

A specially commissioned article to mark the tenth issue of the  
*Tipperary Historical Journal*

## *Writing the Past: Tipperary History and Historians*

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By Denis G. Murnane

### Introduction

Somewhere in South Tipperary, possibly Aherlow, in the early seventeenth century, in circumstances both dangerous and uncomfortable, the following was written:<sup>1</sup>

Whosoever proposes to trace and follow up the ancient history and origin of any country ought to determine on setting down plainly the method which reveals most clearly the truth of the state of the country and the condition of the people who inhabit it.

The writer was Geoffrey Keating, Tipperary's most famous historian. In this, the opening sentence of his introduction to his history of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn*, he touches on matters of enduring importance in the writing of history, namely that the recovery of the past necessitates the employment of a methodology put at the service of truth rather than an agenda, and that the proper focus of research is indeed "the condition of the people". This raises issues which Tipperary's historians in the centuries since Keating have confronted with widely differing results.

Is there such a thing as "truth" in history? After all, Keating himself, of Old English background and Roman Catholic, at a time when each of those identities was under severe attack, sought to "trace the ancient history and origin" of his country as an assertion of identity. History is not the past but a process whereby the past, or more precisely a version of the past, may be recovered. The historiography of Tipperary makes it clear that the perspective from which the past was viewed profoundly influenced how that past was viewed, not least with reference to the identity of the "people". Keating's "people" and the Rev. St. John D. Seymour's "people" are not the same.

The most important contribution to Tipperary historiography has been the publication of the *Tipperary Historical Journal* and this, its tenth issue, seemed an opportune time to discuss the interaction between the county and its historians in the English language. This discussion includes men like Geoffrey Keating, W.F. Butler, Richard Bagwell and Nicholas Mansergh, historians whose scope was much wider than the county, but each of whom made his own contribution to our understanding of the region.

Speaking in 1928, Butler lamented the extent to which local history was neglected and forgotten, citing as examples the lack of local knowledge on the part of his own father, Thomas Butler of Ballyslateen (d.1919), and his uncle, Sir William Butler of Bansha Castle (d.1910).<sup>2</sup> In the last twenty years or so there has been a marked change, with local history becoming

something of a growth industry, if only to judge by the amount being published. The degree to which publication has brought illumination is another matter.

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Allowing a measure of hyperbole, the earliest Tipperary historian was a king-bishop. Cormac mac Cuileannain of the Eoganacht Chaisil (d.908) was the presumed compiler of the *Psalter of Cashel*, "apparently a collection of texts on historical, genealogical and allied subjects".<sup>3</sup> This great source is now lost, but was still in existence in 1453 when parts of it were copied into the manuscript Laud 610, now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>4</sup>

Given what one modern historian has described as the "meagre" sources for the early history of Munster, scholarship is grateful that such a source survives, in whatever form.<sup>5</sup> It tells, for example, the story of Conall Corc, ancestor of the Eoganachta (the dominant people in early Munster) and the "finding" of Cashel, the premier historical site in the county and a place totally identified with the Eoghanachta until their rivals the Dal gCais disposed of it to the church at the very beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup>

While this material is of great interest, it is more myth than history. The earliest actual historical source for the region is the *Annals of Inisfallen* which runs from "earliest times" to the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The original manuscript is also in the Bodleian and according to its modern editor is "our main extant record of Munster medieval history".<sup>8</sup> This source is of particular relevance to Tipperary history because the early (and more valuable) part of the work appears to have been compiled in the late eleventh century from documents belonging to the monastery of Emly. The later annals were written at Inisfallen, an island monastery in the Lower Lake of Killarney.

The *Annals* are especially strong with reference to Emly for the two centuries or so after 800, and are the main source for the names of the abbots of Emly. Entries are invariably short, even terse. For example, we learn that in 848 Olchobar, son of Cinead of the Eoganacht Locha Lein, abbot of Emly "took the kingship of Cashel and in that same year, together with the king of Leinster, defeated the Norse in a battle near Castledermot in Kildare".<sup>9</sup>

The sole entry for 851 is "Repose [death] of Olchobar son of Cinaed, abbot of Imlech Ibuir [Emly] and king of Caisel". A terse entry for the following year states that "Ailgenan, son of Donngal, took the kingship of Cashel". This source does not tell us that Ailgenan was a member of the Eoganacht Chaisil, a different branch of this dominant people, and is silent about the undoubted drama of the ongoing struggle for the kingship.

A tantalizing entry for 947 arouses a curiosity which must remain unsatisfied, an all too common reaction on the part of the modern reader of the *Annals*. The entry reads: "A leaf (descended) from heaven upon the altar of Imlech Ibuir, and a bird spoke to the people; and many other marvels this year; and Blacair king of the foreigners was killed." The last part of this entry is revealed in the *Annals of the Four Masters* as referring to a battle in Dublin in which the Norsemen were defeated and therefore was a piece of news from the wider world tacked on to local marvels.<sup>10</sup>

The entry of 990 that "Marcan, son of Cennetig, took the abbacy of Imlech Ibuir" is much more significant than such a laconic statement might suggest. Marcan was Brian Boru's brother, and becoming abbot of Emly to add to his holding of similar offices in Killaloe, Terryglass and Iniscealtra was part of the Dal gCais sweeping aside their rivals the Eoghanachta, especially as Emly was a noted centre of their devotion.<sup>11</sup>



The *Annals of Inisfallen* do not speak to us with an individual voice. The identities of the compilers remain hidden. *The History of Ireland* by Geoffrey Keating is very much a "history" rather than a chronicle. Unlike the endless litany of annual entries found in the *Annals of Inisfallen*, for example, Keating's great work breathes with an individual sensibility.<sup>12</sup> Written in Irish and completed in 1633-4, it was a counter-blast to all those descriptions and accounts of Ireland written by outsiders from Giraldus Cambrensis in the late twelfth century to the traducers of the richness of Gaelic civilization during his own lifetime.

Keating's *History* was an affirmation and a celebration of the island's history up to the coming of Henry II. As one of the editors of his work points out, it is not "merely history, but mythology – archaeology, geography, statistics, genealogy, bardic chronicles, ancient poetry, romance and tradition ... all made to subserve the purpose of his account of Ireland and to increase the reader's interest in the subject".<sup>13</sup>

Geoffrey Keating was born around 1570 in the neighbourhood of Burges in the parish of Tubbrid, not far from Cahir.<sup>14</sup> This was a time when Munster was in rebellion under the leadership of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, and Keating's youth coincided with the devastation of Munster and the destruction of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond. Like others of his background, Keating was sent abroad to be educated and spent some 20 years away from Ireland, returning as a priest around 1610. In difficult circumstances he laboured as a priest in the diocese of Waterford.

According to tradition his preaching aroused the ire of a well-connected parishioner who prompted the President of Munster to unleash the rigour of the law against him. First, he had to be apprehended, but he was protected by both community and landscape. The people of South Tipperary protected him and Aherlow gave him shelter.

The circumstances under which the manuscript sources for his *History* were collected and his great work written can have few parallels. As the *DNB* remarked, it was one of the best known of Irish books and "was probably the last book of importance to circulate in manuscript in the British Isles". After serving for a time in Co. Waterford, Keating's final years were spent in Tubbrid, his home parish. Dying around 1644, he was buried in the churchyard at Tubbrid.

Keating begins *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn* with an account of the divisions of Ireland; so from the beginning of his narrative there is a good deal of information about Tipperary, which is always interesting, if not necessarily historical. For example, he tells the story of the death of a mythical king of Munster, Fiachu Mullethan, a figure from the early genealogy of the Eoganacht dynasty. While swimming in the Suir at Athassel, the king was assassinated by Connla Clamh, who in his youth had contracted a disease which he was told would not be cured until he washed himself in the blood of a king.<sup>15</sup>

Apart from such stories, this source is full of information about people and places in the county, made more easily accessible by the excellent index which is volume iv of the standard edition. For example, the older designation of the later baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond was Muscraige Tire, named from Coirpre Musc and from whom the other Muscraige territories were named, including Muscraige Breogain in West Clanwilliam.

Geoffrey Keating died just as the Ireland he celebrated was about to suffer its most terrible onslaught in the shape of God's agents, the Cromwellians, Ireland's least popular republicans. (There is a nice irony in the fact that the man who shaped an enduring vision of rural catholic Tipperary, Charles Kickham, was descended from such an agent.) This period (and later) was not exactly conducive to the production of regional history. However, the seventeenth century, as part of the new order of things, did leave an amount of official information such as the *Civil Survey* which would be invaluable to later historians.



It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that the new order, feeling securely established, began to turn its attention in an organized way to Irish history and antiquities. The key figure, working as an individual in an earlier period, was Sir James Ware (1594-1666), a prominent figure in the Irish government. As the *DNB* remarked: "The establishment of Irish history and literature as subjects of study in the general world of learning in modern times is largely due to the lifelong exertions of Ware".<sup>16</sup>

The material collected by him was used by countless later historians. While the intelligentsia of the new order came together in the Dublin Philosophical Society, founded in 1683, no advance was made in the study of Ireland's past. As with official reports, the writings of members like Sir William Petty in time became a valuable source of historical information.<sup>17</sup>



Dermot Gleeson

A book published in England in 1586, which enjoyed an enormous success, usually referred to as *Camden's Britannia*, was a model for the next important step. William Camden (1551-1623) had produced the first comprehensive topographical survey of England; so in 1744 the Physico-Historical Society was formed in Dublin with the intention of researching the civil and natural history of the counties of Ireland. The intention was not just antiquarian but, in an echo of Keating's intention, it was hoped that a more honest and just account of the country would be given than had been done by foreign writers.

It was as if squatters, feeling secure in their property, became intent on gentrification and improving the neighbourhood. There was also a moral purpose, a hope that the labours of the Society might bring about economic improvement, promote inward investment and thus "employ our poor at home". It was intended that the study of individual counties would follow a set pattern, ranging from the bounds and extent of the county, its topography, natural features and economic potential, to its ecology and an account of the remarkable people born in that county.<sup>18</sup>

The key figure in this ambitious undertaking was Charles Smith (c.1715-62). He was a native of Waterford, qualified as an MD and had an apothecary business in Dungarvan. In 1744, the year of the founding of the Physico-Historical Society, he published (with Walter Harris, a Dublin lawyer married to a descendant of Sir James Ware) a history of Co. Down, "the first Irish county history on a large scale ever written".<sup>19</sup>

It had been hoped that the planned series could be based on responses to questionnaires sent to informed individuals in the various counties; but the response was inadequate and the few county histories that were published depended very largely on Smith's own investigation. It was hoped that the first volume on Down would serve as a model for all other counties.<sup>20</sup> Of Smith's investigative technique it was said that what he wrote was influenced by the degree of hospitality he received in the various houses he visited in the course of his research!

Four volumes were published: Down (1744), Waterford (1746), Cork (1750) and Kerry in



1756, by which time the Physico-Historical Society had broken up, so that the Kerry volume was published independently. Smith had hoped to publish a volume in the series on Tipperary and a draft exists in manuscript form (together with similar ones for Limerick and Clare) in the Royal Irish Academy.<sup>21</sup> The established pattern of presentation was more or less followed, starting with matters such as the location, name and divisions of the county. In many respects, it is more in the nature of a compendium of curious data than a regional study.

Examples are the fact that at Ballyowen, *alias* Newpark, there is a quarry of the best grinding stones in the kingdom for giving a smooth keen edge to tools; it lies on the side of a hill two miles north from Cashel. Also, with reference to the cross and well in Emly, two neighbouring magistrates obtained permission during the time of Archbishop Palliser (1694-1727) to destroy them as they were seen as encouraging idolatry. However, for reasons not given, nothing was done.

In many respects this draft is in the nature of research notes, with material from sources such as *Clyn's Annals*, *Lodge* and even *Keating*. Not surprisingly, given the amount of published information available, Smith gives a good deal of attention to the Butlers and the wars of the seventeenth century. It is not clear when exactly Smith compiled this material and it can only be regretted that Smith's *Tipperary* never took its place alongside the other published volumes.

The next great venture in publishing county surveys was promoted by the Dublin Society for Improving Husbandry, Manufacturing, etc., founded in 1731 and which assumed the title Royal Dublin Society in 1820. As the Society's original title suggests, it was intent on promoting economic improvement in the country. After a number of tentative efforts to gather information on a systematic basis, the publication of a series of statistical surveys of Irish counties was begun in 1800.<sup>22</sup>

A key figure in the Society was General Charles Vallancey (1721-1812), English born but of French protestant descent. He was a military engineer and surveyor who developed a taste for Irish history and philology, though by all accounts his enthusiasm was away ahead of his scholarship.<sup>23</sup> County surveys or reports were initiated for both England and Scotland during the 1790s and, spurred on by this, the Dublin Society began its programme of county surveys, with a standardized format and under the direction of a standing committee of the Society.

Twenty-three volumes of statistical surveys were published between 1801 and 1832. Five counties appeared in 1801, ten the following year and, among later volumes, that for Clare appeared in 1808 and Cork in 1810. Unfortunately none was published for Tipperary. However, making a contribution to the administrative side of the project was one of Tipperary's most distinguished historians, a priest whose name is often linked with that of Geoffrey Keating in the context of their contributions to Irish history generally.

John Lanigan (1758-1828) was born in Cashel (a commemorative plaque marks the house) of parents evicted from the Maude estate in Dundrum. After some education locally, including a period at the establishment of Rev. Patrick Hare (who features prominently in the diaries of Dorothea Herbert), Lanigan was sent to the Irish College in Rome in 1776. A brilliant academic career on the continent was interrupted by revolutions in the 1790s, causing Lanigan to return to Ireland in 1796.

Unfortunately, elements in the Irish hierarchy were suspicious of his orthodoxy, so that he failed to get a parish in his native diocese of Cashel and lost a professorship at Maynooth.<sup>24</sup> The *DNB* tells how Lanigan, having been turned away by the bishop of Cork on his return to Ireland, had to walk to Cashel, where professionally he fared little better.<sup>25</sup>

Lanigan's great talents were recognised by Charles Vallancey, who got him a job in the library of the Dublin Society. Part of his work there was correcting the proofs of the statistical



surveys. However, his monument is his ecclesiastical history of Ireland, published in four volumes in 1822, with a second edition in 1829.<sup>26</sup> In his preface, Lanigan wrote about the "frigid apathy" on the part of the generality of Irish people regarding their past, and made it clear that his purpose was to set the record straight by attacking the work of other ecclesiastical historians such as Archbishop Ussher (1581-1656), Mervyn Archdall (1723-91) and especially his *bête noire* Edward Ledwich (1738-1823).

All of these were clergy of the Established Church. James F. Kenney, with regard to the work of the latter two, wrote the following: "The ignorance and the combination of childish scepticism and childish credulity in these authors leave their works of no value except as milestones in the history of Irish historiography".<sup>27</sup> Among the subscribers to Lanigan's great work were some dozen Tipperary parish priests as well as a number of other priests. Lanigan's last years were sad ones. He suffered a breakdown in mental health in 1821, though earlier symptoms had been manifested. His last years were spent in an asylum in Dublin, where he died in July 1828.

To return to the statistical surveys, while none was published for Tipperary, a draft does exist in manuscript in the National Library.<sup>28</sup> The author appears to be John Lalor Cooke (b.1784), son of Richard Cooke of Borrisoleigh and an older brother of Thomas Lalor Cooke (1792-1869), author of *The Early History of the Town of Birr* (1875, reprinted 1990).<sup>29</sup>

Lalor Cooke's survey of Tipperary dates from the early 1830s and follows the pattern suggested by the RDS. It is not clear why the material was not published, but the most likely reason was financial. Also, publication would have required a great deal more research, as the extant draft is very rough. The papers are arranged under a wide range of topics, including geology, soil, mountains and rivers, population, tithe, schools, the peerage, trade and manufacture, waste lands and so on. The value of the information very much depends on the compiler's access to blue books and serious journals such as that of the Geology Society, from which information was gleaned about Killenaule coal deposits.

Antiquarian information was all too often derived from exactly the kind of sources condemned by Lanigan and mentioned above. As part of the preparation for a statistical survey of Tipperary, the NLI has two other compilations of research by Lalor Cooke, some extracts from Gorton and a small notebook – "Memoranda for statistical survey of Tipperary".<sup>30</sup>

The notebook is of some interest and dates from the early 1830s. Apart from extracts from such standard sources as Young and Wakefield, there are reminders of individuals to be contacted for information, examples being John Hare of Deerpark, son of the aforementioned Rev Patrick Hare (who died in 1816) and John Stewart, Lord Hawarden's agent since 1822. The danger of antiquarian research without a knowledge of Irish is illustrated by a note to the effect that the Irish version of Tipperary is *Tiobra Daran*, which is translated as "The Well of Oaks"!

The only example of these surveys of Tipperary to be published, covering the parish of Carrick-on-Suir, appeared in Shaw Mason's work published in 1816.<sup>31</sup> William Shaw Mason (1774-1853) was a graduate of TCD (1796) and in the early nineteenth century was secretary to the Commissioners for Public Records in Ireland. His subsequent career as a public servant was as an expert in the compilation and presentation of statistics.<sup>32</sup> His statistical account was based on the parish rather than the county and depended on the co-operation of local clergy – in the case of Carrick, the Rev. Standish Grady, who had succeeded Dorothea Herbert's father to that living. (She describes Grady behaving "in the genteelst manner possible" giving her brother the curacy of Carrick, though he had promised it to his relative.)<sup>33</sup>

Mason's work and intention was very much in the tradition of earlier surveys and set out a scheme of categories under twelve headings, under which his local informants would compile



their data. The purpose was not an unfocused gathering of curious bits and pieces but was done with the hope that knowledge, where there was the wisdom to apply it, must necessarily lead to national improvement. His philosophy, as expressed in the preface to his second volume, would do credit to Mr Gradgrind.

Each succeeding volume, by increasing the number of facts, would allow the revelation of truth or as close as it could be reached, so that with enough facts conjecture would give way to certainty.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, by the publication of the third volume in 1819 it seemed clear that the public did not share this utilitarian vision, at least not enough to ensure that the project continued. No more volumes were published.

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Lenihan's *Limerick* (1866), Frost's *Clare* (1893), Hardiman's *Galway* (1820), Ryland's *Waterford* (1824) and Gilbert's *Dublin* (1861) are among the best known nineteenth century local histories and are cherished today in their original editions, if not for their contents, then certainly for their monetary value. As was the case with the surveys discussed above, Tipperary lost out. No Lenihan or Frost was brave enough to take on the history of the county. A possibly missed opportunity resulted from the migration of Joseph Hansard from the county to Waterford, where he established a printing business in Dungarvan, having previously worked for the *Clonmel Chronicle*. Hansard was born in Tipperary town in 1835 and in 1870 his history of Waterford city and county was published.<sup>35</sup>

Another might-have-been was Laurence Renehan (1797-1857), born in the parish of Gortnahoe at Longford Pass and educated at Maynooth, where he was made vice-president in 1834 and president in 1845 until his death. He was an energetic collector of manuscripts relating to the ecclesiastical history of the country. On his death his collection was left to the college; it included some of the rarest printed material. While he wrote some works on church music, the fact that he never published anything on Irish history was remarked on at the time of his death.

Seemingly there had been rumours that he was working on a new edition of Lanigan's work, but unfortunately this was not true.<sup>36</sup> While a professor in Maynooth, it seems that he had been offered the parish of Cashel but declined. Had he accepted, perhaps he would have undertaken a history of the diocese, still one of the great *lacunae* in the historiography of the region.

When around the mid-nineteenth century a few individuals began to take an interest in their localities, an interest not prompted by the grand designs of earlier writers like Smith or Mason, their focus was on the antiquities they saw around them. One of the first of these pioneers was William Despard Hemphill (1816-1902), a pioneer in more ways than one.<sup>37</sup> A Clonmel MD (and son of an MD), his fascination with photography led in 1860 to the publication of a collection of some 80 views in and around Clonmel, together with such obvious places of interest as Cashel, Cahir, Athassel and Holy Cross.<sup>38</sup> These are among the earliest photographs of these places and a complete edition of the book is today one of the rarest items of Tipperary interest.

The most industrious in terms of output of these protestant Anglo-Irish Victorian gentlemen whose real love for their native place prompted them into publication, usually at their own expense, was John Davis White (1820-93) of Cashel.<sup>39</sup> Like Joseph Hansard and Maurice Lenihan (who for a time was based in Nenagh), White had the advantage of owning his own printing press on which he produced the *Cashel Gazette* from 1864 to 1893, in which appeared for the first time some of the material later published separately.



Much of his historical work was published in parts and between soft covers, which has naturally hindered its survival. His earliest publications were about Cashel and, of course, the Rock; but his most valuable work did not appear until the end of his life – a history of the White family in 1887, an antiquarian guide to the county in 1892 and just after his death a long biographical sketch.<sup>40</sup>

What White successfully did for Cashel John F. Meagher failed to do for Carrick-on-Suir. Meagher (c.1848-91) was committed to the Fenian cause and appears to have suffered imprisonment in 1866. He certainly does not seem to have experienced much by way of material success, dying in poverty according to one account. He was a contributor to various nationalist journals and papers. His *Notes on a country town* appeared in *The Shamrock* in 1879. The first of his more interesting local studies, the “annals” of Carrick-on-Suir, was published in 1881 and set out to give an account of the key events in the town’s history between 1169 and 1829.<sup>42</sup>

Written in the over-ripe (not to say over-wrought) style of the period which equated verbosity with sincerity, the account is particularly interesting on the town’s eighteenth century commercial development. In 1886 Meagher appears to have started a newspaper called the *National Sentinel*, which may not have lasted much beyond the first issue. The first issue included a letter from John O’Leary setting forth the orthodox Fenian position regarding the relationship between the land and national questions.

Meagher’s second instalment was published shortly before his death and was called the “story” of Carrick-on-Suir.<sup>43</sup> This “result of twenty years’ hard study” was, like its predecessor, a slight publication. Perhaps by virtue of its format rather than its contents, it failed to make much of a local impact. Thirty years or so after his death a fellow townsman was lamenting that Meagher was virtually forgotten in Carrick.

By the end of the nineteenth century the published history of Tipperary could be contained on a very small shelf. However, the early years of the new century saw a considerable improvement with a veritable rush to print, at least in comparison with what had gone before. Undoubtedly, the much more sharply focussed Home Rule/Union debate prompted a few individuals to disturb the past in order to illuminate the present. The two clergymen, one catholic and the other protestant, who produced two classics of Tipperary historiography (respectively, studies of Emly diocese and Clonmel town), were in their own gentlemanly ways very much motivated by perceptions of contemporary politics. The theme common to each was survival – in Burke’s case, that of a community coming into its own, and for Seymour the assertion of viability by a quite different community.

Scholars like Burke and Seymour worked away quietly. Historical research is not something the wider community pays much attention to and even the publication of the fruits of such work often excites little public notice. For a few days in July 1909, however, this changed with the visit to South Tipperary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, an event which received wide local newspaper coverage. Led by their president Robert Cochrane, the Society members spent five days touring the historical sites of the region.<sup>44</sup>

At a civic reception in Clonmel Cochrane stayed on the safe political ground of advocating the preservation of historic monuments and made the suggestion (which does not seem to have been taken up) that the local committee which came together to organize their tour stay in being as a local historical society. To coincide with the Society’s visit to such local sites as Carrick Castle, Innislounaght Abbey, Cahir Castle and the Moat of Knockgraffon, historical notes were prepared and subsequently published in the Society’s Journal. This source, some 60 pages of material by (among others) H.S. Crawford, R. Bagwell, Fr W. Burke, G.H. Orpen and R.A.S. Macalister, is an enduring record of the Society’s first large-scale visit to the region.<sup>45</sup>



The R. Bagwell referred to above was Richard Bagwell of Marlfield (1840-1918). As well as a distinguished public career, he enjoyed a considerable reputation as an historian. His account of Innislounaght appears to be his only excursion into local history. In this same year (1909) his massive study of Ireland under the Stuarts and during Cromwell's reign appeared.<sup>46</sup> Between 1885-90 his better-known three-volume survey of Ireland under the Tudors was published.<sup>47</sup> For very many years these latter volumes in particular were the most comprehensive account of the period.

Of course, Bagwell's commitment to the Union made him suspect when a narrow nationalist perspective held sway. In the Preface to the first volume of the Tudor series, he wrote: "The historian's true office is that of the judge, whose duty it is to marshal all the material facts with just so much of comment as may enable his readers to give them their due weight. The reading public is the jury".<sup>48</sup> The judge he had in mind must have been "Peter the Packer". Between 1885, when this was published, and 1909, when the Stuarts volumes were published, feelings were such on the Home Rule/Union issue that Bagwell seemed much less sure of the role of historian as detached arbiter.

As he noted in his Preface to volume one: "Ireland is the land of violent and persistent party feeling and no party will be pleased with the present work". However, a sentence such as: "The O'Reillys had always been more civilized than other natives of Ulster ..." reveals cultural and political assumptions inimical to nationalist perceptions.<sup>49</sup>

Such perceptions underlay three works dealing in various ways with the south-east of the county and all published in 1907, which was an *annus mirabilis* for Tipperary historiography. The least valuable but most enduringly popular of these works was *My Clonmel Scrap Book*, edited by James White (d.1924).<sup>50</sup> By 1924 this book was in its third thousand.<sup>51</sup>

A much more important work is Canon William Burke's *History of Clonmel*.<sup>52</sup> Burke (1864-1941) was born in Clonmel. Ordained for the Waterford diocese in 1891 and served in Cahir 1902-22. He was PP of Modeligo 1922-25 and PP of Lismore 1925-41.<sup>53</sup> His earliest writings appeared in the first and second volumes of the *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, articles on Innislounaght Abbey, Geoffrey Keating and the church architecture of Kilcash during the late middle ages.<sup>54</sup>

In the Preface to his Clonmel book, Burke acknowledged his debt to James White, to whom, he stated, "it is mainly due that the book has been undertaken at all". In practical terms, both for this book and his other great work published in 1914 on the Penal Laws, Burke owed much to the help of another Clonmelman, James F. Morrissey (1874-1952), who in a long career in the Public Record Office in Dublin, eventually became assistant Deputy Keeper in the aftermath of the destruction of records during the Civil War and later Deputy Keeper.

In 1939 Morrissey edited an important volume of statute rolls of the reign of Edward IV.<sup>55</sup> Much of the value of both of these books by Canon Burke lies in the fortunate chance that material destroyed during the destruction of the Four Courts in June 1922 is preserved.

As Burke made clear in his brief Preface, sources on medieval Clonmel were in short supply, and so in his main narrative by p. 21 he is already dealing with the sixteenth century. However, in later chapters on the ecclesiastical sites of the region there is somewhat more coverage, but the book, rather than being a history of the town, is more of a study of an urban community during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The structure of the book is imbalanced. Part One, the primary chronological narrative, is some two-fifths of the total, and the bulk of the book (Part Two) is devoted to a series of separate topics which have nothing to do with each other. As an interesting comment on what appears to have been a general unwillingness to deal with the topic, the author avoids dealing



with the Great Famine and ended his chronological narrative with an extraordinary paragraph.

Having commented negatively on the administration of justice during the 1820s, '30s and early '40s, he concludes by noting the "great improvement in the condition of the people at large" during the second half of the nineteenth century. Apparently, the Great Famine never happened! However, Burke's *Clonmel* remains one of the key works of Tipperary historiography.

The third of the 1907 books is the study of placenames in the ancient territory of Decies which the author, Fr. P. Power (1862-1951), took to be co-extensive with the diocese of Waterford, therefore including part of Tipperary county.<sup>56</sup> Power was professor of archaeology in UCC 1915-34 and for many years prior to this appointment, he edited the *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society*. He was a prolific contributor to this and other journals.<sup>57</sup> His Decies material first appeared in the *Waterford Journal*, as did his edition of a diary kept by a "Carrickman" during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>58</sup>

With regard to his study of placenames, Power explained the basis of his study as follows: "The cardinal rule for the interpretation of our Irish names is – hear the name pronounced in Irish by a local Irish speaker".<sup>59</sup> He was also author of two forays into writing a history of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore.<sup>60</sup> His first effort he seems to have disclaimed both then and later, emphasising that writing it was not his idea and that he did not have the time to do justice to the subject. His second history, he made clear, was a new and independent work; he dealt with each parish under such headings as the succession of pastors and ecclesiastical antiquities.

In 1912, while editor of the *Waterford Journal*, Power initiated a campaign to erect "a modest and suitably inscribed monument or memorial" at Tubbrid to Geoffrey Keating "the Father of Irish History". (Some thirty five years earlier, the vicar of Tubbrid had obtained a small sum from the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland in order to shore up the ruined church.<sup>61</sup>) By 1912, according to Power, the ruins were again dangerous and he obtained the co-operation of Clogheen District Council. But raising the money for the proposed memorial proved rather more difficult. By 1913, more money had been spent on the project than was then to hand and Power complained that "it is scarcely very creditable to us of South-east Ireland that this movement to commemorate Geoffrey Keating should hang fire for lack of the additional few pounds required". He noted that the money so far subscribed came largely from outside Tipperary and Waterford.

After some arm-twisting, the fund was in the end over-subscribed, with for example £10 coming from the Keating Branch of the Gaelic League in Dublin. The extent to which there was not any popular support for the project is a reminder of the way in which "ordinary" people were largely divorced from the very narrow world of local historical studies once outside the scope of local anecdote.<sup>62</sup> Also buried in Tubbrid was John Brennan, bishop of Waterford (1671-93) and archbishop of Cashel (1677-93), whose letter and reports Power edited in 1932.<sup>63</sup>



Canon Burke



References above to the *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society* serve to emphasise the fact that Tipperary had no such journal, though of course the *Waterford Journal* did publish some Tipperary material. The nearest the county got to such a journal was the short-lived *Tipperary's Annual*, which appeared between 1909 and 1913.<sup>64</sup> It was edited by B.J. Long and D. O'Connor and published by them in Clonmel.

The various issues of the *Annual* were aimed at a popular market and contain a very readable mix of history, reminiscence, verse and fiction. For today's readers the photographs are likely to be of more interest than some of the articles. The ethos of the publication was very Irish-Ireland as may be seen from a remark in the foreword to the first issue: "We have come upon evil days in Ireland in this very important matter of reading ... Our country ... to serve as an ashbin for the deposit of all the garbage of English printing presses".

Perhaps the best example of the debt owed by modern scholars to the antiquarians of the turn of the century is Thomas Laffan (1842-1918), a Cashel MD and for many years medical officer to the workhouse there.<sup>65</sup> His father, a solicitor, had for a time been law officer to Fethard Corporation and the records of both Cashel and Fethard Corporations were the basis of articles by Laffan.<sup>66</sup>

Apart from historical matters, Laffan wrote on issues of medical administration and was something of a polemicist, agitating for example, for fair play for catholics with regard to clerical jobs in Irish railway companies.<sup>67</sup> Today Laffan is remembered for publishing the hearth tax records for Tipperary 1665-7.<sup>68</sup> The originals were destroyed eleven years later. Laffan had in fact published much of this material in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* a decade or so prior to the book.

In his preface to the book he explained that "they would have been printed long ago but that I could not induce the people of this county, whether at home or abroad, to supply adequate funds". Laffan did not transcribe these records himself, and the fact that "ineligible" appears for "illegible" does not inspire confidence, though Laffan does emphasise that the transcriptions were checked most carefully.

In keeping with the attitude of Celtic revivalism of the time, Laffan had a purpose in publishing these records. He wanted to refute the idea that the population of Tipperary had an undue amount of "Saxon" blood in their veins as a result of plantation. This concern with ethnic purity was echoed by Archbishop Fennelly in his introduction to the book. The records list the heads of households, parish by parish, who were taxed at the rate of two shillings per hearth, a tax enacted in 1662. The records for 1666-67 are more complete than those for 1665-66, though Professor W.J. Smyth, the Tipperary-born historical geographer who has used this material to study the social and economic history of the period, has suggested that even the 1666-67 material may be defective by around 40%.<sup>70</sup>

The only woman who published material on the county during this period was Mrs L.M. McCraith (b.1870) of Loughloher near Cahir, a member of a long established family farming some 500 acres. She was a contributor to *New Ireland Review* (published by UCD and forerunner of *Studies*). Of the pieces dealing with Tipperary, the most interesting were her reflections while standing at Geoffrey Keating's grave.<sup>71</sup> As this was prior to Canon Power's efforts (referred to above), she was struck by the neglect of the site, especially in the context of the revival of interest in things Irish.

This prompted her to wonder about the lack of popular feeling for the memory of Keating and all he meant to Irish history. The fact that the book for which McCraith is remembered, *The Suir from its Source to the Sea*, went to a second edition in the year of its publication (1912) suggests that perhaps she was too pessimistic. The book is well illustrated and very easy to



read and, while not making any kind of original contribution to Tipperary history, undoubtedly stimulated local interest in historic places. At the end of that decade she wrote a brief (57 pp.) history of Cashel, the medieval history section being contributed by Canon Burke.<sup>72</sup>

While the above writers were content with the prevailing attitude of Irish-Irelandism, not sharing this *zeitgeist* was the Rev St. John D. Seymour (c.1883-1950), 45 of whose 47 years' ministry were served in the diocese of Cashel and Emly. For many years he lived in Donohill Rectory. His father had been rector of Abington 1872-99.<sup>73</sup> Seymour's output, both books and articles, was prolific and scholarly.<sup>74</sup>

In a wider context than his own diocese, he is remembered for his studies of Anglo-Irish literature in the middle ages, the Puritans in Ireland during the Cromwellian period and his contributions to a standard history of the Church of Ireland. His books on Irish witchcraft and Irish ghost stories were popular successes and are still in print.

At a local level, his source book on the parochial clergy of the diocese is the standard reference and his edition of the writings of a Puritan clergyman of the seventeenth century, one Devereux Spratt (buried in St Mary's churchyard, Tipperary) is still a fascinating read. Seymour's interest in folklore is very evident in his articles on Donohill parish and Loughmoe Castle, but the work for which he is best remembered is his history of the diocese of Emly which appeared in 1913.

It was almost a cliché that clergymen of Seymour's background and education would busy themselves with antiquarian research. As the bishop of Emly (and Cashel and Waterford) remarked in a Preface: "The rural clergy in the South of Ireland are, for the most part, blessed with abundant leisure ...". While musing on the odds against Emly again becoming an important ecclesiastical centre, the bishop warns against "political agitation or civil strife" – in other words, Home Rule.

Seymour consulted a wide range of sources in both manuscript and print, though (as was all too common at the time) his citations lack precision. In light of the destruction of records in 1922, today's reader must regret that (unlike Burke, for example), he did not quote much more PROI material. His chapters on the early church were disadvantaged by the author's lack of knowledge of Irish, and Seymour seemed more at ease dealing with the post-Norman church, his material on the organization of that church in the diocese being probably for today's reader the most useful.

Writing about the Reformation, whether by parson or priest, was always going to be more than just a recitation of facts. With reference to Dr O'Hara, bishop 1900-1919, Seymour wrote that "we can trace back an orderly succession of bishops ... and thus show that the Church of Ireland at the commencement of the twentieth century is historically the same church as existed before the Reformation".<sup>75</sup>

A reviewer of this book rightly criticised Seymour's use of the 1641 Depositions. Having begun by conceding the controversial nature of this material and declaring that he would take a middle ground, he then proceeded to cite it uncritically. The period from 1660 to "the present day" is dealt with cursorily, some 37 pages in a narrative of 267 pages. An inevitable comparison must be made between this book and the first volume of Begley's study of the diocese of Limerick, published in 1906. Begley wins.

A similar comparison could be made between Begley's work and Fr. John Gleeson's *History of the Ely O'Carroll Territory or Ancient Ormond*, published in 1915.<sup>76</sup> The result would be the same. John Gleeson (1855-1927) was born near Nenagh of prosperous farming stock. After education in Nenagh and Maynooth, he served as curate in Lorrha and Templederry. In 1893 he was



appointed PP of Kyle and Knock, being transferred to Lorrha in 1908. The 1982 reprint of his book has a discussion on his career and a comprehensive bibliography, both by George Cunningham.<sup>77</sup>

Even though Gleeson took an ancient tribal territory as his subject, he might as well have been writing a diocesan history as he organized his material parish by parish. As one of the book's reviewers remarked: "Its very discursiveness has a charm which more systematic and perhaps more critical works would not possess".<sup>78</sup> The book is perhaps at its most interesting when dealing with the hundred or so years before the author's birth, allowing us to hear authentic local voices.

Some of his descriptions are wonderfully entertaining. Writing about the Fenians in Nenagh for example:<sup>79</sup>

Jer Corby was a specimen of the informers who turned up during the Fenian rising. Jer was middle-sized, of light build, and a yellow skin. He was brought up, like some Irish boys in our own towns, to an aimless life, and when a chance came of turning a penny, Jer preferred it to the chance of turning eggs. He turned informer ...

Gleeson goes on to describe his own encounter with the "bold" Jer. An unfortunate deficiency, not remedied by the reprint, is the lack of an index.

Fr Gleeson's second and much inferior book appeared in 1927, just three weeks before his death. The Preface to *Cashel of the Kings* is dated 1919 and the delay was presumably due to the political unrest, but also perhaps to the fact that the book is a mess.<sup>80</sup> As the 9½ pages of "contents" suggest, the book lacks thematic unity, being more in the nature of research notes than coherent text. In *Cashel of the Kings* Fr Gleeson potentially had a wonderful story to tell, but any narrative thread was overwhelmed by his inability to master his sources.

The previous year Paul Flynn in his *Book of the Galtees and the Golden Vein* overcame this difficulty and in his study of the region around the Galtees during the sixteenth century tells an exciting story.<sup>81</sup> In his introduction, Flynn makes it clear that he is writing of distant times, of "bloodshed and ruin", mindful of much more recent years when political action produced "suppression" and "resistance", and that "state policy" needs compromise and understanding if "burning memories" are to be assuaged. The problem with this palliative was that Flynn, by concentrating on narrative, inevitably highlighted the gorier aspects of what he saw as essentially a morality tale, "a noble and inspiring story of struggle and endurance".

Paul J. Flynn (1858-1937) was born in Tipperary town and educated locally and at Tullabeg. In his younger days he was associated with his father in the butter trade. During a long life he was associated with a wide range of local organizations, including the Gaelic League, St Vincent de Paul Society and Clanwilliam Rugby Club. He was secretary to the Tipperary Agricultural and Industrial Show Society, secretary to the Tipperary Loan Fund Society and secretary to the Tipperary Technical School sub-committee (a paid position).<sup>82</sup>

Apart from his book, he published very little – in 1913 a good article on ancient earthworks near the town and in 1912 a short discursive piece in that year's *Tipperary's Annual*.<sup>83</sup> Flynn's book was well received. D.A. Binchy, for example, having begun his review by noting that the writing of local history did not seem to be popular in Ireland, went on to commend Flynn's management of his sources, while mentioning some sources not used, especially relating to James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald.<sup>84</sup> Binchy was a specialist in early and medieval Ireland and, after noting with approval that Flynn did not continue his narrative beyond the early seventeenth century, commented with remarkable scholarly myopia: "after which point indeed the tale would be scarce worth continuing".



Reference was made above to the week-long visit by the members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland to South Tipperary in 1909 and the extensive coverage the visit received. In the summer of 1928 the Society again came for several days, with Clonmel as their base.<sup>85</sup> This visit, however, did not result in the publication of Tipperary-related articles in their Journal.

This second visit was probably due to the fact that the recently elected president of the Society was William F. Butler (1869-1930), whose distinguished career included a professorship in UCC (of which college he was registrar 1906-10) and membership of the Irish Manuscript Commission. At the time of his visit he was Assistant Commissioner of Intermediate Education. Butler was a member of a family with deep Tipperary roots, different generations holding lands in Garranlea, Ballycarron and Ballyslateen.<sup>86</sup>

Butler was the author of several articles on Tipperary history, most notably a wide-ranging discussion on settlement in the county published in 1914.<sup>87</sup> Three years later his book on Irish land confiscations, in which there is a good deal of Tipperary material, appeared.<sup>88</sup> Not surprisingly, the subject of his presidential address, delivered in Clonmel on 2 July 1928, was Tipperary history. This was a somewhat orotund discourse on the early history of the county, with references to the ancient tribal territories and how the Normans impacted on them.

White's *Anthologia Tipperariensis* was cited to illustrate the dire state of local history. "But with all [White's] zeal, he could find practically nothing to tell." During their stay in South Tipperary the Society took in the usual itinerary of Carrick, Ardfinnan, Cahir, Cashel, Athassel and Fethard. The main speaker in Cashel was Canon Power. The fact that McCraith's book was cited as one of the main sources of information on the places visited would seem to confirm Butler's reservations about the historiography of the county.

However, two things improved the situation in the 1930s: the appearance of historical periodicals relevant to the county and the publication of the *Civil Survey* by the Irish Manuscripts Commission. While great national periodicals such as the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* or the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* from time to time published material on the county, there was no locally based periodical since the *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* made its final appearance in 1920.<sup>89</sup>

In 1930 *An Fíolar* was first published. This was very much a specialist periodical dealing with the life and work of the community of Mount St Joseph's College in Roscrea, but occasionally it printed articles of general historical interest. Much more important, though again focused on North Tipperary, was *Molua*, which dealt with all aspects of the history of the diocese of Killaloe. This first appeared in 1934 and continued until 1959. The production values of this periodical were extremely high, as indeed was the academic level of much of its content.<sup>90</sup>

Then in 1936 a periodical appeared with a much wider geographical spread which is still in existence, the *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, published by the Thomond Archaeological Society which was started in 1929. This periodical was a successor to the *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society* which was published for



Archdeacon Seymour



ten years from 1909, and that in turn had succeeded the journal of the *Limerick Field Club* which was published between 1897 and 1908. By the 1930s therefore, as Irish society recovered its equilibrium after the blood and fire of creating a state, people adjusted to the more comfortable perspective of history as scholarship rather than history as politics.

Dermot Gleeson, the writer of Fr. Timothy Corcoran's obituary notice in *Studies* and also printed in *Molua*, suggested that Corcoran, a member of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, was responsible for the fact that the Tipperary volumes were the first of the *Civil Survey* series to be published.<sup>91</sup> Fr. Corcoran S.J. (1872-1943) was a native of Honeymount in North Tipperary and was professor of education in UCD 1909-42. He founded *Studies* in 1912. Corcoran, described by Gleeson as "this silent and inflexible man", was the author of a very large number of articles on educational and public policy issues.<sup>92</sup>

Of the little he wrote on Tipperary history, the best known is his study of catholic lay teachers in the dioceses of Cashel and Killaloe.<sup>93</sup> Volume one of the *Civil Survey* dealing with the eastern and southern baronies of Tipperary was published in 1931, and the second volume covering the remainder of the county appeared in 1934. Both were edited by Robert C. Simington (as were the subsequent eight volumes, Limerick being volume iv and published in 1938).

The excitement on the part of those interested in Tipperary history and topography engendered by the publication of this source cannot be exaggerated. One response was the creation of *ad hoc* study groups. With the publication of the second volume, Corcoran wrote a long and enthusiastic article in *Studies*.<sup>94</sup> He described the meeting on 9 January 1930 at the Quit Rent Office in Dublin, at which a subcommittee of the Irish Manuscripts Commission under the chairmanship of W.F. Butler decided to publish the series, starting with the Tipperary volumes.

Corcoran gives the impression that Butler should have the credit for this. The editor of the series, Robert Simington, was attached to the Quit Rent Office and it was from copies of the *Civil Survey* left in that office when the originals were deposited in the PROI, that the published editions were prepared. The material in the PROI perished in 1922.

The *Civil Survey* followed on the conquest of Ireland by the army of Oliver Cromwell. As Parliament in London had considerable debts to repay to both adventurers (who had loaned it money) and soldiers (whose arrears of pay had to be met), a detailed survey of confiscated Irish land needed to be carried out. Barony by barony between 1654 and 1656 juries of local men were called together, to provide information with respect to barony and parish boundaries, tithes, proprietors in 1640 just prior to the rebellion of 1641, the extent and placenames of individual holdings, the quality and value of these lands, and a host of topographical and settlement features.

In other words, the kind of information collected was what local historians might be expected to sell their souls for, except that most parish historiography either ignores or ill uses this wonderfully rich source, so that the optimism expressed for example by Corcoran was unfounded.<sup>95</sup> His *Studies* article concluded: "[the *Civil Survey's*] value for the initiation of new histories of the regions of Ireland will be incomparably great". It was not surprising that Corcoran did not focus on the social and economic information to be gleaned from the source, but rather on the extent of the catholic ownership of land in 1640 and the triumphalism of the catholic recovery under the Land Purchase Acts.

Corcoran, again writing in *Studies*, about a book published in 1933, remarked on the considerable surprise "that such a writer could have written such a book".<sup>96</sup> The book was *The O'Dwyers of Kilnamanagh: the history of an Irish Sept*, and the author was Sir Michael O'Dwyer (1864-1940).<sup>97</sup> This "surprise" was based on a distinguished servant of the Raj being "forthright"



about the Cromwellian period in Ireland, not to mention more recent events such as the Hawarden clearances and the Ballycohey episode. An example of such a reservation was the review in the London *Times* in which the writer was at pains to point out that the savagery of the 1640s was at least equally divided between both sides, and that O'Dwyer had been less than just to the policy of Charles II towards Ireland.<sup>98</sup>

Michael O'Dwyer was born in Barronstown near Tipperary town and was of prosperous farming background of moderate nationalist views. In the mid-1880s he joined the Indian civil service, advancing up the career ladder, being knighted in 1913, and between 1912-19 he was lieutenant-governor of the Punjab province. Subsequently he held several important posts in the North West Frontier province, and by the 1930s he was retired to London.

The key episode in his career was the notorious massacre at Amritsar in the Punjab in April 1919, in which hundreds of protestors were killed. O'Dwyer had no active involvement in this, it being a military decision, but he carried some political responsibility. He remained opposed to Indian independence and in March 1940, while attending a meeting in London of the Royal Central Asian Society, was assassinated by an Indian nationalist.<sup>99</sup>

When O'Dwyer wrote his Kilnamanagh book, he (perhaps inevitably) saw similarities between the traditional Gaelic system of land ownership and the customs he found in the Punjab and the North West Frontier.<sup>100</sup> Although separated by hundreds of years and thousands of miles, the common factor was the modernising, not to say civilizing, influence of English/British administration, an agent of which O'Dwyer was in India.

One of the fascinating aspects of this book is the tension between this thrust on the one hand, of which the author approves, and on the other hand the strength of the Gaelic identity of the O'Dwyer sept, which for him was a source of considerable pride. In the introduction to his book O'Dwyer made clear his dislike of the Fianna Fail government elected in 1932 because of his fear that Ireland might be pulled out of the Commonwealth "with its solid advantages, for the will-o-the-wisp of a republic".

In an article written five years later under the title "Fusion of Anglo-Norman and Gael", he argued against a purely Gaelic identity and irredentist politics in favour of an inclusive Irish identity within some kind of UK context.<sup>101</sup> In essence what O'Dwyer was trying to do was reconcile the tension between his name and his title.

Of the books on Tipperary history published during this period, the one that received the best critical reception was Dermot F. Gleeson's *Last Lords of Ormond*, which appeared in 1938. Dermot Gleeson (1896-1962) was a nephew of Fr. John Gleeson and was married to a niece of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. His father had been crown solicitor for North Tipperary, and after education in Mungret and UCD the son also became a solicitor and was appointed a District Justice in 1922. Though born in Nenagh, he lived for most of his life near Ennis.

Given the amount he wrote on the medieval history of the region, it was somehow appropriate that his death occurred while attending a function in Bunratty Castle. Apart from a number of books, he contributed a very large number of articles to learned journals such as the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, *Studies*, the *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* and probably closest to his heart, *Molua*.<sup>103</sup> Over its run, it was an exceptional year that did not carry a well researched article by Gleeson, in some of which he had the delicate task of correcting some of his uncle's work.<sup>104</sup>

Perhaps the key decision made by Gleeson regarding his study of North Tipperary was that, rather than attempting the usual extended coverage of a region's history, he decided that "the smaller the area and the shorter the period", the better he could say something useful.<sup>105</sup> *The Last Lords of Ormond* therefore deals with the two Ormond baronies in the seventeenth



century and was a reflection of the stimulation provided by the *Civil Survey* with regard to that century.

Gleeson's theme was confiscation and survival; indeed, not just survival but (as his study of *Iris Oifigiúil* mentioned in his closing pages makes clear) the triumph of the Gaelic families of the region thanks to the Land Purchase Acts. Ironically, given the author's thesis, his knowledge and use of Gaelic sources was limited.<sup>106</sup> The very favourable reviews took the book as evidence of Albion's worst perfidy. One reviewer even read the book as the historiographical counterpart to the "immortal" *Knocknagow*.<sup>107</sup>

Also published in 1938 was Martin Callanan's *Records of Four Tipperary Septs*.<sup>108</sup> Callanan (1866-1941) was a native of Dovea and qualified as an MD in 1890. His entire career was spent as medical officer in Thurles, where he lived.<sup>109</sup> Apart from this book, he published little: a pamphlet on Holycross and an article on the Bourkes of Ileagh.<sup>110</sup> His research notes, now in the NLI, suggest that he planned to publish a history of the barony of Eliogarty.

The "Four Septs" dealt with by Callanan were the O'Kennedys of Ormond, the O'Dwyers of Kilnamanagh, the O'Mulryans of Owney and the O'Meaghers of Ikerrin. In terms of presentation, the book is not reader-friendly. There are no index and no maps, and the source references are somewhere between missing and misleading. In terms of content there is no discussion on the Gaelic milieu of these families, or indeed on the system of inheritance and the accommodation and compromise with English attitudes which was the history of these extended families until the seventeenth century.

As one reviewer pointed out, the name of the book was misleading in so far as Callanan did not make use of original family records. A more accurate title would be "selected documents illustrating the history of four Tipperary septs".<sup>111</sup> One example of the reservations that may be expressed about this book is that while the author mentions Joseph Casimer O'Meagher, there is no reference to O'Meagher's book on the history of the family.<sup>112</sup>

While this period saw the publication of several "classics" (books greatly valued but not actually read) of Tipperary historiography, there were only two efforts to write a history of the whole county. The first of these was called simply *Tipperary* and was published in the United States in 1929.<sup>113</sup> The author was the Rev. James H. Cotter (1857-1942), who was born at Lisduff in county Tipperary and emigrated with his family to the United States when he was about 15.

His clerical career in the US was very distinguished, something not altogether clear from his Tipperary book which, in the form of a journey through the county, is an emotional outpouring of sentimental patriotism.<sup>114</sup> In referring to Fr. Corcoran SJ, "who was born in a home only two fields away from the place of my birth", the author is quite carried away. "Dr Corcoran", he writes, "has read not books but libraries and in many tongues". Cotter's history is both green and confused. Referring to Soloheadbeg he wrote: "the first shot of the Rising of 1916 was fired and two spies [quasi-policemen] fell!"<sup>115</sup>

The date of publication of the second of these county books is unclear. It is a volume of some 70 pp. and was part of a series for senior pupils in national schools.<sup>116</sup> The author, Jeremiah F. McCarthy (d.1950), was a native of Cahir who worked in the Department of Education in Dublin. On his retirement in 1944 he came to live in Clonmel, and that year he founded the Clonmel Historical and Archaeological Society, of which he was chairman at the time of his death.<sup>117</sup>

A first reaction on reading McCarthy's very interesting booklet is that it must have been away over the heads of primary school pupils. His account of the very early history of the county presents legend as fact, so that, for example, Eógan Mór, the eponymous founder of the Eoganacht is seen as a real figure.



His account of the 1641 Rebellion in the county is full-blooded, though not in a way that Sir John Temple would confirm. Of special interest in this booklet is the section on "Tipperary notabilities", which apart from such usual suspects as Kickham and O'Leary, also mentions much less well known figures such as the portrait painter James Latham of Ballysheehan and A.J. Foley, the Cahir-born opera singer.

The 1940s and 1950s were uninspiring decades for works on Tipperary history. Writing in 1943, Dermot Gleeson gloomily asked: "Are the traditions of historical writing and the transmission of historical lore, 'cois na teine', to die in our own time in the dawn of freedom, having survived penal legislator, famine and persecution?" Noting that well educated young people appeared disinterested in the history of their own areas, Gleeson was not hopeful with respect to the burgeoning of local historical scholarship.<sup>118</sup>

Typical of what was produced during this period were scraps and fragments. The beginning of the '40s was marked by the appearance of a fragile Thurles chronology, compiled by the town clerk.<sup>119</sup> In 1945 William S. Doyle (d.1967) of Tipperary town edited an anthology of "scenes and stories" relating to the Cashel diocese. This was called *Fragments* and a much slimmer compilation called *More Fragments* appeared in 1959.<sup>120</sup> The first of these publications has some interesting information about the churches within the diocese and the many catholic organizations which were a vital part of people's lives.

A valuable literary source, casting light on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir and Dunboyne between 1400 and 1650, edited by James Carney, was published in 1945.<sup>121</sup> These poems are not translated from Irish but the editorial matter is in English. (A similar source, but with the poems translated and including a poem in praise of a fifteenth century Cahir Butler, together with literary material on the Cantwells, Purcells, O'Carrolls and Hacketts, was published in 1987.)<sup>122</sup> The history of Tipperary during the medieval and early modern periods is to a large extent the history of the Butlers. Hundreds of years of documentary evidence about this family and their impact on the region was released from sterile storage in Kilkenny Castle by Edmund Curtis in his six volumes of *Ormond Deeds* published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission between 1932 and 1943.<sup>123</sup> However, the time-lag between this source being available and being used to cast light on the county during centuries when sources are scarce continues to be a reminder of the limited development of local studies.

In 1950 Clonmel celebrated the tercentenary of the siege of the town, an event that was marked by widespread community participation in a range of lectures, religious events and an ambitious souvenir record.<sup>124</sup> This has some useful articles, though the content overall is excessively focused on the apotheosis of catholicism. Among the better known contributors were G.A. Hayes-McCoy, Dr. Richard Hayes, and Fr. Benignus Millett.

The primary contributor was Dr. Philip



Prof. William F. Butler



O'Connell, a Clonmel school principal who was editor of the short-lived *Journal of the Clonmel Historical and Archaeological Society*, the publication of which was presumably stimulated by the tercentenary. The first issue of this appeared in 1952 and the last, number four, was that of 1955-56. Each issue was around 65 pp. and one of the most notable contributors was Patrick Lyons (1861-1954), a native of Lisronagh and a man whose background and career (RIC and experience of historical fieldwork) were different from the usual.<sup>125</sup>

With O'Connell as co-editor of the *Tercentenary Souvenir Record* was William Darmody of the *Nationalist* newspaper. In 1954 and 1955 he edited a short-lived revival of *Tipperary's Annual*, "a modern version of the magazine first published half a century ago".

Given the seeming abandonment of narrative history that characterised the historiography of Tipperary in the 1940s and '50s, the best known exponent of the scrapbook style of history was James Maher (1904-77). He was of Callan birth but associated with Mullinahone, his mother's native place, where he lived for most of his life. After some years as a clerical student he followed a teaching career.

In 1942 he published a collection of Kickham-related material.<sup>126</sup> In the 1950s he produced three anthologies. The most comprehensive, *A Tipperary Anthology*, was published in 1954.<sup>127</sup> This dealt with Slievenamon in song and folklore, in history both local and national and, of course, Slievenamon and Kickham.

Allowing for the scissors and paste nature of this book, it is not well edited. There is no information about the contributors or the sources from which their material is drawn. The book is conclusive proof that one can have too much of a good thing. This was followed two years later by an anthology focused on the Comeraghs and in 1959 by another on Clonmel.<sup>128</sup>

Parish history, which is such an obvious feature of Tipperary historiography since the 1980s, was all but ignored during earlier decades. One of the earliest was a slight very church-centred history of Newport by Fr Patrick Lee (1902-1977), who was a native of that parish and PP of Pallasgrea from 1958 to his death.<sup>129</sup> This was published in 1934.

The following year an equally slight, but much more peculiar, publication dealing with Moycarkey and Borris by Edmund Gorman appeared.<sup>130</sup> Most of the "brochure" deals with local "quaint stories and strange customs", none as quaint or strange as the booklet itself. A parish history which was the outcome of a most unusual trans-Atlantic co-operation was that of Borrisoleigh, published in 1944.<sup>131</sup> The main author was Fr. Michael Kenny SJ (1862-1946), who was based in Alabama in the United States. He was assisted by the PP of Borrisoleigh Fr. John Quinlan (1863-1950), who (as Kenny explained in a foreword) was able to unload the task of actually writing the history on his American-based colleague with the claim that he was both too old and too busy in his Irish parish.

As Kenny explains, though over 80 he was at the time busy compiling the life records of American martyrs for transmission to Rome. Typical of the assertive catholicism found in much of this kind of historical writing of the period is the citation of Fr Myles Ronan's opinion on the issue of Glankeen prebend to refute that of Archdeacon St. John Seymour.<sup>132</sup> This book is very much a product of its time; as one reviewer wrote, because of the writer's absence from Ireland, "allowance must be made for the *pietas* of the author".<sup>133</sup>

A parish history on an altogether different level was that of Roscrea which appeared in 1947.<sup>134</sup> Its author Dermot F. Gleeson has earlier been mentioned, and as he was conscious of the need to promote interest in local history, he put his ideas in print.<sup>135</sup> His conception of a parish history was quite narrow, much emphasis being laid on the creation of the parish boundary which was a complicated matter because of the inclusion of a number of older medieval parishes (civil parishes).



Then there is the question of the division of spiritual and temporal authority within the parish and the location and history of the medieval holy places. This narrow perspective dominated when he came to write his Roscrea history. Rather than taking his designated area and looking at all aspects of life within and around it – economic life, crime, politics, leisure activity, religious life – the author, in keeping with the taste of the period, concentrates on the last of these headings. Not surprisingly, the bulk of this parish history deals with the medieval and early modern period. No attempt was made to use any of the mass of nineteenth century sources, especially newspapers and parliamentary papers, which would have much more clearly illuminated the lives of the people.

A variation on the theme of parish history, a study of Nenagh and its neighbourhood, appeared in 1949.<sup>136</sup> The author was Edward H. Sheehan (1882-1952), a native of Nenagh whose medical career was spent with the British army, after which he lived near Dublin. The main focus of Sheehan's book is the ownership of property in and about the town, together with less interesting material on political and social history.

The sources for property ownership included the Registry of Deeds, solicitors' offices and local newspapers. With reference to this latter source, it appears that Sheehan's research technique in the NLI was such that if used today expulsion would be the penalty. Pencil markings on the relevant sections of Nenagh newspapers still bear witness to his industry.<sup>137</sup>

The final work to be looked at from this period of Tipperary historiography is also one of the most substantial, a history of the diocese of Killaloe produced by Dermot Gleeson and Fr. Aubrey Gwynn SJ, which was published in 1962.<sup>138</sup> Two earlier Church of Ireland accounts of the diocese had been published: a slim volume by Cooke in 1886 which dealt with the diocese to the mid-eighteenth century, using such sources as Ware, Harris and Cotton, and a fat volume by the Rev. Philip Dwyer, vicar of Drumcliffe (Ennis), which appeared in 1878.<sup>139</sup> Dwyer reproduced a large amount of documentary material, especially from the seventeenth century and of course made much of the anti-catholic 1641 Depositions. This book does not, however, deal with the modern history of the diocese.<sup>140</sup>

The history of Killaloe was obviously the work closest to Dermot Gleeson's heart and it appeared in the year of his death, the fruit of long labour. The work had been encouraged by Bishop Fogarty, who had ruled Killaloe for the extraordinary period of over 50 years (1904-55). It had been hoped that the section of the book detailing the monastic age would be written by Fr John Ryan SJ, a native of Killaloe diocese whose standard work on Irish monasticism had been published in 1931.

However, delays in preparing the work made this impossible, and so the first part of the history was written instead by Fr. Aubrey Gwynn SJ. His section of the book comprised about one-quarter of the total. It was fortunate that Dermot Gleeson was not alive when the premier Irish historical periodical, *Irish Historical Studies*, published a devastating critique of the book by James Lydon.<sup>141</sup>

Gwynn's section of the book was regarded enthusiastically, especially his account of the reform movement, not just in Killaloe but in Ireland generally. "Without any doubt it will remain the standard account for a long time to come." The one serious criticism of Gwynn's work is that he made no attempt to discuss the "thorny question" of the origin of parishes, though as this followed on the arrival of the Normans, it presumably fell outside his scope. The topic is discussed by Gleeson.

However, with reference to this part of the book, Lydon makes the most serious charge that can be made against an historical work. "One can never be sure that the sources quoted are accurately cited, that they are relevant, or that they are properly interpreted." Lydon gives



specific instances to support this and goes on to declare that Gleeson seemed not to understand "the simple mechanics of the royal administration in Ireland" and how that had led him into many mistakes.

The essence of Lydon's criticism has an application wider than just this one work, namely that enthusiasm is not a substitute for historical training. Nevertheless, for his three major works and many articles, Dermot Gleeson remains a substantial figure in the history of Tipperary historiography. Would that South Tipperary would have been as lucky!

While it had been intended to continue the history of Killaloe, Gleeson's untimely death prevented this. Killaloe diocese was extraordinarily fortunate in having Monsignor Ignatius Murphy to, as it were, finish the task begun by Gleeson. Monsignor Murphy (1938-93) was born in Kilkee and ordained for the Killaloe diocese in 1962. He took up the story of the diocese from the eighteenth century and the first two volumes were published in 1991 and 1992. The final volume was published in 1995 after his death.<sup>142</sup>

The scope of these works on Killaloe only serves to emphasise the great deficiency with reference to the history of catholicism in the county, the fact that there is no study of the diocese of Cashel and Emly. Archbishop Thomas Morris, patron of the Society that publishes this Journal, did great work in organizing the papers of his predecessors and having calendars prepared.<sup>143</sup> Also, he was one of the first bishops to have parish records computerised. The diocesan atlas and population statistics, which were prepared under his instruction, are of enormous value to anyone interested in the history of the diocese.<sup>144</sup>

The person in the diocese who, perhaps, was best prepared to write its history was Fr. Walter Skehan (1905-71), whose index of biographies of priests of the diocese was guided into print some twenty years after his death. This was also the work of Archbishop Morris.<sup>145</sup> Fr. Skehan was a native of Clonbrogan in the parish of Moyglass and after education in Roscrea, Thurles and Maynooth, he was ordained in 1931. After service in various parishes he was PP of Clerihan 1952-60 and of Loughmore 1960-71. "He had no equal among his contemporaries for a knowledge of diocesan history."<sup>146</sup> Unfortunately he was temperamentally unable to make the leap from research to publication. His study of Fethard Corporation (a taste of what might have been) was, however, published.<sup>147</sup>

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Perhaps the most pleasurable and yet treacherous way of visiting the past is the first person narrative. This has the charm of being shown around a house with an interesting history and the frustration of being denied access to some of the rooms. Added to this is the reservation that perhaps exaggerated claims are made about the originality of some of the furnishings. Nevertheless, such a tour exerts great fascination. Unfortunately, published memoirs with Tipperary as their stage are quite rare. The closest one can get to the unguarded life is the account never intended for publication.

Dorothea Herbert (1770-1829) was the daughter of a Church of Ireland clergyman with livings in Carrick-on-Suir and Knockgraffon, in which places the family lived. In circumstances of personal difficulty she set down an account of her life and times which she called "A Help to Memory or Retrospections of an Outcast", a title that reveals something of her emotional state.<sup>148</sup> Dorothea Herbert's *Retrospections*, which describe her life to 1806, is full of wonderful insights to the *mores* of a small slice of Tipperary society.

A very different first person narrative is the life of John Lidwill, who declared in his Preface:



"Many friends have frequently recommended to me to publish my history".<sup>149</sup> Lidwill was the eldest son of Thomas Lidwill of Clonmore and Cormackstown near Thurles, who died in 1782. The family were very much part of the county establishment; Lidwill's younger brother Mark served as High Sheriff in 1779. It is not clear why John Lidwill thought his story would be of interest, though of course from today's perspective any first-hand account of social and economic life in the county in the late eighteenth century is of great interest.

Quite likely, discontent was the motive for authorship, as Lidwill appears to have been disappointed with regard to family inheritance. Also, his hopes to gather volunteers from throughout the county to become part of a planned settlement in North America suggest he was a dreamer. His story has much incidental social and economic information. For example, at one stage he rented a farm of 100 acres from Sir Thomas Maude of Dundrum which he found too dear and had to give up. Lidwill was a witness to the famous duel between Thomas Prendergast and Daniel Gahan which took place in 1760. (See Burke's *Clonmel* p.154.)

In the nineteenth century two of the county's most famous sons, each of whom was involved in radical politics, wrote accounts of their public lives, books that are justifications for their beliefs and actions rather than exercises in psychological analysis. Michael Doheny (1805-63) was born near Fethard, the son of a small farmer. He became a lawyer and for a time acted for Cashel Corporation. From the Repeal Movement he moved towards the more radical Young Ireland movement and in 1849, from the safety of the United States, wrote his account of "the leading events in the Irish Struggle from the year 1843 to the close of 1848".<sup>150</sup>

The second book appeared in two volumes in 1896 and was John O'Leary's account of the subsequent republican outbreak, that of the Fenians.<sup>151</sup> John O'Leary (1830-1907) was born in Tipperary town of prosperous shopkeeping background. Having abandoned legal and then medical studies, O'Leary devoted himself to revolution, playing a role in both '48 and the Fenian conspiracy. On his release from prison he had to live abroad for some years, finally settling in Dublin, at which stage he got round to his memoirs, which however only dealt with his story up to his arrest in 1865.

O'Leary had little involvement with the Fenians in Tipperary, so that in a local context his memoirs are more interesting for the earlier period.<sup>152</sup> A first-hand though brief account of the Fenian Rising at Ballyhurst is found in a rare booklet, written by William Rutherford and published in 1903.<sup>153</sup>

The republican theme in autobiography was continued into the next generation, most notably by Dan Breen, whose ghosted account of that part of his life first appeared in 1924 and has hardly been out of print since.<sup>154</sup> This is a fast-paced telling of Breen's involvement in the War of Independence, history as adrenalin rather than analysis or reflection. Two other accounts of the Third Tipperary Brigade told by participants were published long after the event, one by Sean Fitzpatrick and the other by Bryan Ryan.<sup>155</sup> Fitzpatrick's is the more interesting and is especially useful with respect to the period after the Truce.

All of these narratives are by Tipperary men whose politics were separatist; but there was an alternative vision. As Sir William Butler (1838-1910) wrote his autobiography in the fifteen months or so before his death, he tried to make sense of his life: an Irish catholic sympathetic to Home Rule, who described Parnell as "the greatest leader of his time" and whose distinguished military career ended amid suspicions that he was sympathetic to the Boer cause.<sup>156</sup>

Butler's life began and ended in the vicinity of the Suir. In between, his military career took him to virtually every part of the Empire and participation in many of the wars that held that Empire together. Apart from the intrinsic interest of his story, a bonus is the fact that, as one would expect with Butler, his book is very well written.



With the establishment of the Free State, life settled down and such autobiographical material as was published by Tipperary people is now of interest in the context of social history. Fr. Neil Kevin's warm evocation of life in Templemore early in the century was published in 1944.<sup>157</sup> Neil Kevin (1903-1953) was a native of that town and was ordained in 1929. In 1932 he was appointed professor of English at Maynooth. In his Foreword to *I Remember Karrigeen* the author explained that the 25 *vignettes* of small town life which comprised his fond re-creation of his home town had a universal interest, not least because such towns had been ignored in literature, not being thought to have the allure of West of Ireland fishing villages for example.<sup>158</sup>

Similarly, using the freedom allowed by departing from historical objectivity in favour of a more imaginative approach, life in Grangemockler in the late nineteenth century, as seen from the perspective of the local schoolmaster and his family, was the subject of Monsignor Maurice Browne's novel *The Big Sycamore*.<sup>159</sup> Browne (1892-1979), one of a distinguished family whose father was schoolmaster in Grangemockler, was a PP in county Kildare and wrote under the pseudonym "Joseph Brady".

In 1955 and 1958 respectively, two Tipperary medical doctors produced slim volumes of memoirs, each published by the same company. The 1955 volume was by Jeremiah Dowling (1869-1958), who spent a half-century in practice in and around Tipperary town.<sup>160</sup> Dowling began his medical studies in 1888 and his book in an anecdotal fashion refers to country life of the period.

The second book details a more adventurous medical career: assistant medical officer to St Luke's Hospital in Clonmel 1902-05; the Indian medical service 1906-19 and then practice in Britain before retirement to Ireland.<sup>161</sup> The author was Patrick Heffernan (1878-1971) of Cuckoo Hill in the parish of Derrygrath. One of the matters of interest in his account of his early life is the tension experienced by a catholic professional man between the expectations of catholic nationalism and the protestant milieu with which work ensured contact. Heffernan also wrote a not very good history of the Heffernan sept.<sup>162</sup>

In recent years several autobiographical accounts have been published of lives spent in Tipperary in very different circumstances, all of which allow an understanding of social conditions earlier this century. Harry Howard (1911-1992) wrote an account of farming life in North Tipperary.<sup>163</sup> Growing up in Dovea is the subject matter of the earlier part of Ion Trant's book, and Kevin Fitzgerald (b.1902) who was born in England has described his experiences farming in Synone near Cashel.<sup>164</sup>

A very different perspective on country life is given by Mary Healy (b.1912), who in 1934 entered into domestic service with the Barton family at Grove near Fethard.<sup>165</sup> Another female perspective on hard times may be gleaned from Kathleen Moloughney's writings on Roscrea.<sup>166</sup> In two publications Patrick Cranley (b.1910) has provided a very readable account of life in Tipperary town over much of this century.<sup>167</sup>

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If autobiography can be likened to being shown around an interesting house by the owner, biography is much more a matter of finding out about the house from peering in the windows; hearsay from those who have visited it and perhaps even access to photos and plans of the building. While these latter sources of information may give a very good sense of the building in question, a feeling of intimacy is lacking. The lives of a considerable number of individuals,



either natives of Tipperary or persons whose careers impacted on the county, have been written with varying degrees of success.

Whereas biography of nineteenth and twentieth century figures is not uncommon, the lives of even well known persons from earlier centuries very much remain hidden. No family had a greater impact on the history of Tipperary than the Butlers; yet there are no modern biographies (dealing with the Tipperary context) of the two key members of the family, Black Tom the 10th earl (1531-1614) and James 12th earl and 1st duke (1610-88).<sup>168</sup> A key churchman whose career intersected with that of the 10th earl was Miler Magrath (1522-1622), archbishop of Cashel for over fifty years. A very inadequate life was published in 1974.<sup>169</sup>

Biographical studies of catholic priests and bishops are scant. A Catholic Truth Society pamphlet of the 1920s deals with archbishops of Cashel and a much more recent study of catholic martyrs deals with Dermot O'Hurley, William Tirry and Terence Albert O'Brien, bishop of Emly who was executed in 1651.<sup>170</sup> Given his public profile, it is not surprising that the only catholic prelate the subject of a detailed biography is Archbishop Croke (1832-1902).<sup>171</sup>

Biographies of two very different pre-nineteenth century figures, linked by their connections with Roscrea, illustrate the richness of the field yet to be ploughed by diligent historians and biographers. Richard Heaton (1601-66) settled on property near Roscrea which in the late nineteenth century became the Cistercian monastery and school of Mount St Joseph. Heaton was reputed to have been the first Irish botanist.<sup>172</sup>

The man responsible for purchasing this property and giving it to the Cistercians, who arrived from Mount Melleray in 1878, was Arthur Moore of Mooresfort (1849-1904). A very uncritical biography of Moore was published the year after his death.<sup>173</sup> The second Roscrea figure was George Thomas (1756-1802), who was born in the town in poor circumstances and by the time of his death had carved out a state for himself called Hariana in the Punjab in India.<sup>174</sup>

Three people associated with the county, with iconic status in politics/literature, religion and commerce respectively, have each been subjected to the biographer's attentions more than once. Charles J. Kickham (1828-82) has had at least four attempts on his life, that by the Tipperary-born historian R.V. Comerford likely to remain standard.<sup>175</sup> Even more the object of attention is Fr. Theobald Mathew (1790-1856), the apostle of temperance, a substantial biography having appeared less than a decade after his death.<sup>176</sup>

The last of this trinity is Charles Bianconi (1786-1875), whose daughter penned a life which was published three years after his death. In 1962 a popular biography of the great transport magnate was co-authored by a granddaughter of the author of the first life.<sup>177</sup> Given the fame of Bianconi and the impact of his remarkable enterprise, there is room for a new examination of his career in the context of the commercial life of the period and also the extent to which he remained an outsider because he was catholic, foreign and talented.

Even a superficial knowledge of nineteenth century Ireland and Tipperary specifically makes clear the powerful public role of the catholic clergy. James O'Shea has examined the role of the county's priests in the public life of the second half of the century.<sup>178</sup> While there were many exceptional priests among his cast list of 575 players, only one has received substantial attention in print, meriting a biography of sorts.

Fr. John Kenyon (1812-69) PP of Templederry was associated with the Young Irelanders. Lilian Fogarty's hagiography published around 1920 reflects the time of its publication and is more useful as a source compilation than as an objective study.<sup>179</sup> Some interesting articles on Kenyon appeared around the centenary of the '48 Rising.<sup>180</sup>

A full study of Fr. David Humphreys (1843-1930), PP of Killenaule, has yet to be written,



though some aspects of his career have appeared in print.<sup>181</sup> One obvious candidate for scholarly treatment is Fr. Matthew Ryan (1844-1937) PP of Knockavilla, known as "The General". A less obvious and more neglected figure is Dr. Burke, the first PP of SS Peter & Paul parish in Clonmel, a man who had a great deal to say on the issues of the day. He died in 1866, and was a grand-uncle of Fr. William Burke the historian.

It is only in recent years that women are receiving due study for their contributions to society. Not surprisingly therefore biographical studies of notable Tipperary women reflect this. The lives of two women, almost exact contemporaries, have been studied, each of whom kicked against the conventional restraints of her time. Marguerite Power (1789-1849) was born near Clonmel and on her marriage to the earl of Blessington became a society figure who after her husband's death became a writer and something of a *demi-mondaine*.<sup>182</sup>

The second of these two women was Anna Doyle Wheeler (1785-1850), who was born in Clonbeg and at the age of 15 was married to a neighbour, Francis Massy Wheeler of Ballywire. The union was deeply unhappy and in 1812 she fled abroad. From her reading and the company she mixed with, Wheeler had advanced views on society in general and the role of women in particular.<sup>183</sup>

Another Tipperary-born woman of a later generation, who against great odds put into practice some of Wheeler's ideas about female independence, was Aleen Cust (1868-1937), who was the first woman in the United Kingdom to be registered as a veterinary surgeon. She spent the first decade of her life in Cordangan Manor near Tipperary town. Her father lived there while agent to the Smith-Barry estate.<sup>184</sup>

Emigration is one of the great themes of nineteenth century Irish history. As the three lives referred to above illustrate, the circumstances under which people left Ireland varied enormously, as did their careers in the United States, Australia or whatever part of the world they found themselves. A number of biographical studies of Tipperarymen in temporary or permanent exile are fascinating case studies. Henry Shea (1767-1830), who was a native of Carrick-on-Suir, settled in Newfoundland and became a notable personality.<sup>185</sup> The lurid history of a Borrisokane family who settled in Canada is the subject of a detailed study by Ray Fazakas. The most scholarly examination of the diaspora to North America investigates not an individual or even a family but over 700 families who departed Tipperary for Canada between 1815-55.<sup>187</sup>

With regard to individual careers in the United States, Michael Fitzgerald has written on David Power Conynham (1825-83) from Ballingarry, who became a well-known journalist. Michael O'Donnell has described the adventures of Thomas F. Bourke (1840-89), who was a native of Fethard who returned to Ireland to play a role in the Fenian Rising.<sup>189</sup> William Tinsley (1804-85), the Clonmel architect who emigrated to the United States, was the subject of a full-scale biography in 1953.<sup>190</sup>

William Scully (1821-1906) was a member of a very well known Tipperary family associated over several generations with Kilfeacle. In the context of Tipperary history his name is forever linked with Ballycohey, but a good deal of his career was in the United States where he became one of that country's largest land owners. A biography by an American scholar was published in America in 1979.<sup>191</sup>

The experiences of two Tipperarymen who were transported to Australia at the behest of the British government have been the subjects of detailed study. Ned Ryan (1786-1871) was one of a number of men involved in an incident at Ballagh near Holycross in 1815. After transportation he prospered in his new home.<sup>192</sup> The second felon was John Grant (1792-1866), a native of Moyne who with other members of his family, including his sister (who was



executed), was involved in agrarian murder and suffered transportation. This was in 1810.<sup>193</sup> Both studies are written by Australians and are especially revealing about the adaptation by the convicts to life in that continent.

With regard to twentieth century personalities from Tipperary, it is likely that the most read biography is that of Sean Treacy, a book first published in 1945 and a good rousing narrative.<sup>194</sup> The author in his Preface lists what amounts to a roll-call of the key figures in Tipperary history over the previous century. Alongside Treacy, the *pantheon* includes Fr Mathew, John Dwyer of Ballycohey, Kickham, O'Leary and Thomas MacDonagh. Some fifty years on, a fresh assessment of Treacy's life would be welcome. Almost as well remembered as Sean Treacy (1895-1920) is Pierce McCan (1882-1919), and a comparison of their careers is especially interesting with reference to the role of the IRB.<sup>195</sup>

The lives of a handful of other Tipperary people have received fullscale biographical treatment. The surprising thing about Maurice Davin (1842-1927), first president of the GAA, is that a biography took so long to appear.<sup>196</sup> The strangest career and the best example of the phenomenon of the Irishman trying to turn himself into an English "gent" is that of the Templemore-born Brendan Bracken, *alias* the 1st Viscount Bracken (1901-58), whose picaresque life has been the subject of two biographies.<sup>197</sup> Bracken's father was one of the founders of the GAA and Joseph Bracken (1852-1904) has been comprehensively treated by Nancy Murphy.<sup>198</sup>

Two priests whose lives were devoted to promoting the development of the human resources in Ireland and Nigeria were John Hayes and Joseph Shanahan. Hayes (1887-1957), though born in county Limerick, is associated with Tipperary where he founded Muintir na Tire. A biography was published in 1960.<sup>199</sup> Bishop Shanahan (1871-1943), a native of Glankeen, joined the Holy Ghost order and spent thirty years on missionary work in Nigeria. He is buried in Nairobi in the same cemetery as Edel Quinn.<sup>200</sup>

A biography of the Nenagh-born scientist J.D. Bernal (b.1901) was published in 1980.<sup>201</sup> Finally, the kind of story that does not usually get into print, comes the life of a businesswoman, Agnes V. Ryan (1890-1971), a native of Cauteen in Solohead, who with her husband founded and ran the chain of Monument Creameries stores, for many years Dublin landmarks.

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What was a stream has since the 1970s become a flood. Unfortunately, floods are indiscriminate and spread a great deal of mud. Prior to the 1970s published material on Tipperary history fitted on not so many feet of shelving. Now however, yards and yards are required. This phenomenon (if that is not too strong a word) applies to all counties and is the consequence of a range of factors. As social, economic, religious and political certainties fracture (temporary employment a norm, a cardinal barracked on television, Fianna Fail in coalition government), a degree of understanding is sought in the past.

This is an optimistic view. All too often, as a soother gives a child comfort without sustenance, so there is a kind of local history (usually based on a parish) which imposes a kind of certainty on a past that was actually as confused and complicated as our own time. An antidote is also sought to the increasing standardization resulting from advances in technology and communications. At one level, not least the financial, we may be happy to accept a European identity, but exploration of our local identity is a way of asserting and confirming diversity.



The spread of third-level education, adult education and the increasing availability of specific courses (some to degree level) on local studies, are both a response to and a promotion of interest in local history. This interest is also manifested in the "Roots" and "Heritage" industries, both being industries in the sense that each has a clear commercial aspect. A problem with the heritage industry is that, driven by commercial considerations, historical veracity becomes subordinate to entertainment.

A very positive development, in the case of Tipperary specifically, is the role played by the Joint Libraries in facilitating and promoting research, and through the *Tipperary Historical Journal* allowing the publication of the fruits of that research. The County Museum, another example of local authority support, also makes a significant contribution to the growing interest in local history by conserving and displaying the documentary and material evidence of our past.

At a national level, the Office of Public Works and the "Discovery" Programme have been instrumental, particularly in the recovery of much that was hidden in the landscape with regard to the early history of the region.<sup>203</sup> The voluntary effort of individuals like George Cunningham has provided leadership and stimulus, though it has to be said that this kind of leadership seems more evident in the north of the county.<sup>204</sup>

One factor contributing to the growth of interest in local history has been a mixed blessing, namely the linkage between historical research and local employment schemes. As part of employment and training, many young people have been exposed to local history. This is a good thing. Not so good is the fact that in some instances those directing such schemes have no historical training and the process of historical research, writing and presentation is inadequate.<sup>205</sup>

The more that is published, the more gets published, and groups and individuals have increasingly taken advantage of changes in technology making publication of their work easier and cheaper. A human factor stimulating interest in local history is the enthusiasm and curiosity on the part of newcomers, who not infrequently have more interest in the landscape (and its history) of their new neighbourhood than many of the local population.<sup>206</sup>

One indication of the growth of interest in local history is the spread of historical/archaeological societies, many of which are of fairly recent foundation. This is a great advance from the lament of Dermot Gleeson, writing in 1941 about a few struggling societies "whose sparse membership is a national reproach".<sup>207</sup> Tipperary county, when compared with Cork, has a way to go in this respect. Cork has 18 societies listed in the 1996 membership of the Federation of Local History Societies. Tipperary has nine: Clonmel, Fethard, Nenagh, Newport, Ormond, Roscrea, Templemore, Tipperary Town and Tipperary County.<sup>208</sup>

Had Dermot Gleeson lived to see it, he would have been delighted with the evidence of the upsurge of interest in the history of the county over the past few decades. Summer schools in North Tipperary and Killenaule, week-ends in Mullinahone and Cahir devoted to specialised historical topics mark the change.

A particular source of stimulation was the sequence of "Tipperary Remembers" week-ends in Thurles during the 1970s. The theme of the first week-end in 1974 was Kickham. Those of subsequent years were: Young Irelanders (1975), Tipperary's Gaelic Heritage (1976), the River Suir (1977), the Struggle for the Land (1978), the Land League (1979) and finally Tipperary's Cistercian Foundations (1980). Booklets were published in conjunction with some of the themes, that of 1976 being the most comprehensive and useful, with for example an article by Peter Harbison on "Tipperary Romanesque".<sup>209</sup>

L.M. Cullen, professor of Modern Irish History at TCD, author of (among many other books)



*The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1900*, which was published in 1981 and which has been described as a vital contribution to a new emphasis on the regional perspective on Irish history, wrote the following:

Tipperary is the largest inland county in Ireland. With exclusively inland frontiers, its history has often quite literally got lost in the pages of the historical journals of neighbouring counties, if it has reached the printed page at all. There is a curious contrast between Tipperary's large place in Irish history, and meagre recognition of its historical interest in published work.<sup>210</sup>

These remarks opened a review by Cullen of a book, clearly seen as a landmark, not just in Tipperary historiography but in Irish regional history generally. The book in question, published in 1985, was *Tipperary: History and Society*, edited by two Tipperary academics, William Nolan (who published the book) and Thomas McGrath. The Tipperary volume was but the first in a series of "interdisciplinary essays" on individual counties. The series, which continues, includes Kilkenny (1990), Waterford (1992), Cork (1993) and Galway (1996).

The 19 essays in the Tipperary volume may be likened to a variety of paths up a mountain, some more difficult than others but each with its perspective on the surrounding countryside and all worth while. While this book is not, and does not purport to be, a history of the county, by presenting a range of topics, archaeology, biography, historical geography and folklore, directions were issued for further exploration. There are gaps, most obviously perhaps in a county like Tipperary, the roles of the IRB and the Irish Volunteers.<sup>211</sup>

The opening essay, "Some reflections upon the local dimension in history", was written by one of the country's most distinguished historians and certainly the Tipperaryman who has contributed most to the discipline of history Nicholas Mansergh (1910-91) was born near Tipperary town, a member of a family with deep roots in the region. His academic career was spent in England – in Oxford, London and Cambridge. During the war he served in the Ministry of Information where, serendipitously, his minister was a fellow Tipperaryman, Brendan Bracken.

Mansergh's magnum opus was *The Commonwealth Experience* (1969), a subject on which he was the international expert. His most notable contribution to Irish history was a book first published in 1940 and issued in a new and revised edition in 1965 as *The Irish Question 1840-1921*. In the essay mentioned above he made four valuable points about local history. Firstly, the need for balance between the anecdotally interesting but essentially trivial detail or incident and that which contributes to a deeper and clearer understanding of a time and place. (The actual contrast used is between the cannon ball lodged in Cahir Castle and the nearby flourmills.)

Secondly, in Mansergh's own words: "History in all its manifestations is basically an exact study". In other words, the reader is entitled to expect that whatever is written is on the basis of the available evidence. Thirdly, in order to treat of a place comprehensively, disciplines other than history should be used, most especially archaeological evidence.

Lastly, the relationship between local and national history presents a particular challenge, and here Mansergh made a distinction between local history *per se* and a local aspect of some national topic which a local historian might investigate.<sup>212</sup> An example would be the events in Tipperary of January 1919, which have all too often been parochialised by the first of these two approaches to history.

In recent years the main focus of Tipperary historiography has been the parish. Treatments of varying quality on some 30 parishes have been published, ranging from the small country



parish to large urban centres.<sup>213</sup> An examination of many of these works demonstrates just how pertinent are Professor Mansergh's strictures. Below are listed the ten rules which, if followed, will guarantee inadequate or at best mediocre local history.<sup>214</sup>

1. *Everything is of equal importance.* On the writer's part there is no selection and less compression.
2. *This is what happened here.* The writer has a kind of territorial myopia, so that the reader has no idea if what is being discussed is special to that particular locality. There is no comparison with other regions, and no evidence of wide reading.
3. *It's all about us and them and we won.* Balance and not revisionism is what is in question here.
4. *Local people tell the story of ....* The need for a careful mixture of narrative and analysis is sacrificed to story-telling.
5. *Who cares about the Middle Ages?* Because sources on medieval history are difficult to use, ignoring them means that much which explains the growth and development of the parish in its early manifestation remains hidden. The *Civil Survey*, for example, can reveal much about the pre-seventeenth century history of a place.
6. *Here's the information, make what you can of it.* Many local histories incorporate great slabs of raw data, Griffith's *Valuation* being the favourite. Little or no attempt is made to interpret this information for insights.
7. *Of course I did my research.* To echo Professor Mansergh's second point above: many local histories seem oblivious of whole categories of sources.
8. *No one is interested in source citations.* This is perhaps the most important reason why many local studies are of minimal value and it is a problem with many older works. Another common fault is the lack of an index.
9. *There is no need for maps; after all this is history, not geography.* The fact that certain kinds of information can best be presented in maps is ignored. Of course, the fact that data has to be understood and analysed before being mapped may have something to do with this.
10. *What do you mean – style?* All too often it seems not to be understood that more is required than just presenting information. Clarity, coherence, expressiveness and narrative flow are all desirable qualities of style.

With reference to local history generally, a very great deal of thought needs to be given to two fundamental questions – matters which have seemed so obvious as not to require questioning. The questions could hardly be simpler: what is the most suitable territorial extent, to which the usual answer has been the catholic parish, and secondly, what subject matter should be examined, to which the answer appears to be, everything.

But these are not either obvious or simple. An influential view, which has become known as the "Leicester school" (whose university was the first in Britain to take local history seriously as an academic discipline), declared that "the local historian should concern himself not with areas as such but with social entities".<sup>215</sup> This last expression has been explained in an Irish context as referring to the intricate network of overlapping communities, reaching from the family, through neighbourhood and into the wider local community; or, as another writer has expressed it, in a rural context, farm, townland and parish.<sup>216</sup>

In rural Ireland, with reference to the provision of services and the pattern of social interaction, daily life operates on a stage larger than the parish. This territory, more extensive than the parish but smaller than the county and sometimes crossing county boundaries, is the most meaningful in terms of people's actual experiences. Its extent varies over time and even at a given period, and will be different depending on the social and economic circumstances of particular groups.



The fact is that the catholic parish, which is only a few hundred years old, is too narrow a focus for a local study. People, of course, identify with their native parish. But, to use an analogy, like the living area of one's house, the parish is a warm core but one which is only understood by the setting in which it is placed. Local historians will continue to see the parish as a focus for research, but it would be more meaningful if a periphery, of which the parish was the core, was defined and thus became the field for investigation.<sup>217</sup>

Where does the county as a territorial division come in all this? As a county, Tipperary presents particular problems, not just because of its size but more because of its alignment, which is north-south. With regard to Tipperary town and district for example, the meaningful alignment is east-west, the 40 or so miles stretching between Clonmel and Limerick. The further back in time one goes, the more meaningless become county boundaries. The point is that exploring the history of a parish within the rigid confines of its borders makes about as much sense as doing a biographical study with the focus exclusively on the subject's domestic life.

On the second of the two questions raised above, the subject matter to be investigated in a local study, less is better. A few big topics comprehensively studied within flexible spacial boundaries could make a very real contribution, not just to local understanding but to Tipperary and national historiography. One, perhaps the great unmentionable for local historians, is "class", allowing the creation of a false though undoubtedly comfortable Alice Taylor-like view of the past, in which an undifferentiated catholic community endured great tribulations, only to emerge in triumph, thanks not a little to the Church and the Land Purchase Acts.<sup>218</sup>

This selective vision is all the more extraordinary as few motivators in rural life are more obvious than class. Just contemplate the social and economic ramifications of marriage or the difficulties 100 or so years ago when labourer's cottages were being built. It was not unknown in rural national schools that parents who had farms reacted very negatively to the children of labourers being placed as monitors over their children, whose social superiority could be thus compromised.<sup>219</sup>

Class, is of course, a difficult topic to handle; but there are no excuses for so many parish histories ignoring (or virtually ignoring) agriculture, the very breath of life in a rural community. Comprehensive agricultural statistics are available from 1847 and most aspects of rural life were subjected to official inquiry at one time or another. Detailed information on population, townland by townland, exists from 1841 which could be used to tell far more than just the broad pattern of change for the parish as a whole.

Given that the estate system was such a crucial part of social and economic organisation in the countryside, an investigation of the different estates within the designated region and the circumstances of the demise of a structure that seemed so solid, would be of value, especially if carried out as part of a number of parish histories. In the twentieth century a discussion on the relationship between voting patterns and economic expectations would be of value.

Context is everything. It should be made clear to the reader of a local history not just what the local experience was of the Great Famine, Cromwellian plantation, the Emergency or whatever topic is examined, but was the local impact different from elsewhere and, if so, why? In terms of expanding our understanding of the history of the county, it would be a great deal more useful if local historians wrote for a wider audience than the inhabitants of a particular parish, while contracting breadth but expanding depth.

It is possible, nevertheless, to view the future of Tipperary historiography with some optimism. The increasing availability of academic courses in local studies will over time add



professionalism to the obvious enthusiasm for the subject which is clear from the volume of publications. An indication of this professionalism are four books on very different topics published in recent years: James O'Shea's study of catholic priests in the county during the second half of the nineteenth century; George Cunningham's exploration of the Norman advance into North Tipperary; Thomas Power's analysis of the county in the eighteenth century; and most recently, Donal Murphy's account of the administration of Tipperary in the early nineteenth century.<sup>220</sup>

1804-1811	Rev. William Cavanagh
1812-1819	Rev. William H. Butler
1820-1827	Rev. William T. Butler
1828-1835	Rev. William Cavanagh
1836-1843	Rev. William Cavanagh
1844-1851	Rev. William Cavanagh
1852-1859	Rev. William Cavanagh
1860-1867	Rev. William Cavanagh
1868-1875	Rev. William Cavanagh
1876-1883	Rev. William Cavanagh
1884-1891	Rev. William Cavanagh
1892-1899	Rev. William Cavanagh
1900-1907	Rev. William Cavanagh
1908-1915	Rev. William Cavanagh
1916-1923	Rev. William Cavanagh
1924-1931	Rev. William Cavanagh
1932-1939	Rev. William Cavanagh
1940-1947	Rev. William Cavanagh
1948-1955	Rev. William Cavanagh
1956-1963	Rev. William Cavanagh
1964-1971	Rev. William Cavanagh
1972-1979	Rev. William Cavanagh
1980-1987	Rev. William Cavanagh
1988-1995	Rev. William Cavanagh
1996-2003	Rev. William Cavanagh
2004-2011	Rev. William Cavanagh
2012-2019	Rev. William Cavanagh
2020-2027	Rev. William Cavanagh
2028-2035	Rev. William Cavanagh
2036-2043	Rev. William Cavanagh
2044-2051	Rev. William Cavanagh
2052-2059	Rev. William Cavanagh
2060-2067	Rev. William Cavanagh
2068-2075	Rev. William Cavanagh
2076-2083	Rev. William Cavanagh
2084-2091	Rev. William Cavanagh
2092-2099	Rev. William Cavanagh
2100-2107	Rev. William Cavanagh
2108-2115	Rev. William Cavanagh
2116-2123	Rev. William Cavanagh
2124-2131	Rev. William Cavanagh
2132-2139	Rev. William Cavanagh
2140-2147	Rev. William Cavanagh
2148-2155	Rev. William Cavanagh
2156-2163	Rev. William Cavanagh
2164-2171	Rev. William Cavanagh
2172-2179	Rev. William Cavanagh
2180-2187	Rev. William Cavanagh
2188-2195	Rev. William Cavanagh
2196-2203	Rev. William Cavanagh



## Appendix

### Contributors to Tipperary historiography

(Contemporary historians are not included in this list)

Richard Bagweell	1840-1918
Rev. William Canon Burke	1864-1941
Sir William F. Butler	1838-1910
William F. T. Butler	1869-1930
Martin Callanan	1866-1941
Fr. Colmcille Conway	1909-1992
John Lalor Cooke	b.1784
Rev. Timothy Corcoran S.J.	1872-1943
Cormac mac Cuileannain	d.908
Rev. James H. Cotter	1857-1947
Michael Doheny	1805-1863
William S. Doyle	d.1967
Jeremiah Dowling	1869-1958
Andrew Finn	1884-1958
Paul J. Flynn	1858-1937
Dermot F. Gleeson	1896-1962
Rev. John Gleeson	1855-1927
Patrick Heffernan	1878-1971
William Despard Hemphill	1816-1902
Dorothea Herbert	1770-1829
Harry Howard	1911-1992
Geoffrey Keating	c.1570-1644
James M. Kennedy	1862-1946
Rev. Michael Kenny S.J.	1862-1946
Rev. Neil Kevin	1903-1953
Thomas Laffan	1842-1918
Rev. John Lanigan	1758-1828
Rev. Patrick Lee	1902-1977
Micheal Mac Carthaigh	1911-1985
James Maher	1904-1977
Nicholas Mansergh	1910-1991
William Shaw Mason	1774-1853
John F. Meagher	1848-1891
James F. Morrissey	1874-1952
Rev. Ignatius Murphy	1938-1993
Jeremiah F. McCarthy	d.1950
Laura M. McCraith	b.1870
Sir Michael O'Dwyer	1864-1940
John O'Leary	1830-1907
Rev. Patrick Power	1862-1951
Rev. Laurence Renehan	1797-1857
Rev. St. John D. Seymour	c.1883-1950



Edward H. Sheehan	1882-1952
Rev. Walter Skehan	1905-1971
Charles Smith	c.1715-1762
Paul Walsh	1908-1994
James White	1852-1924
John Davis White	1820-1893

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4. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
5. F.J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings* (London, 1973), p. 174.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-9; P. O Fiannachta, Tipperary in Ireland's Golden Age in W.J. Hayes (ed.), *Tipperary Remembers* (Tipperary Remembers Society, 1976), pp. 27-8.
7. S. Mac Airt (ed), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin, 1951).
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10. A 946, not 947.
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12. Published by the Irish Texts Society in four volumes; vol. i, ed. D. Comyn (1902), the remaining volumes edited by p. S. Dinneen (1908, 1914). See also B. O Cuiv, *An Eighteenth Century Account of Keating in Eigse*, ix, 4, pp. 263-69.
13. Keating, i, p. iv.
14. DNB, x, pp. 1162-3; R.J.C., *Geoffrey Keating: Priest, Poet and Patriot His Life, Times and Literary Work* (CTS, Dublin, 1913).
15. Keating, ii, pp. 323-5.
16. DNB, xx, pp. 816-7.
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21. C. Smith, *A history of counties Limerick, Clare and Tipperary* (RIA, Dublin, MS 24.G.9).
22. See H.F. Berry, *A History of the Royal Dublin Society* (London, 1915); D. Clarke, *Dublin Society's Statistical Surveys* (Dublin, 1957).
23. DNB, xx, pp. 785-6; *New History of Ireland*, iv (Oxford, 1986), p. 416.
24. W.J. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Wits and Worthies* (Dublin, 1873); P. L. O'Madden, *An Irish Church Historian: Rev. John Lanigan D.D.* (n.d.); Kenney, *Sources*, pp. 60-61.
25. DNB, xi, pp. 576-8.
26. Rev. John Lanigan D.D., *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the first introduction of christianity among the Irish to the beginning of the thirteenth century*, 4 vols. (Dublin, 1822).
27. Kenney, *Sources*, p. 58.
28. *A complete survey of County Tipperary made in 1832 on the scheme laid down by the RDS by J. Lalor Cooke, covering every aspect of the county* (NLI, MSS 8146-8147).
29. For Cooke family, see *Notebook of T. Lalor Cooke* (NLI, Ms 19822); Burke, *LGI*, iii (London, 1849), pp. 73-5.



30. *Memoranda for statistical survey of Tipperary* (NLI, MS 96); *Extracts from Gorton's Topographical Dictionary re. County Tipperary, with corrections by J. Lalor Cooke* (NLI, Ms 5254). Gorton's three-volume work was published in 1833.
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42. J.F. Meagher, *Annals, Antiquities and Records of Carrick-on-Suir A.D. 1169-1829* (Dublin, 1881).
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45. *J.R.S.A.I.*, xix (5th series) (1909) – the Tipperary articles are: H.S. Crawford, *Ruins of Loughmoe Castle*, pp. 234-41; J.F. Morrissey, *Clonmel*, pp. 242-53; Crawford, *Carrick Castle*, p. 255; Crawford, *Crosses of Kilkieran and Ahenny*, pp. 256-60; Crawford, *Donoughmore Church*, pp. 261-64; T.J. Morrissey, *St Patrick's Well*, pp. 265-6; R. Bagwell, *Innislounagh Abbey*, pp. 267-8; T.J. Morrissey, *Tickencor and Derrinlour Castle*, pp. 269-70; Count de la Poer, *Gurteen le Poer*, p. 271; Rev. W.P. Burke, *Cahir Castle*, pp. 272-74; G.H. Orpen, *Mote of Knockgraffon*, pp. 275-7; Lt Col. R. Cooke, *Kiltinan*, p. 278; R. Cochrane, *Augustinian Priory of Athassel*, pp. 279-89; T.J. Morrissey, *Fethard*, pp. 290-93; R.A.S. Macalister, *Ogham Stones c. Clonmel and Carrick*, pp. 294-6.
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75. Seymour, *Emly*, p. 182.
76. The 1982 edition appeared in two volumes, published by Roberts Books Kilkenny.
77. This bibliography covers North Tipperary generally.
78. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vi, 5th series (1915), pp. 66a-70.
78. Gleeson, op. cit., p. 212.



80. Rev. John Gleeson, *Cashel of the Kings: a history of the ancient capital of Munster from the date of its foundation until the DreSent day* (Dublin, 1927).
81. Paul J. Flynn, *The Book of the Galtees and the Golden Vale – a border history of Tipperary, Limerick and Cork* (Dublin, 1926).
82. *Nationalist*, 17, 20 Nov. 1937.
83. *J. N. Munster Arch. Soc.*, iii (1913), pp. 4-21; *Tipperary's Annual 1912*, pp. 116-18.
84. *Studies*, xvii (1928), pp. 161-62.
85. *Clonmel Chronicle*, 7 July 1928; *J.R.S.A.I.*, lviii (1928), p. 171.
86. *Burke's Irish Family Records*, pp. 195-7; *J.R.S.A.I.*, i, 7th series (1931), p. 82; *J. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, xxxv (1930), pp. 51-3.
87. Clan and Settler in Ormond, in *J. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, xx (1914), pp. 1-16; also An Irish legend of the origins of the barons of Cahir in *J.R.S.A.I.*, xv (1925), pp. 6-14; The descendants of James 9th earl of Ormond in *J.R.S.A.I.*, xix (1929), pp. 29-44.
88. W.F.T. Butler, *Confiscation in Irish History* (1917, 1970 reprint).
89. Details of articles on the county in these and other periodicals will be found in the nine volumes of Richard J. Hayes, *Source for the History of Irish Civilization: articles in Irish Periodicals*. This is arranged under the headings: Persons, Subjects, Places and Dates but does not include more recent material.
90. For details of these articles see the Cunningham bibliography in Gleeson mentioned above.
91. *Molua* (1943), pp. 33-7.
92. The Hayes Index (n. 89) lists some 180 articles; see S. O Riain, *Dunkerrin: A Parish in Ely O Carroll* (Dunkerrin, 1988).
93. T. Corcoran S.J., *Some Lists of Catholic Lay Teachers and their illegal schools in the later Penal times* (Dublin, 1932).
94. *Studies*, xxiii (1934), pp. 323-29.
95. See Section V of this article for a discussion on parish histories.
96. *Studies*, xxi (1933), pp. 524-5.
97. Published in London.
98. *The Times*, 23 June 1933.
99. *The Times*, 14 March 1940; for his early career, his autobiographical *India as I Knew It 1885-1925* (London, 1925) and for a more impartial view, Alfred Draper, *Amritsar: the massacre that ended the Raj* (London, 1981).
100. O'Dwyer, *Kilnamanagh*, chapter vii.
101. *The Dublin Review*, July 1938, pp. 106-27.
102. *Tipperary Star*, 29 Sept. 1962; *J.R.S.A.I.*, xciii (1963), pp. 88-9.
103. See the Cunningham bibliography in Gleeson, *Ely O'Carroll*.
104. *Ibid.*
105. Dermot F. Gleeson, *The Last Lords of Ormond – a history of the 'Countrie of the Three O'Kennedys' during the seventeenth century* (London, 1938), p. vii. This work is reprinted, with an introduction by Daniel Grace in 1997 by Relay Books, Nenagh.
106. K. Nicholls, Gaelic landownership in Tipperary in the light of the surviving Irish deeds, in W. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: History and Society* (Dublin, 1985), p. 441.
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108. M. Callanan, *Records of Four Tipperary Septs – the O'Kennedys, O'Dwyers, O'Mulryans, O'Meaghers* (Galway, 1938), reprinted 1995 by JAG Publishing.
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110. *The Abbey of Holy Cross* (Printed for the author, n.d.); article in *J. N. Munster Antiq. Soc.*, i (1937), pp. 67-77.
111. *Irish Historical Studies*, ii (1940), pp. 108-9, review by R.D. Edwards.
112. J. C. O'Meagher, *Some Historical Notices of the O'Meaghers of Ikerrin* (London, 1886).
113. Rev. James H. Cotter, *Tipperary* (New York, 1929).



114. *The Catholic Bulletin*, xxii (1932); see O Riain (n. 92), pp. 210-11.
115. Cotter, *Tipperary*, pp. 4, 143-44.
116. J.F. MacCarthy, *Tipperary: its antiquities and its growth* (Dublin, n.d.).
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119. J.M. Kennedy, *Historic and important dates in the civic life of Thurles* (Thurles, 1941). This was revised under the title *A Chronology of Thurles 580-1978* (Thurles, 1979).
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121. Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir and Dunboyne A.D. 1400-1650 (Dublin, 1945).
122. A. O'Sullivan and P. O'Riain (eds.), *Poems on Marcher Lords from a sixteenth century Tipperary manuscript* (Dublin, 1987).
123. Edmund Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, i, 1172-1350 (Dublin, 1932); ii, 1350-1413 (Dublin, 1934); iii, 1413-1509 (Dublin, 1935); iv, 1509-1547 (Dublin, 1937); v, 1547-1584 (Dublin, 1941); vi, 1584-1603 (Dublin, 1943).
124. P. O'Connell and W.C. Darmody (eds.), *Siege of Clonmel Commemoration Tercentenary Souvenir Record* (Clonmel, 1950).
125. Among the articles published were: P. Lyons, *Ancient Road Systems of South Tipperary* in i (1952), pp. 10-17; S. O'Grugair, *The Story of Darby Ryan, poet of Co. Tipperary* in ii (1953-54), pp. 23-29; in iii (1954-55), two articles by Lyons on Clonmel and his obit.; Rev. C. Conway, *The Cistercian Abbey of Inislounagh* in iv (1955-56), pp. 3-52.
126. Biographical notice in *Knocknagow Remembers* (1982); *The Valley near Slievenamon* (Mullinahone, 1942).
127. *Romantic Slievenamon in History, Folklore and Song – a Tipperary Anthology* (Mullinahone, 1954).
128. *Chief of the Comeraghs – a John O'Mahony Anthology* (Mullinahone, 1957); *Rare Clonmel – a Charles J. Boland Anthology* (Mullinahone, 1959). In 1970 the Clonmel *Nationalist* published Maher's *Ormond Castle Carrick-on-Suir Co. Tipperary – An Anthology*.
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130. E. Gorman, *Records of Moycarkey and Two-Mile-Borris, with some fireside stories* (Galway, 1935).
131. M. Kenny S.J. and V. Rev. John Quinlan PP, *Glankeen of Borrisoleigh: A Tipperary Parish* (Dublin, 1944).
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32.
133. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxxv (1945), p. 70. See *Tipperary Remembers* (1976), pp. 93-4.
134. D.F. Gleeson, *Roscrea: a history of the catholic parish of Roscrea from the earliest times to the present day with some account of the territories of Ui Cairin and Eile Ui Cearbhaill* (Dublin, 1947).
135. D.F. Gleeson, *Your Parish and its History* (Muintir na Tire Rural Publications, Tipperary 1961). This was originally published in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*.
136. E.H. Sheehan, *Nenagh and its Neighbourhood* (1st. ed. Nenagh, 1948; revised and enlarged ed. 1949, reprinted 1976 by Relay Books, Nenagh.)
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138. Rev. Aubrey Gwynn S.J. and D.F. Gleeson, *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe* (Dublin, 1962).
139. Edward A. Cooke, *The diocesan history of Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh* (Dublin, 1886); Rev. Philip Dwyer, *The Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation to the close of the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1878).
140. Murphy, *Killaloe 1850-1904*, pp. 325-6.
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142. Ignatius Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin, 1991); *The Diocese of Killaloe 1800-1850* (Dublin, 1992); *The Diocese of Killaloe 1850-1904* (Dublin, 1995).
143. Copies of these calendars are available in the Local Studies Dept., Tipperary County Libraries, Thurles. Material from these papers have been published by Rev. Mark Tierney in *Collectanae Hibernica*, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16-20 and by Rev Christopher O'Dwyer in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxxiii, xxxiv.



144. *Pobal Ailbe – Atlas* (Thurles, 1970); *Pobal Ailbe – Cashel and Emly Census of Population 1841-1971* (Thurles, 1975).
145. Walter G. Skehan PP, *Cashel and Emly Heritage* (Abbey Books, Holy Cross, 1993).
146. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
147. Rev. W.G. Skehan, Extracts from the minutes of the Corporation of Fethard, Co. Tipperary in *The Irish Genealogist*, iv, 2 (1969), pp. 81-92; iv, 3 (1970), pp. 183-93; iv, 4 (1971), pp. 308-22; iv, 6 (1973), pp. 616-24; v, 1 (1974), pp. 72-86; v, 2 (1975), pp. 201-15; v, 3 (1976), pp. 370-82.
148. *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert 1770-1806* was first published in two volumes in 1929-30 and in a single volume edition in 1988 with an historical note by L.M. Cullen.
149. J. Lidwill, *The history and memoirs of John Lidwill eldest son of Thomas Lidwill Esq., late of Clonmore in Co. Tipperary etc.* (Dublin, 1804).
150. M. Doheny, *The Felon's Track or history of the attempted outbreak* (various Irish editions).
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152. M. Bourke, *John O'Leary: a study in Irish separatism* (Tralee, 1967), p. 213.
153. W. Rutherford, '67 *Retrospection* (Tipperary, 1903). The late Brendan Walsh first drew this very rare pamphlet to my attention.
154. D. Breen, *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (Dublin, 1924). This appeared in an enlarged edition in 1964 and has been often reprinted.
155. S. Fitzpatrick, *Recollections of the fight for Irish Freedom* (Tipperary, n.d., probably 1972); Bryan Ryan, *A full private remembers the Troubled Times* (Hollyford, 1969).
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157. Neil Kevin, *I Remember Karrigeen* (Dublin, 1944).
158. Liam Maher, *I Remember Neil Kevin (1903-1953) – an assessment of his life and of his writings* (Roscrea, 1990).
159. Joseph Brady, *The Big Sycamore* (Dublin, 1958); also the same writer's *In Monavalla* (Dublin, 1963).
160. J Dowling, *An Irish Doctor Remembers* (Dublin, 1955). An unpublished diary kept by Dowling's uncle, also an M.D. in Tipperary, was the basis of an article by D.G. Marnane in *T.H.J.* (1990), pp. 39-46.
161. Patrick Heffernan M.D., *An Irish Doctor's Memories* (Dublin, 1958).
162. P. Heffernan, *The Heffernans and their times* (London, 1940).
163. H. Howard, *'And the Harvest is Done': life on the land in Offaly and Tipperary* (Dublin, 1990).
164. Ion Trant, *Just Across the Water* (Dovea, 1996); Kevin FitzGerald, *With O'Leary in the Grave* (Oxford, 1987).
165. Mary Healy, *For the Poor and for the Gentry: Mary Healy remembers her life* (Dublin, 1989).
166. Kathleen Moloughney, *Roscrea Me Darlin* (Roscrea, 1987) and *Roscrea My Heart's Home* (Roscrea, 1992).
167. Patrick Cranley, *Just Standing Idly By* (Tipperary, 1993), and *Moving On* (Tipperary, 1995).
168. See C. Brady, Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond (1531-1614) and the Reformation in Tudor Ireland in C. Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the Game – Losers in Irish History* (Dublin, 1989), pp. 49-59. Thomas Carte, *A history of the life of James, first duke of Ormonde*, 3 vols. (London, 1735-6) and 6 vols. (Oxford, 1851). Lady Burghclere, *The life of James, first duke of Ormonde*, 2 vols. (London, 1912). *A brief Life* by J.C. Beckett appeared in 1990.
169. R. Wyse Jackson, *Archbishop Magrath, the scoundrel of Cashel* (Dublin, 1974).
170. Rev. M. Maher, *The Archbishops of Cashel* (CTS, 1927); Desmond Forristal *Seventeen Martyrs* (Dublin, 1990), Dermot O'Hurley pp. 25-36; T.A O'Brien, pp. 73-77; William Tirry, pp. 85-91.
171. Mark Tierney, *Croke of Cashel: the life of Archbishop Croke 1823-1903* (Dublin, 1976).
172. Laurence Walsh, O. Cist., *Richard Heaton of Ballyskenagh 1601-1666* (Roscrea, 1978).
173. Albert Barry C.S.S.R., *The Life of Count Arthur Moore* (Dublin, 1905).
174. Maurice Hennessy, *The Rajah from Tipperary* (London, 1971).



175. William Murphy, *C.J. Kickham, patriot, novelist, poet* (Dublin, 1903); Richard Kelly, *C.J. Kickham* (Dublin, 1914); J.J. Healy, *Life and times of C.J. Kickham* (Dublin, 1915); R.V. Comerford, *C.J. Kickham: a study in Irish nationalism and literature* (Dublin, 1979).
176. J.F. Maguire, *Fr. Mathew: a biography* (London, 1863); P. Rogers, *Fr. Theobald Mathew, 'apostle of temperance'* (London, 1945) and to put his famous campaign in context: Elizabeth Malcolm, *'Ireland Sober, Ireland Free!' drink and temperance in nineteenth century Ireland* (Dublin, 1986). Also, Colm Kerrigan, *Fr. Matthew and the Irish Temperance Movement 1838-49* (Cork, 1992).
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178. J. O'Shea, *Priest, Politics and Society in Post-famine Ireland – a study of County Tipperary 1850-1891* (Dublin, 1983).
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180. J. Clancy, *A study of Fr Kenyon in Molua* (1946); D. Gleeson, *Fr John Kenyon and Young Ireland in Studies xxxv* (1946); D. Gwynn, *Fr Kenyon and Young Ireland in Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, lxxi (1949).
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182. Michael Sadleir, *Blessington-D'Orsay, a Masquerade* (London, 1933).
183. Dolores Dooley, *Anna Doyle Wheeler in Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy (eds.), Women. Power and Consciousness in nineteenth century Ireland* (Dublin, 1995) Dolores Dooley, *Equality in Community – sexual equality in the writings of William Thompson and Anna Doyle Wheeler* (Cork, 1996).
184. C.M. Ford, *Aleen Cust Veterinary Surgeon, Britain's First Woman Vet* (Bristol, 1990). Another pioneering career was that of Daisy Bates (1859-1951), born in Roscrea, who devoted her life to the care of Australian aboriginal people. See I. White (ed.), *Daisy Bates – The Native Tribes of Western Australia* (Canberra, 1985).
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190. J.D. Forbes, *Victorian Architect: the life and work of William Tinsley* (Indiana U.P., 1953).
191. H.E. Socolofsky, *Landlord William Scully* (Kansas, 1979).
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193. Jacqueline Grant, *Providence: the life and times of John Grant* (Charles Sturt University Bathurst N.S.W., 1994).
194. Desmond Ryan, *Sean Treacy and the 3rd Tipperary Brigade* (Tralee, 1945).
195. Deaglan O Bric, *Pierce McCan M.P. in T.H.J. (1988)*, pp. 121-32 and (1989), pp. 105-17. For this period generally, see Joost Augusteijn, *The operations of South Tipperary IRA 1916-21 in T.H.J. (1996)*, pp. 145-63 and the same author's *From Public Defiance to Guerrilla Warfare* (Dublin, 1996). Also, Colm O Labhra, *Trodairi na Treas Briodaide* (Nenagh, 1955). This was the pen-name of Fr. Colmille Conway, O.Cist. (1909-1992), whose account of the period 1921-23 was published in *T.H.J. (1990)*, pp. 9-26; (1991), pp. 35-49; (1992), pp. 23-30.
196. S. O Riain, *Maurice Davin (1842-1927): first president of the GAA* (Dublin, 1994).
197. Andrew Boyle, *Poor Dear Brendan: the quest for Brendan Bracken* (London, 1974); C.E. Lysaght, *Brendan Bracken* (London, 1979).
198. Nancy Murphy, *Joseph K. Bracken, GAA founder, fenian and politician in Nolan (ed.), Tipperary: History and Society*, pp. 379-93.
199. Stephen Rynne, *Father John Hayes* (Dublin, 1960).



200. John P. Gordon CSSP., *Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria* (Dublin, 1949).
201. M. Goldsmith, *Sage: a life of J.D. Bernal* (London, 1980).
202. Ide M. Ni Riain, *The life and times of A.V. Ryan* (No place of publication, n.d.). At a time when genealogy is of increasing interest, more and more works of family history are being published. The following may be noted: Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary, studies in heredity and character* (Cork, 1972); on the Scully family see B.C. MacDermot, Letters of John Scully to James Duff Coghlan in *The Irish Genealogist*, vi, 1 (1980), vi, 2 (1981), vi, 3 (1982), vi, 4 (1983). On the Everard family see Richard H.A.J. Everard, The Family of Everard in *The Irish Genealogist*, vii, 3 (1988), vii, 4 (1989), viii, 2 (1991), viii, 4 (1993). M.R. Smeltzer, *The Smeltzers of Kilcooley and their Irish Palatine kissing cousins* (Baltimore, 1981). M. MacEwan, *The Ryan Family and the Scarteen Hounds* (Salisbury, 1989). Fr. Paul Bateman, *Heffernans from Clonbonane* (priv. pub., Australia, 1990). E. D. Murnane, It's not such a long way to Tipperary – the story of the Murnane family of Cappanaiac, Co. Tipperary (Chigago, 1991). R. Austin-Cooper, *Butterhill & Beyond – an illustrated history of the Cooper family of Byfleet, Killenure Castle, Co. Tipperary and Abbeville House, Co. Dublin* (priv. pub., 1991). J. O'Carroll Robertson, *A long way from Tipperary* (Upton Severn, England 1994) – about the Carrolls of Lissenhall and Tulla in Co. Tipperary. Sir A.F. Baker, The Bakers of Lismacue in *T.H.J.* (1994), pp. 115-28. T. Hayden, The Haydens in Tipperary – a 700 year journey in *T.H.J.* (1994), pp. 142-54. J. O'Meara, The O'Mearas of Lissinsky in *T.H.J.* (1996), pp. 117-35. R.C. Ryan-Hackett, *The Stapletons of Drom, alias Font-Forte, Co. Tipperary* (Killiney, 1995).
203. See K. Daly, The Archaeological Survey of Co. Tipperary in *T.H.J.* (1994), pp. 155-61; Discovery Programme Reports: 1 1992 (RIA, 1993).
204. *T.H.J.* (1988), pp. 142-54.
205. Three examples of good work are: G.T. Stout, *Archaeological Survey of the Barony of Ikerrin* (Roscrea, 1984); *Civil Parish Memoirs, I, Rathnaveoge* (Roscrea, 1985) – this was part of a planned environmental survey of North Tipperary; W.J. Hayes (ed.), *Heritage Atlas of the civil parish of Roscrea* (typescript, n.d.).
206. For consideration of increasing interest in local history see: *Report and evidence of the committee under Lord Blake set up in 1977 to review local history in England and Wales*, pp. 5-8; F. O'Ferrall, The 'Country of the Mind' – Irish Local History Reviewed in *The Irish Review*, iii (1988), pp. 118-25; R.F. Foster, History Locality and Identity in *J. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.* (1992), pp. 1-10; Tom Dunne, New Histories: Beyond Revisionism in *The Irish Review*, xii (1992), pp. 1-12; K. Whelan, The Power of Place in *The Irish Review*, xii (1992), pp. 13-20.
207. D.F. Gleeson, The idea of a Diocesan History in *Molua* (1941), pp. 3-8. Speaking at the opening of a museum in Clonmel in 1952, the chairman of the Arts Council lamented the popular perception that such societies were elitist – *Nationalist*, 26 Jan 1952.
208. J. Sheehan (ed.), *Local History Review* (1995), pp. 116-24.
209. The Tipperary Remembers Week-ends continued for several more years, the themes being: Parnell to Pearse (1981); Tipperary County 1916-21 (1982); Thurles – a Butler Town (1983) and The GAA (1984).
210. *Irish Times*, 21.9.1985.
211. William Nolan has also written and published a guide to sources for local history: *Tracing the Past – sources for Local Studies in the Republic of Ireland* (Dublin, 1982). Also useful is D.F. Begley (ed.), *Irish Genealogy: a Record Finder* (Dublin, 1981). The only bibliography of Tipperary sources is very much out of date, being compiled in the 1970s – Mary McLoughney, *A Bibliography Antiquities* (Typescript, Thurles Co. Library, n.d.).
212. N. Mansergh, Some reflections upon the local dimension in history in Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: History and Society*, pp. 1-7. See also his obituary notice in *T.H.J.* (1991), pp. 244-47.
213. This list is alphabetical by parish and is as comprehensive as possible: P. Meskell, *History of Boherlahan-Dualla* (author, 1987); E. Slevin (ed.), *A Parish History of Borrisokane* (Nenagh, 1994); M.T. Keane, 'In and Out of Cahir' (author, n.d.); S. Fitzgerald, *Cappawhite and Doon* (author, n.d.); P.C. Power, *Carrick-on-Suir and its People* (Dun Laoghaire, 1976); B. Moloney (ed.), *Times to Cherish*



– Cashel and Rosegreen Parish History 1795-1995 (Cashel, 1994); A. Hewson, *Clonakenny and Bourney: a local history* (Roscrea, n.d.); S. O Riain, *Dunkerrin – a Parish in Ely O Carroll* (Dunkerrin, 1988); M. and L. O'Dwyer, *The Parish of Emly: its history and heritage* (Emly, 1987); Gortnahoe-Glengooole, *a Guide* (authors, n.d.); M. McHugh (ed.), *The History of Hollyford Parish* (F.A.S., 1988-89); W.G. Neely, *Kilcooley: Land and People in Tipperary* (author, 1983); J.J. Hassett (ed.), *The History and Folklore of Killenaule-Moyglass* (Killenaule, n.d.); M. MacCarthaigh, *A Tipperary Parish: a history of Knockavilla-Donaskeigh* (author, 1986); *Leatracha-Odhraín – a souvenir booklet* (Latteragh, 1982); P. Buckley and G. Riordan, *History of a Tipperary Parish, Lattin and Cullen* (authors, n.d.); J. Tobin, *Loughmore Parish* (author, n.d.); D. Grace, *Portrait of a Parish: Monsea and Killodiernan Co. Tipperary* (Nenagh, 1996); *Mount Bruis* (I.C.A., 1984); Nancy Murphy, *Walkabout Nenagh* (Nenagh, 1994); A. Hewson, *Faith in Place – Roscrea and Kyle: a Church of Ireland Parish History* (Roscrea, 1990); G. Cunningham, *Roscrea and District* (Roscrea, 1976); P. W. Walsh, *A History of Templemore and its Environs* (author, 1991); D. O'Gorman, *Historic Thurles* (Limerick, 1984); W. Corbett and W. Nolan (eds.), *Thurles: the Cathedral Town – essays in honour of Archbishop Thomas Morris* (Dublin, 1989); A. Ryan, *Toemverig* (author, 1992); T. Shanahan, Rev. J. Kennedy and T. Boland (eds.), *Toomevara: the unbroken chain* (authors, 1981). The many histories of GAA clubs published in recent years are outside the scope of this article.

214. Adapted from H.P.R. Finsberg, *How not to write local history*, in Finsberg and V.H.T. Skipp (eds.), *Local History – objective and pursuit* (Newton Abbot, 1967), pp. 71-86.
215. Finsberg, *Local History* in op. cit., supra, p. 32. The Blake Committee shied away from defining 'local history' but did note that the crux lay with the definition of 'local' (pp. 2-3).
216. See R. Gillespie and G. Moran (eds.), *'A Various Country', essays in Mayo history 1500-1900* (Westport, 1987), p. 13; K. Whelan, *The Bases of Regionalism*, in P. O Drisceoil (ed.), *Culture in Ireland – Regions: Identity and Power* (Belfast, 1993), pp. 5-14.
217. Not all of the Tipperary material published in recent years is parish history; for example, P.C. Power, *History of South Tipperary* (Cork & Dublin, 1989), M. O Corrbui, *Tipperary* (Dingle, 1991); M. Hallinan (ed.), *Tipperary County: People and Places* (Dublin, 1993), E. Burke Houlihan (ed.), *Tipperary: A Treasure Chest* (Nenagh, 1995) and A. Moloney (ed.), *St. Ailbe's Heritage – a guide to the history, genealogy and towns of the archdiocese of Cashel and Emly* (Tipperary, n.d.), M. Hallinan (ed.), *Tales from the Deise* (Dublin, 1996). While this type of material is popular, it does not add anything to the historiography of the county.
218. See M. Silverman and P. H. Gulliver, *Historical anthropology and the ethnographic tradition: a personal, historical and intellectual account*, in Silverman and Gulliver (ed.), *Approaching the Past* p. 10 and generally.
219. Mrs Morgan John O'Connell, *Munster Land Owning* (London, 1886).
220. J. O'Shea, *Priest, Politics and Society in Post-famine Ireland* (Dublin, 1983); G. Cunningham, *The Anglo-Norman Advance into the South-West Midlands of Ireland 1185-1221* (Roscrea, 1987); Thomas P. Power, *Land, Politics and Society in Eighteenth Century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993); D.A. Murphy, *The Two Tipperarys* (Nenagh, 1994).

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