a great deal to the public school system. The reality was that the public school experience was so dreadful for most of those who went through it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that nothing in later life, not even being confronted by a mob of screaming Dervishes in the Sudan or being shot at by Irish insurrectionists, was worse.

Nothing in his home life could have prepared William Cooper for the experience that lay ahead of him as his father left him at Shrewsbury that July day in 1785. At this period the school was in decline and very much not first-division. It was not until the appointment of a new headmaster in 1798 that its reputation began to improve. William Cooper therefore was pitched into an institution where only the fittest survived. (Charles Darwin was a pupil at the school, though later than Cooper's time.)

One of the factors that drew Samuel Cooper to this school may have been the fact that it lay on the great coach route to North Wales and Ireland. At a period when life at such schools was savage, Shrewsbury was reputed among the worst. One infamous form of punishment was to lock a boy, often for hours at a time, into a box slightly larger than a coffin. Living conditions were on a par. For example, in the 1830s (and it can be assumed that things were worse when



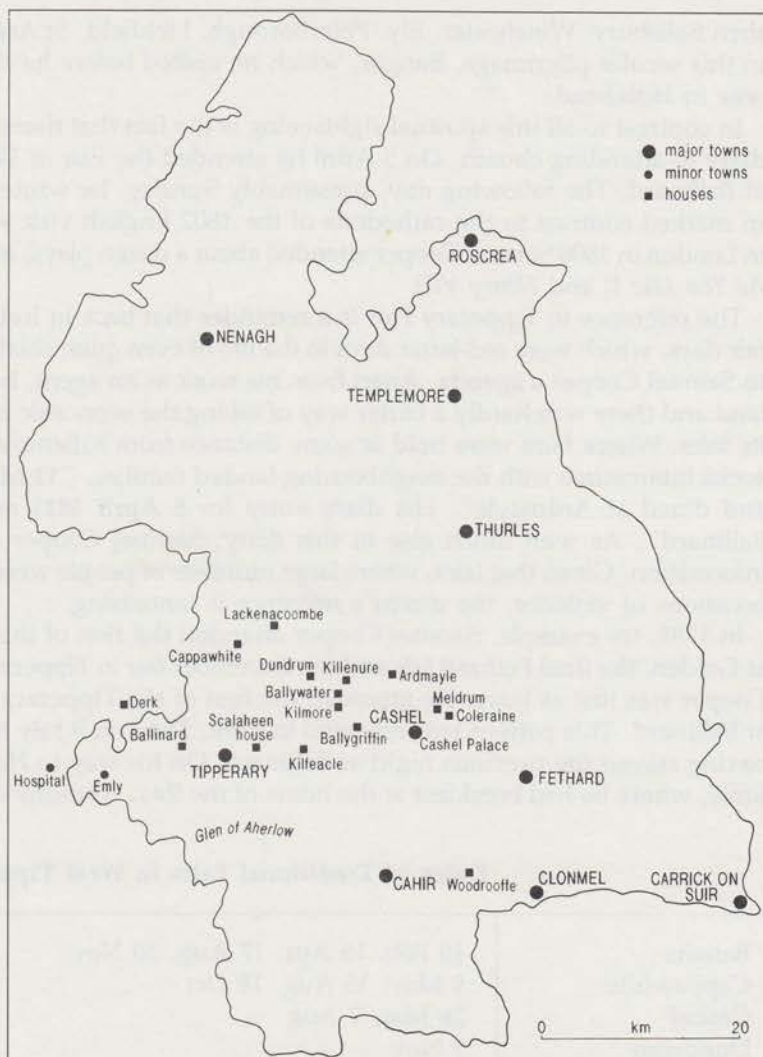
William Cooper was a pupil), a single bed was a luxury for which an extra charge was made; and bread, cheese and beer were served for the evening meal.⁷⁰

Having left William to his fate on 9 July, Samuel Cooper set off on the Holyhead coach to catch a ship back to Ireland. He stopped for breakfast at Llangollen on the river Dee in North Wales. Surprisingly perhaps, Cooper makes no reference to the two most famous residents of the place, Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Sarah Ponsonby, both from Kilkenny, who had run off together seven years earlier and set up house at Llangollen. There they remained for the next 50 years, having, in the words of one diplomatic observer, "renounced the vain splendours of fashion and dissipation for scenes of sequestered happiness".⁷¹

Cooper's diary for the following year, 1786, also refers to taking his son back to Shrewsbury. This time they were accompanied on

the crossing to Holyhead by Francis ("Frank") Wayland. They set sail on 19 August, having earlier dined with Dr. John Palliser, rector of Rathfarnham, a member of a family with connections in Tipperary (Derryluskan). Having deposited William at Shrewsbury, Cooper continued on to London, stopping on the way to see some of the new manufacturing centres of the midlands and, as a reminder of an older England, he spent a day seeing the Churchill seat at Blenheim. Long before such places were opened on a commercial basis to the public, it was possible for the right sort of people to be allowed *ooh* and *ah*. Witness for example, Elizabeth Bennet and her aunt at Pemberley in *Pride and Prejudice*.

That year Cooper remained in England for about a month, which was around average for his English visits. Like any modern tourist, Samuel Cooper used these visits, not only to conduct his social life but also to view the morally uplifting sights on offer. For whatever reason, the English visit of 1802 was very much dominated by visits to cathedrals. He began with Hereford,



then Salisbury, Winchester, Ely, Peterborough, Lichfield, St Asaph (south of Rhyl) and finally in this secular pilgrimage, Bangor, which he visited before he crossed the Menai Strait on his way to Holyhead.

In contrast to all this spiritual sightseeing is the fact that there are very few references in the diary to attending church. On 5 April he attended the Fair of Tipperary and stayed that night at Ballinard. The following day, presumably Sunday, he wrote "at Shronhill [*sic*] Church". In marked contrast to the cathedrals of the 1802 English visit was the fact that during a stay in London in 1806 Samuel Cooper attended about a dozen plays, most now obscure, but including *As You Like It* and *Henry VIII*.

The reference to Tipperary Fair is a reminder that back in Ireland the pattern of established fair days, which were red-letter days in the life of even quite small settlements, were also central to Samuel Cooper's agenda. Apart from his work as an agent, he also farmed some of his own land and there was hardly a better way of taking the economic pulse of an area than attending its fairs. Where fairs were held at some distance from Killenure, they provided an excuse for social intercourse with the neighbouring landed families. "11 May 1795 — at Fair of Holycross and dined at Ardmayle". His diary entry for 5 April 1811 reads: "To Fair Tipperary and Ballinard". As with much else in this diary, Samuel Cooper does not provide any further information. Given that fairs, where large numbers of people were gathered together, were often occasions of violence, the diarist's reticence is tantalising.

In 1785, for example, Samuel Cooper attended the first of the Fethard fairs, the second fair at Golden, the final Fethard fair and the December fair in Tipperary. In 1823 73-year-old Samuel Cooper was just as busy. He attended the first of the Tipperary town fairs, staying that night at Ballinard. This pattern was repeated in June. Then on 9 July he went to the fair at Hospital, having stayed the previous night at Ballinard. On his way to Hospital he broke his journey at Emly, where he had breakfast at the home of the Rev. Anthony Armstrong, who illustrates the

Dates of Traditional Fairs in West Tipperary⁷²

Bansha	19 Feb, 16 Apr, 17 Aug, 30 Nov
Cappawhite	9 May, 16 Aug, 18 Oct
Cashel	26 Mar, 7 Aug
Dundrum	9 Nov
Fethard	20 Apr, 7 Sept, 21 Nov
Golden	18 May, 26 Aug, 26 Oct, 15 Dec
Holy Cross	11 May, 24 Sept, 18 Oct
Hospital	10 May, 9 July, 8 Sept, 30 Oct
Kilfeacle	10 July
Tipperary	5 Apr, 24 June, 10 Oct, 10 Dec

network of families, of which Cooper was part. (In the 1770s Armstrong had married the widow of Richard Chadwick of Ballinard.)

The following day Cooper made an unpleasant journey to attend the fair at Kilfeacle, and made one of his few comments on the weather, noting "a very wet day", and for the following day "rain continuing". On 10 December Cooper (accompanied by his son William) went to the Tipperary fair. The diary entry continues to the effect that, together with George Wayland and

Fitzmaurice Hunt, who was a son of Vere Dawson Hunt of Cappawhite, they dined at "Navins" in Tipperary town.

This was the Globe Inn, whose proprietor was Ann Navin. This and the previously mentioned King's Arms, both hotels located in East Main St., were the only such premises in the town in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁷³

From everything said so far about Samuel Cooper, it is clear that at a time when most people were content to stay near home and when travel was slow and usually uncomfortable, he travelled a phenomenal amount. This appears to have been something of which he was very aware and perhaps not a little proud. The year 1785 is that reported in most detail in his diary, and for many of the journeys he made that year. Cooper kept an account of the mileage. The total, in the diarist's own words: "This year travelled 2,290 (miles), besides by sea 250 miles, (a total of) 2,540 miles".

Samuel Cooper's Itinerary 1785

January ⁷⁴	To Kilkenny.
February ⁷⁵	Kilkenny to Dublin.
March ⁷⁶	Dublin to Cashel to Dundrum. Local journeys. Dundrum to Clonmel.
April	Clonmel to Killenure. Local journeys. Killenure to Bannixtown to Modeshill to Killenure. Killenure to Derk to Killenure. Local journeys. To Dublin.
May	Dublin to county Meath to Dublin to county Kildare to Kilkenny to Cashel to Killenure. Killenure to Derk to Killenure. Killenure to Clonmel to Fethard to Killenure. Local journeys.
June	Local journeys. Killenure to Bannixtown to Cashel to Kilmore. Local journeys. Cashel to Dublin.
July ⁷⁷	Dublin to England. Chester to Shrewsbury to Coalbrook to Llangollen to Holyhead to Dublin. Dublin to Cashel to Dundrum.
August	To Freshford to Clonmel to Killenaule to Clonmel to Tipperary. Local journeys. Dundrum to Clonmel to Dundrum. Local journeys. Cashel to Kilkenny to Dublin to county Meath to Mullingar to Dublin.
September ⁷⁸	Dublin to Kilkenny to Cashel to Dundrum. Local journeys. Dundrum to Fermoy to Cork to Bearhaven to Dursey Island.
October ⁷⁹	To Adrigole to Bantry to Cork to Cahir to Cashel. Killenure to Knocklofty to Clonmel to Bannixtown to Cashel to Golden to Dundrum. To Dublin.
November	Dublin to Galway. Local journeys. Galway to Limerick to Derk to Kilmore. Dundrum to Cashel to Fethard to Bannixtown to Cashel to Dundrum. Local journeys. To Dublin.
December	Dublin to Cashel to Dundrum. Local journeys. Dundrum to Bannixtown to Dundrum.

These journeys were made by Samuel Cooper in the discharge of his wide variety of offices, though generally he does not make it clear why he undertook a particular journey. Some of the shorter trips, not only in the vicinity of his home but also around Dublin, West Cork and Galway, were obviously social. The most strenuous journey was probably the visit to West Cork, which lasted just over two weeks. Though he was not explicit about the matter, this visit involved the dispossession of tenants.

In Cork city he made it his business to entertain the sheriff, but was delayed for two days in the city waiting for his repossession order. Cooper then went across to Bearhaven with the sub-sheriff and spent three days repossessing land. He then moved on to Dursey Island, where he prepared short term leases. Given the time of the year (28 Sept. "... the weather tho very bad of late remarkably fine"; 3 Oct. "... a very high sea"), and the remoteness of many of the places visited, it is hardly surprising that his diary has no entry for about two weeks after returning home.

In the context of all this travel, not just in 1785 but for each year of the diary, Samuel Cooper was quite assiduous in recording both his route and his means of conveyance. Depending on the nature of the journey, there was a variety of carriages used by Cooper.

18 July 1782 — "Left Kilkenny in the chaise and got to Dublin at night". A chaise was a light carriage for perhaps two people, generally drawn by a single horse, and was the type of vehicle frequently used by Cooper. **3 May 1795** — "Left Dublin in the new phaeton". This was a light four-wheeled open carriage, usually drawn by a pair of horses and with one or two seats facing forward. Cooper made some of his shorter journeys on horseback.

On **3 September 1806**, "Sent the gig to Cahir" and then on the following day, he rode to Cahir from where he went on to Youghal, presumably in his gig. This was among the lightest of carriages, two-wheeled and drawn by a single horse. In October 1814, for example: **3 October**: "To Cashel early, breakfasted with the Archbishop and went in his chaise to Waterford by 4 p.m." They stayed with the bishop, and on **6 October**, "Returned with His Grace to Cashel by 4 o'clock", and then Cooper returned home to Killenure by gig.

In the period before Charles Bianconi began his business, public transport was limited, unreliable and expensive. Bianconi began his business in 1815 with a coach between Clonmel and Cahir. Samuel Cooper makes no reference in his diary to Bianconi, but on occasion, Cooper was happy to use the mail coach. For example in August 1814, anxious to get to Dublin to see John Cooper (perhaps his nephew), who "had a fall", he took the Cashel coach to Dublin.

Tipperary town was on the mail route between Waterford and Limerick, and the Royal Mail left each day at one o'clock from outside the Globe Inn. There was a coach each afternoon at two o'clock from outside the King's Arms Inn.⁸⁰ The following entries are from 1823:

- 25 Aug 1823** — To Tipperary and in the coach to Limerick.
- 26 Aug** — Visitation there, dined at the bishops.
- 28 Aug** — John Hickey and I went in a chaise to Killaloe, held the visitation there and returned to Limerick to dinner.
- 29 Aug** — Returned in the coach to Tipp and home in gig.

Among other types of carriages mentioned by Samuel Cooper were the "chair" and the "fly". The former, a light carriage drawn by one horse, appears to have been similar to a chaise; the fly was, as its name might suggest, built for speed. One may wonder if people at the period in question went on about their carriages in the way that people today sometimes do about cars?

Possibly; after all, what was the point in having, for example, a phaeton which was a rather upmarket carriage, especially suitable for display, if one could not look down on an individual or family solely dependent on a gig, the nineteenth-century version of the Lada? Incidentally, as a reminder that some things do not change, between 1747 and 1782 the possession of a carriage brought with it the payment of a hefty tax.⁸¹

A more pertinent matter than the carriages used by Samuel Cooper in his journeys around Ireland was the condition and, indeed, location of the road network. He himself exercises his usual reticence on the matter. Visitors to Ireland often expressed surprise at the quality of the

roads, finding them in some respects better than in England. As early as 1748 William Chetwood, travelling around the south-east of the county, expressed surprise and pleasure at the good condition of the roads and that on a summer's day 50 English miles could be covered. "The roads are as much frequented with chaises of the genteelest kind, as those of England and as numerous."⁸²



*Austin Cooper (1759-1830),
of Abbeville House, Co. Dublin
— brother of Samuel the diarist.*

Nearly 30 years later Arthur Young, with one particular exception, was just as impressed. "For a country so very far behind us as Ireland, to have got suddenly so much the start of us in the article of roads, is a spectacle that cannot fail to strike the English traveller exceedingly."⁸³ The exception to this encomium was the turnpike road, "which in Ireland is a synonymous term for a vile road".⁸⁴

These turnpike roads were supposed to be the primary roads traversing counties, authorised by parliament, administered by local gentry who acted as trustees and with their upkeep paid for by tolls exacted at turnpike gates. They were often badly maintained because of inadequate financing.⁸⁵ The generality of roads were built and maintained by the grand juries, the forerunner to county councils and, as the evidence quoted above indicates, were kept in good condition. Grand juries were, of course, dominated by the landed interest of a county and not infrequently the road pattern reflected private landlord interest rather than the public good. The disposition of roads in Dundrum for example, very much reflects the interests of the Maude family.

Another writer, describing the roads of Ireland as he found them in 1806, agreed with the fine quality of the roads for which the grand juries were responsible. One reason he gave

for this was the absence from Irish roads of "ponderous wagons" and (literally) heavy traffic generally. A typical Irish wagon might weigh around two to three cwts., whereas in England a common wagon could weight from 55 cwts. to three tons.⁸⁶

Another writer, the father of Maria Edgeworth, described how, even with relatively light coaches and wagons, it was usual to find holes cut into the road where there was a turn to another road. This damage was done by the action of the wheels being turned.⁸⁷ Roads were easily and cheaply made and repaired. A foundation of earth was thrown up in the middle of the road from the margins. Then a layer of limestones was placed on this, with a scattering of earth and sometimes gravel on top. When the stones were insufficiently broken, it made for a rough passage by the attendant traffic.⁸⁸

Today Dundrum is where the link roads L111 and L119 intersect. Killenure Castle lies on a third-class road to the north of the L111, connecting Dundrum with Cashel. At the end of Samuel Cooper's life the L111 between Dundrum and Cappaghmore was constructed and shortly after Cooper's death a new line from Tipperary town, through Dundrum to Thurles, (L119) was constructed.⁸⁹ Around his own home area, therefore, Samuel Cooper died just as the road network was in course of significant improvement.

However, Samuel Cooper's lifetime did coincide with the development of the canal network which, his diary makes clear, he was often happy to make use of, especially when travelling

to or from Dublin. For example, his diary entry for 2 July 1811: "Left town (Dublin) at two — with boat to Tullamore", or, on 7 March 1814: "Left Dublin in boat, lay at Maryborough."

Work on the Grand Canal began in the 1750s and it reached Tullamore in 1798. Six years later the extension of the canal to the Shannon was completed. Another branch of the canal turned south and Athy, for example, was sometimes used by Cooper as a pick-up point.⁹⁰ The point on the canal most frequently mentioned is Robertstown in county Kildare.

One account of travelling on the Grand Canal in 1803 described the stately progress of about four miles an hour in a boat some 35 feet long. There was a comfortable cabin for the principal passengers, who could purchase an "excellent" dinner of mutton, turkey, ham, vegetables, porter and wine, all for four shillings and tenpence per head. Such first-class travel was not cheap. In 1815 the fare from Dublin to the Shannon was sixteen shillings and threepence and from Dublin to Athy ten shillings.⁹¹

Selection from the diary of Samuel Cooper

All of the daily notes made by Cooper in his diary are very short, in many cases two or three words; at his most expansive the entry only runs to a few dozen words. Very many of these are of little interest. What follows is a selection of the more interesting items from the diary. Matters already referred to are not included.

1785

- 18 March — Mr Wayland and I set out for the country [from Dublin], lost, met my carriage at Naas where I sent it the night before, got to Ballyroan.
- 19 March — Arrived at Cashel ½ after 4.
- 8 April — Sir Cornwallis Maude left Dundrum to return to Dublin.⁹²
- 9 May — Attended Harry Wayland's funeral who died returning from Mallow.⁹³
- 1 June — An officer rode a slight mare from Dublin to Cashel this day in 10¼ hours for a wager.

1786

- 15 June — To Ennis — lay at the Collector's, took his balance of which 1260 guineas in silver.
- 16 June — To Limerick, lay at Coll. Maunsell's.
- 17 June — Set out in the evening to the Palace with a sergt. and six men.
- 18 June — To Tipperary by 9 o'clock . . . Mr Wayland and Frank and Lau. Clutterbuck met me — to Cashel to dinner.
- 19 June — Atty [sic] set out to Dublin taking what he had collected in Wexford, Ross, Waterford, Clonmel and the cash I brought from Connacht.⁹⁴
- 2 July — Joseph Cooper of Barn Hall my great uncle died this morning at 2 o'clock.⁹⁵
- 5 July — To Cashel to the Infirmary meeting, dined at Archbishop's and returned.⁹⁶
- 22 July — My brother Austin married this day to Sarah Turner.⁹⁷

1795

- 8 May — Mr Preston inducted, Mr Hare dined with us.⁹⁸
- 17 Aug — Cashel Races began and ended on Saturday.⁹⁹



1802

- 4 April — Stood godfather to Fras. son of Fr. Wayland.¹⁰⁰
- 22 July — P'mary Visitation of Cashel.
- 26 July — Left Cashel with the Abp. in his chaise — dined with Archdeacon Floury in Waterford.
- 27 July — Pr. triennial Visitation of Waterford, dined at Floury's.
- 28 July — Went with the Abp. to Lismore, dined at Mr. Lovell's.
- 5 Aug — Visitation of Cork and Ross, dined at the Bishop's.
- 9 Aug — To Mr Woodward's at Mallow with the Abp., Col. Broderick and 2 daughters, governess. To Killarney.
- 10 Aug — With the Abp's. party on the lower lake. Returned to dinner.
- 12 Aug — Visitation at Killarney.
- 13 Aug — To the Upper Lake, dined on Inisfallen.
- 14 Aug — Returned to Mallow at Mr Woodward's.
- 15 Aug — At Mallow.
- 16 Aug — The Abp. and I went to Limerick and Mr Woodward dined and lay at Capt. Hill's.
- 17 Aug — Visitation of Limerick, John, Bess and [?] there.
- 18 Aug — The Abp., Col. Broderick and I in the coach to Killaloe, dined and lay at the Bp.'s.
- 19 Aug — Visitation.
- 20 Aug — At the Bishop's.
- 21 Aug — Returned to Killenure, where the Abp. and Lovett dined.¹⁰¹
- 30 Nov — First Club Dinner at Dundrum.
- 10 Dec — To Tipperary to receive rents.
- 14 Dec — Second Club Dinner at Dundrum, I was President.
- 15 Dec — Fair of Golden.
- 27 Dec — Monday. Third Club Dinner at Dundrum, Rev. Richard Chadwick Presd.¹⁰²

1804

- 29 June — Left Town [Dublin], lay Robertstown.
- 30 June — To Killenure, the family at Youghal.
- 10 July — To Pallis to receive rents, lay at Doon Glebe.
- 11 July — Dined in Tipp. at R. Sadleir's, William came from Youghal.
- 18 July — The family returned from Youghal.
- 25 July — Neville [Wayland] and I left Cashel, lay at Carrick.
- 26 July — To Waterford and Dunmore to bathe for a week at Hotel. Mr Pennefather and 3 daughters there and Mr O'Meara.
- 2 Aug — Left Dunmore, lay at Tramore.
- 3 Aug — To Carrick.
- 4 Aug — To Killenure.
- 8 Aug — Assizes at Clonmel.
- 11 Aug — To Clonmel.
- 12 Aug — To Youghal, John and Bess there. Remained at Youghal.
- 16 Aug — We went to Cork.
- 19 Aug — Returned to Youghal.¹⁰³

1806

- 31 May — Sat. At Garrett Wall's funeral.¹⁰⁴
- 21 July — Began to cut Dundrum meadow.

1807

28 Feb — Lord Hawarden dyed [sic].¹⁰⁵

1809

8 May — To Dublin post.

9 May — Attended Comm. Educn.¹⁰⁶

1811

12 Feb — Fras. Wayland dyed [sic] this night.

14 March — Cat kittenned.

1814

3 Jan — Frost began.

18 Jan — Snow and very severe weather.

19 Jan — Which with frost continued from 3rd. to [now] with little intermission.

13 April — Masons began the new works at Killenure.

1 Dec — To Roscrea to receive rents, remained till the 7th. — to Templemore at Dr Grave's.¹⁰⁷

8 Dec — To Killenure.

10 Dec — To Tipperary to receive rents.

11 Dec — William and I to Ballinard.

12 Dec — To Tipperary and returned to Ballinard.

13 Dec — To Tipp. and home.

21 Dec — Bess and family came to Killenure for Christmas.

24 Dec — William and family came (both stayed until 16 Jan 1815).¹⁰⁸

1823

27 March — Sir Ed. Butler and son Walter dined here.¹⁰⁹

10 June — Attended Daniel Mansergh's funeral.¹¹⁰

23 June — Began to repair the S.E. Tower of Killenure Castle.

29 Oct — To Gortdota and Ballinard to dinner.

30 Oct — Returned home, heavy snow on the Galtees this morning and a storm tonight from the North — digging the potatoes.

Conclusion

From the diary of Dorothea Herbert (a rich feast in comparison with the lean fare in Samuel Cooper's diary), we have a glimpse of Samuel Cooper. In 1789 (a year for which Cooper's diary is not extant), Herbert and her family had a day out, and in a scene very reminiscent of Emma Woodhouse's excursion to Box Hill, breakfasted at Rockwell before going on to the focus of the excursion, a tour of Dundrum House and grounds. Dorothea Herbert's account continued:¹¹¹

Mr Cowpers [sic] family then lived at Dundrum, he being agent to Lord De Montalt. They consisted of Mr and Mrs Cowper, their daughter and two nieces. Fanny Butler, Mrs Cowper's niece was a beautiful orphan whom they reared. Her situation and beauty gained her universal pity. . . . She was just fifteen, with an air of naivete and youthful innocence. We all set out from Rockwell for Dundrum after breakfast. . . . When we arrived, Mrs Cowper had a cold collation for us. When we had regaled and rested ourselves, we proceeded to examine the House, Garden and improvements. . . .

Unfortunately the writer does not reveal any further information about her hosts the Coopers. De Montalt was away in England at the time, and it was likely that Herbert's attention was totally absorbed with her fury over John Roe of Rockwell's flirtation with Fanny Butler. (Her description of their failed attempt to make up while walking in the grounds, of being caught in a shower and making a dash for the house, deserves to have a much wider readership. "We at length reached the saloon and I sunk into the first chair in strong hysterics.")

It is not clear what Samuel Cooper's state of health was in the last few years of his life. Certainly, given the nature of his life-style, he appeared to enjoy remarkable health during the period covered by these diaries. As already mentioned, the death of his brother Austin on 30 August 1830 as the result of a carriage accident had a deleterious effect on him.

On 3 April 1831 Samuel Cooper died in Dublin. In the tradition of the period, he had expressed a wish to be waked for three days and nights by his tenants, some of whom went up to Dublin to escort the body back to Killenure. He was buried in the family vault at St. John's in Cashel. Killenure was inherited by his son William, who was 58 years of age.¹¹²

Footnotes

1. This article is based on the typescript kindly supplied by Richard Austin Cooper. The originals have not been seen by me.
2. P. Meskeel: *History of Boherlahan-Dualla* (1987), p. 372; D. G. Marnane, *Land and Violence — a history of West Tipperary from 1660* (Tipperary, 1985), p. 157.
3. For a pedigree of the Coopers, see *Burke's Irish Family Records* (London, 1976), pp. 275-9. For the history of the various branches of the family see Richard Austin Cooper: *Butterhill and Beyond — an illustrated history of the Cooper family of Byfleet: Killenure Castle, Co. Tipperary and Abbeville House, Co. Dublin* (published by the author, 1991).
4. J. C. Beckett: *The Anglo-Irish Tradition* (Belfast, 1983 ed.), p. 34.
5. H. Cotton (ed.): *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, I Munster (Dublin, 1851), pp. 19-20.
6. (W. Wilson): *The Post Chaise Companion* (4th ed. Dublin, 1815), pp. 295-6; H. G. Leask: *St Patrick's Rock, Cashel, Co. Tipperary* (Dublin, n.d.), p. 10.
7. L. Price (ed.): *An Eighteenth Century Antiquary — the sketches, notes and diaries of Austin Cooper (1759-1830)*, (Dublin, 1942), p. 4.
8. D. H. Akenson: *The Church of Ireland — ecclesiastical reform and revolution 1800-85* (London, 1971), p. 163.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
11. *Names of parishes constituting parochial benefices which have less than fifty members of the Established church*, H.C., 1835 (388), xlvii.
12. *Religious Census of 1766*, Union of Ballintemple, ref. 683 (National Archives, Dublin).
13. *First report of the commissioners on public instruction (Ireland)*, H.C., 1835 (45) (46), xxxiii, p. 40c; L. M. Cullen: *The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1900* (Dublin, 1983 ed.), p. 194.
14. M. O'C. Bianconi and S. J. Watson: *Bianconi, King of the Irish Roads*, (Dublin, 1962), p. 142.
15. *Civil Survey, Tipperary*, ii, p. 91.
16. 1853/19/105; 1854/18/79; 1856/13/124 (Reg. of Deeds, Dublin).
17. Land Commission records, E.C. 4304 (card index, N.L.I.); *Land Owners in Ireland 1876* (Baltimore, 1988), p. 160.
18. O'Brien Rentals, 32/12 (N.A.D.).
19. Box 14 21 M57 (Normanton papers, Hampshire Record Office); 1873/10/241 (Reg. of Deeds, Dublin); A.P.W. Malcomson: *John Foster — the politics of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy* (Oxford, 1978), p. 284.
20. *Burke's Irish Family Records* (London, 1976), p. 195.
21. Austin Cooper: *Butterhill*, p. 29. (Frances Butler died in 1810.)
22. *Burke: Landed Gentry* (1904 ed.), pp. 87-8.
23. O'Brien Rentals, 33/6 (N.A.D.).
24. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, i, p. 288.
25. S O C (1817), 1837/36 (N.A.D.).
26. See Marnane: *Land and Violence*, pp. 41-57; Marnane: "Land and Violence in Nineteenth Century Tipperary," *Tipperary Historical Journal*, (1988), pp. 66-73.



27. S O C (1817), 1837/36, (1818), 1960/15, 17 (N.A.D.). Also, J. S. Donnelly, Jr., "The social composition of agrarian rebellions in early nineteenth century Ireland: the case of the Carders and Caravats, 1813-16", in P. J. Corish (ed.), *Radicals, Rebels and Establishment*, (Belfast, 1985), p. 162, for a reference to an attack on George Wayland of Ballintemple in 1813.
28. *Tipperary Free Press*, 30 June and 4 July 1827.
29. Quoted in Austin Cooper; *Butterhill*, p. 29.
30. See note 3.
31. *New History of Ireland*, iv, p. 159.
32. L. M. Cullen: *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1976), pp. 100-13.
33. (T. Dawson): *A Letter from a county gentleman in the province of Munster to His Grace the Lord Primate of all Ireland* (Cashel, 1741), pp. 2-3.
34. A. W. Hutton (ed.), A. Young: *A Tour in Ireland 1776-1779* (Shannon, 1970 ed.), i, p. 395.
35. L. M. Cullen: "Eighteenth Century Flour Milling in Ireland," *Irish Economic and Society History*, iv, (1977), p. 13.
36. Burke: *Clonmel*, pp. 130, 185-6.
37. Cullen: *Economic History*, p. 52.
38. Rev. T. Campbell: *A philosophical survey of the south of Ireland in a series of letters to John Watkinson M.D.* (London, 1777), p. 153.
39. 185/365/123460 (1757), (Reg. of Deeds, Dublin).
40. E. Wakefield: *An account of Ireland, statistical and political* (London, 1812), i, p. 277.
41. J. Binns: *The Miseries and Beauties of Ireland* (London, 1837), ii, p. 164.
42. Young, *Tour*, i, pp. 392-4.
43. *Nation*, 25 March 1843; *Devon Comm. evidence*, pt. iii, pp. 826-36.
44. *Devon comm. digest*, ii, pp. 1137-8.
45. S. M. Hussey: *The reminiscences of an Irish land agent* (London, 1904), pp. 39-41.
46. W. A. Maguire: *The Downshire Estates in Ireland 1801-1845* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 183-216.
47. Wakefield: *Account*, i, p. 297.
48. *Ibid.*, i, p. 244.
49. E. Hughes: "The Eighteenth Century Estate Agent," in H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody, D. B. Quinn (eds.), *Essays in British and Irish History in honour of J. E. Todd* (London, 1949), p. 195.
50. 6th P.R.I. rep. D.K., appendix v, p. 46.
51. Price; *op. cit.*; Austin Cooper: *Butterhill*, pp. 10-19.
52. Milton rental, (Co. Library, Thurles); M 1470 (N.A.D.). The Milton rental in Tipperary County Library was purchased from Killenure in the 1960s.
53. M 1468 (N.A.D.).
54. E. Ellis, P. B. Eustace: *Reg. of Deeds Dublin — Abstracts of Wills 1785-1832* (Dublin, 1984), p. 381; Rev. W. G. Skehan, Extracts from the minutes of the Corporation of Fethard Co. Tipperary in *The Irish Genealogist*, iv, 2, (Oct. 1969), p. 90.
55. Dorothea Herbert visited Bath in 1776 and in 1790 she wrote: "Our other neighbours soon visited us and made the same observation about my terrible looks that Mr Roe had done — Mrs Dexter was for sending me off to Bath, but I prefer'd drinking goats whey at Knockgraffon [sic] which was luckily to be had just opposite, where an old blind piper kept two pet milch goats." *Retrospections*, (Dublin, 1988 ed.), pp. 30, 277.
56. Quoted in Austin Cooper: *Butterhill*, p. 17.
57. MS 27537 (Scully papers, N.L.I.); B. MacDermot: *The Catholic Question in Ireland and England 1798-1822 — the Papers of Denys Scully* (Dublin, 1988), p. 444.
58. See note 52.
59. James Scully diary 1799 (MS 275579, Scully papers, N.L.I.).
60. Marnane: *Land and Violence*, pp. 10-11, 17-20.
61. Rep. of Commissioners of Education Inquiry 1791. This was not published until it appeared in *Evid. before Endowed Schools Commission*, H.C. 1857-8 (2336), xxii, p. 354.
62. 9th Report from Commissioners of Board of Education in Ireland on schools founded by Erasmus Smith, H.C. 1810 (194), x, appendix 2, pp. 22-7. This is source of rental. Acreage and valuation from *Land Owners in Ireland 1876*. The Offaly rental was fee farm.
63. 999/448 ii (1835) (N.A.D.).
64. Reg. Book of Governors of Erasmus Smith Schools, 1780 (MS 16929, Quane papers, N.L.I.).
65. Quoted in *Complete Peerage*, iv, p. 401.
66. Reg. Book of Governors of Erasmus Smith Schools, 1823 (MS 16930, Quane papers, N.L.I.). See generally, M. Quane, "The Abbey School, Tipperary", in *J. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, lxxv, 201, (1960), pp. 40-75.
67. Marnane: *Land and Violence*, pp. 53-4.
68. Reg. Book of Governors of Erasmus Smith Schools, 1838 (MS 16930, Quane papers, N.L.I.).
69. *Munster Volunteer Registry by a Volunteer of C.R.L.D.*, (Dublin, 1782), pp. 18-19, 57; see also *The Irish Sword*, ii, (1956), p. 264.
70. A reference in the diary for 12 May 1785 suggests that William was for a time a pupil at the Tipperary Grammar School. For Shrewsbury, see *Report of Commissioners appointed to inquire into the revenues and management of certain colleges and schools*, H.C. 1864 (3288), xxi, pp. 303-25, 350, and generally J. Chandos, *Boys Together — English Public Schools 1800-1864* (Oxford, 1985 ed.).



71. J. Carr, *The Stranger in Ireland* (London, 1806), p. 9, and generally E. Mavor, *The Ladies of Llangollen* (London, 1971).
72. *Thom's Directory*, 1870.
73. Lucas Provincial Directory, 1788, in *The Irish Genealogist*, (1966); *Pigot's Irish Directory*, 1824.
74. The diary opens on 30 January.
75. Diary only kept for 1 and 2 February.
76. Diary opens 17 March.
77. Cooper sailed for England on 2 July and landed back in Dublin 13 July.
78. Diary opens on 10 September.
79. The Cork journey from 20 September to 7 October.
80. *Pigot's Irish Directory*, 1824.
81. J. Richardson: *The Local Historian's Encyclopedia* (New Barnet, 1986), pp. 47, 172.
82. W. R. Chetwood: *A Tour through Ireland etc.* (London, 1748), p. 142.
83. Young, *Tour*, ii, p. 77.
84. *Ibid.*, i, p. 116.
85. *New History of Ireland*, iv, pp. 80, 664-5; J. H. Andrews: "Road Planning in Ireland before the Railway Age", in *Irish Geography*, v, i, (1964), pp. 17-41.
86. Carr, *Stranger*, pp. 210-11.
87. R. L. Edgeworth: *An Essay on the construction of roads and carriages* (London, 1813), p. 101.
88. Carr: *Stranger*, p. 211.
89. Lewis: *Topographical Dictionary*, i, p. 117, ii, p. 634; see also, G. Taylor and A. Skinner; *Maps of the Roads of Ireland* (Shannon, 1969 ed.), p. 112.
90. V.T.H. & D.R. Delany: *The Canals of the South of Ireland* (Newton Abbot, 1966), pp. 46-7.
91. Carr: *Stranger*, pp. 434-5.
92. Brother of Baron de Montalt who died in 1777. This was the last time Samuel Cooper would have occasion to refer to Maude as Sir Cornwallis, because a few weeks later Maude was created in his own right Baron de Montalt of Hawarden.
93. There does not appear to be a comprehensive pedigree of the Wayland family in the eighteenth century. A detailed account of the descendants of Palliser Wayland who married Margaret Shaw in 1809 is available.
94. This refers to Cooper's role as an official of the Church of Ireland.
95. Joseph Cooper (1702-86).
96. "The county infirmary is a handsome and commodious building, situated on the green: it contains forty beds and is now being enlarged." *Lewis* (1837), i, p. 288.
97. She died three months before her husband in 1830.
98. Probably a reference to freemasonry. Mr Hare was Rev. Patrick Hare (1736-1816) of Deerpark Cashel, described by Dorothea Herbert thus: "(He) was a very handsome comely looking man — amazingly clever and sensible but very severe and satirical where he took a dislike — Many were his oddities and his bon mots and eccentricities were every day repeated." He ran a school in Cashel.
99. See Herbert's description of Cashel Races, especially for 1789, when they showed off their new carriage just arrived from Dublin — "bottle green adorned with a quantity of silver plate and the harnesses equally enriched with silver".
100. Murdered with Austin Cooper in 1838.
101. These formal visitations, which occupied a good deal of Samuel Cooper's time, were part of his function as a diocesan official and involved the inspection of the temporalities of Cashel and other dioceses. The archbishop of Cashel in question was Charles Brodrick (1801-22), 4th son of the 3rd viscount Midleton. Lovett referred to on 21 August was the Rev. Verney Lovett of Kingswell.
102. This was as much political as social.
103. This gives an insight into the holiday arrangements at a time shortly after sea bathing became fashionable. The 11 July reference is to Richard Sadleir of Scalaheen House.
104. Wall of Coolnamuck, Co. Waterford near Carrick-on-Suir.
105. Thomas Maude, viscount Hawarden (1767-1807). He died in London.
106. See note 62.
107. See *Pigot* (1824).
108. References to Cooper's son and daughter.
109. Major General Sir Edward Butler (1770-1824). He had a residence at Ballinahinch near Golden. (Austin Cooper: *Butterhill*, p. 175).
110. Of Cashel, second son of Nicholas Mansergh of Grenane.
111. *Retrospections*, p. 240.
112. Austin Cooper: *Butterhill*, p. 29.