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# *The Fennells of Cahir*

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By Michael Ahern

## **Introduction**

The Fennells were one of the most prominent families in the history of Quakerism in Tipperary. Their connection with the county can be traced back to 1659, making them one of the first Quaker families in the county. The Fennells, like many early Irish Quakers, came directly from England. John Fennell (1626–1706), son of Robert and Mary, was born in Steepleashton, Wiltshire in 1626. He was reputed to have been a captain or colonel in Cromwell's army. In 1649, he married Mary Davies from Cardiff where the first six of their nine children were born. In 1659, they settled in the townland of Kilcommonbeg, south of the town of Cahir. John Fennell appears to have had sufficient capital to acquire, or build, a house of some substance. In the Hearth Roll records, his residence at Kilcommonbeg was spacious enough to include four hearths.<sup>1</sup>

## **Land Holdings**

Like other Friends, John Fennell suffered considerable loss of property during the Williamite wars. As Isabel Grubb stated, during this time 'the Williamite and the Jacobite armies both lived by what they could get from the farmers, and the roving bands of Rapparees which followed in the wake of the armies helped themselves to what was left'.<sup>2</sup> Fennell gave an account of his own losses when he wrote:

After the breach of the Boyne my house was plundered by King James and his men, the regiment did belong to Colonel Luttrell; they carried away the best and most of all our household goods both of woollen and linen, some pewter and brass and all such goods as they could carry away upon horse backs and other way besides silver and brass money, some plate that was in the house; the particulars of what was taken away at that time I cannot give a just account, but do know that all was not less worth than three hundred pounds sterling. In October, 90 I had taken by the thieves and rapparee men eight cows worth 40s. each cow (sixteen pounds). In the ninth month '90 I had taken away by the aforesaid thieves and robbers one hundred and three heads of black cattle, 24 large oxen, 26 milch cows, 53 steers and heifers all worth two hundred pounds then. In the aforesaid month by the same sort of thieves and robbers I had taken away four cows and thirteen yearlings worth twenty one pounds. By King William's Army in corn and hay for the use of the garrisons of Cahir and Clonmel towards their subsistence the value of one hundred and forty three pounds, three shillings and sixpence more they had from me about 149 sheep worth forty four pounds. The within account is the nearest that I can charge for the losses that I have sustained since my last as witness my hand in the year '91. John Fennell.

Isabel Grubb estimated that his total losses exceed £700 which was the greater part of his property.<sup>3</sup> Despite these setbacks, the Fennells survived and prospered.

The succeeding centuries saw an extension of the Fennell holdings in Kilcommonbeg into the neighbouring townlands. They also leased lands in the baronies of Middlethird and

Slieveardagh. It is not always possible to determine when, or by whom, these lands were acquired. Similarly, we do not know the identity of the lessor or the conditions of the lease concerning John Fennell's original holding in Kilcommonbeg. The earliest lease concerning Fennell lands refers to Joshua Fennell Sr. (1655–1736), son of John Fennell. In 1706, Joshua Sr. succeeded to his father's property in Kilcommonbeg and twelve years later he leased 374 acres in the neighbouring townland of Kilcommonmore. Subsequently, Joshua Sr. transferred this property to his son, Joshua Jr. (1689–1764).<sup>4</sup> Fennell family numbers were increasing rapidly at this time. Joshua Sr. had sixteen children, while four of his sons, Joshua Jr., Thomas, Benjamin and William, between them, produced a further thirty. Their fecundity meant that additional lands had to be acquired to provide for sons, while existing properties were entailed to ensure jointures for daughters.

The expansion of the family's holdings in the eighteenth century can be attributed largely to the sons of Joshua Fennell Sr. Between them they secured lands in the townlands of Ballybrado, Roosca, Cranna, Garryroan, Scart, Scartana, Scartnaglorane and Whitechurch. They also leased such prestigious properties as Cahir Castle and Cahir Abbey. In 1780, William Joshua (1730–1808), sixth son of Joshua Jr., secured a lease of the prime lands of Rehill, north of Clogheen.<sup>5</sup> This property was the family seat of Lord Butler of Cahir and consisted of 371 Irish acres which Fennell leased at a rent of one guinea per acre for a period of four lives. During this period they also leased land in Crohane in the barony of Slieveardagh<sup>6</sup>, which they subsequently purchased.<sup>7</sup> They secured further lands in Coolmoynes, Ardsallagh, Maginstown and Ballyvadin in the barony of Middlethird.<sup>8</sup> We can assume that leasing such lands, some distance from their base in Cahir, meant that there was no suitable property to be had locally. In the nineteenth century, the Fennells continued to lease additional lands in Knockagh<sup>9</sup> and Carrigataha. By the early 1840s their land holdings were considerable. The Griffith valuation shows the extent and distribution of their properties:

#### Griffith Valuation

Barony	Townland	Name	Lessor of Acres	Lessee of Acres
Iffa and Offa west	Ballybrado	Thomas	104	206
	Cahir Abbey	George	5	210
	Cahir Abbey Upper	Joshua	0	350
	Kilcaroon	William	0	70
	Garryroan	Joseph R.	0	357
	Scartnaglorane	Joshua R.	220	0
Middlethird	Ballyvadin	Fennell, Esq.,	70	0
	Maginstown	William	440	0
	Ardsallagh	George	150	0
	Coolmoynes	George	315	0
Slieveardagh	Crohane Lower	Malcomson		
		Pike		
		Fennell	1200	0
<b>Totals in acres</b>			<b>2508</b>	<b>1193</b>

# Garryroan House



## Cahir, Co. Tipperary

The Fennells were, for the most part, successful and prosperous farmers. One indication of their good husbandry was reflected in the value of stock and produce which was taken from them in lieu of tithes, which they, as a matter of principle, refused to pay.<sup>10</sup> These sufferings, as the Quakers called them, were recorded by their respective monthly meetings. An example taken from the Book of Sufferings of the Tipperary meeting illustrates the extent of these annual demands on members. In 1787, five members of the Fennell family had goods taken to the value of £178 17s. 0d.:

George Fennell	37 lambs, 71 fleeces, 3160 sheaves of wheat, 2,103 sheaves of oats, 2,000 sheaves of barley and four loads of hay.	£58 12s.6d.
William Fennell	1,325 sheaves of wheat, 600 sheaves of oats, 2 fleeces and a parcel of hay.	£18 1s. 6d.
Joseph J. Fennell	11 fleeces, 8 lambs, 3 cocks of hay, 5,075 sheaves of wheat, 1,980 sheaves of barley and 2,549 sheaves of oats.	£41 3s. 3d.
Robert Fennell	36 fleeces, 18 lambs, 3,100 sheaves of wheat, 500 sheaves of oats and 22 cocks of hay.	£38 15s. 0d.
Joshua Fennell	750 sheaves of oats, 13 cocks of hay, 21 fleeces, 13 lambs and 9 stone of wheat.	£22 4s. 9d.

Many of the Fennells were progressive farmers, shown by their involvement in various farming societies. The first reference to Fennell participation dates to 1803, when the name of William Fennell appears as a member of the committee of the Farming Society of County Tipperary.<sup>11</sup> Three Fennells were subsequently elected to the committee of the South Tipperary Agricultural Society, one of whom served as secretary.<sup>12</sup> In 1859, at a meeting held in the courthouse at Cahir, William Fennell was elected joint secretary of the newly-formed Clogheen Union Farming Society, while three of his relatives appear as members of the committee.<sup>13</sup> Later, Llewellyn Fennell had the honour of becoming first chairman of the Clonmel Agricultural Society.<sup>14</sup>

However, not all the Fennells proved themselves to be model farmers or ideal tenants. The lands of Rehill, family seat of Lord Cahir, were leased to William Joshua Fennell (1730–1808) in 1780. On his death in 1808, the lands passed to his son, William (1775–1846), until the lease expired in the early 1840s. It would appear that the tenancy proved to be a source of contention between landlord and tenant. Lord Glengall, successor to Lord Cahir, in a memorandum on the Cahir estate<sup>15</sup> which he compiled in 1844, stated that he had to have recourse to legal proceedings to get William 'to repair the walls, which he was bound to do'. Furthermore, Fennell threatened to sub-let the place and cover it with paupers, unless Glengall renewed the lease. Glengall also claimed that one hundred acres which had been 'sublet twenty-five years ago' were 'in a wretched state'. An examination of the Griffith valuation indicates that William was not the only Fennell to engage in sub-letting.

To compound his difficulties, William Fennell's financial affairs were far from satisfactory. Under the terms of his will he left his interest in Rehill and Mooneloughra and £400 rent due from Maginstown, Coolbawn and Ballyvadin to Richard Grubb, Clogheen and Joseph Grubb Benjamin, Clonmel, a merchant, in trust to pay his debts. He also left £100 to his wife Susanna Fennell, to whom he confirmed a jointure of £200. His freehold estate was to be sold or mortgaged, if his personal estate was not sufficient to pay his debts on the legacy.<sup>16</sup>

William's brother, Joshua William, also experienced financial difficulties. Margaret Grubb, in a letter to her sister, Mary Leadbeater, wrote that Joshua William's financial affairs were in 'a dismal way'.<sup>17</sup> In a further letter she reported that Joshua William had informed her that he was contemplating selling his property at Ballybrado because of debt, confiding in her that 'these are trying times for farmers, a great depression in the produce of farms'.<sup>18</sup>

An indenture dated 1823 stated that Joshua William, due to the 'present depreciated state of all agricultural produce', was unable to honour his debts.<sup>19</sup> Although he was in possession of considerable property, totalling 1,141 acres, he had managed to incur debts in excess of £18,000. His lands included Ballybrado (197 acres), Cranno (192 acres), Ballyvadin (172 acres), Maginstown (291 acres) and Coolmoynes (289 acres). These lands were subject to head rents amounting to £693-6-10 and annuities totalling £723-11-6. His creditors were owed a staggering £18,395-3-4½. This included loans of £9,152 from Riall's bank in Clonmel, and loans of £4,100 and £1,400 from Quaker colleagues Richard Grubb and Charles Going. Fennell was obliged to surrender the management of his estate to named trustees, including fellow Quakers, William and Nicholas Chaytor, and to enter an agreement to discharge his debts out of rents and profits accruing from his properties.

Many of these difficulties resulted from the agricultural recession in the post-1815 period, which witnessed a slump in cereal prices and undermined the solvency of middlemen.<sup>20</sup> A contributory factor in Joshua William's case is that he may have over-extended himself by acquiring additional properties. As has been stated above, he expended £15,000 in purchasing the lands of Ballybrado. However, despite his difficulties, Joshua William's will shows that he retained his lands and was able to provide for his children.<sup>21</sup>

Another family member to experience financial difficulties was George Fennell (1784–1822). In 1819, he was declared insolvent and disowned by the Society of Friends for the non-payment of debts,<sup>22</sup> and was obliged to offer his lands in Garryroan for sale.<sup>23</sup> It would appear that George's financial problems lay in his inability to secure rents due to him on his lands of Maginstown, Ballyvadin and Coolmoynes.

Making provision for younger sons and daughters put a considerable charge on estates depending on the numbers to be provided for, and this had to be borne by a succeeding generation, sometimes the original provision taking little account of its ability to bear it.<sup>24</sup> Daly makes the point that 'most estates were saddled with marriage settlements on sisters, annuities for widowed mothers and maiden aunts etc.'<sup>25</sup> In some cases marriage settlements involved considerable sums, such as the jointure of £1,500 David Malcomson of Clonmel received when, in 1795, he married Mary Fennell.<sup>26</sup> In 1803, Mary's sister, Lydia, had a jointure of £1,000 settled on her when she married Joseph Pike of Cork.<sup>27</sup> In addition to this both Malcomson and Pike received a share of the Crohane estate as part of their marriage jointures. In 1792, when Mary Fennell, daughter of William Fennell Joshua of Rehill, married Reuben Harvey Jr. her marriage portion was to be based on a yearly rent charge of £30 out of the lands of Ballybrado.<sup>28</sup> In the deed of conveyance involving Joshua William Fennell, referred to above, it is noteworthy that the annual annuities payable on his lands exceeded the head rents due to his landlord.

On the other hand, the wife's marriage portion was of the utmost importance in providing the capital necessary either to meet existing debts or to maintain and develop the estate. However, the large number of progeny that often resulted from such marriages, notably in such families as the Fennells, necessitated the purchase of additional land and invariably led to a considerable outlay of funds.<sup>29</sup> Fifteen Fennell families produced the remarkable average of 8.4 children. Attempting to provide for all their children often led to complex legal agreements and holdings being held by a consortium of family members. It would appear to have been customary practice to divide the family holdings among surviving children on the death of parents. If the owner in question was not married, brothers and sisters became the legal heirs. John Fennell (1720–1764) in his will 'bequeathed all his freehold interests and leases to his brothers and sisters equally divided'.<sup>30</sup> Subsequently, one of the heirs (George) bought out the others.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, when John Fennell died in 1802, his property was divided between his twelve surviving children.<sup>32</sup> It is not possible to say how widespread this practice was but it placed a further burden on those who wished to remain in farming because the expenditure involved in buying out their siblings reduced the capital available to develop their agricultural undertakings.

### Fennells as Millers

While many Quakers eventually abandoned farming and became successful traders, merchants and industrialists, the Fennells remained in farming for seven generations. However, a few of them in addition to being farmers became woollen merchants and corn millers, a departure which was a natural extension of their farming interests. The earliest reference to their involvement in the woollen industry dates from 1764, when they incurred the wrath of rival producers. It was reported that persons unknown had 'posted up threatening papers etc. in Clogheen to prevent William Fennell and some other Quakers, or people for spinning for their carrying on the woollen manufactory'.<sup>33</sup> In 1770, William Fennell rented Cahir Castle where 'he kept a number of wool combers employed'.<sup>34</sup> The finished product was exported through the port of Waterford to the Gurneys of Norwich, who were also Quakers and the biggest woollen merchants in England.<sup>35</sup>

With the decline of the woollen trade in the closing decades of the eighteenth century,

Quakers transferred their capital into the expanding corn industry. Fennell family members were among those who were quick to avail of such opportunities. Joshua Fennell, son of William Fennell of Garryroan, led the way. In 1765, he married Sarah, daughter of John Newsom, a prominent Cork Quaker merchant. They settled in Cork where the first eight of their fifteen children were born. Shortly before his father's death in 1774, Joshua returned to Cahir to look after his father's interests. In 1772, he purchased Cahir Abbey mill which was situated in what were once the priory grounds of the adjacent Augustinian Abbey, and may have stood on the site of the abbey's ancient grist mill. In 1801, Joshua transferred his interest in the mill to his son, William.<sup>36</sup> It was described at the time as 'the extensive Bolting Mills of Cahir Abbey, competent to manufacture 500-600 barrels of corn per annum'.<sup>37</sup> In 1825, the mill passed into the possession of the Grubb family.<sup>38</sup>

The other Fennell milling interests were situated in the Clogheen district. The first of these was the mill at Rehill, north of Clogheen, which was leased to William Fennell by Lord Cahir in 1780.<sup>39</sup> Fennell operated this mill in partnership with Clonmel Quaker, Samuel Riggs. The output from the Fennell mills in Cahir and Rehill was considerable. In the year ending, June 1786, the value of flour sent to Dublin from these mills was in excess of eighteen hundred pounds, one of the highest from all Tipperary mills.

The lease of Rehill expired in the early eighteen forties. This may have prompted William Fennell to seek an alternate premises. In 1845, William and his brother James purchased the manor mill in Clogheen and extended it.<sup>40</sup> The remaining mill with which the Fennells were involved was the Ardfinnan mill which was, in 1856, also leased by James. With the corn trade in a state of decline, this venture could be regarded as one of misplaced optimism.

### **Commitment to Quakerism**

The Fennells took a prominent part in promoting the religious welfare, and in conducting the administrative affairs of the Society, with various family members serving as clerks, overseers and ministers to the Tipperary meeting. In the early days the Fennell house at Kilcommon was one of the venues for Quaker meetings. John Fennell made provision for a Quaker cemetery in the nearby grounds. No trace of either remain. In 1738, Joshua Fennell bequeathed a piece of ground at Ballybrado for a new burial ground, and in a will dated 1774, William Fennell left an acre of ground for erecting a meeting house at his residence in Garryroan. The meeting house was erected three years later. When a new meeting house was built in Cahir in 1833, the plot of ground was secured from the representatives of Joshua Fennell. Several members of the family also contributed financially to its erection.

In the absence of professional ministers or preachers, much of the spiritual dynamic in the early days of Quakerism came from those willing to travel voluntarily in the ministry. The Quaker writer Punshon observed that ministry was the recognition of a gift rather than the granting of an ecclesiastical status.<sup>41</sup> Among those who played a part in cultivating the spiritual welfare of their fellow Quakers were Joshua Fennell and his wife, Elizabeth. In the opening decades of the eighteenth century, they journeyed throughout Munster as travelling ministers speaking in the market place and in the houses of Friends.

One of the distinguishing marks of Quakerism was a concern for the disadvantaged, manifested by numerous philanthropic undertakings. Members of the Fennell family became involved in various charitable works. They were instrumental in setting up fever hospitals in Clonmel and Cahir after a severe outbreak of typhus in 1817, providing both financial and administrative support. Joshua Fennell acted as treasurer to these institutions. A letter dated 12

March 1821, from the Earl of Glengall to the General Board of Health in Dublin, said of the local Quaker community in Cahir, 'I refer to what I have already said of our dispensary and fever hospital, which is chiefly overlooked by my family, assisted by the Quakers, who are the most actively benevolent persons in this neighbourhood, and under whose care all charities are sure to do well'.<sup>42</sup> Around this time, Hannah Fennell, daughter of Joshua William, was secretary for the Cahir committee, which was set up to promote the linen industry with a view to providing gainful employment for the poorer classes.

They were no less active during the Great Famine of the eighteen forties. William and James Fennell acted as superintendents of the soup kitchen in Clogheen, while William accompanied Robert Davis on a tour of the surrounding area to prepare a report for the Auxiliary Relief Committee of Friends at Clonmel. Fennell family members made generous contributions to both the Cahir and Clogheen Relief funds; with Joshua acting as treasurer to the former. The Fennells were active in promoting the affairs of the Clogheen Union with a number of them serving as members on the Board of Guardians.<sup>43</sup>

As a corollary to their philanthropy, many Quakers found an outlet for their humanitarian impulses by accepting appointments in the public service. George Frederick Fennell served as relieving officer for the Clogheen Union, while three others were employed as poor rate collectors. The first Tipperary-born Quaker to hold the office of magistrate was William Joshua Fennell (1799–1867), who was appointed in 1828, a position held by two of his cousins almost fifty years later.

Quaker schools put great emphasis on the study of natural sciences, with the result that many former pupils were later to distinguish themselves in the fields of medicine, botany and related disciplines. One member of the Fennell family who won an international reputation for his scientific work was William Joshua Fennell (1799–1867), who devoted his life to the promotion and conservation of salmon fisheries in these islands. Born in 1799, the eldest son and second of sixteen children of Joshua William and Elizabeth Fennell of Ballybrado, it is said that in his youth he spent much of his time in hunting, shooting and fishing. He became especially expert in angling for salmon, and his attention was drawn to the decay of fishing in the Suir and other rivers'.<sup>44</sup> In 1842, he became secretary of the Suir Preservation Society, which was under the chairmanship of his neighbour and friend, Lord Glengall, and 'it was due to their exertion that an act of parliament was passed in 1842,<sup>45</sup> embodying many of Fennell's proposals. This was followed in 1848<sup>46</sup> by a further act, known as Fennell's Act 'which provided funds and machinery for carrying the law into practice by making the local administration of the salmon acts self-supporting'. An accepted authority on salmon preservation in these islands, William Joshua held many prestigious appointments. In 1860, he secured the position of Royal Commissioner with responsibility for examining the salmon stocks in England and Wales and, two years later, was appointed Commissioner of Fisheries to Scotland. He also wrote a number of pamphlets and lectured upon the fishery question.



*William Joshua Fennell*  
1799–1867



## A Family in Decline

As the nineteenth century progressed Fennell numbers began to dwindle. This can be attributed to smaller family units, lack of male heirs, increasing celibacy, and emigration. Joshua Fennell (1779–1815) had only two children. His son died unmarried and his daughter moved to Kilmallock. Robert Fennell (1780–1822) had five children. His three daughters married and went to live elsewhere. One son died unmarried, leaving his other son, Joshua Robert (1818–1885), to manage the family farms. He, in turn, had eleven children. Two died young, five remained unmarried and the remaining four emigrated. George Fennell (1784–1850) had a family of thirteen, of whom three died young, one remained unmarried, while the remainder took up residence elsewhere or emigrated. Out of fourteen children fathered by Joshua William Fennell between 1798–1820, two died young, ten remained unmarried, and one daughter married in Cork. His sole male heir, the above mentioned William Joshua, left to pursue a career in England as a fisheries expert. Similarly, six of William Fennell's (1775–1846) seven children never married. His son, James (1816–1890) who became heir to most of the Fennell properties following his marriage to Jemima Wakefield of Lurgan, left Tipperary to take up residence in the north of Ireland. Subsequently, his children sold the remaining Fennell lands to the Land Commission.<sup>47</sup> As the century progressed Fennell links with Quakerism lessened. While some were disowned or expelled from the Society, the majority married non-Quakers, resigned or simply left.

Despite the decline in numbers, the family acquired additional properties. In 1848, they leased Mount Anglesby and Glenleigh House from Lord Lismore, while in 1884, they purchased the former Jackson lands at Tincurry. These acquisitions were offset by the disposal of Carrigatha and Ballybrado, the latter being sold to the Denny family. In 1875, William James Fennell sold 289 acres 3 roods and 16 perches of land consisting of part of Ardsallagh and Coolmoynes. However, U. H. Hussey de Burgh's, *The Landowners of Ireland* published in 1878 shows that the Fennell holdings were still considerably extensive:

	Acreage
Wm. Fennell (reps. Of Newry)	931
Joshua Robert of Garryroan	527
John George of Cahir	187
Joshua of Monkstown, Co. Dublin	137
<b>Total in acres:</b>	<b>1782</b>

It is interesting to note that two of the above entries refer to family members who were no longer resident in County Tipperary. The Fennell lands in Middlethird were sold to the Land Commission in 1902 and 1906. On the death of Hannah Jane Fennell in 1918 the remaining Fennell property at Garryroan was sold by her brother William Frederic, who emigrated to Australia. This brought the Fennell connection with County Tipperary to an end.

### Notes

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2. Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland* (London, 1926), p. 63.
3. *ibid*, p. 66.
4. *National Archives*, Fennell papers, 99/62/21.

5. *ibid*, 346/252/231775
6. Deed in the possession of John Kelly, Ballybrado, Cahir; Registry of Deeds, 77/502/54481, 115/399/80945
7. Registry of Deeds, 77/502/54481
8. *ibid*, 261/547/172735; 271/151/175412, 111/100/75778.
9. *ibid*, 561/328/377365.
10. Records of the Tipperary Meeting, Book of Sufferings 1783-1798 (Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, MMXG1).
11. *Clonmel Gazette*, 2-6 April 1803.
12. *Tipperary Free Press*, 21 January 1846.
13. *Tipperary Free Press*, 21 January 1846.
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15. *National Archives*, Acc. 976/6/5.
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17. Grubb letters in the possession of Nicholas Grubb, Castlegrace, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, Collection 5, no. 4, Margaret Grubb to Mary Leadbeater, 7 June, 1820.
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20. T. P. Power, *Land, politics and society in eighteenth century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993), p. 158.
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25. Mary E. Daly, *Social and economic history of Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 1981), p. 7.
26. *Registry of Deeds*, 497/97/317966
27. *National Archives*, D 17173.
28. *Registry of Deeds*, 498/422/320341.
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30. *Registry of Deeds*, 236/518/155344
31. *ibid*, 261/548/172736; 261/550/172737; 261/547/172735; 271/151/175412; 279/675/185804.
32. *Registry of Deeds*, 559/18/371474
33. William Burke (Rev.), *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), p. 365.
34. David Butler (ed.), *Cahir: A guide to heritage town and district* (Kilkenny, 1999), p. 6.
35. Gurney Mss. John Gurney, Jr. to Richard Gurney, yarn account, 30 X 1770 (Friends' House, London).
36. *Registry of Deeds*, 540/452/356238.
37. *Clonmel Herald*, 5 November 1804.
38. *Clonmel Advertiser*, 1 April 1826.
39. *Registry of Deeds*, 346/252/231775.
40. *National Archives*, D 17162, Assignment from Murray to Fennell 1845.
41. John Punshon, *Portrait in grey: A short history of the Quakers* (London, 1984), p. 141.
42. Cited in Maria Luddy, 'The lives of the poor in Cahir in 1821' in *Tipperary Historical Journal*, iii (1991), p. 78.
43. Minutes of the Clogheen Union, nos. 1 to 47, 1839 to 1870, Tipperary County Library, Thurles.
44. *Cahir Heritage Newsletter*, di (January 1991)
45. 5 and 6 Vict. C. 105 and c. 106.
46. 11 and 12 Vict. c.92.
47. *Land Commission records*, no. 2712, box 1145; no. 4022, box 3947.