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Philip Cunningham: Clonmel's insurgent leader of 1798

By Ruan O'Donnell

While Tipperary did not experience a massive uprising in 1798 on a par with the conflagrations of south Leinster, significant United Irish cadres were in place in the county and many skirmishes occurred. Philip Cunningham was one of the most senior United Irishmen in Clonmel and, although born in Moyvane, near Listowel, County Kerry, was primarily active in north Tipperary in 1798-9.

A little known figure in Ireland, Cunningham became notorious in Australia as the principal leader of the most serious convict insurrection in that country's history. His family background is obscure, but a relationship with the Cunninghams of north Tipperary is suggested by his move to Clonmel in the 1790s. Cunningham ran a public-house and worked as a mason in that thriving town of over 5,000 residents, and in February 1798 married a local woman named Black.

Clonmel and Nenagh had been Tipperary's main centres of United Irish activity after 1792 and many of their residents would have been radicalised by the bitterness stemming from the gentry cleavage which had manifested itself in the 1760s. Old divisions were accentuated by the political crises of the 1790s when rising Catholics, liberal Protestants and other social groups from which the principal advocates of constitutional reform were drawn were confronted by conservative opponents. This was encouraged by Lord Lieutenant Camden's hardline Dublin Castle executive, who lacked confidence in sectors represented by liberal members of parliament.

The spate of arms raids in Tipperary in March 1798 marked a clear escalation of insurgent activity, but was not particularly violent or widespread in the context of the times. It did, however, offer an ideal pretext to conservative elements within the magistracy to become proactive and more vigorous in their campaign to stem the tide of disaffection. Their pre-eminence in county affairs was facilitated in 1798 by the extremist tendencies of the High Sheriff, Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald.

Martial law was declared in Ikerrin barony on 14 March 1798, but the operation of summary justice techniques such as random floggings and transportation without trial did not deter "outrages" elsewhere. One of the most provocative actions was undertaken by United Irishmen from the Clonmel area, who raided Cahir on 28 March 1798. Up to 1,000 men commanded by uniformed officers allegedly intimidated loyalists into handing over their weapons, and such incidents led to the extension of martial law to the whole of Tipperary by 2 April 1798.¹

The incidence of armed action in Tipperary during the Rising of 1798 was relatively impressive given that torture, summary transportation and house burning prior to the outbreak on 23 May had severely disrupted rebel command structures and partially disarmed their followers. These body blows, moreover, had been seconded by the initial paralysis arising from the miscarriage of plans to spark a countrywide uprising.

In the absence of French military assistance and regional co-ordination, the Rising had commenced around Dublin in the least propitious circumstances. Tipperary and other heavily organized counties did not receive the order to rise at the moment of truth. Munster militants,

nevertheless, subsequently attempted comprehensive mobilization with a view to attacking major garrisons, but met with a series of demoralizing reverses.

Tipperary's county town and Cashel were both menaced by armed rebels on the night of 16 July 1798 and, while their probes proved ineffectual, it is clear that an orderly build-up of forces was then planned. Rebel committees in Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir met on the 20 July to discuss their strategy and decided that the lighting of fires around Slievenamon would signal a major turn out at Nile-Mile-House.

United Irishmen from a wide swathe of the county were given provisional instructions and officers were informed that Fethard, Cashel, Carrick-on-Suir and Clogheen were to be assaulted before the Clonmel garrison was engaged. The plan was betrayed to the authorities and on 22 July several hundred rebels were lured to Carraigmochar by a false beacon. Here they were attacked by elements of the Louth and Wicklow Militia and Hompesch Dragoons, supported by the Kilkenny and Callan yeomanry. Mopping up operations continued for a week and led to a grim bout of courtmartial, executions and deportations.²

Tubberadora Battle

The desultory clashes which occurred in Tipperary have not yet received the attention they merit and clearly unsettled some of those tasked with defending the status quo. William Latham, High Sheriff of Tipperary in 1791, claimed that when the insurgents "broke out in open Rebellion [in July 1798 he] exerted himself in quelling and keeping them under, particularly at the Battle of Tubberadora..in one month after the defeat of said rebels in battle from the knowledge he had of many persons seen in arms at said battle he used means and caused the whole parish consisting of 900 men of the parish wherein he lives to assemble and lay down their arms and give themselves up at Newport in said county to Richard Pennefather esq one of the Governors who commands a yeomanry Troop."

Cunningham's role in these events has never been documented, but it stands to reason that his prominence in provincial seditious affairs after 1798 derived, at least in part, from rebellion experiences. He was probably involved in the co-ordination of Clonmel district insurgency and, perhaps, in the development of contingencies that were never acted on owing to the inflated expectations of the French and the south Leinster rebels. His future militancy when an exile in and en route to New South Wales strongly indicates that he was a man of action.

Kerry tradition records that he was "a man of great stature and commanding appearance ... he was a born leader of men and a man who commanded loyalty and got it."⁴ He was also articulate, persuasive and capable of moving easily in establishment circles. One of those who came forward to speak in his defence was Clonmel's conservative Lord Mayor, Richard Moore, who admitted being acquainted with Cunningham for "about a year" without forming an adverse opinion of his politics or personality. Another supporter was George Greene, for whom Cunningham had worked as a mason before becoming his tenant.⁵

It is clear from his courtmartial transcript, moreover, that Cunningham was a central figure in the post-Rising re-organization of the United Irishmen and was possibly the most senior operator in Munster. Mounting tithe protests in Tipperary in early 1799 heralded a period of renewed instability in the region, which intensified in 1801. Social disruption arising from anti-government grievances advanced the cause of the United Irishmen, whose activists embraced such opportunities to harness popular discord.

Irish republicans had every reason to hope that the powerful French military would make good their commitment to them in due course and, excepting the twelve-month hiatus in the



war from March 1802, this was held to be a distinct possibility by Dublin Castle until 1815. Cunningham's efforts to liaise with rebel networks in Waterford in 1799 indicate that he was acting in accordance with instructions which had been issued by the reformed Dublin Directory. Lines of communication would have been re-opened between the groups of militants in neighbouring counties to streamline their proposed co-operation in support of the French. This resurgence also occurred in Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare and Carlow, strategically important counties where small bands of rebels held out in mountainous and wooded terrain.

Cunningham was also the dynamic leader who in early 1799 was suspected of having helped rescue prisoners being taken to Clonmel for execution by the Essex fencibles. Repeated attempts by United Irishmen to spring captured comrades discouraged the authorities from routing convicts to Cork for transportation through the Limerick region in late 1799.⁶ A more serious threat emerged in early September 1799 when a spate of arms raids and attacks on Tipperary yeomen were reported.

A reputed attempt to kill John Mansfield near Carrick-on-Suir on 6 September convinced John Bagwell that "an immediate intended rising of the rebels" was planned.⁷ Fethard loyalists reinforced the impression of a widespread conspiracy by reporting that menacing fires "were blazing on all the surrounding hills" on the night of 6 September, and that the troops anticipated a rising.

Further evidence of increased rebel confidence was offered by the patrol of Clonmel yeomen who were twice fired on that night when pursuing unidentified horsemen near their home town. The upsurge obliged their garrison and that of Carrick-on-Suir to go on alert and martial law regulations were once again applied to Tipperary and Waterford from the 13th. An 8 p.m. curfew was imposed with a promise that infractors would be punished under the draconian Insurrection Act.⁸

It was probably as a result of this crackdown that a compromised person divulged details of Cunningham's activities, as he was charged with seditious offences in Clonmel on 4 October 1799 along with Richard Guiry (Geary), a farmer from the nearby Wilderness. The courtmartial spanned 9-11 October 1799 and occurred in the midst of escalating violence attributed to the United Irishmen. Edward Pennefather, a barrister, acted as Deputy Judge Advocate of an army panel presided over by Major Lynne of the Princess of Wales Light Dragoons. Lynne was assisted by two junior officers from his own regiment and two from the Royal Lancashire Volunteers.

Cunningham and Guiry were accused of having gone to Dungarvan on 1 August 1799 and to "other places in the county Waterford with intent to foment rebellion and excite divers[e] subjects ... to raise & take up arms against his Majesty."⁹ Significantly, Cunningham was also accused of having previously pursued this objective at Carrick-on-Suir and at Kilmacthomas in Waterford. The Dungarvan link may have been his undoing, however, as information of the plot to attack Clonmel in early September had been made public in the Waterford port on 23 September 1799 during the courtmartial of John Mernin of that place, "a principal of amongst the rebels."¹⁰

Transport to Australia

The trip to Dungarvan had been well organized as Cunningham and Guiry carried a letter of introduction from one Daniel of Clonmel to his brother John who was a captain in the local United Irishmen. Contact with this important figure had been facilitated by Guiry's cousin, John Dooane of Dungarvan, who was impressed by the prediction of the emissaries that "they w[oul]d be ruined" when the anticipated Act of Union came into effect.¹¹



Cunningham's sharp mind was displayed when he subjected his principal prosecution witness to cross-examination and also during his ingenious statement to the court. Yet James Ryan's claims that Cunningham had admitted reorganizing United Irish structures in parts of Leinster and most of Munster in the course of 1799 were compelling. A capital conviction was handed down but the sentence was automatically commuted to transportation for life on a point of law which revolved round the insufficient panel majority in favour of having him executed. His co-accused, Guiry, fared much better and was acquitted with the aid of several excellent character witnesses.¹²

After a relatively short spell of imprisonment Cunningham was placed in chains in the prison hold of Captain Stewart's *Anne* transport for shipment to New South Wales. The *Anne*, a 384-ton-foreign built vessel, was the third transport to carry rebel prisoners to the penal colonies of New South Wales after 1798. Prominent United Irish prisoners on board included Manus Sheehy and Thomas "Captain Steel" Langan of the Kerry/West Limerick United Irishmen and Cork's much persecuted Fr. Peter O'Neil.

Sheehy was reputedly the nephew of executed Tipperary "Whiteboy" priest, Fr. Nicholas Sheehy, whose death in 1761 created one of the county's most venerated martyr figures. O'Neil and Langan were two of very few on board to return to Ireland; 20 of the 147 male convicts embarked never even reached their destination of Port Jackson (Sydney). The male convicts were predominately United Irishmen and sailed on 26 June 1800 with 24 female criminals into an uncertain and frightening future in the southern hemisphere. Their gruelling voyage of 240 days was punctuated by short stops in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and Cape Town (South Africa) and by a fatal mutiny.¹³

An attempt to take the *Anne* on 29 July 1800 was the most violent to occur between 1799 and 1802. It commenced when Manus Sheehy's men seized the captain and the first mate as soon as they had descended into the prison to supervise its fumigation. Thirty prisoners exercising on deck then sprang into action on hearing the rousing shout of "death or liberty".

NOTICE

Clonmel, September 13th 1799.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL LAKE, Commanding the Southern District, Requires all Persons within the Counties of Tipperary and Waterford to put upon their Doors a list of the Inhabitants belonging to the respective Houses, and it shall not be admitted as an excuse, that such List has been torn or defaced as it must be immediately replaced.—He also directs, that no Person on any pretext whatever without a pass from the GENERAL of the District should be absent from his House between the hours of Eight o'Clock at Night and Sun-rise the next morning, on pain of suffering the Punishment ordered to be inflicted by the INSURRECTION ACT, under which those Counties stand at present proclaimed.

Patroles will be sent out in every direction to take up all such Persons who Act contrary to this Notice.

WILLIAM NICOLSON,
Aide de Camp.

Clonmel: Printed at the Public and Military Printing-Office near the BANK.

A curfew proclamation by General Lake issued at Clonmel in 1799.



The crew recovered very quickly from the shock of the uprising and opened fire on their virtually unarmed assailants without hesitation. One was killed outright and three others were wounded. With the main deck secured, the crew negotiated the safe release of the ship's officers with the assistance of Fr. O'Neil whose own back was badly lacerated from a severe flogging in Cork.

When order was restored, however, Stewart avenged his ignominious capture by ordering Sheehy's immediate execution by firing squad. No detailed record has survived of Cunningham's role in the drama although he was evidently unmasked as a principal figure and punished, probably by flogging and heavy ironing. Sources available to the *Sydney Gazette* on 18 March 1804 confidently asserted that he had been "remarkably active in the mutinous transactions" on board the *Anne*.¹⁴

Another glimpse of Cunningham's ship-board activism was preserved by Thomas Culhane in his authoritative folk accounts of the Munster United Irishmen. One story, apparently collected from the Langan family, claimed that "[Thomas] Langan and Cunningham were two of the most active mutineers on the *Anne* but [that] Fr. O'Neil interceded on their behalf with the captain, who spared their lives. All were sent to Norfolk Island ... where prisoners were flogged and dehumanised." A fourth associate of this tight coterie, Bill Leonard, may also have been implicated as he died before reaching Port Jackson.¹⁵

Port Jackson was reached on 23 February 1801, where a forewarned colonial establishment had taken steps to contain the influence of yet more "troublesome and mutinous" Irish prisoners. Their repeated seditious machinations in 1800 had greatly unsettled the penal regime and seven of the "most mutinous" *Anne* arrivals were re-transported in April on the *Porpoise* to the hellish Norfolk Island.

Langan remained on the island for several years but Cunningham's stay was relatively brief, possibly as his skills as a mason were too valuable in the struggling colony to be squandered on a remote Pacific outpost. He was assigned to duties in the government farming settlement of Castle Hill, where he resumed his trade as a mason.¹⁶

Cunningham did not warm to his new environment and did not recognize the right of the establishment to retain his services. In October 1802 he joined fellow *Anne* convict, Conor Sheehan, in an attempt to flee the colony by joining a departing French vessel. The pair secured passage in a boat to Port Jackson but fell under suspicion for travelling without passes and were arrested near Parramatta, the colony's second largest settlement. On 27 October they received sentence of 100 lashes each and were promptly returned to their duties in Castle Hill.¹⁷

Again, Cunningham's professional ability and relatively good social background ensured that his transgressions were quickly forgiven and by early 1804 he was an overseer of masons at Castle Hill. Overseers, generally former convicts and trusted individuals, enjoyed considerable freedom of movement as well as authority over their work gangs. Their lives differed very little from that enjoyed by the small numbers of free settlers and emancipated convicts in New South Wales.

Castle Hill Rising

Cunningham was reputedly building his own stone house in 1804 when an insurrection plot of long maturation neared implementation. The plan initially concerned rebels and sworn sympathisers from Parramatta and Port Jackson rising alongside their comrades at Castle Hill, although tactical disagreements between the Leinster and Munster/Ulster factions ensured that a less comprehensive challenge was mounted. The Castle Hill men wanted to press ahead with



a phased revolt of several days instead of a mass surprise attack demanded by important Leinster leaders such as Joseph Holt of Wicklow.

Contemporary accounts of the rising attest to the confusion which gripped the colony on 4 March 1804, when around 200 mainly Irish prisoners overpowered their guards at Castle Hill near Baulkham Hills. Word had been received by the authorities that such an effort had been planned but poor communications, the partially dispersed nature of the New South Wales Corps and the necessity of safe-guarding Port Jackson prevented an immediate military response.

Cunningham was evidently the principal leader of the rebels and famously uttered the Republican battle cry "death or liberty", which had called United Irishmen to action on the *Anne* and at many previous engagements. He addressed his buoyant followers at Constitution Hill (Toongabbie) on the night of 4 March before dispatching several columns to obtain guns and recruits in advance of planned attacks on Parramatta and Port Jackson.

His two most prominent lieutenants, William Johnson and Samuel Hume, were both Protestant United Irish officers from the north of Ireland and men who acted when the leaders of the Parramatta segment of the plot pulled back. The columns raided settlers' homes in the Seven Hills/Pennant Hills area in search of the few firearms available in a small and sparsely populated penal colony. Skirmishing occurred in which the insurgents were opposed by elements of the second-rate but well armed New South Wales Corps, the volunteer yeomanry "Sydney Association" and detachments of marines from visiting naval vessels. It was the N.S.W. Corps, however, with Association support who spearheaded the 5 March attack on the temporary insurgent camp near Castle Hill, afterwards dubbed "Vinegar Hill" in honour of the Irish battle of that name.¹⁸

The arrival of the troops evidently surprised the rebels, who had expected at least an extra day to consolidate their forces in advance of a major clash. Major George Johnson, a veteran of the American War of Independence, was apparently confident that his vastly superior firepower would prevail against a much larger but ill-armed body of convict rebels. He advanced with a small escort to reconnoitre the crowds of rebels forming up on the hill and to establish contact with his opposite numbers in their camp.

Pikes had not been manufactured in appreciable quantities, if at all, and none of the wariness displayed by Irish crown forces in similar circumstances in 1798 was apparent. Cunningham and William Johnson may have understood the implications of their enemy's bold action and, after some discussion, agreed to confer with him under a flag of truce on open ground between the opposing ranks. A secondary factor may have been the encouraging presence of Cunningham's *Anne* acquaintance Fr. O'Neil, whose mediation ability was again sought by the authorities. An eyewitness, Wicklow United Irishman John Byrne of Seven Churches (Glendalough), recalled:

*Captain [sic] George Johnston came up to Cunningham and asked him what did he want? And Cunningham came down, with his sword in one hand and his hat in the other, to talk to Captain Johnston ... Captain Johnston behaved in an honourable manner when he asked them what they wanted and that he would strive to get it for them. Cunningham said "Death or Liberty". Captain Johnston told [sic] him to go up to his men and to give directions, and never made the least offer to molest him, but [Thomas] Laycock, who was quartermaster in his corps, he came up and, with one blow he put Cunningham past doing any more. This Laycock was six foot six inches high.*¹⁹

Most reliable accounts indicate that Major Johnson had little compunction in dishonouring the terms of his consultation with the two rebel leaders, and when an opportune moment



arrived he and his bodyguard trained hitherto concealed pistols on their heads. A very short ultimatum was followed by orders to open fire on the 250-300 insurgents on the hill, of whom up to 30 were killed for no Government fatalities. This casualty profile reflected the indecision of the rebels when deprived of their leaders and their lack of firearms.

Martial law was declared for the first time in Australian history and the many prisoners taken were consequently tried by military tribunals. Nine of the most prominent were hanged and a similar number flogged; dozens more were sent to the harsh penal outposts of the Coal River (Newcastle) and Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania). Cunningham was not one of the formally processed prisoners, however, and the precise details of his fate have been disputed.²⁰

Byrne's observation that Laycock's blow put Cunningham "past doing any more" was published in 1838 and probably influenced the very similar one collected by Culhane, which claimed that the Clonmel leader had been "treacherously shot from the back by Lieutenant Laycock."²¹ It is not certain, however, that Cunningham was then killed or mortally wounded by the blow or gun-shot to his head. A different tradition records that he escaped Major Johnson's clutches in the heat of the first exchange of fire and fled with many others from the scene of the one-sided battle.

This version alleges that he was captured by a patrol later that night or early on the morning of 6 March, taken into the free settlement of the Hawkesbury and hanged in a storehouse. He may even have been partially incapacitated or dazed by a wound sustained at his encounter on "Vinegar Hill." A hybrid of the two theories seems to offer the most plausible explanation; namely, that Byrne described a fatal assault on Cunningham and that his lifeless body was, as Holt claimed, afterwards "brought to Hawk[e]sbury and hanged, though he was dead, to show example." Certainly, the gibbeting of Cunningham's body would have been in keeping with late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century notions of deterrence and exemplary justice.²²

The Castle Hill revolt was decisively crushed by the colonial troops, but was regarded as an exceptionally dangerous episode which had the potential to overwhelm the colony. On 12 March 1804 Governor King recorded his opinion that "2000 [men], all the Irish, w[oul]d have joined [the] revolt" had not the crews of three naval vessels been on hand to aid the suppression of the attempt.²³ The insurgents of 1804 have been commemorated in Australia, implicitly if not by name, by a substantial memorial unveiled on "Vinegar Hill", western Sydney, in 1988. If an individual was to be singled out for recognition arising from the event, however, Philip Cunningham, a rebel leader in two hemispheres, would undoubtedly be the most deserving.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thomas P. Power, *Land, politics and society in Eighteenth-Century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 209, 300-314; *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 18 April 1799, R.B McDowell, *Ireland in the age of Imperialism and revolution, 1760-1801* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 580-82; Diarmuid O'Keeffe, "1798 in south Tipperary", in *Tipperary Historical Journal*, 1990, p. 111.
2. See O'Keeffe, pp. 111-4 and Patrick C. Power, "Tipperary courtmartials, 1798 to 1801", in *Tipperary Historical Journal* 1993, pp. 135-47. In November 1798 rebel leaders Edmund "Captain Doe" Barry of Seskin and Walter Pope of Carrick-on-Suir were sentenced to transportation with other less senior men, n.d. [November 1798], N.A., 620/3/28/21.
3. Memorial of William Latham of Ballysheehan, Tipperary, n.d., 1800, National Archives, Official Papers 78/10.



4. Thomas F. Culhane, "Traditions of Glin and its neighbourhood" in *Journal of the Kerry archaeological and historical society*, no. 2, 1969, p. 87. See also General Gerard Lake to Cornwallis, 3 June 1799, Public Record Office [England], Home Office 100/89/55.
5. 11 October 1799, N.A., 620/6/19/13, p. 19. Moore may have been the same Richard Moore who was part of the "right wing grouping" on Tipperary's Grand Jury in 1766. Power, *Eighteenth-Century Tipperary*, p. 260.
6. Culhane, "Traditions of Glin", p. 88, and Con Costello, *Botany Bay* (Dublin, 1987) p. 37.
7. John Bagwell to _____, 7 September 1799, P.R.O., H.O. 100/89/187. On 10 September 1799 Michael Power, John Fanning, John Bragall and John Cramp were sentenced to transportation for life for unlawful assembly, possession of pikes and robbing John Mansfield of Carrick. 10 September 1799, N.A., 620/6/69/26-7, 28, 30.
8. J. King to _____, 7 September 1799, P.R.O., H.O. 100/89/185, 13 September 1799, P.R.O., H.O. 100/89/213, and Lake to _____, 14 September 1799, P.R.O., H.O. 100/89/214.
9. 4 October 1799, N.A., 620/6/69/13, p. 1.
10. 23 September 1799, N.A., 620/6/69/18.
11. 4 October 1799, N.A., 620/6/69/13, p. 10.
12. 11 October 1799, N.A., 620/6/69/13, pp. 3-4.
13. Charles Bateson, *The Convict Ships, 1787-1868* (Glasgow, n.d), pp. 159, 288-9, 326, Culhane, "Traditions of Glin", pp. 87-8, Ruan O'Donnell, "Marked for Botany Bay"; the Wicklow United Irishmen and the development of political transportation from Ireland', Ph.D thesis, Australian National University, 1996, Chapter Nine, and Sheedy Papers, Mitchel Library, Sydney, MS 1337, p. 130. Another of Fr. Sheehy's relatives, Robert Sheehy, was courtmartialled for seditious crimes in Clonmel on 29 September 1800; although acquitted, he was almost certainly a United Irishman. N.A., 620/10/110/1 and Power, "Tipperary", p. 144.
14. Stewart to _____, 26 August 1800 in *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 31 January 1801; *Remonstrance of Rev. Peter O'Neil*, cited in P.F. Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia* (Sydney, n.d.), p. 47, and Phil O'Neil, "The convict priests of '98 in Australia" in *Catholic Bulletin*, X, September 1920, No. 9, p. 540.
15. Culhane, "Traditions of Glin", p. 87; see also Robert Walsh to Joseph Holt, 5 November 1803 in G. W. Rusden, *Curiosities of Colonization* (London, 1874), p. 57.
16. Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, 30 November 1800 in *Historical Records of Australia*, II, p. 697; see also Harold Perkins, *The convict priests* (Melbourne, 1984), p. 78, and Culhane, "Traditions of Glin", pp. 87-8.
17. See Anne Maree Whitaker, *Unfinished Revolution, United Irishmen in New South Wales, 1800-1810* (Sydney, 1994), pp. 79-80.
18. *Sydney Gazette*, 11 March 1804; see also Whitaker, *Unfinished Revolution*, p. 97, and James Gallagher, "The Revolutionary Irish 1800-1804", in *The push from the bush*, XIX, April 1985, pp. 2-33 "Vinegar Hill" has been identified as the site now occupied by Castlebrook Cemetery off the Windsor road.
19. Joseph Holt, *A rum story, the adventures of Joseph Holt, thirteen years in New South Wales (1800-12)*, Peter O'Shaughnessy (ed.), pp. 80-81.
20. *Historical Records of Australia*, IV, pp. 576-7 and V, p. 79, Elizabeth Marsden to John Piper, 14 April 1804, Mitchel Library (Sydney) MS A256, p. 546, and Ruan O'Donnell, "The Wicklow United Irishmen in New South Wales, part two", in *Wicklow Historical Journal*, vol. 2, July 1995, no. 1, pp. 10-20.
21. Culhane, "Traditions of Glin", p. 88.
22. Holt, *Rum story*, p. 81; see also Whitaker, *Unfinished Revolution*, pp. 102, 111 and R. W. Connell, "The convict rebellion of 1804", in *Melbourne Historical Journal*, V, 1965, pp. 27-35.
23. Rusden Scrapbook, Mitchel Library, MS B1374/I, p. 17.

