

Interdenominational Co-operation in a Tipperary Parish during the 'Tithe War'

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The period between the Act of Union and the Great Famine produced a period of particularly bad inter-denominational conflict in Ireland. These years were characterised by rising confidence and political awareness in the Catholic population and a series of Evangelical movements in the Church of Ireland, loosely known as 'The Second Reformation'.¹ The pre-famine period produced sectarian controversy on many levels – popular theological debates,² pamphlet campaigns,³ Proseletysm in Connaught⁴ and the Pastorini prophecies.⁵ This sectarian strife would move from theory to practise in the early 1830s with a mass refusal by Catholics and liberal Protestants to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland, accompanied by widespread violence and intimidation.

In the middle of this tithe agitation, this study seeks to focus on an unusual example of inter-denominational co-operation in the parish of Newport, Co. Tipperary.⁶ On the fourth of March 1831, the 'Gentlemen, clergy and farmers residing in and around Newport' assembled to sign a memorial letter to the Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquis of Anglesey.⁷ The subject of their address was to appeal for an extension of the recently completed Anglesey Road, which had opened up a 'great line of communication through the mountains in the county of Tipperary, from Kilkenny and Thurles to Limerick and other places'. The letter pleaded for the road to be extended to join the mail coach road from Dublin to Limerick, at Lord Clare's estate — 'a distance of six statute miles which is almost impassable, particularly in the winter months'.

The case for the road was laid out methodically, including estimates of costs, guaranteed by 'the surveyor employed by Mr Griffiths on the above, named Anglesey Road'. Two projections for the funding of the road were included — alternatively a cess on the Barony of Owey and Arra or a cess on the County of Tipperary. Finally, it suggested that the project would also 'alleviate the existing distress of the poor by giving them employment in the ensuing summer'.⁸ The memorial was followed by 106 signatures, representing, undoubtedly, the 'gentlemen, clergy and farmers of the area' and was accompanied by a covering letter — hand-written and signed by the Rev. John Pennefather, Rector of Newport.

Anglesey would undoubtedly have received many such memorials, written in the deferential and sometimes obsequious tone of the times. In another time and another place, this document



*The Rev. John Pennefather, Rector of Newport
Source: Pennefather family papers.*

would not be unusual — just an example of how things should be done by a small community seeking economic support from a remote central administration. But this place was North Tipperary and this time was March, 1831, in the middle of the tithe agitation. In that context, this is a most significant document, which asks major questions of the accepted view of the tithe agitation in County Tipperary.

Some of these questions arise immediately from the document itself. It is clear that Rev. John Pennefather's name carried significant weight in this document. Along with being the first signatory, he also wrote a covering note in his own hand. Altogether six other clergymen, one Protestant and five Roman Catholics, signed the petition. Two of the latter were parish priests of Newport and Ballinahinch.⁹ Given the wider political climate in the county, is it significant that the document gives such precedence to the seventy-five year old Protestant. This is particularly significant since it will later be seen that three of those Catholic priests did not always have a happy relationship with the Established Church.

Turning to the ninety-nine other signatories, the obvious question is whether they were tithe payers. Were the tithes of the Union of Newport paid? and if not, how was the Rector of Newport induced to lead this petition? Did the economic imperative of the road extension override the anti-tithe feelings of the parishioners? Or was the Church of Ireland's Rector an unusually open-minded and forgiving man? Before attempting to answer these questions, it would be instructive to look first at the situation of the Protestant clergy in Tipperary at this time, and in particular at the situation of those rectors in the parishes immediately adjoining Newport.

Sporadic waves of agrarian violence and outrage in the early nineteenth century had created the phrase 'Untameable Tipperary'.¹⁰ The cost of policing Tipperary in the 1830s was £14,978.7.2d.¹¹ Robert Peel, as Home Secretary in 1829, wrote to Levesan Gower, the Irish Chief Secretary, that 'For the last thirty years, that county has been conspicuous, even in the Irish Annals of violence and barbarity — having less excuse in the distress and suffering of its inhabitants than most other parts of Ireland'.¹²

This agrarian violence — largely associated with the Whiteboys had always included an anti-tithe dimension.¹³ However, by 1830, tithes had become the principal focus of agrarian violence in County Tipperary and elsewhere. While the tithe war began in the diocese of Ossory in counties Carlow and Kilkenny in 1829, it had soon spread into Tipperary and it was here that many of the most tense situations developed.¹⁴

In October 1829, Rev. Mr. Going, Rector of Moyliffe, was murdered.¹⁵ In August, 1831, Dennis O' Shaughnessy, tithe proctor of Kilpatrick and Rathlinny was murdered while valuing a field of wheat.¹⁶ In May, 1831, Tipperary was proclaimed and described as 'the worst affected county in Munster'.¹⁷ Whereas the most shocking incidents involving the greatest violence and loss of life were in Carrickshock, Co. Kilkenny and Newtown-Barry, Co. Wexford, a feature of the agitation in Tipperary was the tendency to target the person of the clergyman. This tendency was deplored in an article in the *Dublin University Magazine* — a publication which was extremely partial to the Protestant interest. The article 'State of the Irish Clergy' catalogues 'more than fifty open attacks made, almost with impunity, on the lives and properties of clergymen'. Over a quarter of these attacks occurred in Tipperary, including the murder of two clergymen, Going and Whitty. A footnote to this article attempts to show the attitude of the people to these outrages. 'If anything could add to the horrors of such an assassination, it is the cold-blooded exultation of the perpetrators, who seem to have been assisted by others — more intelligent than the bloody instruments of such atrocities usually are'. An epigram was created, of which the words were:

Whitty and Going are now all as one,
Whitty is going and Going is gone.¹⁸

Turning from the general state of County Tipperary in 1831, to the situation immediately around Newport, it becomes possible to appreciate both the plight of the majority of the Church of Ireland clergymen and the extraordinary situation of Rev. John Pennefather, Rector of Newport. Pennefather's nearest clerical neighbour was Rev. Thomas Le Fanu, Rector of Abington, at whose church Rev. Pennefather sometimes preached.¹⁹ Rev. Le Fanu was an early victim of the 'Tithe War'. He had taken up residence in Abington only in 1826, having been a non-resident rector for three years, a fact which appears to have created some resentment among the tithe payers. Father O'Brien Costello, PP of Murroe/Boher said: 'They conceive, that if he resided in the parish, he would either give them some employment, or at least that his revenue would, in some measure, revert to them, or part of it'.²⁰ Le Fanu's tithe income from Abington parish was £839. As the 'TitheWar' intensified, his arrears grew from £8 in 1829, to £45 in 1830, to £118 in 1831, to £778 in 1832 (which was almost his entire tithe income).²¹ Apart from this financial distress, Le Fanu and his family suffered great hostility on an almost daily basis: 'The Protestant clergy of this part of the country are continually hooted and shouted after as though they were so many mad dogs'.²²

'When the family of Mr. Le Fanu, Dean of Emly, were passing through the village in an outside car of Sunday last, some miscreant from the crowd threw some missile and struck one of the ladies on the face, by which she was much injured'.²³ Three years later, an attempt by Le Fanu to collect his tithe arrears brought about a savage attack on his son, William, aged twenty.²⁴ In the parish of Doon, immediately adjacent to Abington, the Rev. Charles Coote had to have two companies of the 92nd Highlanders and two pieces of artillery present as he attempted to auction cattle which he had seized for non-payment of tithes.²⁵ In an early version of boycotting, he was prevented from saving his turf or hay.²⁶ 'Rev. George Madder, returning from Mt. Cootes at Doon, to his Glebe at Ballybrood, Caherconlish, was pursued along the road by a mob of country fellows who continued hooting and groaning the entire way'.²⁷ On the eastern side of Newport parish, Rev. Arthur Vesey, Dean Gallwey and Rev. Mr. Gabbet in Kilmastulla, Templeahelly and Youghalarra all reported varying degrees of agitation, principally, the posting of threatening articles in their Unions.²⁸ Finally, just over the county border, in Limerick, 'Lieutenant McClean and a force of the twenty-seventh regiment were yesterday assisting in the valuation of the tithes in the parish of Derrygalvin. This day, the Lancers and infantry are on the same duty in the parish of Kilmurry'.²⁹ These events serve to illustrate the circumstance of the clergy in the Established Church in the vicinity of Newport in the period from 1830 to 1832. Denied the tithes that they considered their property, they lived under siege, often boycotted and frequently under police protection.

It is time now, to look again at the Anglesey Road memorial letter and to attempt to understand its implications as a testament of interdenominational harmony. The most obvious question now, having seen the predicament of his clerical neighbours, is why was Rev. John Pennefather held in such universal esteem, that Catholics, lay and clerical would accept his leadership in such a petition? in particular, how was his precedence accepted by the Catholic clergy in an era when the leadership of the Catholic people was one of the most hotly contested issues? The answer to this probably lies in his value to the project — not as the local rector, but personally as John Pennefather. He was not an average country rector. He belonged to one of the most prominent families in the politics of County Tipperary. The Pennefathers had controlled

the borough of Cashel from the Cromwellian period until its abolition as a borough in 1832.³⁰ Rev. John Pennefather had himself been mayor of Cashel on nine occasions between 1785 and 1816.³¹ More importantly, he was a first cousin of Edward Pennefather, Lord Chief Justice and of Richard Pennefather, Baron of the Exchequer.³² Even at the age of seventy-five, his name and his covering letter would, in that age of patronage, ensure that the petition was taken seriously in Dublin castle.

But if this was the motivation of the signatories when they accepted John Pennefather's leadership, what about Pennefather's own motivation? Why should he lend his name and weight to a petition for the benefit of all the people who were in open rebellion against the payment of tithes to the Protestant Church? It must now be established whether the signatories of the petition were the tithe payers and whether or not they were in arrears. When the list of signatures is compared with the tithe Applotment Books for the Union of Newport, it can indeed be seen that many of Rev. Pennefather's biggest tithe payers were also signatories of the petition. Fortunately, the Tithe Applotment Books survive for all four parishes in the Newport Union. The surviving books are Kilnarath, Kilcommerty, Killvolane and Kiloscully — and are all dated 1827.³³

As had been pointed out continuously by critics of the tithe system, the vast majority paid very small sums.³⁴ Kilnarath, in particular, comprising the hilly country around Keeper Mountain, paid its tithes in very small figures. Out of 263 tithe payers, 106 paid less than ten shillings and there are some individual payments as low as three pence, three farthings.³⁵ However, it is with the bigger tithe payers that this essay is concerned. Among the bigger tithe payers, two distinct categories can be identified. First the local Protestant gentry, almost all of whom also signed the road petition. Richard Phillips of Mount Phillips paid £17. 16. 9d.³⁶ Samuel Phillips paid £9. 3. 7d. William Ryan Esq. paid £7. 6. 4d on his demesne at Ballymackeogh³⁷ and Mr. Waller of Castlewaller made the biggest individual payment, at £24.³⁸ These were the Protestant gentlemen of Newport and it is no surprise that these men would give precedence to Rev. John Pennefather.

The second category of bigger tithe payers was the strong Catholic farmers, the very people who in other parts of Tipperary were the backbone of the anti-tithe movement. Many of this category of tithe payer appear also as signatories of the petition — men such as John Coffey of Newport, who paid £4. 4. 0d on his 120 acres.³⁹ Denis Ryan of Gortshane, who paid £2. 4. 2d,⁴⁰ Michael Davis of Kilvellane who paid £5. 1. 11d,⁴¹ John Coffey of Shower paid £2. 12. 1d,⁴² Bat Coffey paid £5. 0. 11d,⁴³ Cornelius O'Brien of Cully paid £0. 16. 11d,⁴⁴ Rev. Flanagan, PP of Ballinahinch paid £1. 13. 5d.⁴⁵ It would appear that these farmers did not want the tithe question to hinder the economic prospects that could arise from the success of the road petition.

The question of whether John Pennefather was lending his assistance to tithe defaulters can never be conclusively answered, but there is evidence to suggest that he was and that he must have known it. The Parliamentary Papers for 1833 ('The Tithe Enquiry') gives a table for the tithe arrears for the diocese of Cashel and Emly. Rev. Gallwey of Youghalarra was owed arrears of £790, Rev. Thomas Le Fanu was owed £970 and the arrears owed to Rev. John Pennefather amounted to £1088.18.3d.⁴⁶ Given the efforts of Le Fanu and others to recover their tithe arrears, Rev. John Pennefather's intercession on behalf of his parishioners seems to imply a certain level of forbearance on his part. Of further interest is the fact that he made no claim on the Consolidated Fund, set up by the Government in 1832, to assist clergymen who were in distress arising from failure to collect tithes. Rev. Gallwey received £146 from this fund. Rev. Thomas Le Fanu received £286 and Rev. Arthur Vesey of Kilmastulla Union received £500.⁴⁷

How could a country clergyman sustain the loss of over £1000 where others all over Tipperary were writing of their near destitution? The answer to this question lies probably in John Pennefather's means, both professional and private. While the tithe arrears of £1088 were substantial, they represent a three year period in which the annual tithe income was, theoretically £1447. 0. 0d for the Union of Newport.⁴⁸ These figures indicate that a very substantial portion of the tithe income was paid, leaving John Pennefather far better off than most of his clerical neighbours. One reason for this is that, in the Newport Union, the Protestant population was 450.⁴⁹ While it represented only 4.5% of the population, it included many resident landlords who were the most substantial tithe payers. Three of Pennefather's daughters had married into prominent local families⁵⁰ and it is likely that his tithe-income from these sources would have remained reliable.

On the other hand, in Abington, Thomas Le Fanu, ministered to only 121 Protestants, 1.5% of the population and Rev. Coote of Doon had the care of only 32 souls, or 0.6% of the population.⁵¹ These men were almost totally dependent on Catholic tithe payers and their predicament in 1831 was much more grim than John Pennefather's. There is evidence also to suggest that John Pennefather was not entirely dependent on his tithes from Newport. He was the owner of 388 acres of land in Co. Cork, let to eight tenants at a net rent of £428.⁵² He also had a lease for 'Three lives, renewable forever' on land in Golden, Co. Tipperary 'providing a clear profit rent of £533. 1. 0d'.⁵³ It is perhaps understandable that a man of such comfortable means, at the age of seventy-five, might not want to endure the legal and practical difficulties of pursuing his tithe arrears. This was the view of a Tipperary Resident Magistrate, addressing the Tithe Enquiry in 1833: 'Several of the most respectable of the clergymen of large incomes have declined and stated that they could not conscientiously seek the tithe in consequence of the necessity of being obliged to enforce it, which probably would be attained by the effusion of blood'.⁵⁴

If John Pennefather comes across as a reasonable man, he may also have been fortunate in the Catholic clergy that he was faced with in the parish of Newport. In the neighbouring parish of Abington, Rev. Thomas Le Fanu had a very poor relationship with the parish priest, Father O'Brien Costello, a personal friend of Daniel O Connell and an outspoken critic of the tithe system.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Father O'Brien Costello's curate, Father Dalton, was described in a police report as 'one of the most mischievous conspirators in the country'.⁵⁶ In Doon also, the PP, Father Hickey, was heavily involved in the anti-tithe movement and had his own livestock distrained for tithe arrears.⁵⁷ Elsewhere, the Catholic clergy were frequently noted by the police and magistrates as 'stirring up opposition to the tithe payment'.⁵⁸ Newport itself was not without experience of religious acrimony. In 1828, the PP, Father James Healy, a Franciscan friar from Thurles, refused to allow Catholic children to attend a school set up in Birdhill by a local Protestant landlord, Arthur Ormsby. The dispute became so bitter that Ormsby eventually evicted over twenty families for defying his wishes.⁵⁹ The Catholic curate, Father Edward O Shaughnessy received £60 from the Catholic Association for the maintenance of these tenants.⁶⁰ Another Newport curate, Father James Ryan, was reported in the *Limerick Chronicle* of the 16th July 1832 as attending a meeting of the parishioners of Ahane, Co. Limerick to protest against the payment of tithes: 'Again, there is the Rev. Costello of Murroe, the Rev. Dalton and the Rev. Ryan of Newport etc., who have come a long way to attend the meeting'.⁶¹ However, all of these priests seem to have accepted the necessity of putting their names to the petition despite the precedence that it gave to Rev. John Pennefather. Perhaps, as a concession to diplomacy, the names of John Pennefather and of James Healy are roughly level at the top of the two columns of signatures. For whatever reasons, the Catholic clergy of Newport were better able to co-operate with the

Church of Ireland clergy than was the case in the neighbouring parishes.

That Rev. John Pennefather's relations with his catholic neighbours were healthier than elsewhere may be partly explained by yet another factor:

I have always observed that opposition to tithes has generally taken place in parishes remote from the residence of the clergyman, where there are no gentlemen residing and where the clergyman is only known by the person he sends to collect his tithes.⁶²

In this respect, as a Church of Ireland Rector, John Pennefather was exemplary. By 1831, he had been resident in Newport Union for forty-two years. When he arrived in 1789, he had built St. John's Rectory at a time when only 34% of benefices in Cashel and Emly had Glebe Houses.⁶³

The surviving Vestry Books give an account of an industrious and ambitious man and an able administrator. In 1823, a "Unique octagonal tower" was added to Newport Church, partly financed by a grant of £450 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.⁶⁴ In 1829, he built a second church and glebe at Kiloscully, with a grant of £900 from the Board of First Fruits.⁶⁵ This left Newport the best provided Union in the diocese, with two churches and two glebe houses. Along with these major projects, the surviving Vestry Books provide a constant record of building and repairing of churches, graveyards, etc. To the local Catholic population, especially the poor, this meant employment. Finally, at the age of eighty, his evidence to the 'Poor Enquiry' of 1836 shows a broad knowledge of the conditions of the people of the district.⁶⁶

If the memorial letter to Lord Anglesey can be regarded as an unusual occurrence in the context of the 'Tithe War', it was to be followed by an even more unusual incident, again concerning Rev. John Pennefather. On 23rd, September, 1832, his son, Joseph Lysaght Pennefather was arrested in the nearby town of Borrisokane for disturbing the peace and posting anti-tithe notices. He was put into solitary confinement in the Nenagh Bridewell for three days and three nights.⁶⁷ In his subsequent trial at the Clonmel Assizes, he was charged with 'Combining and procuring divers persons at Borrisokane to prevent the collection of tithes to Pierce Gould, Rector of Finoe'. His conduct was deplored by the Solicitor-General as 'A gentleman of high-rank, profession and even name and a member of the English Bar'.⁶⁸ In another newspaper report he is described as 'having displayed at Borrisokane, a placard reading — 'No Tithes and Repeal of the Union'.⁶⁹ The Court found him guilty and he was sentenced to five months imprisonment and £100 fine.⁷⁰ What his ageing father thought of this is not known but it is likely that the stand taken by Joseph Lysaght Pennefather could only enhance the position of the family among the Catholics of Newport.

The meeting in Newport on the 4th March 1831, to sign the road petition, is a reminder that even in a time of violent upheaval, normal life must go on and that economic issues must still be attended to. That the petition could draw together 106 of 'the gentlemen, clergy and farmers' at such a time is an indication that interdenominational relations were not as fractured in Newport as they were elsewhere in Tipperary. It can reasonably be concluded from the evidence of this study, that this healthy situation was in some measure attributable to the personality and the career of the local rector, Rev. John Pennefather.

Notes

- 1 Bowen Desmond. *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland* (Dublin, 1978) 1X – XIV.
- 2 *Ibid.* p.106.

- 3 Ibid p. 399.
- 4 Ibid pp 204 - 205.
- 5 Ibid pp 63 - 64.
- 6 The Church of Ireland Union of Newport comprised the civil parishes of Kilvellane, Kilcomenty, Kiloscully and Kilnarath. It corresponded roughly with the Catholic parishes of Newport, Birdhill and part of Ballinahinch.
- 7 Memorial letter to Lord Anglesey. 04/03/1831. OP 11, 630 974. National Archives, Dublin.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Hayes, William J. *Newport Co. Tipperary: The Town, its Courts and Gaols* (Roscrea, 1998) p.15.
- 11 Accounts of presentments made by the Grand Juries in Ireland 1834, Parliamentary Papers 1837, Vol. XXXV11. Only Kilkenny and Galway matched this figure. The next highest police estimate was £7,110 for Queen's County. The Tipperary figure was more than the combined estimates for Mayo, Wexford and Kerry.
- 12 McGrath, Thomas "Interdenominational Relations" in Nolan & McGrath (ed.), *Tipperary History and Society.*(Dublin, 1985) p.276.
- 13 Beames, Michael R. *Peasants and Power* (1983) p.115.
- 14 O'Donoghue, Patrick 'Opposition to Tithe Payments 1830-1831' in *Studia Hibernica* Vol. 6 (1966) p.69
- 15 McGrath, ibid, p.269.
- 16 Ibid.p.270.
- 17 *Freeman's Journal*, 15th May, 1831.
- 18 'State of the Irish Clergy' *Dublin University Magazine*, December 1837. Vol. 10, pp 730-731.
- 19 McCormack,W.J. *Sheridan Le Fanu* (Oxford,1980) p.23.
- 20 Tierney, Mark 'The Tithe War in Murroe 1830-1831' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th series, Vol C111 p.210.
- 21 McCormack,W.J. ibid, p.38.
- 22 Chief Constable Brady, quoted in Tierney, Mark, *Murroe and Boher-History of an Irish Country Parish* (Dublin,1966) p.65.
- 23 Mr Vokes, Limerick Police, quoted in Tierney, Mark 'The Tithe War in Murroe 1830-1831' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th series, Vol.C111 p.210.
- 24 Le Fanu, William, *Seventy Years of Irish Life* (Arnold, 1893) pp 64-65.
- 25 McCormack,WJ. ibid, p.39.
- 26 Le Fanu, William, ibid., *Seventy Years of Irish Life* (Arnold,1893) p.67.
- 27 *Limerick Chronicle*, 21 August 1832.
- 28 'Return of Outrages Connected with the Tithe System' Parliamentary Papers 1833 Vol. XXV11 p.231.
- 29 *Limerick Chronicle*, 22 August 1832.
- 30 *Tipperary Free Press*, 22 July 1835.
- 31 Sadler, Thomas, *Magistrates, Grand Jurors and High Sheriffs for County Tipperary* (Thurles, 1902).
- 32 Burke, *Landed Gentry of Ireland*, 4th Edition (London, 1958).
- 33 Tithe Applotment Books for the Diocese of Cashel and Emlý. (Microfilm,Tipperary County Library, Thurles).
- 34 Letter from Cotton to Stanley (Thurles, Jan. 12th 1831) found in *Clonmel Advertiser* 12 February 1832.
- 35 Tithe Applotment Book, parish of Kilnarath, Co. Tipperary, 1827.
- 36 Tithe Applotment Book, Kilvellane.
- 37 Tithe Applotment Book, Kilvellane.
- 38 Tithe Applotment Book, Kilnarath.
- 39 Tithe Applotment Book, Kilnarath.
- 40 Tithe Applotment Book, Kilvellane.
- 41 Tithe Applotment Book, Kilnarath.
- 42 Tithe Applotment Book, Kilvellane.
- 43 Ibid.

- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Tithe Applotment Book, Kilcomenty.
- 46 'Tithe Enquiry Parliamentary Papers' 1833. Vol. XXV11.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Lewis, Samuel, *Topographical Directory of Ireland* Vol. 2 p.218.
- 49 McGrath, Thomas 'Interdenominational Relations' in Nolan, McGrath (ed.), *Tipperary: History and Society* (Dublin, 1985) p.86.
- 50 Burke, *Landed Gentry of Ireland* 4th Edition (London, 1958).
- 51 McGrath, *ibid.* pp.283-286.
- 52 Statement of Title of Rev. John Pennefather, to the lands of Curryglass, Lisnabrin, Munee and Glengariff, situated in the county of Cork. Maps and Rentals 1082/3/2/8ii National Archives.
- 53 Maps and Rentals 1082/3/2/8ii National Archives, Dublin.
- 54 Evidence of G.Fitzgerald RM. In Parliamentary Papers 1831-1832 Vol. XX11 pp 12-19.
- 55 Tierney, Mark, 'The Tithe War in Murroe 1831-1838' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th series Vol. C111 (April 1965) p.210.
- 56 Tierney, Mark, *Murroe and Boher: History of an Irish Country Parish* (Dublin, 1965) p.215.
- 57 McCormack, W.J. *Sheridan Le Fanu* (Oxford, 1980) p.39.
- 58 O'Donoghue, Patrick 'Opposition to Tithe Payment 1832-1833' in *Studia Hibernica* p.96.
- 59 *Clonmel Advertiser*, 11th June 1828.
- 60 McGrath, Thomas 'Interdenominational Relations' in Nolan, McGrath (ed.), *Tipperary: History and Society* (Dublin, 1985) p.260.
- 61 *Limerick Chronicle*, 16th, July 1832.
- 62 Evidence of John Walsh RM. Parliamentary Papers 1831-1832 Vol. XX11 p.154.
- 63 Acheson, Donald Harmon *The Church of Ireland Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution 1800-1885* (Yale University Press, 1971) p.114.
- 64 Ryan, Pakie 'Protestant Clergy in Newport' from *Newport News* (1991, np).
- 65 *ibid.*
- 66 Grace, Daniel, *The Great Famine in Nenagh Poor Law Union* (Nenagh, 2000) pp 16, 32, 34.
- 67 *Clonmel Advertiser*, 31st, October 1832.
- 68 *Dublin Evening Mail*, 2nd November, 1832.
- 69 *Tipperary Free Press* Newspaper, 3rd November, 1832.
- 70 *Clonmel Advertiser*, 11th, November, 1832.