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The Famine in South Tipperary – Part Five

By Denis G. Marnane

Introduction

In the Spring of 1853 Mary Cleary threw her bible into the Suir near Clonmel. She, along with others from the Donoughmore estate, was on her way to America. Thanks to their landlord and the Rev. H.P. Perry, the tenants had been given (protestant) bibles, and on pitching hers into the river, Mary Cleary was reported to have remarked: “Parson Perry is a good angler; let him go and fish for that”. The source of this information is Canon Michael Burke, PP of St Peter & Paul’s in Clonmel (1836-66), who became involved in controversy with Donoughmore in the local press.

The fourth earl, who succeeded to the title in 1851, encouraged emigration to the United States, being an enthusiast about opportunities there. In a letter to the *Clonmel Chronicle*, he declared that he had “paid a little” towards the passage of his tenants and described how he had given each a bible. Burke reacted vehemently to what he termed “extermination” on the Knocklofty estate, claiming that close on 500 individuals were affected and giving their names to support his claim. At a time when there was a vigorous campaign of proselytism in various parts of the country, Burke was especially exercised about the religious aspect of Donoughmore’s activities and expressed alarm about “true Celtic Irish” tenants being removed in favour of “foreign” protestants.¹

Burke, like many others, was trying to come to terms with post-Famine Ireland, the most obvious aspect of which was the huge change in population. Writing in May 1853, a correspondent from Cashel noted that emigration was such a fact of life that little notice was taken of it. At this distance in time it is very difficult to enter into a post-Famine mind-set, to see the country as those who survived saw it; but the evidence does suggest an almost apocalyptic awareness of change. Nothing would be the same again.

The Cashel correspondent referred to above saw this process of change rushing forward, frightening and unstoppable: “Small farmers must quit. Small farms must be consolidated [and] native peasantry discountenanced”. The Incumbered Estates Court was seen as the driving force behind this change. “Everywhere around this city [Cashel]”, the writer declared, “in the large farms, in the estates and proud demesnes of our ancient aristocracy, aliens are fast settling”. Properties owned by peers such as Glengall, Kingston, Mountcashell and Portarlington were what the writer had in mind.² These estates and the families who owned them had seemed as fixed in the landscape as Galtymore or the Suir.

A few months after this report from Cashel William Dalton of Golden, writing to a former servant who had emigrated to New South Wales, painted a somewhat paradoxical picture. On the one hand, Dalton noted that the country was “fast improving” and wrote optimistically about yields and prices, but in the shadows was the reminder of those no longer around to partake in this prosperity: “You could not think how lonely every place is here ... Every one that can go to [Australia] and to America are going I rode by your little cottage a few days ago and thistles were growing in the middle of the road’.³

This sense of desolation was even more stark two years or so earlier in another letter from



Dalton. He described the ongoing problems with potato and wheat crops. "This destroyed all the tillage farmers, (who) are all running off to America and the landlords are worse off than the tenants." He went on to describe Golden as "a deserted village". "There is not a house at this side of the bridge but one and Mr Dwyer's house [remains empty] and the one-third is not in the rest of the village". Cloghleigh, a townland of some seventeen hundred acres, was described as being for the most part unlet and, perhaps saddest of all, Dalton's account of the many who had emigrated from Golden "and not a word from them".⁴

Incidentally, it was not just family and friends left behind in Ireland who suffered loss. The pages of American newspapers, especially the *Boston Pilot*, carried distressed appeals from Irish emigrants who had become separated from other members of their families. For example, an appeal was published in January 1848 from the mother and brother of Bridget Ryan of the parish of Bansha, who with her family had sailed from New Ross on 20 May 1847 and who had lost contact with her mother and brother in Burlington, Vermont.⁵

Perhaps the most comprehensive account of the region is by a journalist, Archibald Stark, who toured Leinster and Munster in 1850, a period when the worst was over. However, as in the aftermath of a flood or some other great natural disaster, survivors attempt to come to terms with both loss and survival, and the gap between memory and reality is acutely painful.⁶ Passing through Cashel, "I was painfully struck with the number of deserted shops". On the outskirts of the town were "a legion of cabins of every variety of mud architecture". (Another visitor, some two years later, found matters little improved, describing dirty crooked streets with long rows of wretched cabins.)

Thomastown, once an attractive estate village, had deteriorated greatly. "The interiors of such of the houses as are occupied reveal nought but squalor and misery." Moving on through Kilfeakle, Stark met some members of the constabulary who informed him of the degree to which crime had been reduced, mainly because there was no longer the same "life and death competition for the land" which was so great a cause of crime before the Famine.

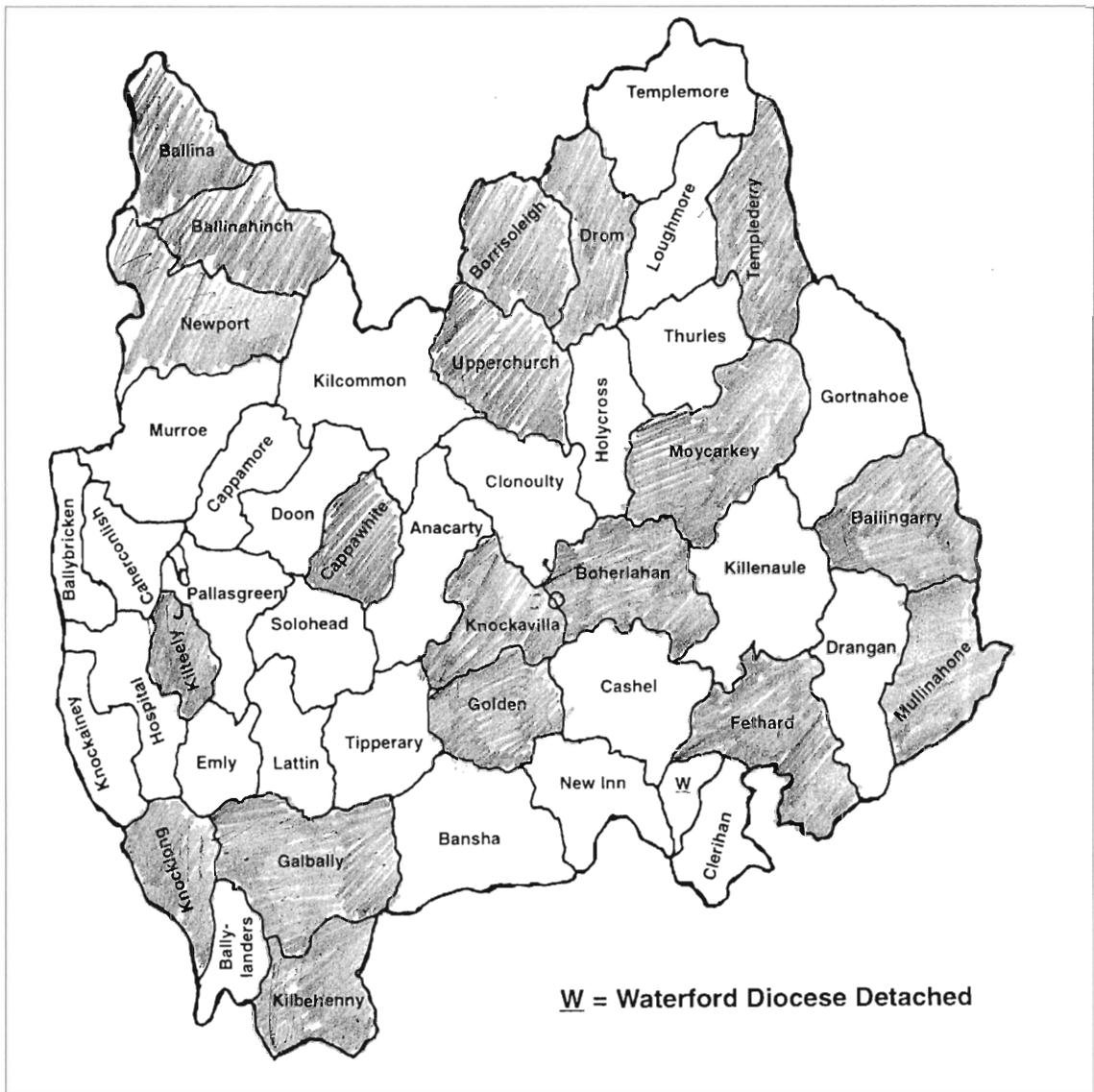
Stark stayed for a few days in Tipperary town and from there explored the surrounding countryside. He was more taken with the setting of the town than the town itself, which because of the Famine endured diminishing trade and reduced population. On his various excursions into the countryside he was amazed at the sparseness of population, especially in the direction of Dundrum. "I have proceeded for miles without meeting the face of man, woman or child."

The author was aware of earlier efforts at estate management on the Hawarden property but, on the evidence of his visit, thought that the substitution of cattle for people had gone too far. What people he did see had a spectral look about them, very different from the lively throngs of earlier years. This was especially true with reference to the women; "famine and despair have now taken possession of [their] faces".

Stark was not without an agenda, being able to work himself into a lather of indignation over the burden of poor relief or what he called "a monster poor-law establishment". One of his informants, an M.D., delivered a diatribe about its cost to the local taxpayer and the fact that the system did not allow the employment of paupers in productive work. One solution was to promote emigration, but this was barely done by the guardians, who the previous year had sent twenty-five girls to Australia.

The actual statistics with reference to this were as follows: from September 1848 to September 1849, 62 girls were sent from Tipperary PLU, 43 from Clonmel, 40 from Cashel, 26 from Clogheen and 12 from Carrick. The following year fewer orphan girls were packed off to populate Australia: 25 from Tipperary workhouse, 16 from Clonmel, 30 from Cashel, 7 from





The distribution of 19 parishes in the Archdiocese of Cashel and Emly where the number of baptisms in the Famine years fell by more than 30% compared with the immediate pre-Famine period.

Clogheen and 11 from Carrick. Thereafter much smaller numbers sailed from Ireland to new lives in Australia and Canada. For example, in 1850-51 one man, two women and two children left from Tipperary workhouse to Sydney; two children sailed to Quebec.

Stark's informant was categorical that landlords, with the exception of Lord Stanley, did nothing to encourage emigration, mainly because they themselves were in such difficulty. Stanley, his estate at Ballykisteon (at Limerick Junction) and his agent Thomas Bolton were lavished with praise. "Oh Sir," the writer was told, "it would be well for our country if we had many such landlords". In every respect this landlord was exceptional. He succeeded his father



as 14th earl of Derby in 1851 and was prime minister on three occasions during the 1850s and 1860s. His promotion of a large-scale group emigration from his estate in mid-1849 was widely publicised and applauded.⁹

Passing through Cahir on his way to Waterford, Stark in that neighbourhood “found abundant testimony in the numerous roofless houses and dismal confirmation in the unpeopled country, that the hand of the exterminator had been busy”. This provided the writer with the excuse to poke at the wound of Lord Glengall, whose financial affairs at that time were in a precarious position. However, Stark found some evidence of general economic recovery in the town of Cahir, mentioning for example that some of the shops had installed plate-glass in their windows. (When Thomas Lacey visited Tipperary town in 1860, one of the signs of an improving economy described by him was the number of shops with plate-glass windows.)¹⁰

Approaching Clonmel, Stark was positive about what he saw: “the rows of venerable trees that flank the road and the constant succession of porter’s lodges”, which indicated “the presence of a wealthy proprietary”. Regarding the town itself, the author had nothing of interest to say, being more interested in the town’s most famous citizen, Charles Bianconi. A visitor to the town in 1853 noted that ruined cabins were so common in the district that notice of them was superfluous.¹¹

Travelling between Clonmel and Carrick, Stark was much taken with the visual appeal of the landscape: “the journey [being] one of the most pleasing that the tourist can meet with in Ireland”. However, two of the proprietors of this land whom he mentions – Power of Gurteen and Wall of Coolnamuck – were, he claimed, in financial difficulties, in part because of the impact of the Famine on their fortunes. Each of these properties would suffer the consequence of profligacy and loss within a few years, through the Incumbered Estates Court.

When Stark arrived in Carrick, it was market-day and the scene was one of bustling normality. This picture undoubtedly echoed that of the pre-Famine period, but when Stark continued on his journey to Waterford, using the Bianconi public coach he had availed of from Clonmel, he experienced at first-hand the new Famine-created reality of a population in flight.

.... when we started I found the car loaded with emigrants, every human being upon it, except myself, being destined for the New World – farmers chiefly, with their wives and children, and a few old people, worn out with age and infirmities, the latter destined probably to find a grave in the Atlantic. The rage for emigration seems to be on the increase. From ten to fifteen hundred leave Waterford every week. The mania is encouraged by the fiery and foolish opposition that is now carried on between the steamers that ply to Bristol and Liverpool, passengers being conveyed across at the rate of threepence per head. My immediate fellow travellers were from the neighbourhood of Cashel. They had each a tale of struggles and misfortunes to relate, connected with their past life in Ireland; and they all looked forward to America with such a hope as must have inspired the children of Israel when they set out for the “Promised Land”. They had a hundred instances to fortify them in their migratory movement.

Phil Ryan was a tenant of Lord Hawarden’s and got on pretty well until the praties failed; then he worked like a devil to bear up against the misfortune of the times, but at last was obliged to knock under, and Phil’s farm is now made grass land of by his lordship. Phil went to America last Spring, with his wife and children and is making a fortune. He sent a letter of credit for £20 to bring over his brother-in-law James Heney and his wife. I saw the letter myself; for not being able to read, Heney took it to Mr Keating the miller, who explained it to him.

There was Pat Lyttelton, a poor brogue-maker in Cashel, who could not get a hands-turn to do, from one end of the week to the other. ... I he was a bundle of rags and nearly starved to death and by [now] would be in the workhouse or Clonmel jail for robbery for [people] must live – but that a family of the Navins, from the neighbourhood of Bansha, worthy, honest, decent people, who were

turned off by Lord Glengall, took pity on him and carried him off to New Orleans with them. Well, the poor devil gets a dollar and a half a day in New Orleans and he first sent over £5 to pay the passage of his sister and last Monday his brother got another £5 to take over himself. Pat Lyttelton, if he lived in Cashel to the day of judgement would not have been able to put together so much money.

Stark concluded these first-hand accounts of home thoughts from abroad gleaned from fellow-passengers on the Waterford coach by remarking that stories such as these were commonplace and encouraged the flood-tide from the country. Perhaps he took some journalistic licence; but these voices, mediated through Stark, have the ring of truth. Longer term, people like Ryan and Lyttelton brought with them more than hope to the United States. They also brought with them, and passed to their children, memories of the circumstances that brought about this exodus.

Sixty years later, for example, in a book published in the United States, readers were reminded of what John Redmond, in an introduction to the book, called the "Great Clearances". "In 1849 and succeeding years, populous districts ... were turned into empty plains; houses were razed, fences levelled and little farms consolidated in huge ranches."¹² The situation with reference to emigration from Tipperary in the context of general population loss in the region is discussed below.

Emigration

Detailed records with reference to emigration from Ireland were only kept from 1 May 1851, so that before then figures are derived from inference and anecdote. From 1 May 1851 not all who left Ireland stated their county of origin, but most did and Table 1 gives these statistics for the few years when emigration from Tipperary ran to five figures each year. (A breakdown for North Riding and South Riding is not available.) From 1855 on numbers were substantially reduced, presumably a response to an improving economy. In that year, the figure was less than half that for the previous year.

TABLE 1
Emigration from Tipperary County, 1 May 1851-1854¹³

Year	Male	Female	Total
1851 (from 1 May)	6046	6107	12153
1852	8078	8272	16350
1853	6674	7456	14130
1854	5504	5887	11391

Of those who emigrated from the county between 1 May 1851 and 31 March 1861, nearly 67% left during the 1851-54 period. Compared to other Munster counties, Tipperary's loss of population due to emigration was high, a situation related to the high level of clearances in the county. Also, the more people who left, the more were likely to leave later as remittances and reports came back encouraging those at home to depart.



TABLE 2

Emigration from Munster counties as a proportion of the population in 1851, 1851-5, emigration figures aggregated¹⁴

County	Proportion of 1851 Population (%)
Tipperary	17.97
Clare	17.59
Limerick	16.95
Kerry	16.59
Waterford	15.28
Cork	13.94

During the worst ravages of the Famine press reports about emigration were not as frequent as might be expected. In March 1847 it was reported that Robert Clarke (a son of the well-known headmaster of the Abbey Grammar School in Tipperary town, the Rev. Marshal Clarke) was encouraging the tenants on his Bishopswood estate near Dundrum to emigrate, indicating that he would forego rent and arrears and assist passage. The response to this is not clear, but two years later it was reported in the press that some fifty people passed through Clonmel from the estate on their way to the U.S.¹⁵ Between 1841-51 the population on Bishopswood townland fell from 723 to 386 persons.

It was usually the better-off who had the resources to make the momentous commitment to leave the familiar behind them and face into the unknown. In 1847 Fr Michael Tobin PP of Cahir (1830-52) described how "some of our best, most comfortable farmers have sold out and taken with them [to America]" anything from £50 to £300. He went on to remark how many others were preparing "to be off as soon as possible", and that hundreds who wished to emigrate had to remain "from the want of means".¹⁶

There was an occasional voice raised against the notion that the flood of farmers from the country and the resulting creation of large farms or "bullock pastures", was a good thing. One such voice was that of John Bagwell of Marfield (1811-83), who wrote to the Dublin press in early 1848 deprecating the clearances and claiming that Irish agricultural prosperity was compatible with a large rural population. He cited countries like Belgium and France (one of his letters was written from Nice), where small farms were common and advocated government-promoted leases so that tenants could have security of tenure.¹⁷ Nothing, it appeared, could stem the tide of emigration.

Later that year a report from Clonmel commented that it was "scarcely credible ... the vast numbers that have left the neighbourhood of this town within the last month, at the present advanced period of the year, to seek their bread in a foreign clime".¹⁸ A report from May 1849, describing the large numbers of people leaving from Dublin Port, made the point that unlike previous years quite well-off and even professional people were now emigrating, and taking the example of one ship the *Aeolus*, explained how professionals, graziers, substantial shopkeepers travelled first class; in second class were people from similar backgrounds but travelling in family groups, while in steerage were four types: farmers who had held up to 30 acres, small shopkeepers, mechanics (skilled working class) and agricultural labourers.¹⁹

Many of those who emigrated from South Tipperary, especially around Tipperary town and Cashel, would have used Limerick as their port of departure. Passenger lists do not give places of origin, but taking as an example the people who sailed on the *Thetis* from Limerick on 14 June 1849, it may be presumed that some were from South Tipperary. Evidence from one ship

is just that and may have been exceptional; but from this evidence, most emigrants were “downmarket”. Most of the males were “labourers” and female “servants”; only six passengers were listed as “farmers”. Of the 132 passengers, 82% were aged thirty and under. About 40% of the passengers appeared to be travelling alone or at least not in family groups.

TABLE 3
Passengers on the *Thetis*, sailed from Limerick 14 June 1849²⁰

Number of passengers	132	
Ages:		Occupations:
0 - 10	22	Labourer 50 (male)
11 - 20	38	Servant 29 (female)
21 -30	49	Farmer 6
31 - 40	18	Matron 6
41 - 50	1	Spinster 2
51 - 60	1	Lady 3
?	3	

Late 1849, as reported in the press both local and national, with the high level of clearances and emigration, seems to have been a period of acute dislocation. The Cashel correspondent of the *Clonmel Chronicle* wrote about “vast numbers” still leaving the region bound for the United States. The writer went on to describe how those preparing to emigrate, especially farmers, did everything possible to put together some money for their new lives, “to enrich thereby a foreign land where they allege neither barony constables nor rate collectors will take their hard-earned gains”. In line with this thinking, according to the writer, the United States and not any British colony was the destination of choice.²¹

Another report from the same period explained that hundreds of acres on the Glengall estate were lying idle because the tenants, having converted their crops and stock to cash as best they could (and by implication defaulted on their rent), left for the United States.²² This dislocation not only affected people living in the countryside. Also in late 1849, a correspondent writing from Tipperary town to the editor of the *Nation* declared that manufacturing in his locality was “annihilated”. There was but one wool-comber, one hat-manufacturer, three curriers (leather-workers) and very few linen weavers actually at work. Individuals with these skills were either in the workhouse or had emigrated.

The only brightness was a named individual who had ten looms working turning out flannel, around 500 yards a week.²³ This newspaper campaigned in favour of Irish manufacturing and some months later reported some progress in Carrick-on-Suir, where a voluntary association promoted the employment of “twenty to thirty hands”, who sold the product of their looms to local shopkeepers.²⁴

During the period of the Famine one of the leading merchants in the south of Ireland was Francis Spaight. Apart from his mercantile and shipping interests, he had paid £40,000 for a bankrupt estate of around 4,500 acres in North Tipperary near Killaloe. In evidence before a government inquiry into emigration from Ireland, especially to the colonies, he expressed what undoubtedly was a widespread opinion among the “Establishment” with regard to the providential nature of the Famine and consequent emigration.





A deserted village in Clare in December 1849 – a drawing from the Illustrated London News.

“I consider the failure of the potato crop to be of the greatest possible value in one respect – in enabling us to carry out the emigration system.” The notion that events are an expression of divine will is especially comforting when that expression is personally profitable. In Spaight’s case, not only did the “emigration system” allow him to clear his Tipperary estate but it was his ships that transported this excess population to North America.

The “Derry Estate” was purchased by him in 1844 and, according to his evidence, he found it so crammed with indigent tenants that it was “totally impossible to make any progress”. Then God smiled at him and allowed the potato blight, which in turn encouraged emigration. He was careful to state that he did not force his tenants to emigrate and when asked what would have happened if emigration was not an option and he had to use legal measures, he painted a nightmarish picture of “open rebellion in the country and no safety for life to myself or any member of my family”.

But, thanks to the Famine, it never came to this. By the summer of 1847 hundreds had been encouraged to leave his estate, but not before they had levelled their own houses. Spaight paid compensation for crops, but free passage to North America was only provided when all members of a family were prepared to emigrate.²⁵ Obviously Spaight was in an unusual position, being able to use one part of his enterprises to increase the economic value of another. With much of his Tipperary estate cleared, he could boast farms of 100 and more acres. God having smiled, Francis Spaight died in 1861, full of years and comfort.

Population Change

According to the census of 1841, the population of Tipperary was 435,553. A decade later this had been reduced to 331,567. On their own these figures do not mean a great deal, and so Table 4 provides some perspective by giving percentage population changes for various regions of the country.



TABLE 4

Percentage population change, various regions, 1841-51²⁶

Region	% Plus	% Minus	Region	% Plus	% Minus
Clare		25.82	Leinster		15.25
Cork City	6.21		Ulster		15.69
Cork		27.13	Munster		22.47
Kerry					
Limerick City	10.45				
Limerick		25.90			
Tipperary		23.87			
Waterford City	8.96				
Waterford		19.79	Ireland		19.85

The fact that Munster's cities increased their populations is unexceptional, not least because of the flight from land that was perceived as unsustainable. Within Tipperary, however, all of the urban areas, with two exceptions, lost populations between 1841 and 51. The exceptions were Cahir, which had a tiny increase (0.7%) and Templemore, where the increase was substantial (18.64%). (An unlikely piece of positive P.R. for the Cardens?)

TABLE 5

Population loss Tipperary towns, 1841-51²⁷

Town	% loss of population 1841-51
Carrick	24.70
Cashel	33.91
Clogheen	23.67
Clonmel	14.18
Fethard	29.32
Nenagh	20.88
Roscrea	35.75
Thurles	20.44
Tipperary	7.51

Each of these towns has its own story, but Tipperary town's situation does stand out. When the census was taken in 1841, Tipperary and Thurles had very similar populations (7,370 and 7,523 respectively). What therefore explains the seeming fact that a decade later Tipperary appeared to have better come through the Famine years? It has to be remembered that the issue was not simply the 1851 population being the same people as in 1841, only less of them. It is much more complicated. It is not known what percentage of the 1841 population died from natural causes, simply moved elsewhere or suffered removal by famine/emigration.

It is entirely possible that the aggregate of this was greater than the 1841-51 deficit. Equally, the number of newcomers to the population is not known. Babies were born and survived; people moved into the town from the surrounding countryside and from further afield. A factor in Tipperary, making it possible for families to cling to the geographical margins of the town and thus attracting an inward flow of people, was the lack of control on the Stafford



O'Brien estate, which allowed for a large number of intermediate tenancies. In many cases, the holders of such tenancies did not resist pressure for shelter and so on the outskirts of the town, rachmanism flourished.²⁸

There are other ways of looking at the loss of population ,1841-51. Excluding urban areas of 2,000+ population, the number of persons per square mile in Tipperary county in 1841 was 220. A decade later the corresponding figure was 158. In terms of rural population density, therefore, the county was third in Munster in 1841; Limerick was first with 259, and Kerry lowest with 145. By 1851 Tipperary was in fourth place in terms of population density.²⁹ Much more complicated is the question of Famine mortality, or given that a percentage of the population would have died anyway, the issue relates to excess mortality.

According to the estimates of one scholar, overall excess mortality during the Famine period 1846-51 amounted to 1.08 million. Connacht accounted for over 40% of this, Munster for just over 30%, Ulster for just under 21% and Leinster for nearly 9%. In a Table showing average annual rates of excess mortality by county during the period in question, Tipperary is in eleventh place, with a rate of 23.8 per thousand. Of the Munster counties, Tipperary is in third place after Cork (32.0 per thousand) and Clare (31.5 per thousand). The most affected county in Ireland was Mayo where the rate was 58.4 per thousand.³⁰ The report on the 1851 census took a more direct approach, giving numbers of deaths under general headings, while admitting the considerable deficiencies of information dependent on such varied sources.

TABLE 6
Reported deaths, Tipperary SR, 6 June 1841 to 30 March 1851²

Cause	Number of deaths
Epidemic disease	19,643
Sporadic disease	20,351
Violent/sudden death	1,298
Cause unspecified	5,361
TOTAL	46,658

Looked at on a year-by-year basis, the situation was as follows: 1845 (6.4%), 1846 (8.4%), 1847 (16.1%), 1848 (13.9%), 1849 (15.6%) and 1850 (17.5%) of the total number of reported deaths.³³ Reinforcing the contemporary reservations about these figures is the fact that during the Famine the authorities always had a problem ascribing deaths to Famine-related causes. Whatever about the details of the information above, the increased percentage of deaths in 1850 is testimony to a population weakened by years of suffering and deprivation. The fact that in March 1851, when the census was taken, an extraordinary 8% of the population of the county was institutionalised allowed infectious diseases free play.³⁴

An appendix to an earlier article in this series discussed the state of housing in South Tipperary, as gathered by the census in 1841. Allowing that the "distinction between third and fourth classes [of houses] was a fluctuating line, not a very definite division", it is still useful to look at the impact of the 1840s on the poorest class of housing, mud cabins of one room.³⁶ As discussed previously, much of this type of housing was, in the description of the period, "tumbled" in the few years prior to 1851. Nevertheless, when Munster counties are compared, other counties, excluding Kerry, fared better in the destruction of this type of housing.

TABLE 7

Percentage reduction in fourth class housing, 1851 compared with 1841, Munster counties³⁷

County	Number, 1841	Number, 1851	Percentage reduction
Clare	22,908	5,169	77
Cork	60,896	16,197	73
Waterford	7,416	2,003	73
Limerick	21,493	7,460	65
Tipperary	22,819	8,201	64
Kerry	27,872	11,063	64

The fact that nearly 15,000 mud cabins disappeared in Tipperary between 1841 and 1851, shouts the question: what was the fate of all those families? It would be comforting to think that at best they were living in better housing by 1851 or, as a second option, that they had emigrated. However, the reality is more likely to be found in the famine graveyards scattered through the county.

When the census was carried out in March 1851, there can have been no more potent reminder of shattered lives than the number of habitable houses standing empty: in South Tipperary, a total of 1,946 former homes. (In Tipperary NR, 1,315 houses.) It is also indicative of the mood in the region that March, that in South Tipperary no more than 34 houses were in course of construction, about one-third of the figure a decade earlier.³⁸

A study of the Famine forces confrontation with one particularly uncomfortable fact, namely that living conditions almost immediately (and general economic conditions longer-term?) became better for those families who survived. A simple illustration of this is the improvement in the distribution of families across the four classes of houses between 1841 and 1851. In Tipperary county, substantially fewer families were in class four houses, nearly half were in class three – perhaps not exactly comfort but certainly an improvement. Around 35% were in classes one and two houses compared with 25% or so a decade earlier.

TABLE 8

Percentage of families in classes one to four housing, 1841 and 1851, County Tipperary³⁹

1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class
1841 /1851	1841 /1851	1841 /1851	1841 /1851
2.8 4.3	21.4 30.6	41.4 48.4	33.4 16.7

When the six baronies constituting South Tipperary are examined from the point of view of housing stock between 1841 and 1851, all regions show improvement. Taking the poorest housing, classes three and four, together, Iffa and Offa West (around Clogheen) showed remarkable improvement. According to Griffith's Valuation, this region had the least valued land in South Tipperary.⁴⁰ While this Clogheen region's loss of population (25%) was very little above that of the county as a whole (24%), it had 38% fewer class three and four houses in 1851 compared with a decade earlier and if the very worst type of housing is compared, the change, though at a terrible price, was exceptional.

By 1851, in excess of 2,500 class four mud cabins a decade earlier had been reduced to 830. In many instances, in this difficult landscape, the difference between survival and destruction was so narrow that no landlord intervention was necessary to clear the land of people. For example, the civil parish of Shanrahan, just short of 25,000 acres, had a very low land valuation of 28p. per acre. The change in first and second class housing during the 1840s was very little. There was 1000 fewer third class houses but 342 fewer fourth class.

TABLE 9

Comparison of housing and population, baronies of South Tipperary, 1841-51¹¹

Barony	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	Total
Clanwilliam	165 / 200	983 / 1110	3752 / 3013	2600 / 1388	7500 / 5711
I & O East	437 / 432	1999 / 2050	2227 / 1916	987 / 422	5650 / 4820
I & O West	144 / 170	1219 / 1322	2888 / 2547	2582 / 830	6833 / 4869
Kilnamanagh L	21 / 331	286 / 327	896 / 674	788 / 270	1991 / 1302
Middlethird	188 / 209	1381 / 142	2934 / 2461	2392 / 950	6895 / 5041
Slieveardagh	82 / 114	1270 / 1329	2437 / 2253	1897 / 885	5686 / 4581

Barony	Percentage reduction in house numbers	Population 1841/1851	Percentage reduction population 1841/1851
Clanwilliam	24	52430 / 42191	19.5
I & O East	14	41696 / 38861	7
I & O West	29	43694 / 32822	25
Kilnamanagh L	35	14385 / 9143	36
Middlethird	27	45731 / 34691	24
Slieveardagh	19	36456 / 26651	27

Given that Iffa and Offa East (which included Clonmel) was the most fertile and economically developed region in South Tipperary, its place in the above Table is to be expected. As mentioned above, it was not a straight-forward situation whereby this barony simply lost less of its population 1841-51. This may well have been the case, but it also seems likely that such a region attracted people from less favoured areas. Prior to the Famine, an indication of this barony's favoured status was the fact that it had fewer class four houses than other baronies.

TABLE 10

Class Four houses as a percentage of total houses, 1841, 1851, S. Tipperary

Barony	1841 (%)	1851 (%)
Clanwilliam	35	24
I & O East	17	9
I & O West	38	17
Kilnamanagh L	40	21
Middlethird	35	19
Slieveardagh	33	19



During the 1840s the number of class two houses in Iffa and Offa East increased by only 3%, a reflection of the fact that in 1841 this region had a much higher percentage of good housing (35% of the total) than other baronies in South Tipperary. With regard to the very best houses, this barony was better placed than its neighbours, but oddly showed a reduction of five such houses in 1851.

Kilnamanagh Lower (Dundrum and its neighbourhood) was among the poorer regions in South Tipperary, but on the evidence of Tables 9 and 10 was most severely affected by the Famine and its consequences. How various large estates came through these years is discussed in detail below, but the situation with regard to the Hawarden property (some 36% of the barony) has much to do with the plight of this region. The lord of the soil during this period was Cornwallis Maude, 3rd viscount Hawarden, who was born in 1780, succeeded his half-brother in 1807 and died in 1856. (Something of the pre-Famine history of this estate is discussed in an earlier article in this series.)

TABLE 11

The Hawarden Estate, Dundrum, Population and Housing, 1841, 1851¹⁵

Size of estate: 42 Townlands comprising 15,272 acres.		
	Population	No. of Houses
1841	4,608	615
1851	2,632	369
Percentage Loss	43%	40%

When specific parts of the estate are examined, it is clear that the impact of these years was not uniform. That part of the estate in Donohill civil parish was only marginally affected, a loss of 9% of population and 5% of houses. On the other hand, the Kilpatrick part of the property suffered a population loss of 49% and a reduction in the number of houses of 48%. In the absence of estate records, it is not possible to understand management decisions on the estate during the 1840s, but with an average land valuation of 41p an acre on the Donohill estate and 79p an acre on the Kilpatrick property, the far greater population density on the better land may have prompted a degree of opportunism on the part of the landlord and his management.

To take just one townland in Kilpatrick, the 323 acres of Gortussa, the fact that in a decade the number of houses was reduced from 62 to 13 seems unlikely to have been without a high degree of estate intervention. In 1861 there were just three houses, evidence of a landscape changed and a community scattered.

The contiguous baronies of Clanwilliam and Middlethird (around Tipperary town and Cashel respectively) were similar in size, the former around 116,000 acres and the latter around 114,000 acres. Clanwilliam had the more highly valued land, an average of 88p an acre as against Middlethird's 81p. The fact that Middlethird had a larger number of estates is reflected in that barony having a larger number of first class houses, a situation that remained unchanged after the Famine. This was also the situation with regard to class two houses. (See Table 9.)

In terms of population loss and the reduction in the number of houses, Middlethird fared worse. The percentage population loss in Middlethird was almost the same as that for the entire county. At the time of the 1851 census, only two baronies, Iffa and Offa East and Clanwilliam, suffered less than this, something reflected in the respective valuations.



Of the three baronies with population losses greater than the county (in percentage terms), the anomaly is Kilnamanagh Lower, its percentage population loss being out of keeping with its average land valuation. On the other hand, Iffa and Offa West and Slieveardagh, with the same valuation (an average of 62p per statute acres), suffered population losses of 25% and 27% respectively. In other words, with the exception of Kilnamanagh Lower, there was a correlation between economic status and population loss.

From the point of view of the rural population, the territorial unit that mattered was not the barony but the estate. Table 12 looks at population loss on a variety of estates in South Tipperary.

TABLE 12
Population loss on selected estates, 1841-51, South Tipperary¹¹

Landlord	Barony	Area (acres)	Population Loss (%)
Smith-Barry	Clanwilliam/Middlethird	6,222	44
Hawarden	Kilnamanagh Lower	15,272	43
Lane	Slieveardagh	2,859	33
Stanley	Clanwilliam/Middlethird	6,445	28
Long/Bianconi	Middlethird	1,019	27
Bagwell-Purefoy	Kilnamanagh Lower	7,481	27
Ponsonby-Barker	Slieveardagh	6,721	25
Massy-Dawson	Clanwilliam	16,351	24

The reason the percentage population loss on the Smith-Barry estate was so high was the experience of the tenants on the Middlethird portion of the property. This comprised four townlands in Ballysheehan near Cashel, where the population loss was an extraordinary 79%. The impact of these years on one townland in particular, Ballinree, suggests estate intervention. The population went from 417 to 47 persons and the number of houses fell from seventy to eight.

Overall, the experience on the Clanwilliam rural estate was much less drastic. (This discussion excludes tenants on the Tipperary urban estate.) On the Tipperary rural estate of twenty-two townlands, the percentage decline in population was 33%. Of these townlands, the most noteworthy was Lacken in Cordangan, where the population fell from 264 to 102 and the number of houses from 39 to 17.

Generally, the story of individual townlands over the period 1841-51 is of population decline and consequent reduction in house numbers. A constant obstacle to understanding the dynamics of such change is the lack of estate records, so that interpretation of these numbers is very problematic. Occasionally, a townland shows an increase in population 1841-51. A case in point is the Lane estate in Killenaule civil parish, comprising three townlands. In one of these, Cooldine, the population remained unchanged, as did the number of houses (8 houses and 42 persons). In Killeen however, 1565 acres, the number of houses went from 62 to 21 and the population from 383 to 129, a loss of 66%.

The pattern in the third townland, Lanespark, 991 acres, was the opposite: houses increased from 23 to 32 and the population from 148 to 213. Why? Given that the property was in financial difficulty, perhaps this was an effort to increase revenue. Given that Griffith's Valuation for the townland lists twenty-three houses, the time span between this and the 1851



census was brief. In any case, this demographic blip on the landscape was shortlived. In 1858 the property was sold and by 1861 the number of houses had been reduced to twelve and the population to seventy-one.

The estate of Lord Stanley stretched across the Tipperary/Limerick border; only the Tipperary portion is considered here. Population loss on the part of the estate around Cashel was higher than the larger Ballykisteen portion, 37% as against 26%. Among the townlands showing exceptional population loss were Knockballynoe (Kilfeakle), where the inhabitants were reduced from 222 to 84. This 300 or so acres was an isolated part of the Stanley estate and by mid-1851 was in the process of being re-organised along more rational lines.

Eight small holdings, each less than ten acres, were in the landlord's possession. The remainder of the property was tenanted as follows: one holding of 7.75 acres, eight holdings between eleven and twenty acres, one holding of 39.5 acres and one holding of 109 acres held by Leonard Keating.⁴⁵ The Stanley estate had a higher degree of professional management than most other estates in the region. The proprietor was, of course, an absentee and with his wife visited the estate in September 1849, when he appears to have been well received. Tenants were visited, clothing was distributed, a special dinner was held and rent allowances were made.⁴⁶

A few months earlier, seventy-eight persons from the estate had been given assisted passage to Canada, which was one way of improving the estate.⁴⁷ Another was the establishment of a tilery on the estate which provided employment. By the close of 1852 the agent was reporting that the rents had been very well paid up and that "some of the old defaulters have improved".⁴⁸

The small Bianconi estate in Ardmayle had been purchased in 1846 from Edward Long and the tenants may well have considered themselves more fortunate to be in the hands of someone with a business-generated source of income than at the mercy of a clapped-out squireen. It is certainly the case that Bianconi was well able to play to the press in his dealings with his tenants. For such a small property, it attracted an inordinate amount of attention in the local press, especially the greener organs.

For example, in September 1848, local papers carried a letter from Bianconi to his tenants promising favourable rent revisions. Three months later, a letter appeared from one of his grateful tenants telling the world that Bianconi paid the entire poor rate, helped with buildings and drainage and "forgave" substantial amounts of rent.⁴⁹ Looking at the six townlands in Ardmayle that made up this property, population loss in five of them was unexceptional, in fact very moderate; but in Ardmayle East, a townland of 257 acres, population was reduced from 162 in 1841 to 75 in 1851, the number of houses falling by about half. The circumstances of this change are not clear.

Edward Bagwell succeeded to the Purefoy property in 1846 and took the additional name of Purefoy. He was then in his late twenties and had a military career. (His eldest brother had inherited the Marfield estate from his uncle in 1825 when he was in his early teens.) Bagwell Purefoy generally got positive press coverage. For example, in July 1847 he was described as "an indulgent and excellent landlord" who gave constant employment to around fifty men on his property at Greenfield. However, in August 1847, his agent Mr Holmes was the recipient of a threatening letter, demanding that more men be employed, that they be locals and that they be paid more.⁵⁰

In March 1848 a Tipperary newspaper published a very laudatory piece about Bagwell Purefoy, describing how on getting possession of the estate he wiped out substantial arrears and reduced rents by a quarter, and in some instances by far more. He was generally away from his property because of his military career, but on one of his visits he had made it his





Clothes being distributed in Clare in 1849. – Illustrated London News.

business to meet the P.P. and made a very favourable deal with regard to a site for the latter's house. The writer of this encomium was prompted by a meeting with some men at Ironmills who explained that they were employed to re-value Bagwell Purefoy's land as a prelude to rents being lowered.⁵¹

With reference to population loss, the most dramatically affected townland was Tinnahinchy in the civil parish of Donohill. The number of souls living there went from ninety-seven to eight and the number of houses fell by ten to just two. On a more positive note, this estate had one particular advantage, jobs in mining, which account for the fact that on a few rural townlands the population increased 1841-51.

Population loss on the two remaining estates in Table 12 was only a little in excess of the county average. The pattern of population loss on the Kilcooley estate was unexceptional. Many townlands showed moderate decreases in the number of houses. It is a commonplace of Irish popular tradition that demesne walls are a legacy of landlord-promoted relief works during the Famine; in the case of this estate, this appears to be true.⁵²

In previous articles in this series references were made to the Massy-Dawson estate, not least the notorious clearance in Toomyvara. This showed that the estate could be ruthless when it served its best interests and, when the poor quality of much of the land in the Clanwilliam estate is added to the equation, large-scale evictions might well have been the expected pattern on the estate. This Clanwilliam or Ballynacourty estate was spread across three parishes, Clonbeg, Killardry and Clonbulloge, some 40% of which was mountain.

A taste of what might have been was the fate of the people living in the townland of Knockballymalogue in Clonbeg. This was one of three townlands in this parish, not part of the

Massy-Dawson property. Each had a different landlord, that of Knockballymaloge being the Cork-based Kilner Brasier. The population of this townland suffered a massive decline, suggesting a management strategy. The number of people fell from 459 to 96, a loss of 79%, while the number of houses fell from 67 to 16. Nothing on this scale happened on the Massy-Dawson property. In two of Massy-Dawson's townlands, land on the side of the mountain, where there was the greatest gap between acreage and valuation, it might have been expected that the 1840s would have brought about a wipe-out.

In these two townlands – Drumleagh and Glencoshabinnia – where the average valuation per acre was 9p and 6p respectively, the twenty-two houses between them and population of 160 were hardly changed (ten less people in 1851). This is not to say that the Glen of Aherlow did not experience great want. A report of February 1848 described the house of the relieving officer being besieged day and night by desperate people.⁵³ The Rev. John Massy-Dawson died in October 1850 and we are left with the contradiction between the fate of his tenants in Clanwilliam compared with that visited on his much less fortunate tenants in North Tipperary.

Ownership of the estate passed to his brother, Captain George Massy-Dawson, who was thirty-four and who had left the army the previous year. When he died in 1897 John Cullinane, chairman of the Tipperary Board of Guardians and veteran land agitator, was lavish in his praise: "No man in this Union could come up to Captain Massy-Dawson as a landlord".⁵⁴ However, in common with all such properties, during the decades following the Famine, the population continued to fall, this being the universal legacy of that disaster and transcending the actions of any individual landlords.

TABLE 13

Population change on the Massy-Dawson Clanwilliam estate, 1851-91

Year	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Houses	557	453	426	366	318
Population	3593	2708	2466	2171	1813
Percentage Population Loss 1851-91		49.5%			
Percentage Population Loss 1851-91, Tipperary County			47.7%		

To complete this trinity of diminishment, the fact of fewer farms can be added to the reality of fewer people and fewer houses. One farm in four disappeared between 1845 and 1851. In the main, these vanished stages upon which were played the little tragi-comedies of ordinary lives, were the smaller farms, and the Famine not only brought down the curtain but in many cases destroyed the theatre. In 1845 36% of farms consisted of more than fifteen acres. By 1851 the figure was 51%.

During this same period the percentage of holdings under five acres fell from 24% to 15%.⁵⁵ An English newspaper commenting on this process in 1849, while noting the economic facts, that these small farms were taken back into landlord's hands and united into larger farms, converted into sheepwalks or left waste, also made the more human point that behind these statistics were abandoned hearths and shattered lives.⁵⁶

South Tipperary shared in this, what economists might have termed spatial adjustment or resource rationalisation. There are problems with using data regarding farm size prior to 1847, when the gathering and publication of agricultural statistics began.⁵⁷ The Table below uses the poor law union rather than the smaller barony as territorial units and gives the number of farms in various categories for 1847 and 1850. The percentage breakdown is also given for each category.

TABLE 14

Farm Size, selected PLUs, South Tipperary, 1847 and 1850⁵⁸

		Less than 1 Acre	1-4 Acres	5-14 Acres	15-9 Acres	30 Plus Acres	Total
Cashel	1847	981 (15%)	1331 (21%)	1627(25%)	1100(17%)	1417(22%)	6456
	1850	270 (6%)	750 (17%)	988(23%)	870(20%)	1450(34%)	4328
Clogheen	1847	643 (13%)	976 (20%)	1452(29%)	1024(20%)	884(18%)	4979
	1850	333 (10%)	523 (15%)	946(28%)	799(24%)	784(23%)	3385
Tipperary	1847	1019 (13%)	1491 (19%)	1966(26%)	1567(21%)	1618(21%)	7661
	1850	273 (5%)	767 (14%)	1388(26%)	1312(25%)	1570(30%)	5310

As mentioned above, nationally post-Famine (1851) just over half the number of farms were at least fifteen acres. Taking these farms in Cashel PLU, in 1847 they accounted for 39% of holdings, but by 1850 this had increased to 54%. In Clogheen PLU the increase was less dramatic, from 38% to 47%, while in Tipperary PLU 55% of farms in 1850 were at least fifteen acres. Good news for those who gained from this, but there was a considerable price, paid by those whose voices were silent in writing the history of these events.

In these three PLUs, the number of farms continued to fall, as did the proportion of very small holdings. In Cashel PLU, for example, in the few years between 1847 and 1850, the number of holdings fell by one-third. Through the following decades, the rate of decline was very much slowed down, over thirty-five years, a reduction in the number of holdings of around 28%.⁵⁹

This article has looked at the question of population loss under a number of headings. Before the final heading is addressed, that of the fate of individual townlands, the reader is referred to the appendix of the first article in this series.⁶⁰ In this an attempt was made to identify those civil parishes in South Tipperary which might be most at risk in the event of a disaster like the Famine. Three indicators were used: quality of housing, literacy and land valuation.

Civil parishes were identified within each barony where the percentage of fourth class houses was above the barony average in 1841, where illiteracy was above the barony average and where the land valuation was below that of the average for the barony. Table 15 revisits these parishes and compares population loss with that of the relevant baronies.

TABLE 15

Percentage population loss 1841-51, selected civil parishes, South Tipperary⁶¹

Clanwilliam Parish	Population loss 19.5%
Clonbeg	25%
Clonbulloge	29%
Clonpet	29%
Cordangan	7% (includes part of Tipperary town)
Oughterleague	51%
Relickmurry	38%
Soloheadbeg	6%
Toem	49%



Iffa & Offa East Parish	Population loss 7%
Ballyclerahan	17.5%
Garrangibbon	21%
Kilcash	36%
Kilmurry	29%
Newchapel	25%
Iffa & Offa West Parish	Population loss 25%
Ballybacon	24%
Molough	31.5%
Neddans	21%
Newcastle	18%
Shanrahan	34%
Templetenny	32%
Tullaghorton	31.5%
Kilnamanagh Lower Parish	Population loss 36%
Clogher	36%
Rathkennan	46%
Middlethird Parish	Population loss 24%
Ballysheehan	45%
Baptistgrange	37%
Colman	26%
Dogstown	71%
Kilbragh	51%
Killeenasteena	37%
Mora	41%
Outeragh	26%
Railstown	42.5%
Tullamain	31%
Slieveardagh Parish	Population loss 27%
Cloneen	24%
Grangemockler	27%
Isertkieran	5%

Of these thirty-five parishes, only six suffered population losses less than the barony average. The situation in Cordangan, as indicated, was influenced by an inflow of mainly poor people to that part of Tipperary town. Against the usual trend, fourth class houses actually increased by 55%. Soloheadbeg was divided among a number of landlords; and looking at individual townlands, such population loss as there was was spread over these denominations. Three townlands showed slight population increases. Even the largest townland, Soloheadbeg, owned by the Erasmus Smith Education Endowment, not always the most caring management, showed a loss of only three houses.



With regard to the three parishes in Iffa & Offa West, it is not clear why they had population losses less than that of the barony. In the case of Newcastle, with a loss of just 18% of its people, this is all the more surprising given its very low average land valuation of 25p an acre. In the case of Isertkieran in the barony of Slieveardagh, one of its townlands, Ballynacloghy, actually experienced an increase in house numbers from five to twelve and in population from twenty-four to seventy.

There is something cold about these attempts at mensuration, like an archaeologist counting the bones found at the scene of some great battle in an effort to compute the scale of the drama. Putting numbers on matters is a fine line between objectivity and indifference. This kind of detachment, be it good or bad, is made very difficult when the Famine is scrutinized close-up, at the townland level, especially when two things come together: statistics of change 1841-51 and local knowledge.

This process of change strikes us most forcibly, not when there was even an enormous loss of population but when we look at a townland in the Spring of 1851 and find it totally devoid of people. In terms of the number of people lost through starvation, disease, removal, emigration or death, the scale of the tragedy was greater on many other townlands; but there is something unnatural about a townland devoid of habitation.

Facing into the second half of the nineteenth century, it was indeed a haunted landscape. There is a scene in *Knocknagow* where Fr Hannigan touches on this. He is describing a place recently visited after an absence of some years.

.... it broke my heart to see the change.... The people swept away out of a whole side of a country, just as if 'twas a flood that was after passing over it. I married some of 'em myself and christened their children 'Tis little I thought I'd ever pass the same road and not find a human face to welcome me.⁶²

TABLE 16

Townlands in South Tipperary with zero population in 1851⁶³

Parish	Townland (acres)	Landlord	Population 1841
Clanwilliam			
Clonbeg	Gortaclivore (49)	Massy-Dawson	11
Donohill	Coolnagun (132.5)	L. Waldron	33
Donohill	Gorteen S. (10)	S. Bradshaw	8
Rathlynin	Alleen Ryan (90.25)	L. Waldron	51
Rathlynin	Clonmaine (178.25)	H. W. Massy	136
Rathlynin	Laffina (82.75)	C. Clarke	19
Rathlynin	Gorteen (139)	V. Scully	80
Relickmurry	Ballygriffin (10.5)	K. Pennefather	8
Iffa & Offa East			
Inishlounaght	Deerpark (54.5)	Donoughmore	4
Killaloan	Inchanabroher (30)	R. B. Osborne	12
Kilsheelan	Greensland (37.25)	Lord Clonmell	7
Kiltegan	Monkstown (13)	S. Watson	13
Newchapel	Mylerstown (102.5)	J. Massy	63
Rathroman	Rathduff L (22)	Rev. J. Hackett	32
St Mary's	Carrigeen (44.75)	Putland & Hulse	15



Iffa & Offa West

Ardfinnan	Knocknaskeharoc (33)	Donoughmore	27
Ardfinnan	Spital Land (15.25)	J. Prendergast	101
Caher	Ballymacadam A (2.25)	Austin	23
Caher	Coolaclamper (171.25)	Glengall	65
Tabbrid	Derryavoher L. (16.75)	Lord Waterpart	10
Tullaghmelan	Ballyneety (97)	Donoughmore	6

Kilnamanagh Lower

Clonoulty	Clone (250.75)	Hawarden	52
Clonoulty	Drummonaclara (146)	J. Greene	85
Donohill	Cappagh (48.25)	V. Hunt	11
Kilpatrick	Knockroe (84)	Hawarden	12
Kilpatrick	Tooreen (10.75)	Hawarden	30

Middlethird

Barrettsgrange	Crossard (54.75)	J. Palliser	21
Kiltinan	Ballynaclera (7)	R. Cooke	9
Mora	Milltownbeg (185)	Aldborough	6
St. John Baptist	St. Francis Abbey (12)	Portarlington	5

This Table has far less to do with the relevant landlords than with their tenants who were “lost” between 1841-51. The townlands in question are small, some very small, so that zero population in 1851 cannot be taken as evidence of wholesale clearance. (One possible exception was the fate of the inhabitants of the fifteen houses of Spital Land in Ardfinnan.) What the Table points to is the break in continuity of occupancy in these townlands. Undoubtedly some of those included in the 1841 population were recent arrivals, even transients; but how many other families had roots in particular townlands; roots now severed and growth itself cut off where families did not survive the Blight and its consequences? For those fortunate enough to escape abroad and survive the journey, perhaps the connection between family and place was sustained by tradition and memory, but for how long?

Such townlands were a tiny part of South Tipperary, less than two per cent of just over sixteen hundred townlands. While it is hardly practical to discuss the impact of Famine population change with reference to this number of townlands, an analysis townland by townland reveals that 20% of townlands suffered 46% of total population loss 1841-51 in South Tipperary. These townlands, which suffered population loss of at least 50% are detailed in Appendix One. The region under discussion, South Tipperary, is examined on the basis of its six baronies.

TABLE 17

The contribution of those townlands in South Tipperary which suffered population loss of at least 50% to overall population loss, 1841-51

Barony	Pop. Loss	Pop. Loss designated townlands	Percentage
Clanwilliam	10239	5909	58
Iffa & Offa E	2835	1232	43
Iffa & Offa W	10872	5025	46
Kilnamanagh L.	5242	2857	55
Middlethird	11040	5572	50
Slieveardagh	9805	2500	25



From this Table there is a clear contrast between the patterns of population loss experienced by Clanwilliam to the west of the region and Slieveardagh to the east. In Clanwilliam sixty-nine townlands (18%) accounted for 58% of the barony's population loss. This suggests a more interventionist approach on the part of some landlords. Who these were is indicated in Appendix One. It was the fate of most rural townlands to lose population 1841-51, but generally the extent of the loss suggests attrition rather than policy. Where the loss was substantial, half or more, of the population, especially in the larger townlands, policy, perhaps by neglect, is suggested.

For example, the loss of 179 people or 76% of the 1841 population of Cahervillahoe in Kilfeacle, property in the hands of Robert Massy, cleared the way for advantageously letting the property in early 1852.⁶⁴ In Slieveardagh, on the other hand, thirty-one townlands (13%), each of which experienced population loss of at least 50%, accounted for just a quarter of total population loss. In other words, the pattern of loss was more diffuse than in Clanwilliam, suggesting less trauma.

In overall terms, Slieveardagh had the worst experience, suffering a loss of 10.8 persons for each 100 acres as against Clanwilliam's 8.8 persons. To use an apt metaphor, Slieveardagh came through that terrible decade bleeding from multiple cuts, whereas Clanwilliam had fewer but deeper wounds.

Appendix One isolates townlands that experienced population loss of at least 50%; but account has to be taken of the size of these townlands. To take just two townlands, both in Derrygrath (Iffa & Offa West), Ballindoney East and Ballydoney West, the former was ten and a quarter acres and lost twenty-one people or 88% of the 1841 population, whereas the latter townland was 584 four acres and lost 147 individuals or 58% of the 1841 population – two very different kinds of experience. Table 18 looks at the townlands under review and gives a breakdown by size.

TABLE 18

Townlands in South Tipperary that lost at least half their population 1841-51 – their number in certain size categories

Barony	Number of townlands					
	20 acres & less	21-50	51-100	101-300	301-500	501 acres +
Clanwilliam	2 (2.9%)	6 (8.7%)	13 (18.8%)	27 (39.2%)	11 (15.9%)	10 (14.5%)
Iffa & Offa E	2 (6.6%)	9 (30%)	7 (23.4%)	8 (26.7%)	3 (10%)	1 (3.3%)
Iffa & Offa W	7 (9.3%)	9 (11.8%)	6 (7.9%)	34 (44.7%)	8 (10.5%)	12 (15.8%)
Kilnamanagh L	1 (9.3%)	2 (5.1%)	9 (20.5%)	17 (43.6%)	7 (18%)	4 (10.2%)
Middlethird	1 (2.6%)	7 (8.4%)	12 (14.5%)	32 (38.5%)	17 (20.5%)	13 (15.7%)
Slieveardagh	2 (2.4%)	3 (9.6%)	2 (6.4%)	18 (58%)	4 (13%)	4 (13%)

In an effort to look in some detail at the experience of population loss in South Tipperary 1841-51, its 1,600 townlands were reduced to a more manageable 328 by identifying those townlands which lost at least 50% of their people. As Table 18 indicates, a very small number of these townlands, only fourteen (4%), were twenty acres and less and within each barony did not make a significant contribution to population loss.

A total clearance of people from such small townlands was easy to accomplish and, as Table 16 shows, nine of these denominations were cleared of inhabitants at the time of the 1851 census. Of these 328 townlands, 136 (41%) were between 101-300 acres. This reflected the pattern of townland size within South Tipperary.



With reference to the largest townlands, 500 acres and more, were these targeted for clearance? In Clanwilliam, there were sixty-seven such townlands but only ten lost half or more of their populations 1841-51. In Iffa and Offa East, there were thirty-six townlands in this category but only one lost more than half its population. To pose a different question: did the productive capacity of the land make some townlands more likely to be cleared?

To take two civil parishes, Inishlounaght in Iffa and Offa East and Tubbrid in Iffa and Offa West, nine townlands in the former parish each lost at least half their people, while sixteen townlands suffered this fate in the much larger parish of Tubbrid. The average valuation per acre in Inishlounaght was £1.36 and in Tubbrid, less than half that at 60p. In the former parish, the average valuation per acre (including buildings) of the nine townlands ranged from 99p to £2.58. In Tubbrid the valuations ranged from 10p. to 99p. Therefore, townland size or its valuation appear not to have been factors contributing to the substantial loss of population, 1841-51.

What mattered most in contributing to the situation was the past record of land use and the current attitude of proprietors. Speaking in January 1845, the earl of Glengall gave an account of his property; to give just one example, the townland of Garrycloher (239 acres) in the parish of Caher, his lordship explained that this "good wheat land" had been let in 1786 for sixty one years. This meant that it would revert to Glengall in 1847. In his description of 1845, the earl declared that, having been let for seventeen shillings and sixpence (87¹/₂p.) an Irish acre, the land was now worth thirty five shillings (£1.75) or double. "This farm is much sublet", the earl complained, "with several wretched cabins on it." The lessee Thomas Burke, he noted, was very poor and a "sad tyrant".⁶⁵

In 1841 this townland had 23 houses and a population of 163. A decade later, there were seven houses, six of which were inhabited by a population of twenty-three. It seems likely that when this land reverted to Glengall's control, this excess population, which had not been put in place by the earl or his family, was cleared and the houses "tumbled". An incentive for this action was the combination of pauperised sub-tenants unable to pay rent and the necessity on the part of the landlord to pay their poor rate.

With the passage of time and adjustment to increasing prosperity, an accommodation was made with a more comfortable version of the past. The extent of the clearance on the Hawarden estate around Dundrum has been discussed. Taking just one parish which was entirely part of the estate, Kilpatrick: its population went from 1,734 to 883 during the Famine decade. The proprietor of the estate during this period was the 3rd viscount, who died in 1856 and was succeeded by his thirty-nine-year-old son.

In January 1864, a writer from Tipperary calling himself "One of the Old Os" reacted in a local newspaper to a recently published report in that same paper, that Lord Hawarden was known for acts of kindness towards his tenants. This writer made no secret of the fact that he had an axe to grind, having sought to rent one of Hawarden's farms but finding that they were all let to protestants. Readers were reminded that Hawarden's father had cleared the estate of paupers. This reminder was meant to denigrate the Maude family.

The point, of course, is that it was this clearance that created farms for letting, a situation the writer was apparently anxious to take advantage of. The newspaper in question was the nationalist *Tipperary Free Press* and it considered the matter important enough to editorialize, not attacking the Maudes as might have been expected but the opposite, pointing out that there were few enough resident landlords and saying nothing about the recent history of the estate.

A week or so later this same newspaper carried another letter, this time from "A tenant and one of the Real Os", lavish in praise of Hawarden and his management of the estate. Around



seventy people were employed on the property; each Christmas warm clothing and “night attire” were distributed and every householder was allowed the grass of a cow at a nominal rent; so the writer claimed. He went on to admit that leases were uncommon as were rent abatements, but these were not needed as land was let at a fair rent. Since the 4th viscount took over (1856) there were no evictions on the estate.

Nothing, of course, was written about the earlier history of the property. While it would be useful to know the identity of this writer, the impression is created of a tacit conspiracy of silence between the interests of landlord and tenant, each of whom had benefited from the population loss on the estate. In a finale that must have convulsed the shade of Fr Patrick O’Brien Davern (see *T.H.J.* 1995, p.18), the writer declared that tenants were compensated for improvements and that tenants emigrating were allowed benefit from the Ulster Custom, whereby an incoming tenant paid a substantial sum to the outgoing tenant for his “goodwill”.⁶⁶

Conclusion

In his comprehensive survey of the famine, “*Black ‘47 and Beyond*” (1999), Cormac Ó Gráda asks the question: “What of the famine’s end?” He goes on to discuss evidence from various parts of the country, concluding that “the end came unevenly” but that the famine “raged five years at least”.⁶⁷ This was certainly the case in South Tipperary. But there is another way of looking at the duration and impact of the famine in that region.

There was no famine. Careful study of the local press in the decades after 1851 conveys absolutely no impression that the late 1840s had been hell on earth for thousands of people. Had there been some extraordinary natural disaster, resulting in say, ten thousand deaths, how silent would the voices of public record be, in a country not known for reticence in the matter of commemoration?

Where, for example, are the demonstrations of communal grief in all those post-Famine churches? A comparison between the local press in 1897 and 1898 is instructive. On the one hand, the sustained shout with reference to the centenary of the 1798 Rebellion and on the other, the frailest whisper (if that) about the fiftieth anniversary of “Black ‘47”. What explains this silence? Was it an inability to cope with horror beyond remembering, or a guilt-induced communal amnesia?

In an earlier article in this series (*T.H.J.* 1998), there is a discussion with reference to the hellish conditions in two contiguous buildings in the centre of Tipperary town in 1850. One building housed dysentery patients; the other children suffering from ophthalmia. Today both buildings are virtually unchanged. In the case of the ophthalmia “hospital”, the interior is still (1999) exactly as Dr William Wilde described it in 1850.

However, the extraordinary thing is that there is not a scintilla of communal memory about the uses to which these buildings were put. At what stage and why did this wiping of the slate occur? The answer to the second part of this query is clear. People stopped talking about what actually happened and over time a more benign story became current, namely, that earlier in the famine, the building used for dysentery victims had been the site of a soup kitchen.

This was true; but more to the point, as a version of the past, it was exculpatory. In T.S. Eliot’s words from the mouth of Thomas Becket: “Human kind cannot bear very much reality”.

Another illustration of selective memory is the vague popular awareness of estate clearance in Tipperary, the most affected county. (But then, who wanted the sweet music of prosperity

interrupted by the disturbing rattle of dead men's bones?) Writing in March 1848, Lord Palmerston, Russell's foreign secretary and owner of a large Sligo estate, was forthright on the messy necessity of land clearance.⁶⁵

Ejectments ought to be made without cruelty in the manner of making them; but it is useless to disguise the truth that any great improvement in the social system of Ireland must be founded on an extensive change in the present state of agrarian occupation, and that this change necessarily implies a long continued and systematic ejectment of small holders and of squatting cottiers.

If a distinction is made between the famine with its potato failure and various relief measures and the immediate aftermath of the famine with its clearances and emigration, then it is hardly too much to say that it was the early 1850s, rather than the late 1840s, that changed everything. If clearances and emigration were the mechanisms of profound change in the rural economy of South Tipperary, then landlords, with the establishment of the Incumbered Estates Court in 1849, were confronted with an agency able to contribute to that change.

An indication of post-famine change in farm size is the increase in holdings in excess of fifty acres, from 18% of the total in 1851 to 25% in 1871, in South Tipperary. There were also large increases in the prices of farm commodities; between 1852 and 1877, the price of beef increased by 97%, butter by 86%, mutton by 82%, and pork by 60%. In general this price increase was more marked in relation to the produce of grassland than was the case with respect to tillage.

During this same period, rent increases were nowhere near as large, so that the mass of farmers enjoyed a sustained period of prosperity – a prosperity however, not shared with agricultural labourers. A report of 1870 on the condition of labourers noted that there was little “community of feeling” between them and farmers, the latter seeking to get labour as cheaply as possible and the former willing to do as little work as possible.

While labourers were better off than twenty years earlier, they were still faced with low wages, irregular employment and a particular running sore, bad housing, which was not tackled until later in the century and then without much co-operation from farmers.⁶⁶ The condition of the labouring classes therefore during these decades was hardly recompense for what they had endured during the famine.

As discussed earlier, landlord debt was exacerbated rather than caused by the famine, but the government-inspired solution, the Incumbered Estates Court, was part of a widespread negative opinion in Britain with regard to Irish landlords generally. In late 1849 the Court began its business and functioned until 1858 when, in recognition of its success, it was replaced by the Landed Estates Court. Some very large estates were sold off in South Tipperary, for example, that of the earl of Portarlington, and the putting on the market of lands in lots of several hundreds of acres allowed the possibility of a major shake-up in land ownership.

In the thirty years after 1849, about 37% of the land of South Tipperary came under the hammer. The situation varied greatly from barony to barony; for example, 68% of Iffa and Offa West (Clogheen-Cahir) but under 10% of Kilnamanagh Lower (Dundrum). With respect to sales under the Incumbered Estates Court (1849-58) in South Tipperary, existing local landlords were the main purchasers (40%), whereas individuals from a local business or professional background purchased just 11% of the land offered for sale.⁶⁷

In their different ways therefore, both tenants and landlords demonstrated evidence of prosperity during the twenty-five years or so after the famine. Much better to look to the future. Why dwell on the past?

It may be that for all the exposition and analysis of scholars, literature rather than scholarship



informs at a deeper level. Thomas Davis died in September 1845, but in one of his poems, *A Scene in the South*, a story of extraordinary prescience is developed. The poem opens with the poet's voice declaring:

I was walking along in a pleasant place,
in the county of Tipperary

After describing this very attractive landscape, the poet unaccountably becomes ill at ease and then becomes depressed, his mood very much at odds with the fertile and colourful countryside. Then it dawns on him that there is no sign of human habitation in this countryside seemingly designed by God for the raising of happy and sturdy families. Then, he notices evidence of where a cabin once stood.

Through the midst of the fields, some feet of the sod
were coarser and far less green,
And three or four trees in the centre stood,
But they seemed to freeze in their solitude.

Then he sees where a path led to the cabin adjacent to the trees, and signs on the trees that children had played there.

But the children – where, oh where are they?

This question is answered by an old man who explains why this landscape is indeed haunted.

A cabin stood once underneath the trees ...
But the typhus came, and the agent too –
Ah, need I name the worst of the two?

The family was evicted and their home pulled down. When they tried to shelter in the ruins, they were removed and

the cold ditch side was their hospital

Finally,
they went to poorhouse and grave.

APPENDIX ONE

Townlands in the baronies of South Tipperary which lost at least half their population, 1851 compared with 1841

Parish Loss	Townland	Landlord	Population 1841-51	%
Clanwilliam Ballygriffin	Ballynahinch	R.B.H. Lowe	549/258	53
	Garrane	J. Hyde	215/98	54
	Lisheenbeg	J. Hyde	72/32	56
Bruis	Ballynahow	Portarlington	97/44	55
	Bruis	Portarlington	88/44	50
Clonbeg	Gortaclivore	Massy-Dawson	11/-	100
	Knockballymalogh	K. Brasier	459/96	79
Clonpet	Ballyglass U.	Smith-Barry	76/27	64
	Garryduff	Stafford O'Brien	39/18	54
Cordangan	Carrowclogh	Smith-Barry	60/21	65
	Lacken	Smith-Barry	264/102	61
Cullen	Boherduff	Portarlington	29/12	59
	Cullen	Portarlington	37/9	76
	Gortakilleen	Portarlington	44/21	52
Donohill	Alleen Hogan	V. Scully	150/20	87
	Coolnagun	L. Waldron	33/-	100
	Gorteen N	R. Mansergh	7/3	57
	Gorteen S	S. Bradshaw	8/-	100
	Gortnacoolagh	V. Scully	95/33	65
	Leenane R	L. Waldron	17/6	65
	Lisheendarby	V. Scully	100/27	73
	Pallas	V. Scully	269/51	81
	Shandangan	V. Scully	77/24	72
Emly	Ballynacree	M. Manning	47/15	68
Kilcornan	Ballyrobin	J. Scully	74/32	57
Kilfeacle	Ballyglasheen	Chabot	272/91	67
	Cahervillahoe	Massy	236/57	76
	Dromline	Chabot	111/50	55
	Grantstown	Roe/Massy	355/164	54
	Knockballynoe E	Stanley	118/59	50
	Knockballynoe W	Stanley	104/25	76
	Rathduff	Chabot	36/7	81
	Ross	Chabot	30/9	70



Killardry	Ballymorris	S. O'Meagher	21/4	81
	Glebe	S. O'Meagher	64/19	70
	Kilmoyler	S. O'Meagher	185/20	89
Kilshane	Cleghile	S. Lowe	77/22	71
	Corrogebeg	S. Lowe	73/30	59
	Knockfoble	S. Lowe	62/19	69
Lattin	Knockordan	S. Lowe	272/89	67
Oughterleaguc	Kilshenane	J. Hyde	423/206	51
Rathlynin	Alleen Ryan	L. Waldron	51/-	100
	Ballinacloagh	W. Dickson	60/30	50
	Ballinard	Ormonde	215/69	68
	Clonmaine	H.W. Massy	136/-	100
	Farranaraheen	W. Scully	19/4	79
	Gorteen	V. Scully	80/-	100
	Laffina	C. Clarke	19/-	100
Relickmurry	Ballygriffin	K. Pennefather	8/-	100
	Cloghleigh	L. Creagh	582/249	57
	Comerfords Lot	H. White	299/53	82
	Hoops Lot	Various	46/22	52
	Knockatoor	K. Pennefather	84/27	68
	Kilnacask U	T. Butler	41/15	63
	Knockroe	W. Scully	35/15	57
	Derryclooney	N. Robbins	157/68	57
	Hymenstown	N. Robbins	120/51	57
	Mantlehill Great	V. Scully	243/16	93
	Mantlehill Little	V. Scully	30/10	66
	Persse's Lot	J. Scully	90/31	66
Sergeant's Lot	R. Creagh	54/4	93	
Soloheadmore	Ballygodoon	Stanley	208/90	57
	Knockaneduff	Stanley	37/10	73
	Reaskavalla	Rev. J. Cooke	26/13	50
Templenciry	Ballyvirane	B. Bunbury	232/108	53
	Curraghavokey	T.L. Ashe	92/43	53
Templenoey	Drumclieve	R. Scully	212/8	96
Tipperary	Barronstown Ormond	M. Sadleir	22/11	50
Toem	Ayle	Portarlinton	310/144	54
Iffa and Offa East				
Inishlounaght	Ballingarrane S.	S. Watson	24/8	67
	Carrickconeen	W. Perry	100/44	56



	Coole	Donoughmore	27/10	63
	Currenstown	W. Perry	57/19	67
	Deerpark	Donoughmore	4/-	100
	Gortmore	Clonmell	82/22	73
	Inishlounaght	S. Moore	140/42	70
	Kilmolash U, Marlfield	W. Perry J. Bagwell	44/16 164/51	64 69
Kilcash	Carrigaloe	Ormonde	119/59	50
Kilgrat	Moanmehill	Putland/Hulse	23/10	57
	Powerstown	Putland/Hulse	27/13	52
Killaloe	FarranJordan	J. Power	44/10	77
	Inchanabroher	R.B. Osborne	12/-	100
	Killaloe U.	R. Robinson	49/12	76
Kilmurry	Ballynamona	W.P. Barker	343/152	56
Kilsheelan	Ballyglasheen	Clonmell	68/34	50
	Gammonsfield	J. Power	11/1	91
	Gortbrack	W. Perry	24/9	63
	Greensland	Clonmell	7/-	100
Kiltegan	Garryroe	S. Watson	32/15	53
	Monkstown	S. Watson	13/-	100
Lisronagh	Carrigawillin	J. Bagwell	35/8	77
Newchapel	Ballyveelish S.	G. Gough	16/7	56
	Mylerstown	J. Massy	63/-	100
Rathronan	Rathduff L.	Rev. J. Hackett	32/-	100
	Rathduff U.	Rev. J. Hackett	43/14	67
St. Mary's	Burgagery L.E.	Putland/Hulse	63/28	56
	Carrigeen	Putland/Hulse	15/-	100
	Gortmologe	J. Bagwell	202/58	71
Iffa and Offa West				
Ardfinnan	Ballindoney	W. Quinn	33/12	64
	Knocknaskeharoe	Donoughmore	27/-	100
	Spital Land	J. Prendergast	101/-	100
	Touloure	E. Lawlor	44/15	66
Ballybacon	Curraheen	T. Fitzgerald	35/14	60
	Fehans	T. Fitzgerald	122/53	57
	Graigie	Glengall	261/126	52
	Kilgrogybeg	S. Clutterbuck	26/9	65

	Ladysabbey	J. Bagwell	18/5	72
	Monroe W.	Glengall	21/9	57
	Raheen	H. Langley	78/21	73
Caher	Ballingleary W.	Glengall	214/5	98
	Ballyallavoe	T. Wyse	36/9	75
	Ballyhenebery	D. Barton	69/13	81
	Ballymacadam A.	- Austin	23/-	100
	Coolaclamper	Glengall	65/-	100
	Farranlaher	D. Barton	17/5	71
	Garrycloher	Glengall	163/30	82
	Killeenbutler	Glengall	87/20	77
	Killeigh	Glengall	8/3	63
	Lissakyle	Glengall	14/6	57
	Monaderreen	Glengall	36/3	92
	Monaraha	Glengall	85/20	76
	Raheen	Glengall	84/30	64
Derrygrath	Ballindoney E.	W. Quinn	24/3	88
	Ballindoney W.	W. Quinn	255/108	58
	Commons W.	J. O'Donnell	52/26	50
	Crutta S.	Donoughmore	31/9	71
	Derrygrath U.	W. Riall	102/43	58
	Garnavilla	Glengall	55/19	65
	Thomastown	Donoughmore	94/39	59
Molough	Rathokelly	W. Ryan	142/52	63
Mortlestown	Rathard	T. Wyse	35/8	77
Neddans	Ballyneecty	Donoughmore	99/46	54
	Lacken	J. Prendergast	28/12	57
Newcastle	Boolahallagh	C. Ryan	266/114	57
	Rossmore	F. Mulcahy	148/44	70
Rochestown	Kilmaloge	W. Quinn	72/33	54
Shanrahan	Ballyhurrow	Glengall	227/83	63
	Boolakennedy	Glengall	128/34	73
	Cullenogh	Lismore	144/60	58
	Flemingstown	Lismore	368/182	51
	Glengarra	Glengall	214/82	62
	Kilbeg	Lismore	98/41	58
	Knockaarum	Lismore	30/15	50
Shanrahan	Monaloughrea	Glengall	117/135	70
	Parkaderreen	Glengall	44/17	61
	Raheenroe	Lismore	50/23	54
	Toormore	Lismore	79/26	67

Templetenny	Knocknagapple	E.S. Power	161/61	62
	Newcastle	M. Dwyer	31/12	61
Tubbrid	Bohernarorane	Glengall	140/51	64
	Boolakenedy	Glengall	81/11	86
	Curraghatoor	Glengall	143/32	78
	Curraghclooney	Glengall	146/65	55
	Derravoher L.	Waterpark	10/-	100
	Kilcoran	Glengall	403/66	8
	Kilroe Wood	Glengall	8/4	50
	Knockane G.	Glengall	102/36	65
	Knockane N.	Glengall	-111/48	57
	Knockane P.	Glengall	34/6	82
	Knockannapista	Waterpark	35/5	86
	Magherareagh	J. Bagwell	179/75	58
	Parkaderreen	Glengall	52/17	67
	Poulavala	Glengall-	116/50	57
	Roosca B.	Waterpark	67/6	91
	Roosca H.	Waterpark	115/41	64
Tullaghmelan	Ballynamuddagh	Donoughmore	48/21	56
	Ballyneety	Donoughmore	6/-	100
	Flemingstown	Donoughmore	70/13	81
	Knocknagree	Donoughmore	25/6	76
	Moanmore	Donoughmore	127/55	57
Tullaghorton	Ballinhalla	Glengall	194/96	51
	Ballyboy W.	Lismore	223/94	58
Whitechurch	Burges	Waterpark	80/35	56
	Whitechurch	B.H. Lucas	172/69	60
Kilnamanagh Lower				
Aghacrew	Rossacrow	Bagwell-Purefoy	51/25	50
Ballintemple	Ballintemple	Hawarden	83/30	64
	Garryduff W.	Hawarden	168/11	93
	Gortarush L.	Hawarden	49/16	67
	Gortussa	Hawarden	218/105	52
Clogher	Corbally	W. Murphy	70/3	96
	Derrymore	M. Pennefather	65/1	98
	Gortnaskehy	Hawarden	81/19	77
	Kilcroe	W. Murphy	61/11	82
	Laffina J.	J. Jones	57/26	54
Clonoulty	Clone	Hawarden	52/-	100
	Clonedarby	Hawarden	102/28	73
	Coolanga L.	Hawarden	68/17	75
	Demone	Hawarden	84/15	82

	Drummonaclara	J. Greene	85/-	100
	Gorteenamona	Hawarden	240/59	75
	Gortnagrana	Hawarden	37/14	62
	Srahavarrella	Hawarden	225/101	55
Donohill	Lackenacoombe	S. Cooper	109/44	60
	Newtown S.	B. Bradshaw	141/9	94
	Rossacrow	Bagwell-Purefoy	125/56	55
	Scarrough	Bagwell-Purefoy	54/10	81
	Tinnahinchy	Bagwell-Purefoy	97/8	92
	Cappagh	V. Hunt	11/-	100
	Clashnacrony	R. Clarke	97/26	73
	Greenfield	Bagwell-Purefoy	36/11	69
Kilmore	Kilmore L.	W. Wayland	83/32	59
	Kilmore U.	W. Wayland	205/64	69
Kilpatrick	Coolbaun	Hawarden	160/57	64
	Drumminacroahy	Hawarden	56/11	80
	Graffin	Hawarden	386/81	79
	Knockroe	Hawarden	12/-	100
	Maudemount	Hawarden	81/22	73
	Rosbeg	Hawarden	36/16	56
	Tooreen	Hawarden	30/-	100
Oughterleague	Ballywalter	P. O'Kearney	111/36	68
	Clonkelly	Norbury	246/90	63
	Knockavilla	W. Cooper	54/18	67
Rathkennan	Rathkennan W.	R. Sadleir	6/3	50
Middlethird				
Ardmayle	Ardmayle E.	C. Bianconi	162/75	54
	Ardmayle W.	H&O Beasley	43/21	51
	Clonmore N.	J. Hyde	149/53	64
	Cloon	J. Hyde	19/5	74
	Nodstown N.	R.L. Shiel	46/19	59
	Slatefield	T. Carney	15/6	60
Ballysheehan	Aughnagomaun	Quinn etc.	446/221	50
	Ballinree	Smith-Barry	417/47	89
	Ballysheehan	Smith-Barry	103/44	57
	Carrow	A. Jordan	86/12	86
	Marshallstown	Smith-Barry	27/13	52
	Peake	Gough	146/69	53
	Synone	Gough	116/57	56
Baptistgrange	Ballygambon	W. Pennefather	121/27	78
Barrettsgrange	Barrettstown	A. Power	130/52	60
	Crossard	J. Palliser	21/-	100

Brickendown	Killistafford	O. Latham	87/35	60
Cloneen	Cloran Old Tinnakilly	Clare	276/121	56
		E. Dabadee	17/5	71
Cooleagh	Coolbaun	Pine/Sankey	184/72	61
Coolmundry	Quartercross	A. Maziere	53/25	53
Dangandargan	Shanballyduff	J. Bayley	230/101	56
Dogstown	Dogstown	J. Phillips	69/20	71
Drangan	Prieststown	H. Langley	184/15	92
Erry	Erry Grangebeg Grangemore	M. Pennefather	345/144	58
		M. Pennefather	104/40	62
		M. Pennefather	161/68	58
Fethard	Garrinch	W. Barton	61/6	90
Gaile	Killlough Regaile	B. Daly	157/78	50
		R. Phillips	97/38	61
Graystown	Grallagh	S. Mansergh	283/139	51
Holycross	Glenbane U.	J. Hyde	312/99	68
Kilbragh	Bawnatanvoher Glennansland Rathmacarty E. Rathmacarty W.	D. Bastable	17/7	59
		E. Newingham	17/4	76
		E. Newingham	78/18	77
		E. Newingham	76/16	79
Kilconnell	Caherbaun	W. Price	189/93	51
Kiltinan	Ballynaclera Boolagh Cappadrummin	R. Cooke	9/-	100
		O'Neill Power	201/33	84
		S. Gordon	67/30	55
Knockgraffon	Farranliney Graigue Little Loughkent W. Rockwell	W. Roe	24/6	75
		R. Pennefather	15/7	53
		J. Cooke	115/52	55
		R.J. Roe	38/15	61
Magorban	Coleraine Mobarnan Mocklershill Woodhouse	W. Price	91/39	57
		S. Jacob	190/49	95
		J. Fitzgerald	156/64	59
		R. Price	41/18	56
Magowry	Moyne Shanakyle	T. Aldwell	104/48	54
		W. Letham	110/26	76



Mora	Castleblake	C. Sadleir	155/47	70
	Graigue	C. Manners	221/102	54
	Maginstown	W. Moore	163/69	58
	Milltownbeg	Aldborough	6/-	100
Railstown	Stephenstownbeg	Stanley	44/13	70
Rathcool	Gorteenshamrogue	S. Moore	27/6	78
	Rathavin	H. Barton	62/26	58
	Slainstown S.	J. Sankey	55/10	82
Redcity	Madamsland	J. Douglas	13/3	77
Relickmurry	Castlelake	G. Hall	173/83	52
	Knockroe	G. Hall	27/10	63
St John Baptist	Corralough	A. Jordan	12/6	50
	Knocksaintlour	A. Jordan	17/6	65
	Scraggaun	A. Jordan	23/10	57
	Stonepark	A. Jordan	13/2	85
	St. Francis Abbey	Portarlington	5/-	100
St Patricksrock	Ballydoyle	C. Riall	144/41	73
	Ballyduagh	Stanley	35/15	57
	Ballyknock	J. Power	88/39	56
	Ballypadeen	Normanton	54/27	50
	Boscabell	J. Power	97/48	51
	Camus	Church	318/159	50
	Clonmore	Smith-Barry	23/9	61
	Garraun	J. Bayley	71/21	70
	Garryard	Smith-Barry	29/6	79
	Gortmakellis	Smith-Barry	95/43	55
	Monadrella	Smith-Barry	68/12	82
	Monagee	Normanton	8/4	50
	Monameagh		92/44	52
	Pigeonpark	J. Bayley	12/4	67
	Rathcoun		51/12	76
	St Patricksrock	Portarlington 1	5/5	67
	Thurlesbeg	Smith-Barry	380/166	56
Windmill	Smith-Barry 1	18/42	64	
Slieveardagh				
Ballingarry	Coalbrook	H. Langley	216/50	77
	Gortnasmuttaun	M. Sullivan	43/15	65
	Lisnamrock	H. Langley	305/120	61
Buolick	Buolick	M. Byrne	156/64	59
	Clonamondra	J. LaTouche	14/3	79



Crohane	Broomhill	W. Palliser	29/9	69
	Coolquill	W. Palliser	97/38	61
	Knockanattin	W. Palliser	52/26	50
	Tarsna	W. Palliser	60/27	55
Garrangibbon	Glencunna	R. Hartford	96/34	65
Grangemockler	Grangemockler	W. Moore	469/221	53
Graystown	Mardyke	W. Palliser	90/30	67
	Springhill	S. Hemphill	16/6	63
Kilcooly	Ballinunty	A. Going	180/32	82
	Sallybog	W. Barker	29/12	59
	Springfield	W. Barker	80/23	71
Killenaule	Graiguc U.	P. Waldron	106/52	51
	Killeen	J. Lane	383/129	66
	Rathroe	P. Waldron	136/57	58
Kilvemnon	Ballytohil	T. Esmonde	54/18	67
	Ballywalter	J. Burdett	163/80	51
	Bawnavrona U.	W. Stannard	85/8	91
	Fenane	J. Despard	37/8	78
	Killaghy	J. Despard	109/20	82
	Raheen	W. Pennefather	10/5	50
Lickfinn	Lickfinn	J. Langley	390/132	66
	Tullequane	J. Langley	158/37	77
Lismalin	Fanningsbog	Carrick	54/24	56
Modeshil	Ballyvoneen	R.B. Bryan	120/48	60
Newtownlennon	Ahenny Little	H. Lannigan	113/53	53
	Athy James	R. Hartford	52/21	60



APPENDIX TWO

The annual number of baptisms and marriages in each of the parishes of the Roman Catholic diocese of Cashel & Emly, 1835-55

This appendix makes available, for each of the forty-six parishes (including those in Co. Limerick) that comprise the diocese of Cashel & Emly, the annual number of baptisms and marriages between 1835 and 1855. These records depend on the accuracy of their many clerical compilers and our assumption is that parish records reflect annual catholic marriages in each parish, and following marriage (at least in theory), that records accurately catalogue the baptism of offspring.

Also, there is the question of the survival of these records, something of a lottery over the famine years in the case of some parishes. For example, what happened in the parish of Lattin, where neither baptism nor marriage records survive before 1846? Of the forty-six parishes in the diocese, records survive for about forty-one, allowing the aggregate of baptisms and marriages to be examined between 1835 and 1855.

Looking at the pattern both within and between parishes over this period, three related matters are of interest: before, during and after the famine. Such data as are available are all the more important in the absence of civil registration of births, marriages and deaths prior to 1864. Unfortunately, burial records for any parish in the diocese are not available. Perhaps none were kept.

The Table below looks at the aggregate of baptisms over the five years 1841-45 and 1846-50, grouping parishes on the basis of percentage reductions. The five excluded parishes are Ballylanders, Caherconlish, Cappamore, Clerihan and Lattin.

Baptisms 1846-50 compared with 1841-45

Reduction 35% to 39%		
Boherlahan	Knockavilla	Templetuohy
Galbally	Newport	
Reduction 30% to 34%		
Ballina	Drom	Kilteely
Ballinahinch	Fethard	Knocklong
Ballingarry	Golden	Moycarkey
Borrisoleigh	Kilbehenny	Mullinahone
Cappawhite		
Reduction 25% to 29%		
Bansha	Holycross	New Inn
Clonoulty	Hospital	Pallasgreen
Doon	Killenaule	Solohead
Emly	Loughmore	Thurles
Gortnahoe		
Reduction 20% to 24%		
Anacarty	Drangan	Tipperary
Ballybricken	Murroe	
Reduction 15% to 19%		
Cashel	Knockainey	Templemore
Reduction 7%		
Kilcommon		

The map shows the distribution of the nineteen parishes in which the number of baptisms during the famine years fell by more than 30% compared with the immediate pre-famine period. All parts of the diocese are affected, without any particular bias, except perhaps the exclusion of the main urban centres, Templemore, Thurles, Tipperary and Cashel. The situation with respect to these four parishes is examined below.

From the above Table, Kilcommon appears to have been a place where different rules applied. Long before statistics of population or baptism were scrutinized tradition in Hollyford and Kilcommon maintained that the area escaped lightly during the famine, thanks to mining. A London-based company, the Hollyford Copper Mining Association, began mining there in 1845 and had a particularly profitable year in 1847. (*T.H.J.* 1992, p.107.) This happy situation is also reflected in the census returns 1841-51, which show that house numbers and population remained virtually unchanged – a unique situation in the diocese. Between 1841-45 the annual average number of baptisms in Kilcommon was 176. Between 1846-50 the number was 164.

Staying with baptisms, the Table below looks in some detail at both the five most affected and five least affected parishes in the diocese, again comparing the famine period 1846-50 with the immediate pre-famine period 1841-45.

Baptisms, selected parishes, 1841-45, 1846-50

Parish	1841-45	Average 1841-45	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	Average 1846-50	% Change
Knockavilla	985	197	168	142	115	115	80	124	-37.05
Galbally	1864	373	360	265	179	208	167	236	-36.73
Newport	1747	349	337	237	208	173	171	225	-35.53
Boherlahan	1053	211	172	180	127	119	84	136	-35.53
Templetouhy									
Ballybricken	463	93	99	73	76	63	52	73	-21.50
Knockainey	665	133	159	95	112	103	70	108	-18.80
Templemore	1927	385	410	307	304	294	255	314	-18.44
Cashel	2151	430	598	312	285	317	253	353	-17.90
Kilcommon	880	176	207	166	159	150	136	164	-6.81

Looking at these figures, especially the change from 1846 to 1847 and the trend thereafter to 1850, each parish told its own story. Cashel showed a very marked drop in baptisms in 1847 compared to the previous year; but not given above is the number of baptisms there in 1845, 424. Therefore, over 1845-47, the number peaked remarkably in 1846 and fell off equally remarkably the following year. On the other hand, in Boherlahan there was a slight increase in baptisms in 1847 compared with the previous year. With regard to Knockavilla, which suffered the greatest percentage decrease in baptisms over the period in question, this parish also experienced a very large drop in population, 47% between 1841-51, as indeed did the major estate there, that of Lord Hawarden. What happened on this estate was an important contributory factor.

The final Table with reference to baptisms in the diocese looks at the major urban centres and gives the number of baptisms for each year 1841-55, thus showing the pattern immediately before, during and immediately after the famine.



Baptisms: Cashel, Templemore, Thurles, Tipperary, each year 1841-55

	Cashel	Templemore	Thurles	Tipperary
1841	374	381	483	493
1842	442	376	410	401
1843	457	373	486	444
1844	454	413	441	504
1845	424	384	490	468
1846	598	410	459	554
1847	312	307	319	394
1848	285	304	340	402
1849	317	294	328	228
1850	253	255	254	218
1851	242	206	277	216
1852	213	227	200	345
1853	173	160	217	297
1854	196	196	204	299
1855	197	206	215	256

Marriage records for the period under discussion are not available for Ballinahinch, Ballylanders, Caherconlish, Cappamore, Clerihan and Lattin. The Table below therefore shows the aggregate of marriages 1846-50 compared with 1841-45 for each of forty parishes in the diocese. For convenience of presentation, parishes are grouped.

Marriages 1846-50, compared with 1841-45

Reduction 51% to 60%

Ballingarry	Doon	Galbally
Borrisoleigh	Drangan	Kilteely

Reduction 41% to 50%

Ballina	Fethard	New Inn
Bansha	Golden	Newport
Boherlahan	Killenaule	Templetuohy
Cappawhite	Knocklong	Upperchurch
Drom	Loughmore	

Reduction 31% to 40%

Anacarty	Hospital	Pallasgreen
Cashel	Knockavilla	Thurles
Emly	Moycarkey	
Gortnahoe	Murroe	

Reduction 21% to 30%

Ballybricken	Knockainey	Tipperary
Clonoulty	Solohead	
Holycross	Templemore	
Kilbehenny		

Reduction 11% to 20%

Mullinahone

Reduction 1% to 10%

Kilcommon



As with baptisms, Kilcommon, with a 4% reduction in the number of marriages, was very much an exception to the general percentage reduction. The figure for Mullinahone, a 20% reduction, was low, especially when compared with the adjacent parishes of Drangan (52%) and Ballingarry (54%). The six parishes which sustained percentage reductions in excess of 50% are spread across the diocese.

The Table below looks in detail at both the five most affected and five least affected parishes in the diocese.

Marriages, selected parishes, 1841-45, 1846-50

Parish	1841-45	Average 1841-45	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	Average 1846-50	% Change
Borrisoleigh	279	56	48	25	15	15	11	23	-59.1
Ballingarry	316	63	44	31	24	31	16	29	-53.7
Doon	166	33	37	9	11	9	11	15	-53.6
Galbally	291	58	39	32	28	18	15	26	-54.6
Kilteely	137	27	28	16	11	5	4	13	-53.2
Clonoulty	191	38	47	28	29	23	13	28	-26.7
Holycross	125	25	38	18	16	13	8	19	-25.6
Kilbehenny	105	21	38	8	16	7	10	16	-24.7
Mullinahone	145	29	40	5	20	24	27	23	-20.0
Kilcommon	149	30	42	23	32	23	23	29	-4.0

The following Table, as was the case with baptisms, looks at marriages in each of the four main urban centres of the diocese and shows the changing pattern 1841-55.

Marriages: Cashel, Templemore, Thurles, Tipperary, each year 1841-55

	Cashel	Templemore	Thurles	Tipperary
1841	57	63	79	85
1842	88	53	69	94
1843	67	46	78	94
1844	86	40	79	105
1845	69	67	71	88
1846	68	57	80	93
1847	40	23	35	60
1848	52	56	51	86
1849	35	21	40	53
1850	24	33	33	36
1851	32	16	18	46
1852	34	34	35	56
1853	27	31	44	40
1854	45	46	53	57
1855	46	35	49	59



Baptisms (in each parish) 1835-1865

	Anacarty/Donohill	Ballina	Ballinahinch	Ballingarry	Ballybricken	Ballylanders	Bansha?kilmoyler	Bansha/Kilmoyler (Ban)	Bansha/Kilmoyler (Kil)	Boherlahan	Borrisoleigh
1835	222	182		347	90			99	95	242	234
1836	194	228		394	92			121	131	220	208
1837	179	188		370	91			115	89	2125	230
1838	234	173		378	76			141	95	241	238
1839	186	178	67	382	108			141	122	207	248
1840	201	166	128	371	88			101	96	206	222
1841	195	139	126	373	77			125	127	233	240
1842	199	154	118	424	101	35		135	74	219	239
1843	184	176	140	399	101	193		164	107	190	262
1844	203	152	152	438	100	80		142	109	202	252
1845	200	167	149	439	84	151		145	98	209	282
1846	209	175	162	394	99	56		162	132	172	278
1847	137	100	94	308	73	120		103	87	180	172
1848	164	89	103	255	76	13		98	62	127	169
1849	147	95	53	274	63	85		97	37	119	139
1850	108	62	48	208	52	54		71	44	84	130
1851	94	58	83	193	51	18		74	29	73	98
1852	81	59	61	191	35	62		86	46	55	110
1853	91	56	80	188	42	38		110	44	66	116
1854	62	55	76	183	27	78	62	47	59	62	103
1855	83	52	67	195	37	71	110		49	79	92
1856	72	50	74	178	32	63	126		39	65	91
1857	90	55	77	177	41	79	114		20	77	96
1858	80	57	79	200	40	48	130			71	104
1859	106	60	85	199	39	81	119			90	114
1860	72	70	79	196	34	78	122			89	115
1861	91	63	57	180	47	66	109			80	103
1862	89	60	57	197	29	66	125			90	114
1863	84	64	68	154	43	75	106			84	95
1864	96	66	54	162	27	59	107			82	91
1865	79	58	75	199	42	65	104			78	87

	Caherconlish	Cappamore	Cappawhite	Cashel	Clerihan	Clonoulty/Rossmore	Doon	Drangan/Cloneen	Drom	Emly	Fethard	Garbally
1835	1	1	167	474		235	208	141	158	152	313	360
1836	1	2	87	432		238	225	149	166	168	326	322
1837	1	1	133	387		224	208	138	148	170	261	319
1838	63	18	156	473		243	212	97	161	181	325	352
1839	4	1	149	374		253	217	152	164	179	311	361
1840	45	187	138	449		217	205	177	138	152	287	356
1841	162	214	138	374		239	205	191	153	162	292	411
1842	175	248	160	442		244	195	154	209	159	307	382
1843	127	147	148	458		2-5	212	185	188	169	281	327
1844	86	123	154	454		240	229	193	174	169	309	393
1845	78	131	141	424		234	183	167	172	143	280	351
1846	64	70	148	398		218	232	196	178	181	305	360
1847	73	64	113	312		204	152	134	122	140	156	265
1848	62	70	87	285		185	135	130	110	101	208	179
1849	59	89	87	317	1	137	112	127	94	133	204	208
1850	70	71	68	253	1	111	119	103	90	49	161	167
1851	55	90	56	242	35	107	92	86	65	73	114	155
1852	74	95	67	213	35	79	102	75	71	63	114	173
1853	81	95	71	173	40	92	93	80	54	69	109	175
1854	86	88	66	196	44	88	103	83	73	84	110	165
1855	50	109	47	197	36	93	88	75	63	78	108	176
1856	80	107	73	208	45	102	105	79	71	83	112	187
1857	79	105	47	180	46	96	108	87	67	67	141	171
1858	73	105	66	217	48	102	97	90	63	77	132	185
1859	63	73	72	224	59	112	115	89	78	67	146	178
1860	70	79	82	242	41	114	100	87	61	85	153	204
1861	66	83	88	190	47	98	51	74	66	73	130	213
1862			51	192	42	95	107	76	52	88	138	184
1863			72	207	49	103	119	82	63	80	115	178
1864			77	194	38	99	105	61	43	70	131	186
1865			85	172		93	133	66	61	77	105	173



	Golden	Gortnahoe	Holycross	Hospital	Kilbehenny	Kilcommon	Killenaule	Kilteely	Knockainey/Patricksw	Knockavilla	Knocklong/Glenbroh	Latin
1835	171	219	195	200	92	148	320	156	135	239	171	
1836	183	174	189	230	51	153	318	128	145	247	159	
1837	153	206	168	189	73	141	277	139	133	205	128	
1838	144	174	188	228	57	171	319	144	129	193	172	
1839	190	260	179	209	88	150	309	141	141	234	185	
1840	168	251	174	212	88	155	310	139	124	162	196	
1841	148	315	196	217	85	160	293	157	130	203	175	
1842	176	268	161	211	128	154	283	142	136	198	184	
1843	143	270	199	193	130	160	314	146	120	194	164	
1844	159	290	194	207	169	194	286	156	155	199	176	
1845	156	267	171	213	164	212	292	154	124	191	141	
1846	149	210	185	216	155	207	269	147	159	168	156	15
1847	113	187	147	163	83	166	236	118	95	142	116	118
1848	106	182	135	136	91	159	220	81	113	115	124	119
1849	94	197	113	151	70	150	211	90	103	115	105	135
1850	77	138	87	104	72	136	147	63	70	80	84	82
1851	52	123	51	78	74	113	109	46	69	78	77	76
1852	58	119	63	78	72	140	121	66	73	63	80	90
1853	56	134	65	97	66	125	108	55	62	69	85	72
1854	54	126	70	76	69	116	110	54	56	75	55	95
1855	55	127	71	98	68	133	113	71	63	76	87	70
1856	52	113	52	103	65	116	121	57	70	86	91	78
1857	60	109	57	96	54	124	134	57	61	74	83	90
1858	63	116	72	90	78	116	145	76	65	107	83	86
1859	72	131	66	110	74	134	130	71	66	92	103	97
1860	56	130	73	79	82	135	144	56	70	92	79	94
1861	53	123	81	114	86	127	131	69	69	79	96	95
1862	52	100	67	78	77	129	135	66	58	82	77	88
1863	57	104	73	110	70	131	134	80	65	86	82	82
1864	58	118	61	100	81	136	120	76	72	70	76	78
1865	56	101	69	92	68	112	127	70	63	78	87	104

	Loughmore	Moycarkey	Mullinahone	Murroe	New Inn	Newport	Pallasgreen	Solohead/Oola	Templemore/Clonmore	Templetouhy	Thurles	Tipperary	Upperchurch
1835	176	141	218	314	141	484	259		370	182	432	456	207
1836	204	255	206	333	132	523	258	1	301	211	481	474	201
1837	208	186	188	300	142	476	238	133	396	165	379	417	168
1838	182	266	200	335	137	532	251	201	381	163	387	497	213
1839	202	271	214	346	123	464	244	250	386	215	474	474	209
1840	177	260	196	276	134	351	240	181	356	186	435	519	236
1841	200	257	215	345	121	341	252	216	381	189	483	493	203
1842	191	247	200	257	135	377	243	212	376	203	410	401	209
1843	193	240	187	284	158	359	250	203	373	180	486	444	232
1844	206	240	222	282	123	317	231	208	413	164	441	504	241
1845	197	227	198	293	129	353	274	211	384	226	490	468	234
1846	185	269	203	312	144	337	266	202	410	163	459	554	237
1847	165	193	135	240	96	237	199	151	307	134	319	394	155
1848	139	136	127	230	86	208	176	149	304	124	340	402	141
1849	136	142	137	187	113	173	159	135	294	109	328	228	147
1850	93	103	100	152	58	171	120	131	255	93	254	218	105
1851	104	91	91	133	61	169	91	92	206	58	277	216	109
1852	93	83	96	137	59	143	101	107	227	53	200	345	91
1853	67	82	89	137	52	150	111	107	160	67	217	297	111
1854	87	80	91	121	59	154	91	86	196	69	204	299	105
1855	69	82	88	140	46	150	113	101	206	81	215	256	114
1856	74	111	97	150	62	158	107	97	218	65	256	272	133
1857	73	88	97	121	80	152	118	91	209	64	215	291	117
1858	712	92	88	136	52	180	115	112	175	58	228	313	108
1859	67	104	98	141	73	164	115	90	204	77	238	159	123
1860	68	102	92	134	77	197	111	50	205	65	228	129	126
1861	54	93	95	134	58	169	101	100	188	54	203	108	110
1862	61	94	80	128	75	150	120	96	209	54	210	147	127
1863	52	101	80	111	72	164	111	109	215	59	209	150	121
1864	49	91	91	114	71	128	104	109	164	51	193	131	141
1865	58	82	87	124	59	154	122	108	195	46	198	150	110



Marriages (in each parish) 1835-1855

	Anacarty/ Donohill	Ballina	Ballinahinch	Ballingarry	Ballybricken	Ballylanders	Bansha/ Kilmoyler	Boherlahan	Borrisoleigh	Caherconlish	Cappamore
1835	53	45		53			47	48	51		
1836	38	32		34	1		33	54	50		
1837	45	36		42			53	48	35		
1838	57	53		42			43	45	50		
1839	45	30		44		1	50	52	41		
1840	37	28		63			56	49	45		
1841	38	43		57	5		57	44	72	33	
1842	31	26		65	15	1	39	32	52	9	
1843	31	28		47	16		56	31	42		31
1844	29	39		68	19		19	31	57		40
1845	45	38		79	29		47	39	56	1	29
1846	43	44		44	22		49	37	48	6	38
1847	27	14		31	9		28	16	25	18	18
1848	27	17		24	12	11	20	21	15	7	23
1849	10	7		31	9	5	13	16	15	8	9
1850	9	9		16	7	19	13	9	11	15	15
1851	9	10		16	5	12	13	11	22	8	16
1852	14	8		30	5	4	16	11	19	17	19
1853	8	12	15	22	11	11	32	15	20	9	25
1854	14	15	20	49	14		28	19	15	23	25
1855	12	20	18	27	8	1	30	21	29	19	23

	Cappawhite	Cashel	Clerihan	Clonoulty/ Rossmore	Doon	Drangan/ Cloneen	Drom	Emly	Fethard	Galbally	Golden	Gortnahoe
1835	45	89		42		35	46	32	60	59	39	41
1836	22			51		38	32	27	60	49	26	49
1837	31	66		41		72	35	13	37	34	43	39
1838	33	115		34		38	65	23	49	65	40	48
1839	37	90		42	34	50	46	26	53	43	41	70
1840	38	96		47	23	31	37	27	32	71	46	54
1841	35	57		32	50	43	43	31	59	86	23	53
1842	26	88		37	27	34	45	11	38	48	25	36
1843	22	67		36	35	39	32	30	33	42	35	34
1844	29	86		36	27	37	36	23	45	49	24	52
1845	30	69		50	27	31	43	24	50	66	30	55
1846	32	68		47	37	34	39	31	48	39	23	61
1847	26	40		28	9	15	12	12	25	32	19	33
1848	9	52		29	11	17	22	17	20	28	9	27
1849	4	35		23	9	14	13	8	20	18	12	17
1850	9	24		13	11	8	14	11	15	15	7	17
1851	7	32		16	9	12	4	2	11	23	6	13
1852	10	34	8	9	19	11	12	25	14	31	8	20
1853	11	27	16	25	16	13	15	11	20	31	11	23
1854	11	45	25	24	17	25	21	22	25	32	14	24
1855	21	46	44	19	24	19	15	15	32	38	14	28



	Holycross	Hospital	Kilbehenny	Kilcommon	Killenaule	Killeely	Knockainey/ Patricks	Knockavilla	Knocklong/ Glenbro	Lattin	Loughmore	Moycarkey
1835	37	53	10	30	50	30	28	33	54		50	50
1836	32	46	13	28	59	21	20	40	32		44	60
1837	33	38	24	22	51	39	28	40	31	1	44	53
1838	40	40	20	37	69	43	31	46	44		42	44
1839	43	43	8	31	50	25	25	33	36		37	65
1840	43	47	14	29	39	22	45	44	41		34	51
1841	25	45	6	28	59	42	29	41	28		39	45
1842	20	42	27	27	46	20	17	35	22		55	42
1843	27	42	31	22	54	33	27	35	26		40	49
1844	23	45	17	43	38	30	22	29	38		49	37
1845	30	43	24	29	56	12	29	39	12	1	39	41
1846	38	48	38	42	66	28	42	46	24	5	43	54
1847	18	34	8	23	22	16	18	17	8	15	28	18
1848	16	20	16	32	19	11	14	17	15	14	31	27
1849	13	21	7	23	17	5	5	15	7	5	7	16
1850	8	13	10	23	22	4	11	16	14	23	16	14
1851	6	13	10	20	15	17	6	13	8	10	11	10
1852	20	14	11	18	21	8	11	15	8	14	16	16
1853	16	15	14	20	18	8	15	19	11	14	15	21
1854	27	23	16	28	33	20	17	19	18	10	15	26
1855	14	28	18	31	41	8	19	23	5	17	20	25

	Mullinahone	Murroe	Murroe/ Boher	New Inn	Newport	Pallasgreen	Solohead/ Oola	Templemore/ Clonmo	Templetouhy	Thurles	Tipperary	Upperchurch
1835	38	54		16	78	60	73	97	38	73	111	46
1836	25	48	1	37	97	20	50	90	42	84	101	48
1837	34	44		38	71	30	61	85	36	67	95	26
1838	5	77		18	114	58	65	97	48	89	114	54
1839	22	59		32	124	45	56	69	44	72	102	58
1840	45	51		32	69	34	54	59	30	59	104	34
1841	55	55		37	49	43	56	63	33	79	85	39
1842	4	42		30	51	34	32	53	30	69	94	42
1843	24	52		37	44	30	37	46	29	78	94	40
1844	28	75		37	46	40	35	40	34	79	105	47
1845	34	69		26	61	45	36	67	31	71	88	60
1846	40	71		45	50	49	48	57	38	80	93	35
1847	5	49		19	23	33	28	23	10	35	60	22
1848	20	27		21	37	25	36	56	17	51	86	24
1849	24	29		7	11	11	19	21	12	40	53	17
1850	27	24		5	28	15	11	33	15	33	36	22
1851		18		11	13	9	17	16	9	18	46	17
1852		29		6	15	23	5	34	16	35	56	16
1853		23		7	31	18	11	31	13	44	40	25
1854		37		16	35	27	37	46	16	53	57	31
1855		44			31	35	35	35	15	49	59	41

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FOOTNOTES

1. *T.F.P.*, 16 April, 21 May 1853; *C.C.*, 4 April 1853.
2. *T.F.P.*, 25 May 1853.
3. D. Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation* (London, 1994), pp. 289-90; also, *T.H.J.* (1990), p. 89.
4. Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, p.287; also *T.H.J.* (1990), p. 87.
5. R.A.M. Harris and D.M. Jacobs (eds), *The Search for Missing Friends – Irish Immigrant Advertisements placed in the Boston Pilot 1831-50*, (Boston, 1989), i, p. 256.
6. A.G. Stark, *The South of Ireland in 1850, being the journal of a tour in Leinster and Munster* (Dublin, 1850), pp. 24-53.
7. J. Forbes, *Memorandums made in Ireland in the autumn of 1852* (London, 1853), 1, p. 63.
8. *Second annual report of the Commissioners for administering the laws for the relief of the poor in Ireland* 1849 (1118), xxv, p.9; *Third annual report*, 1850 (1143), xxvii, appendix B, xvii; *Fourth annual report*, 1851 (1381), xxvi, appendix B, vi; *Fifth annual report*, 1852 (1530), xxiii, appendix B, xiv; C. O'Mahony, *Emigration from Tipperary Workhouse, 1848-1858* in *T.H.J.* (1994), pp. 105-09; *T.F.P.*, 1 April 1848; *Nation*, 23 Feb 1850.
9. *Limerick Chronicle*, 2 June 1849; *Hansard*, cv, 1294.
10. T. Lacy, *Sights and Scenes*, p. 554.
11. C. Jackson, *Ireland 60 Years Since* (London, 1912), p. 49.
12. H. Sutherland, *Ireland Yesterday and Today* (Philadelphia, 1909), p.l 12.
13. Vaughan and Fitzpatrick (eds), *Irish Historical Statistics – Population 1821-1971* (Dublin, 1978), p.3 06.
14. *1851 Census*, 1856 (2134), xxxi.
15. *T.F.P.*, 24 March 1847, 25 April 1849.
16. *T.V.*, 19 May 1847.
17. *D.E.P.*, 25 Jan 1848; *T.V.*, 5 Jan 1848.
18. *D.E.M.*, 29 Nov 1848.
19. *Illustrated London News*, 19 May 1849; J.S. Donnelly Jr., *Excess mortality and emigration*, in *New History of Ireland*, v, (Oxford, 1989), p. 353.
20. I.A. Glazier. *The Famine Immigrants – lists of Irish immigrants arriving at the port of New York* (Baltimore, 1984), iv April-Sept 1849, pp. 296-7.
21. *I.L.N.*, 1 Dec. 1849.
22. *Nation*, 22 Dec. 1849.
23. *Nation*, 1 Dec. 1849.
24. *Nation*, 13 July 1850.
25. *Report of the select committee of the House of Lords on colonization from Ireland; together with minutes of evidence*, 1847 (737), vi, pp. 332-42
26. *1851 Census*, 1856 (2134), xxxi.
27. *Ir. Hist. Stats. Pop.*, p. 34.
28. For example, see *Griffith's Valuation*, parish Tipperary, townland Bohercrowe. This gives the situation c. 1850, when presumably pressure had eased. A visitor to Tipperary town in July 1835 commented on the way in which the town did not seem big enough to accommodate its declared population, see H. Heaney (ed), *A Scottish Whig in Ireland 1835-38 – the Irish Journals of Robert Graham of Redgorton* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 124-5.
29. *1851 Census*, 1856 (2134), xxxi.
30. Donnelly, *Excess mortality*, pp. 350-53; Moky, *Why Ireland Starved*, pp. 263-7.
31. *1851 Census*, 1856 (2134), xxxi, p.xlix.



32. *Ibid.*, p. 1 (50).
33. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
34. *Ibid.*, p.xxi. 94% workhouse, 5% gaol, 1% hospital.
35. *T.H.J.* (1995), pp. 42-3.
36. *Sel. Comm. colonization from Ireland*, evidence of T.A. I arcom, p. 264.
37. *1851 Census*, p.xxiii.
38. *1851 Census*, 1852-3 (1550-1551), xci,
39. *1851 Census*, 1856 (2134), xxxi, p.xxviii.
40. *T.H.J.*, (1995), pp. 41-7.
41. *1851 Census*, 1852-3, xci; 1856, xxxi.
42. *T.H.J.*, (1995), pp. 18-20.
43. Compiled from *Griffiths Valuation* and *Pobul Ailbe*.
44. *Ibid.*
45. G.V., Kilfeakle.
46. *Nation*, 15 Sept. 1849.
47. *L.C.*, 2 June 1849.
48. Charles Grey to G.C. Hale, 9 Dec. 1852 (DDK 1710/2, Derby Papers, Lancashire Record Office, Preston).
49. T.V., 27 Sept, 9 Dec. 1848, 18 Aug. 1849; T.F.P., 24 Oct. 1849.
50. T.V., 21 July, 28 Aug. 1847.
51. T.V., 29 March 1848.
52. Neely, *Kilcooly*, p.108; also *T.F.P.*, 24 Oct., 27 Oct., 3 Nov. 1849; T.V., 1 Dec. 1849.
53. T.V., 12 Feb. 1848.
54. *Clonmel Chronicle*, 17 Nov. 1897.
55. Daly, *Famine in Ireland*, p. 120.
56. *Morning Chronicle*, quoted in *I.L.N.*, 13 Oct. 1849.
57. See Hill and Ó Gráda (eds), *"The Visitation of God?"*, pp. 74-89. No ag. stats. were compiled for Tipperary in 1848.
58. *Ag. Stats. 1847, 1847-48* (923), lvii; *Ag. Stats. 1850, 1851* (1404), 1.
59. *Ag. Stats. 1885, 1886* (C 4802), lxxi.
60. *T.H.J.*, (1995), pp. 45-7.
61. *1841 Census*, 1843 (504), xxiv; *1851 Census*, 1856 (2134), xxxi.
62. Chapter Eleven.
63. *1851 Census*, 1852-3, xci.
64. *T.F.P.*, 7 Feb. 1852.
65. *Devon Commission*, pt.iii, 1845 (657), xxi, p. 888.
66. *T.F.P.*, 12, 22 Jan. 1864.
67. C. Ó Gráda, *Black '47 and Beyond: the Great Irish Famine in History, Economy and Memory* (Princeton U.P., 1999), pp. 41-2.
68. P. Gray, *Famine, Land and Politics: British Government and Irish Society 1843-50* (Dublin, 1999), quoted p. 192.
69. *Reports from poor law inspectors etc.*, 1870 (C 35), xiv R. Bourke and W.J. Hamilton.
70. Figures in this and preceding paragraph, from D.G. Marnane, *Land Ownership in South Tipperary 1849-1903* (unpublished Ph.D thesis, N.U.I. 1991).