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# *Prelude to a Clonmel labour movement*

## *1830–1900*

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By Seán O'Donnell

Clonmel is of particular interest in the history of Irish labour because it was the location of the founding of the Irish Labour party in 1912. An examination of the origins of the labour movement there in the nineteenth century therefore seems appropriate as does an effort to determine if the organising of workers there differed in any way from that in other urban centres. The development of the labour movement throughout Ireland had been a very slow and localised process. It was not until the first decade of the twentieth century that there was a centralising and uniformity about the movement under Connolly and Larkin which displaced the more local disposition. It is this displaced local structure which interests us here.

The labour movement is entwined with the fortunes of trade unions. Trade unionism in Ireland can be traced back to the guilds which were a feature of the larger medieval urban centres. Clonmel was granted the right to have a guild in the charter of James I in 1609. The guilds were associations of merchants and craftsmen in cities and towns for the mutual benefit of members and for the purpose of regulating their trade and craft. From the beginning of the eighteenth century the economic power of the guilds in towns like Clonmel was on the decline because of a movement towards deregulation and because of the growth of journeymen's clubs. They did retain their political importance, however, because guild members had the right to vote in municipal elections. This right was taken from them by the Municipal Act of 1840.

By 1830 workers in Clonmel were organised into a trades association. There were several such associations in cities and towns throughout Ireland at that time. These were organisations of skilled craftsmen, there being little organisation of women workers or unskilled labourers in the town for another sixty years. They differed from the guilds in that they were exclusive to craftsmen and were non-denominational. Catholics had been excluded from the guilds by the oath of supremacy but a class of associate membership was instituted which allowed Catholics and Quakers entry.

The trades associations of the 1830s and 1840s retained features of the guilds such as the promotion of the employment and welfare of their own members. And like the guilds, they identified with the body corporate by observing the ritual and ceremony associated with civic and religious occasions. The Clonmel trades association was at various times between 1830 and the early 1880s referred to as the Clonmel Trades Council or the Clonmel Trades Club or the Clonmel Associated Trades. It is possible to estimate the number of tradesmen in the town in the 1830s from the voters' lists prior to the 1840 Municipal Act, the list for 1837 being the most reliable. There were 843 voters on that list, and of these, 232 were tradesmen, the largest group being the shoemakers, followed by the carpenters and tailors.<sup>1</sup>

A feature of nineteenth century trades associations was the emergence from them of friendly societies. These were working class self-help associations, collecting regular subscriptions from which members could draw financial support at times of illness and from which death benefits and funeral expenses could be paid and also offering opportunities for sociability and recreation.

They received legal recognition in an Irish act of 1796 and a United Kingdom act of 1829.<sup>2</sup> Two hundred and eighty-one Irish friendly societies, 119 of which were in Dublin, registered under the latter act in 1831.

The Carpenters' Society of Clonmel, established in 1838, was such a friendly society. Its twenty-seven rules and regulations were drawn up in accordance with the 1829 legislation.<sup>3</sup> It was non-denominational and was regulated by a president (referred to as a master), a secretary and treasurer, and a committee of six, all elected by the members at regular intervals. Its regulation on apprenticeships was quite restricted in that members could not keep more than one apprentice at a time and he must be a son, brother or nephew of that member, or a son of a deceased member. An apprenticeship was to last for five years and on its completion a period of five years must elapse before the member could take on another apprentice. All surplus funds of the society were to be invested in public stocks or saving bonds. If a member was unable to work because of illness he was paid nine shillings a week for the first six months and four shillings and six pence a week thereafter. These benefits were paid provided that 'he is not guilty of drunkenness, debauchery, rioting or playing unlawful games' (the latter being a reference to games which were forbidden on the streets of the town by corporation bye-laws) There were 27 carpenters on the 1837 voters' list, including those listed as cabinet-makers, and they included three members of the Tinsley family and two of the Graham family, the former being the father and brothers of the distinguished architect, and the latter being renowned throughout the south of Ireland for the manufacture of high class furniture.

The regulations of the Carpenters' Society demanded a degree of discipline from its members. Fines of two shillings and six pence were imposed for failure to deliver the allowance to a sick member on time, or for striking another member at a meeting. Fines were also imposed for defrauding the society, for an unexplained absence from the monthly meeting, for cursing or swearing or being drunk at a meeting, for not treating the master with respect or for not attending the funeral of a deceased member. The society was obliged to seek verification from a barrister on certain occasions that it was fulfilling its obligations and this was done in 1867 and again in 1886.

A friendly society of a slightly different nature was founded in Clonmel in 1858 by William Curran. It was known as the Clonmel Working Classes Mortality Society and it held monthly meetings in rooms at Constitution Lane. Curran was chairman of the society until 1866. It had about one hundred and fifty members and its president was the parish priest of SS Peter and Paul's, Michael Burke. Among its patrons were local politicians John Bagwell and Edward Cantwell. In the first four years of its existence it gave £120 in assistance for the sick and paid £88 for burials and in 1862 it had £150 on hand. Burke kept a firm grip on this society and one of its rules was that its Roman Catholic members must receive the sacraments at least twice a year, a rule which Burke regretted was not always enforced.<sup>4</sup>

Friendly societies declined in the late 1860s and were replaced in many areas by the Irish National Foresters, a society with a strong nationalist tone, a branch of which was established in Clonmel in 1868. Between then and 1900 it grew steadily and had its own headquarters in Wolfe Tone Street. Known initially as Court Shamrock, the strong nationalist tone of the organisation was reflected in its change of name in 1883 to Court Charles J. Kickham. Some of its members were involved in establishing Court Emerald, a Waterford city branch, in 1871 and throughout the 1870s there were frequent visits by the Clonmel members to Court Sarsfield in Limerick.<sup>5</sup> Membership of friendly societies declined after World War I as the gradual expansion of state benefits undermined the original self-help function.

The Trades Association in Clonmel in the 1830s and for much of the following fifty years, apart

from assisting the emergence of friendly societies, was generally inactive and, like similar associations in most parts of Ireland, could not be compared to the thriving trade union movement in Britain which was at this time generated by a healthy industrial growth. It was inactive in Clonmel because, like its counterparts in many other Irish urban centres, it reflected the nature of Irish industry which was largely a question of servicing, processing and transporting agricultural goods. Employment for skilled or semi-skilled trades was quite limited, the only major nineteenth-century building projects in the town being the erection of the two Roman Catholic churches. More than half the number of families in the town in 1841 were dependent on labouring. The fact that 45 of the 103 families in the Old Bridge area of the town were involved in agriculture however suggests that many of the residents of this area were labourers who worked with farmers in the hinterland.<sup>6</sup> Those employed in manufacture and trade worked in the mills, in the brewing industry and in retail outlets, and it was from this section of the workforce that the Trades Association found much of its membership. It did not represent, however, the large number of unskilled labourers, the women employed in domestic service, or in the retail outlets or as dressmakers. Nor did it represent the majority of male workers in 1891 who were classified as general labourers or soldiers, or the majority of female workers who were classified as domestic servants or dressmakers.<sup>7</sup>

Negotiation with employers on behalf of workers was impossible in a situation where there was an over-supply of labour. If a worker was unhappy with his lot, or was dismissed, there were many others who were only too willing to take his place. The only options facing an unemployed worker, who was not a member of a friendly society in Clonmel, were emigration, or the assistance of a charitable organisation such as the St. Vincent de Paul Society, or a sojourn in the workhouse. This latter option was the lot of many, especially in the years between 1842 and 1854, when the number of inmates in the workhouse steadily increased at times from less than 500 to more than 1,800.<sup>8</sup> In these circumstances workers treasured employment with farmers in the neighbourhood where they were often given a plot to till in lieu of wages, or in the 'big houses' such as Knocklofty or Marlfield where board and lodge were sometimes provided. And many parents welcomed the employment of their sons and daughters in the business houses of the town when similar conditions prevailed. Such circumstances of course explain why the wages of workers remained almost static throughout the century. Clonmel Corporation was paying the town clerk and treasurer £1 a week each and its unskilled workers 10 shillings and sixpence a week for most of the period from 1842 to 1890.<sup>9</sup> Between 1892 and 1896 Clonmel Gas Company paid its fitter £1. 10s. per week, while the pay of its unskilled workers varied from 14s. to 17s. 6d.<sup>10</sup> General labourers in the building industry in Dublin up to 1860 were paid 12s. for a six day week up to 1860 and in 1892 were paid at most 19s. a week.<sup>11</sup> Skilled plasterers in Dublin in 1892 were paid £1. 10s. per week.<sup>12</sup> It is clear therefore that the difference in the wage structure between Clonmel and Dublin was not substantial.

Despite its weakness in the area of industrial relations, the Clonmel Trades Association provided a useful service for its members from time to time by highlighting their grievances and concerns. In April 1857 it highlighted how the poor opportunities for employment were further aggravated when the Clonmel poor law guardians tried to cope with the massive build-up of paupers in the workhouse by releasing the more healthy inmates from time to time on the local labour market, despite the fact that many of them were not natives of the town. The plan had been adopted extensively in 1856 enabling 448 paupers to seek employment. In the following eleven months 209 of this number returned to the workhouse. The scheme made a saving of over £460 for the guardians. In April of the following year 130 people voluntarily quit the workhouse for the purpose of seeking employment. They were supplied with clothes by the guardians at a

cost of 7s. each. In the same month, when the building of St. Mary's church in Irishtown was about to commence, the association publicly exhorted the builder not to employ tradesmen from outside the town and reminded him that there were in Clonmel carpenters and masons 'as skilful and as honest as in any place in Ireland.'<sup>13</sup> In January 1859 a meeting of the Trades Association was called at its hall in Gordon Street to protest at a recent statement by the local M. P. John Bagwell, in which he allegedly referred to the tradesmen of Clonmel as 'the greatest drunkards in the three kingdoms . . . whose wives are frequently seeking relief from the poor law guardians' Bagwell replied that he had been quoted out of context and regretted that he had not been invited to the meeting to defend himself.<sup>14</sup> And in April 1863 the association organised a meeting with the mayor to discuss the distress of its members because of a lack of employment.<sup>15</sup>

A constant feature of the Clonmel Trades Association was its support for the nationalist movements, whether constitutional or not, which worked for the repeal of the Union. Daniel O'Connell, who was the focal figure of Irish politics up to his death in 1847, never placed the rights of tradesmen high on his agenda, yet the Clonmel tradesmen embraced his repeal campaign of the 1840s with enthusiasm despite an emotional appeal from the local anti-O'Connell faction that tradesmen not pay the repeal rent. When O'Connell visited Clonmel in 1844 he was met at Barne by the artisans of the town who escorted him on the last part of his journey. The millwrights headed the procession and were followed by the coachmakers, horse smiths, carpenters, coopers, tailors, bakers, bricklayers, butchers, bootmakers, nailers, hatters and boatmen, all wearing green scarves with each trade preceded by its own banner. And in 1848 many of them found solace in the confederate clubs established in the town, the most active of which was the Hugh O'Neill Club, with John Browne of the Clonmel Trades Association as its secretary. The attempt in October 1848 to rescue state prisoners ended in failure at the Wilderness on the Fethard Road with the arrest of seventeen men including James England, a very articulate member of the Clonmel Trades Association.<sup>16</sup> When William Smith O'Brien visited the town in 1858 the association presented him with an address of welcome in which it praised his 'heroism for the cause of Ireland.'<sup>17</sup> The Clonmel Trades Association continued to serve its members throughout the 1860s and 70s but its activities were greatly overshadowed by the involvement of some of its members in the Fenian movement and by the issue of political prisoners which continued throughout the 1870s.

A new phase in the organisation of Clonmel workers originated in the early 1880s. Now for the first time labourers were part of the arrangement. This change can be attributed to a number of developments including a higher degree of literacy among workers because of the wider access to primary education and access to the Mechanics Institute in the town. The extension of the franchise was also a factor as was the land and Home Rule movements under Parnell and Davitt and the slightly better prospects of employment due to improvements in the local infrastructure. Michael Davitt had a particular influence on Clonmel workers as had a new breed of local labour activists who provided an energetic leadership. A new self-confidence was palpable and was apparent in the founding of the Workingmen's Boat Club in 1883 to cater for the recreation of workers and their families. It was located at a point on the Suir only a few hundred yards down river from Clonmel Rowing Club which had been catering for the upper and middle class society of the town since 1871.

The new standing of Clonmel workingmen is evident in the manner in which they were drawn into political manoeuvrings within the borough in January 1884 when an attempt was afoot to oust the sitting M.P. Arthur Moore. This was happening at a time when the borough of Clonmel was about to lose its right to send a member to Westminster and when a franchise for urban workers was soon to be extended.

Parnell had founded the Irish Labour and Industrial Union in August 1882 with the object, he said, of promoting and harmonising the interests of agricultural labourers and urban workers. The response of workers in South Tipperary to this labour movement was initially positive and those who joined were advised to also join the Irish National League. A successful recruitment campaign was spear-headed by William G. Fisher, a man of great organising ability who had influence on the local political scene in those years, he being the editor and publisher of the *County Tipperary Independent* which first appeared in November 1880 and incorporated the *Tipperary Free Press* which since 1826 had been owned and edited in turn by John Hackett and his three sons. On the death of Henry O'Connell Hackett in 1880 Fisher had bought the family interest in the paper.<sup>18</sup> Fisher was a close associate of the ageing Young Irelander and Fenian, Jeremiah Condon and his son Thomas J. Condon, the future M.P. for East Tipperary, and the three of them were mainly responsible for the mobilisation of Clonmel workers in 1884.

Monster demonstrations to promote the Irish National League had been held in many centres throughout Ireland in 1883 and 1884. It was arranged to hold such a demonstration in Clonmel on 6 January 1884 and it was to be addressed by Michael Davitt. Davitt was of course a determined nationalist and was working diligently at that time in the promotion of Parnell's new political party. He was also an avid promoter of the Irish Labour and Industrial Union and indeed he was about to devote most of his energy to the labour movement in Ireland and Britain for the remainder of his public career.

Davitt's presence in Clonmel was seen by some as an opportunity to raise the profile of the workers. Jeremiah Condon played a leading role in the local organising committee and he insisted that the labourers would have a prominent place in the parade which was to be the centrepiece of the demonstration. The parade set out from the Convent Bridge headed by up to a thousand men on horseback from many parts of Tipperary, East Limerick and Waterford. They were immediately followed by a large group of Clonmel labourers, each wearing a green rosette on his chest and followed by groups of Clonmel tradesmen carrying the banners and flags of their respective trades. Included were the bakers, carpenters, coachbuilders, coopers, grocery assistants, harness makers, millers, nailers, printers, riveters, saddlers, sawyers, shoemakers, tailors, wheelwrights and a group of drapery assistants who called themselves the Clonmel Commercials.<sup>19</sup>

It is notable that three groups of Clonmel tradesmen, the masons, plasterers and slaters, refused to become involved in this demonstration. Perhaps this was due to internal wrangling or maybe it was due to a feeling by some tradesmen that they were being used by local politicians to impress Davitt and the hierarchy of the Irish National League. It is possible that in 1884 there were some influential workers in Clonmel who, like some doctrinaire socialists, believed that the struggle for independence distracted activists from the organisation of the working class.

Whatever the effect of the 1884 Clonmel demonstration on the local political scene it did succeed in mobilising most workers within the town and henceforth they were to enjoy a much higher profile than ever before. Among the various groups of workers the coopers from Murphy's Brewery seem to have been among the better organised. One of them, Jeremiah Callaghan, was the first worker elected to the Clonmel committee of the Irish National League. And another, Thomas Moore, presided over a new organisation in the town in 1885 called the Clonmel Industries Association which met weekly at various venues, including the Trades Hall, throughout 1885 for the purpose of discussing ways of developing industry in the town. The organisation consisted of workers and business people and much discussion concerned the possibility of establishing a glass bottle factory in the town. Workers were also involved on a

committee with employers to ensure that exhibits of the work of skilled labourers would be displayed at the Dublin exhibition of that year.<sup>20</sup> These initiatives were among the first steps taken by workers into the political and commercial life of the town.

By the end of the 1880s more workers' leaders were emerging who were to steer the labour movement in Clonmel for many years. They included Morgan Jones, Edward F. Walsh, James Cahill, John English and Denis O'Donnell. In 1889 they were the leaders of the local branch of the Irish Federated Trades and Labour League of which Morgan Jones was the president and Edward F. Walsh the secretary. They used the Mechanics' Institute as their address. In October of that year they received a circular from the Dublin headquarters of the Trades Council of Ireland urging them to seek representation on public boards. The members of the Clonmel branch were more interested however in joining the newly established Irish Labour League.<sup>21</sup> This new organisation had been founded by the Dublin branch of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers. It sought the nationalisation of transport, an object which obviously appealed to Clonmel railway workers, but it failed within a short time through lack of support.

The local workers' leadership became involved in a bitter controversy at the end of 1890 concerning the plans of Clonmel Corporation for a new water and sewerage scheme. This was the most ambitious infrastructural scheme ever undertaken in the town and was expected to cost in excess of £20,000.<sup>22</sup> There were immediate objections from a minority of corporation members and from a vociferous group within the Clonmel Ratepayers' Association who argued that the scheme would add considerably to the annual rates. The workers' leadership sided with those who favoured the scheme. They saw that it would be a good source of employment and they engaged in a canvass of ratepayers throughout the town, claiming that of the two hundred they canvassed only twenty five were opposed to the scheme. They then proceeded to have the names of those opposed published in a local newspaper. The ratepayers' group, which consisted mostly of smaller shopkeepers, argued that this action amounted to intimidation, leading to bitter exchanges between both sides.<sup>23</sup> Despite the advice of all local medical doctors, the corporation was forced to defer the sewerage scheme although it did proceed with the new waterworks.

The action by workers in the water and sewerage controversy displayed a new cohesion in their organisation and this was further advanced when in January 1891 the Clonmel Trades and Labour Union was founded at a meeting in the Workingmens' Boat Club. Morgan Jones presided and stated that the new organisation had as its object 'the advancement and protection of the working man and to enable him obtain a proper remuneration for his labour.'<sup>24</sup> There was much rhetoric at this meeting about the lead given to them by Michael Davitt, the reference obviously being to the initiative of Davitt when only the previous week in Cork he had established the Irish Democratic Trade and Labour Federation, an organisation which was intended to cater for the welfare of agricultural labourers.<sup>25</sup>

The immediate reason for the setting up of a new union in Clonmel seems likely to have been a strike situation which had developed at the railway station. Clonmel railway workers had become involved in a dispute which had originated six weeks earlier when railway workers at Waterford and Limerick stations had gone on strike because of a grievance about local conditions. On behalf of the workers, Bishop O'Dwyer, the Roman Catholic bishop of Limerick, met with Sir James Spaight, chairman of the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company, and it was agreed that the grievances of the men would be fully redressed, but that the most active of the strikers would not be taken back into the employment of the company. Workers at the Clonmel station, despite having no grievance with the company, had come out on strike to show solidarity with their Limerick and Waterford colleagues. On the advice of local businessmen,

however, that their action was a mistake, they rescinded their strike decision and forwarded a letter to the company directors apologising for their action and offering to return to work. The directors refused to accept their apology or to allow them back. They were in effect locked out.<sup>26</sup>

The lockout had serious implications for workers and traders in the town. There were twenty-seven directly employed at the railway station and there were twenty-five cabmen and carters who relied heavily for their business on the railway.<sup>27</sup> The traders, of course, were annoyed at the disruption caused to their business and at the fact that there seemed to be no end to the dispute in sight. And so they called a meeting at the Town Hall to which they invited six workers' representatives, only one of whom, John English, was allowed to speak. He spoke in emotive terms about the suffering of the wives and children of those on strike and how the incident had been a unifying influence for all Clonmel workers. Sympathy for the strikers was expressed by the mayor, Thomas J. Condon, M.P., and by the many businessmen in attendance who also spoke of the severe damage that the lockout was doing to the economy of the town and how business had been lost over the Christmas period. There was unanimous condemnation of the directors of the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company with their action to the workers being described as vindictive.

Various suggestions were brought forward as to how the lockout could be ended, such as boycotting the company by transporting goods to and from Clonmel by road and river or by orchestrating agitation among the company shareholders. In the end it was decided that the mayor should approach a personal friend of his who was one of the most influential directors of the railway company and who had the power to bring this lockout to a speedy end. This friend was none other than Condon's fellow M. P., William Martin Murphy, the Nationalist M.P. for St. Patrick's, Dublin, who was to gain notoriety for his part in the Dublin lockout of 1913. Murphy was indeed a man of great wealth and influence and was at the time a director not only of the Waterford and Limerick Railway but also of the West Clare Railway and of the Great Southern and Western Railway. Condon claimed 'there is no man in the country who more sincerely and practically sympathises with the working men than Murphy does; and I can say for him that if it lies in Murphy's power he will bring the present unpleasant affair to a happy termination and put an end to what seems to be vindictive conduct of a majority of shareholders towards the men.'<sup>28</sup> It may have been his influence which brought the Clonmel lockout to an amicable conclusion soon afterwards. And it may have provided him with a training ground for the lockout at Great Southern and Western Railway in 1911 and for the more famous event of 1913.

The railway incident was a salutary experience for the Trade and Labour Union. Workers had been forced to go 'cap in hand' to their employers for a solution to their difficulty, highlighting the ineffectiveness of their newly-founded union. It typified the low morale in unions throughout Ireland in the early 1890s. In February 1891 the Clonmel workers re-organised their union which they now called the Clonmel Trade and Labour League and it was to be the only workers' union in the town for the remainder of the century. It hit the local headlines when a few months after its foundation its president, Morgan Jones, was dismissed from his job as a baker in Irishtown. He claimed that he had had a good relationship with his employer until his involvement in the water and sewerage incident.<sup>29</sup>

An Irish Trade Union Congress was established in 1894. This was one of the most significant and formative steps in the history of the Irish labour movement. Since the setting up of the British T.U.C. twenty-six years earlier, Irish delegates had gone to England to attend the annual meetings of the Congress but in latter years they had become frustrated at the tendency to place Irish motions at the end of a long agenda. The first Irish congress was held in Dublin and was attended by 119 delegates from all parts of Ireland.<sup>30</sup> It seems likely that the Clonmel union was



soon affiliated to Congress because it was highly active and well organised during the last five years of the century. It had its own room at 7 Peter Street at which it organised a benevolent fund for unemployed and sick workers, and it agitated on behalf of workers employed by Clonmel Corporation. It succeeded in having the wages of carters increased to eighteen shillings per week and their working hours reduced during the months from March to November, beginning at 7 a.m. and finishing at 6 p.m.<sup>31</sup>

The Local Government Act of 1898 provided both a challenge and an opportunity for the Clonmel Trade and Labour League. Since 1842 Clonmel Corporation had been the preserve of the merchant and professional classes who were elected by a male electorate never in excess of 500 and based on a high property qualification. The new legislation had greatly extended the franchise to male and female voters and had abolished the property qualification. Twelve seats were to be filled in each of the two wards in the first election following the Act in January 1899. In the east ward, which had an electorate of 732, the League put forward five candidates, a mason, a plasterer, a carpenter and two bakers. 561 votes were cast and the mason and carpenter were elected. The west ward had an electorate of 896 and the League put forward four candidates, a carpenter, a mason, a plasterer and an engine driver. 679 votes were cast and three of the League candidates were elected, the engine driver being the loser.<sup>32</sup> The League put forward two candidates for the first Tipperary South Riding County Council election in April 1899 but both failed to get elected.<sup>33</sup>

The success of the Clonmel Trade and Labour League in the 1899 local elections may seem modest, but it was the beginning of a labour representation on local public bodies which was to gradually increase especially in the first two decades of the new century and was to provide a platform for the interests and rights of workers, in addition to its representation in the trade union and political movement at national level. Clonmel had a basis on which to build when the Connolly and Larkin movement got underway.

## Notes

- 1 *Return of the several houses in the town of Clonmel, specifying the street in which each is situated, its number, and the names of occupant, together with the annual value of each as estimated and returned by the valuers appointed to make the same for municipal purposes. Appendix No. 6. Voters registered in borough, H.C. 1837 (in 480), xi, part ii, 605.*
- 2 36 Geo. III c. 58 and Geo. IV c. 83.
- 3 Rules and regulations of the Carpenters' Society of Clonmel [Tipperary County Museum (South Riding)] 1983. 163.
- 4 *Tipperary Free Press (TFP)* 11/11/1862, *Tipperary People* 3/2/1866
- 5 S. O'Donnell, *Clonmel 1840-1900: Anatomy of an Irish Town* (Dublin, 1999) pp 234-5.
- 6 *Abstracts of the Census of Ireland taken in the years 1841 and 1851.* H.C. 1851 (673), I. 331.
- 7 *Census of Ireland for 1891.* [6567], H.C. 1892, xci, 1.
- 8 Minute books of board of guardians, Clonmel poor law union (Tipperary County Library, 67/A6, A7, A8, A9.)
- 9 Minute books of Clonmel Corporation, (Town Hall, Clonmel) passim.
- 10 Wages books of Clonmel Gas Company, [Tipperary County Museum (South Riding)] (TSCM) 1988.5
- 11 F. A. D'Arcy, Wages of labourers in the Dublin building industry 1667-1918. *Saothar* 14, 1989 pp17-32.
- 12 F. A. D'Arcy, Wages of skilled workers in the Dublin building industry 1667-1918. *Saothar* 15, 1990 pp 21-37.
- 13 *TFP* 10/4/1857.
- 14 *Clonmel Chronicle (Chron)* 1/1/1859.
- 15 *TFP* 17/4/1863.

- 16 S. O'Donnell, op. cit. pp 115, 145-54.
- 17 Speech of William Smith O'Brien at Clonmel on Friday, October 29th 1858 in reply to the address presented to him by the Associated Trades of Clonmel (TCSM 1983. 155)
- 18 S. O'Donnell op. cit. p. 225.
- 19 *County Tipperary Independent (CTI)*. 3/11/1883, 17/11/1883, 24/11/1883, 1/12/1883, 8/12/1883, 5/1/1884, 12/1/1884.
- 20 C.T.I. 18/4/1885, 25/4/1885, Chron 5/12/1885, 3/2/1886.
- 21 *Chron* 30/10/1889.
- 22 S O'Donnell, op. cit. pp 71-2, 82-3.
- 23 *Chron* 26/11/1890, 3/12/1890.
- 24 *Chron* and *The Nationalist (Nat)* 28/1/1891.
- 25 T.W. Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution 1846-82* (Oxford, 1981) p. 548
- 26 *Nat* 28/1/1891.
- 27 *Census of Ireland for 1891*. [6567], H.C. 1892. xci. 1.
- 28 *Chron* 28/1/1891.
- 29 *Nat* 18/2/1891, 17/6/1891.
- 30 D. Keogh, *The Rise of the Irish Working Class: The Dublin Trade Union Movement and Labour Leadership 1890-1814*, (Belfast 1982), pp 42-6.
- 31 Minute books of Clonmel Corporation 7/12/1897, 23/1/1899.
- 32 *Nat* 18/1/1899.
- 33 B. Long, *Tipperary S.R. County Council 1899-1999: a century of local democracy* (Clonmel, 1999) pp 5-8.