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Ollscoil Náisiúnta Na h-Éireann

**‘Settlement and Social Change in the Barony of Tulla,
c. 1650-1845’**

By

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**A thesis presented in the National University of Ireland for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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Dedication

A thesis is never the work of one person. I could not have managed it without the constant encouragement, patience and faith of my husband, Alan, who also contributed drawings, advice and eagle-eyed editing.

I could not have completed this work without the aid of an SPAHSS Fellowship from NUI Galway, so I am grateful for funding and understanding during my health problems.

Supervising a PhD project is not an easy task. My special thanks go to the two ‘fathers’ of this thesis: Dr. Gerard Moran, who oversaw its inception, and Dr. Pádraig Lenihan, who has been an inspiring guide and mentor.

Nobody could write history without librarians, so I would like to thank the staff of the James Hardiman Library, N. U. I. Galway. We in county Clare are blessed with what must be the finest local studies centre in the country, so my thanks go to Peter and Brian for their unstinting help. To Ms. Alison McCann and the staff of the West Sussex County Record Office, Chichester, my thanks for their help accessing the Petworth House Archives.

Last, but not least, my heartfelt thanks go to Veronica Stone for her help with technology.

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Abbreviations

BSD	Books of Survey and Distribution
C. S. P.	Calendar of State Papers
J. R. S. A. I.	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland
N. L. I.	National Library of Ireland
N. A. I.	National Archive of Ireland
P. H. A.	Petworth House Archive
T. C. D.	Trinity College Dublin
J. P.	Justice of the Peace

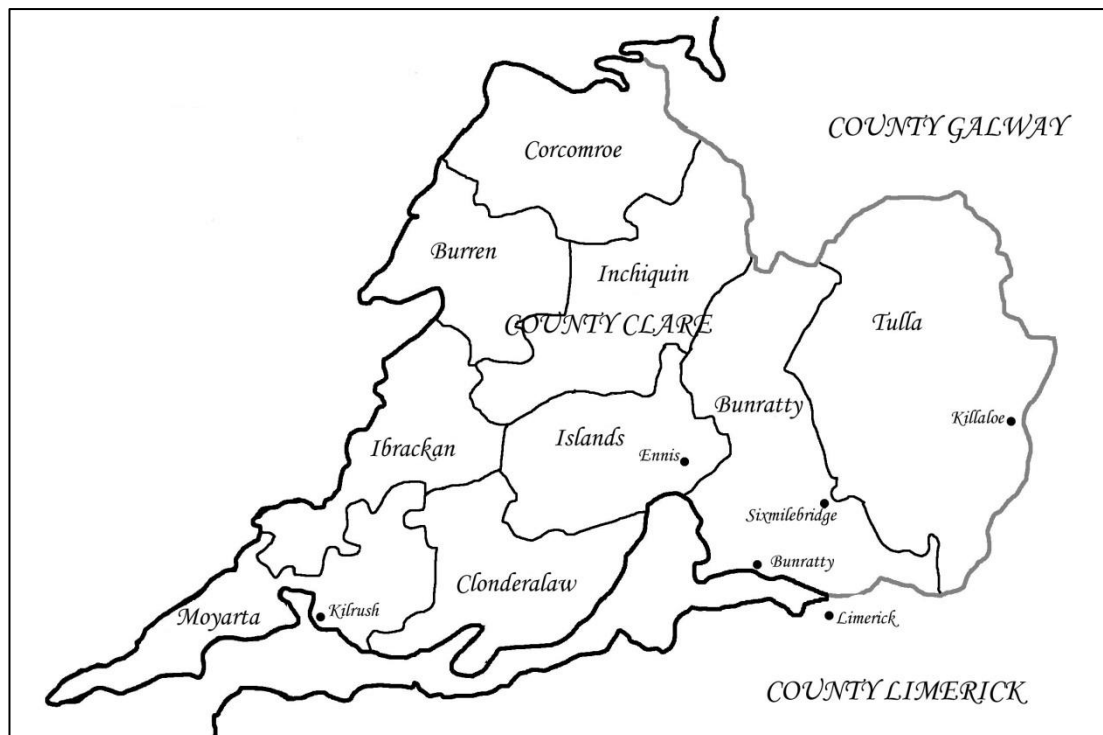


Figure 1: The baronies of county Clare

Introduction

The introduction to this dissertation begins with a review of the literature which is most relevant to my topic. It will also explain my local history methodology and will state, in general terms, the theme, if not yet the specific question, around which the dissertation is built.

From the 1980s onwards, local history came into the academic mainstream in the UK, and a model evolved which took a multidisciplinary ‘whole community’ approach, encompassing environment, topography and economy as well as previously marginalised fields such as folklore and oral history. In the Irish context, Raymond Gillespie developed a holistic model which encompasses a region in terms of its origin, development, decline and fall and it explores the interrelationships

between its communities of interest.¹ Individual surveys of a region which provide a template for Irish local history studies include David Dickson's landmark work on Cork and South Munster and Brian Dornan's study of the Inishkea islands in county Mayo.² Within this model, the county 'History and Society' series are collections of essays which explore aspects of Irish local history.³

The theses of Bernadette Cunningham, on the relationship between the earls of Thomond and Clanricard, and that of Ciarán O Murchadha, on the transformative seventeenth century, cited below, were among the first works on Clare set within a theoretical framework and local history methodology.⁴ These two theses, dealing with élite politics and the social structure of the county during a time of radical change, provided much of the political background for my thesis. Brían Ó Dálaigh's study of Ennis, too, explores the town's history as a component of a wider Clare and Irish society.⁵

Works on the history of county Clare fall into several categories. Histories of a particular family, such as Ivarr O'Brien's history of the O'Brien family, N. C. MacNamara's history of the MacNamaras or Charles Molony's unpublished history of his own branch of the Molony family, are invaluable for providing genealogical information and basic facts.⁶ Next there are histories of a village, town or parish such

¹ Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran, eds., *A Various Country: Essays in Mayo History, 1500-1900* (Westport: Foilseachain Naisiunta Tta., 1987).

² David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster, 1630-1830* (Cork University Press, 2005); Brian Dornan, *Mayo's Lost Islands: The Inishkeas* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000).

³ See, for example, Kevin Whelan and William Nolan, eds., *Wexford: History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1987, and Whelan and Nolan, eds., *Kilkenny: History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1990); Patrick Nugent and Matthew Lynch, eds., *Clare: History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008); Liam Irwin and Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, eds., *Limerick: History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2009).

⁴ Bernadette Cunningham, *Political and Social Change in the Lordships of Clanricard and Thomond, 1569-1641* (Unpublished MA thesis, University College Galway, 1979); Ciarán O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare* (Unpublished MA thesis, University College Galway, 1982). Cunningham's thesis has recently been revised and published in the Maynooth Studies in Local History series (no. 100) as *Clanricard and Thomond 1540-1640: Provincial Politics and Society Transformed* (Four Courts Press, 2012).

⁵ Brían Ó Dálaigh, *Ennis in the Eighteenth Century: Portrait of an Urban Community* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995).

⁶ Ivarr O'Brien, *O'Brien of Thomond: The O'Briens in Irish History, 1500-1865* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986); N. C. MacNamara, *The Story of an Irish Sept: Their Character and Struggle to Maintain their Lands in Clare* (1896) (Reprinted Dublin: Martin Breen Publishing, 1999); Charles Molony, *The Molony Family*, unpublished MSS (1971). I am grateful to Dr. Liam Irwin, Mary Immaculate College, for providing me with access to this MSS.

as Kieran Sheedy's history of Feakle parish, Brian Ó Dálaigh's account of the development of Ennis or Joseph Power's history of Clarecastle.⁷ There are also histories of a particular institution, event or process, such as Ignatius Murphy's histories of the Diocese of Killaloe and Michael O'Gorman's study of the Famine in Scariff.⁸

Although my work has been hampered by the loss of records during the 1922 Four Courts fire, the original archival material for Tulla appeared in earlier studies such as R. W. Twigge's manuscripts detailing the history and archaeology of east Clare.⁹ James Frost's 1893 *History and Topography* of County Clare also contains transcripts of documents which have since been lost.¹⁰ Because of the loss of so much primary source material, secondary sources such as these, and others such as Charles Molony's history of the Molony family, must be carefully considered and assessed because although the sources such authors used may be factual, many of their conclusions are subjective. Additionally, the work of local historians, whilst always valuable, is not always adequately referenced and seldom peer-reviewed. I have therefore carefully selected which sources I used, and have, wherever possible, cross-referenced and examined sources for accuracy and veracity.

This thesis attempts to examine a region according to the holistic framework established by Gillespie and others. The region of east Clare, designated the barony of Tulla by the English administration, forms a distinct geographical entity, bounded by mountains to the north and the River Shannon to the south and east. Only in the west, where the main river valleys continue into neighbouring baronies, is the boundary indistinct. This thesis seeks to consider the interrelationships between all aspects of the region's development. Its central theme is the transformation of Tulla society through changes in land ownership, and the ideology of 'improvement' and its effects on land quality, land use and settlement. My implicit assumption is that in

⁷ Keiran Sheedy, *Feakle* (Feakle GAA Hurling Club, 1990); Joseph Power, *A History of Clarecastle and its Environs* (Ennis: Joseph Power, 2004); Ó Dálaigh, *Ennis in the Eighteenth Century*.

⁸ Ignatius Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1991); Michael O'Gorman, *A Pride of Paper Tigers: A history of the Great Hunger in Scariff Workhouse Union from 1839 to 1853* (Tuamgraney: East Clare Heritage, 1994).

⁹ R. W. Twigge, *Materials for the Topography of Clann-Chuilein* (British Library MSS 39259-39270, undated).

¹⁰ James Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, 1893 ed. (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1893).

a hierarchically ordered and deferential society, the leaders are those who control the key resources of a regional agrarian economy, and they are well positioned, should they so choose, to impose changes both tangible and intangible, from the top down.

The larger national processes and forces which influenced social and economic change shape the structure of this work. Within the period under review, Tulla society underwent a profound change. Prior to the Cromwellian confiscations of the 1650s, Tulla was still an essentially Gaelic society. With the large-scale confiscations and re-settlement that took place as a result of the wars, Tulla's landowning and land-holding society emerged in a very different form. The following chapters trace how this landed class recreated – both materially and culturally – their regional world.

Chapter One presents the potential resources of the land, considering judgements such as 'profitable' and 'waste', as used by the Cromwellian surveyors. It then enumerates the mechanics of Cromwellian confiscation, considering the key Tulla families affected by the confiscations and introducing some of the important new Irish Catholic families who entered Tulla as a result of the confiscation of their own lands elsewhere.

Chapter Two explores the decades from the 1670s to the 1740s, attempting to outline population trends and explaining the difficulties of obtaining an accurate assessment of population growth, or decline, during the period. It considers the effects of the 1689-91 war on the landowners of Tulla, the economic effects of war and famine, and the confiscations resulting from the war. It then examines the effect of the 1704 *Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery* in forcing Tulla's landowners to conform to the established church.

Chapters Three and Four explore the application of 'improvement', beginning with the Big House and radiating outwards into the Tulla's communities. Chapter Three further explores how more or less enforced conformity re-shaped the landowning élite, though in Tulla, as elsewhere, the complexities and nuances of the 'middleman' stratum are acknowledged. This élite's cultural and material project is seen to begin with the 'mansion house', as some houses are described, and its immediate surroundings, whether formal gardens or parkland demesne. The chapter

will stress the importance of employment in service directly generated by the Big House and its household.

Chapter Four moves out from the demesne wall to examine the emerging matrix of villages - since one can hardly speak of 'towns' as such except perhaps Killaloe and Sixmilebridge - and the roads that linked them together with the proto-industry that sustained many of them. Finally Chapter Five begins with the admission that the high incidence of famine mortality in Tulla in the 1840s discredits a core aspect of 'improvement', namely the promotion of economic prosperity. It analyses the factors which militated against an overall improvement in the farming economy and the living standards of the poor, and describes the links between deepening poverty and agrarian protest.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the physical environment of Tulla Barony in or about 1670. I will discuss settlement distribution and population, then identify the major landowners, tracing their origins and cultural and religious background. I will highlight the social changes in Tulla barony during the 1650s and 1660s.

The period from 1650-70 marked a watershed in Irish history and it is necessary to provide an overview of this period in order to understand the context of social changes and later developments in Tulla. The barony provides a manageably sized case study illustrating the displacement of a native landowning élite by a settler class and the processes by which this was accomplished. Ancien régime society was deferential and hierarchical so one would expect the displacement of a native élite by a settler group to be an important driver of social change. The new settler class legitimised its position by, among other things, instituting policies of improvement in the productivity of land and promoting new infrastructure in the shape of roads and bridges to serve a more commercialised economy based around the market. Attempts would even be made to create a proto-industrial workforce in some parts of the barony where natural resources were available. The most prominent local casualties of the process were the influential MacNamara Reaghs, members of a family which had once controlled over 13,000 acres of land.¹¹ The dramatic loss of the MacNamaras' territory and associated social position under the Cromwellian settlement uncovered lesser families such as the O'Molonys and Cusacks, who improved their relative position within the new socio-economic hierarchy.

¹¹Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic Clans of Co. Clare and their Territories, 1100-1700 A. D.* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2007), pp. 193-196; O Murchadha, Ciarán, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 122.

Landscape and farming

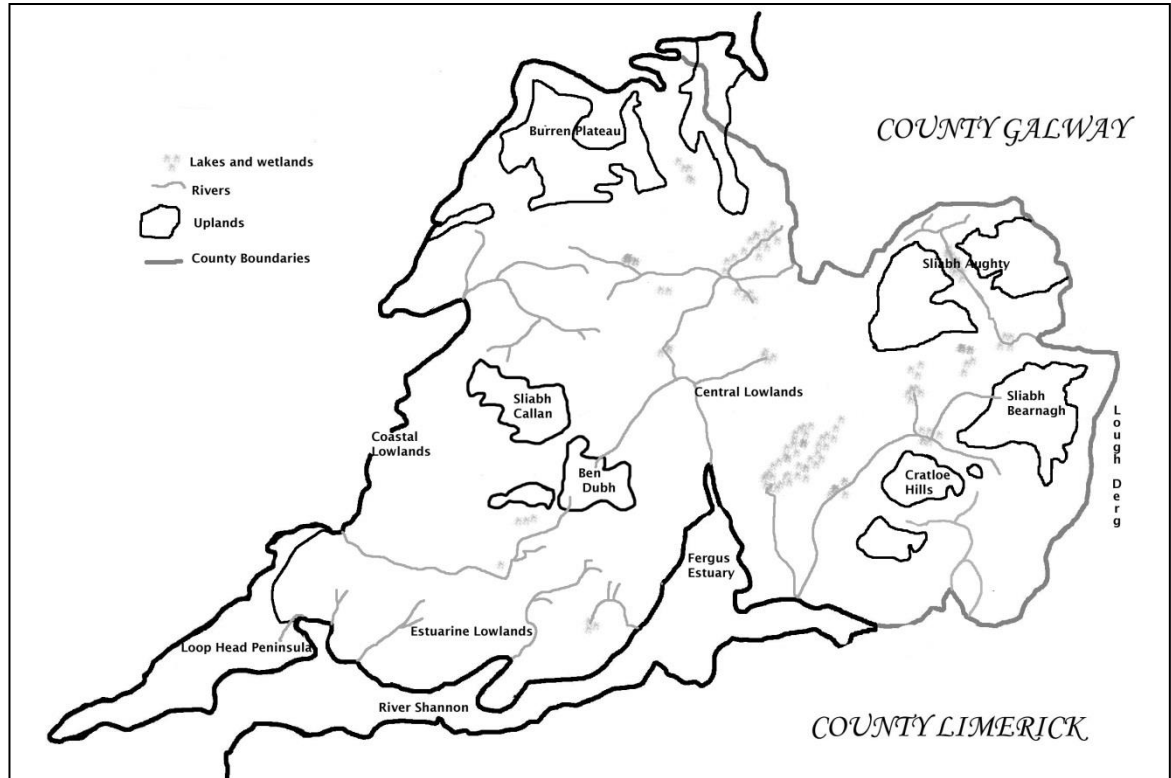


Figure 2: Topography of Co. Clare, courtesy of Dr. Patrick Nugent¹²

The landscape of Tulla is dominated by water and rock. As Fig. 2 shows, the massif of Slieve Aughty to the north is bisected by the Graney river basin, and Slieve Bearnagh to the south is demarcated by the Shannon and Lough Derg. Figure 3 shows land quality in the barony according to the surveys compiled by the English administration, as part of the policy of confiscation and redistribution in the 1650s. Compiling a map from the Books of Survey and Distribution (hereafter BSD) is problematic for two reasons.¹³ Firstly, the chief surveyors were members of the settler élite, in this case Captain John Cooper, a Cromwellian officer who married Máire Rua O'Brien of Leamanagh; James Vandelure, a Dutch settler who acquired a

¹² Taken from Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic Clans of County Clare and their Territories, 1100-1700 A. D.* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2007), p. 40.

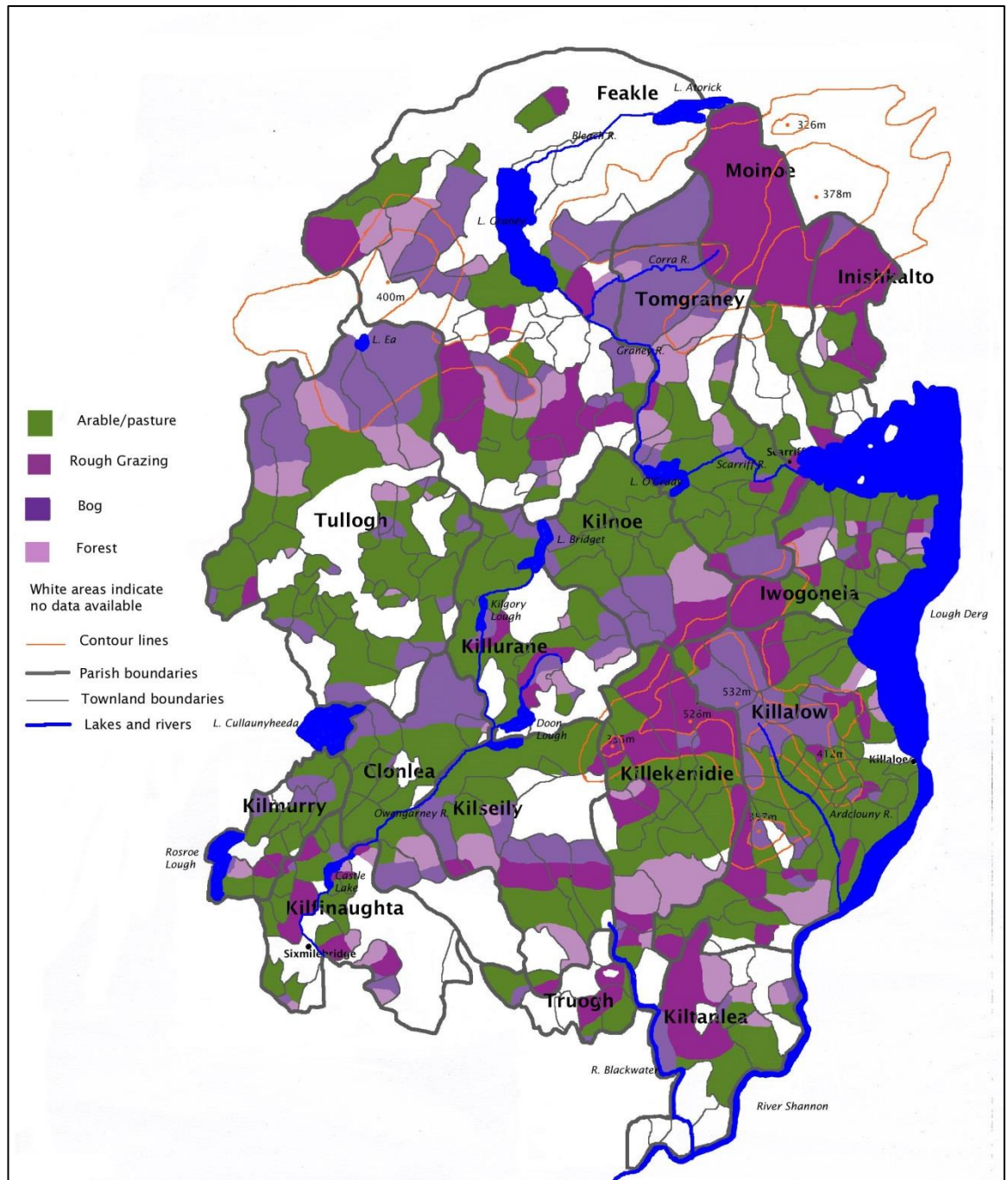
¹³ R. C. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, vol. IV, County of Clare (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1967).

great deal of land under the Earl of Thomond's earlier settlement scheme; and George Purdon, an English settler in the Cromwellian period who acquired extensive holdings in Tulla barony.¹⁴ None of these can thus be considered impartial assessors. Secondly, the townlands and their acreages as listed in the BSD do not correspond to the acreages of townlands in the Ordnance Survey Townlands map. In the parish of Kilnoe, for example, the BSD lists eighteen townlands and two parcels of common land with a total of 5,299 acres. The Ordnance Survey Name Books from the same parishes list ten townlands with a total of 6,110 acres, so the remaining BSD townlands have been incorporated into neighbouring townlands. In addition, some parish boundaries were changed in 1837, as new baronies and parishes were created to reflect the growing population.

Anglicisation of townland names as well as misspelling has sometimes made it difficult to correlate seventeenth century townlands with modern ones. For instance, the parish of Ogonnelloe is spelt 'Twogonela' in the BSD, 'Tuoguinla' in Petty's 1659 census and 'Toogeneela' on Pelham's 1787 Grand Jury map, only being fixed on the 1842 Ordnance Survey maps.¹⁵ Especially in upland areas, many modern townlands did not exist in the seventeenth century so some areas of the map are blank. However, the OS townland maps and name books do enable the historian to locate the majority of townlands, and the proportions of arable, grazing, bog and forest can then be mapped. Thirdly, it cannot be assumed that the assessments of land quality in the BSD are entirely accurate despite its detail. It may not have been in the interests of those who gained confiscated land to accurately represent its quality or acreage, and in some cases they may not have assessed the lands themselves. Despite these caveats, the BSD data is the best evidence available for landscape and land use in the 1650s.

¹⁴ Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, pp. 396-7.

¹⁵ A list of comparative spellings of place names is given in Appendix A.



Comparison of Figs. 2 and 3 shows two converging east-west bands of good land corresponding to the river valleys, bounded by mountains. The northern part of the barony was once thickly covered by oak and ash forest, but although patches of

woodland remained, by 1650 the woods had been much reduced.¹⁶ Figure 4 below shows the location of place-names in Tulla barony associated with woodlands, most commonly ‘Derry’, cognate with oakwoods, though early accounts indicate that the extent of the forests was greater than the number and location of placenames suggests.

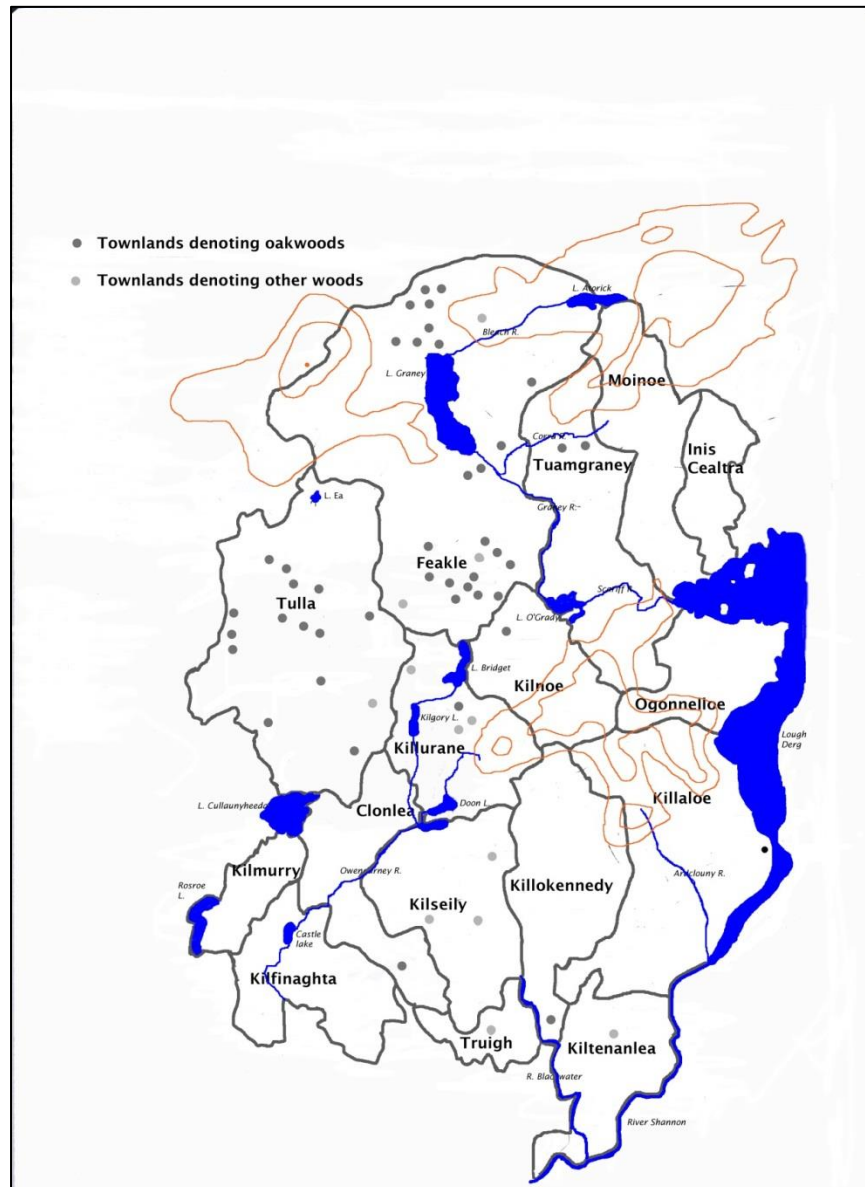


Figure 4: Townlands with names denoting woodlands¹⁷

¹⁶ Eileen McCracken, *The Irish Woods Since Tudor Times: Distribution and Exploitation* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1971).

¹⁷ Compiled from T. J. Westropp's map of townland names denoting oakwoods, OS Discovery series (2008) and OS Townland index (1832).

Other woods are also commemorated in placenames, for example Gortdrinano (blackthorn field) and Maghnaguillin (plain of the hazels), Drumsalagh (ridge of the willows) Knockbeagh (hill of the birches) and Knocknaskehy (hill of the whitethorn). Placenames are often open to interpretation, but *cuil* or *cuileann* in a name, as in Coolderry, Cloncool and Coolreagh, may have derived from the Irish for holly. *Sceach gheal*, hawthorn, is represented in names ending in *-skagh* or *-skeagh*, as in Ardskeagh.¹⁸

Enough remained, however, to make the region attractive to ironmakers who cut down the timber for charcoal-fired furnaces. In fact, in the sixteenth century, iron was mined all over Ireland, either ‘bog ore’ which was stripped from the surface of bogland rocks, or mined in open-cast or bell pits, and ironmasters smelted a mixture of local and imported ores in charcoal-fuelled furnaces.¹⁹ Large landowners such as Sir Charles Coote, Sir Adam Loftus and Sir Richard Boyle, who owned mines and smelting works in Tulla, exploited resources on their estates to provide iron for the English market. Access to cheap timber drove the enterprise, because charcoal was the most expensive item in the production of English iron. Irish iron, therefore, became a sound commercial proposition due to its proximity to adequate timber supplies.²⁰ Yet despite the woodlands, there were problems, not least the high investment costs, and few ironmasters made rich or continuous profits.²¹

Because of the high rainfall, soils were largely wet and acid. It is important to note that when the surveyors indicated ‘arable’ land, they meant land that had the potential for arable crops, not necessarily land that was utilised for cereal growing by its owners. Although Gaelic communities probably grew more cereals than historians have hitherto estimated, because of the wet climate and hilly region, in Tulla it took place on a subsistence scale with little surplus for sale. Even in 1703, when Thomas Moland was compiling his survey for the Earl of Thomond, no mention is made of

¹⁸ List of places associated with tree names in *The Other Clare*, Vol. 6 (Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society, 1995), p. 37; Twigge MSS, p. 414.

¹⁹ Colin Rynne, *Industrial Ireland, 1750-1930: An Archaeology* (Cork: The Collins Press, 2006), pp. 105-8. A bell pit was a shallow shaft which opened out into a bell-shaped chamber. Durham mining museum, www.dmm.org.uk, 24 April 2014.

²⁰ H. F. Kearney, ‘Richard Boyle, Ironmaster: A Footnote to Irish Economic History, in *J. R. S. A. I.*, vol. 83, No. 2, (1953), pp. 156-7.

²¹ T. C. Barnard, ‘An Anglo-Irish Industrial Enterprise: Iron-Making at Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, 1657-92, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, vol. 85C (1985), p.101.

cereals being grown in Tulla barony, although in the adjoining barony of Bunratty there are several farms which were noted to produce good corn ‘when manured with lime or sand’.²² Oats, being suited to a damp climate and acidic soils, were a staple cereal crop, and commentators remarked on the quantity of oatcakes and oat porridge (stirabout) consumed by rich and poor alike.²³ Upland and lowland boglands were typically designated as unprofitable to a greater or lesser degree – anything from one sixth to one twentieth profitable. Perhaps nothing else in the BSD emphasises the differences in evaluation of the landscape between Gaelic and English society as much as this. Bogland could not be used for the production of profitable crops without extensive drainage and fertilisation, but as part of a subsistence system of land use it was valuable both for fuel and as summer pasture for livestock.

Sheep were kept for wool, and some flax was also grown for domestic use in clothing and household effects, but Tulla was a predominantly pastoral region in which cattle were the most important farm livestock. In 1703 Moland describes these as ‘black cattle’, a native breed (now extinct), which were dark red in colour; small; hardy and producing milk on relatively poor soil.²⁴ Dairying for domestic use was practiced by women. The Irish word for ‘road’ (bóthar) and ‘boy’ (buachaill) both stem from the word for cow (bó) and Regina Sexton believes that this illustrates the importance of cattle and dairy produce in the diet of the Irish until well into the seventeenth century.²⁵ Fynes Moryson, secretary to Lord Deputy Mountjoy, noted the prevalence of curds, soft cheeses and butter in the diet outside of the core tillage zones of the Pale and Wexford:

They feed mostly on white meats, and esteem for a great dainty sour curds, vulgarly called by them ‘Bonaclabbe’. And for this cause they watchfully keep their cows and fight for them as for their religion and life.²⁶

²² Thomas Moland, ‘Survey of the Thomond Estate, 1703’, in Brian Ó Dálaigh, ed., *The Stranger’s Gaze, travels in County Clare 1534-1950* (Ennis: Clasp Press, 2004), p. 81.

²³ Regina Sexton, *A Little History of Irish Food* (London: Kyle Cathie Ltd., 1998), p. 87.

²⁴ K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2003) p. 140.

²⁵ Sexton, *A Little History of Irish Food*, p. 94.

²⁶ Fynes Moryson, ‘The Itinerary of Fynes Morison’, in C. L. Falkiner, ed., *Illustrations of Irish History and topography, mainly of the seventeenth century* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1904), pp. 225-30.

Irish chiefs and notables possessed ‘enormous numbers’ of cattle.²⁷ No records survive of the numbers of cattle owned by the MacNamaras or their clients in the pre-Cromwellian period, but the size of their herds would have been controlled by the quality of the land and the prevailing climate. The cattle and their herdsman were known as *caorúigheachta*, a word which was anglicised as *keryaghte* and, in the seventeenth century, as *creaght*, a misleading term often confused with a mobile Ulster social group of the same name.²⁸ In Feakle parish, a band of Ulsterfolk were believed to have remained and settled in the hilly townland of Corbeha, to the east of modern-day Flaggmount on the shores of Lough Graney, following Hugh O’Donnell’s incursions into the region in 1599-1600.²⁹ They probably settled in the later seventeenth century. In 1666 the Earl of Orrery, complaining about the notorious outlaw Dudley Costelloe, who had been seen in the woods near Tuamgraney, wrote that:

It is believed his coming into those parts was to raise above 1,000 Ulstermen which with their crafts last summer came to settle themselves in a mountain which makes the border between the counties of Clare and Galway. I know not what to do with those vagrant Ulsters. They commit no offence which might give me a legal rise to secure them or drive them out of this province.³⁰

Another contemporary commentator was John Stevens who travelled through East Clare with the Jacobite army in 1690, observing that ‘those they call the creaghts ... range about the country with their flocks or herds and all the goods they have in the world’.³¹ Stevens indicates a belief that the creaghts were Ulstermen, for he comments that ‘many who came from their habitations in Ulster with only one or two cows by the time they came to the neighbourhood of Limerick were increased to some fifty, some a hundred, and some more head of black cattle’.³² Stevens’ account does not seem to have been based upon a personal encounter with such a band, but on the fact that when the army attempted to requisition supplies, they were told that the creaghts had already looted them. It seems more likely, perhaps, that the so-

²⁷ Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, p. 136.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Kieran Sheedy, *Feakle* (Feakle G.A.A. Hurling Club, 1990), p. 28.

³⁰ Orrery to Ormond, 15 January 1666, *Orrery State Letters*, vol. II, p. 120, cited in McLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1979 edition), p. 169.

³¹ John Stevens, ‘A Journal of my Travels, 1690’, in Ó Dalaigh, ed., *The Stranger’s Gaze*, p. 74.

³² Ibid., p. 76.

called ‘creaghts’ were a convenient excuse for a reluctance to supply the occupying forces. There is a sixty-six year discrepancy between Orrery’s ‘last summer’ and Red Hugh O’Donnell’s march through Clare in 1600, but these accounts suggest that at some point Ulstermen settled in the east of the barony, thereby giving rise to the conflation of creaght and *caoruiigheachta* and misinterpretation of the summer migrations of cattle into mountain pastures away from more permanent dwellings.

In the pre-Cromwellian period, then, the landscape was dominated by pastoralism but subsistence production of crops, principally oats, was undertaken. Clothing and household linens were produced by the women of the family, and dairying provided an important part of the family diet. Trade in cattle had always taken place, but as anglicisation spread even into outlying areas and the O’Briens came to control increasing areas of MacNamara land, profitability rather than subsistence gained a greater importance, and the BSD emphasises this fundamental change in economic strategy. The surveys were part of a wider national and international trend towards what Patrick Duffy describes as ‘the scientific rationalism of agrarian capitalism’.³³ Land, no longer assessed by its capacity to support its people and their herds of cattle and horses, was now assessed by its capacity to grow profitable arable crops.

³³ Patrick J. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), p. 44.

Settlement

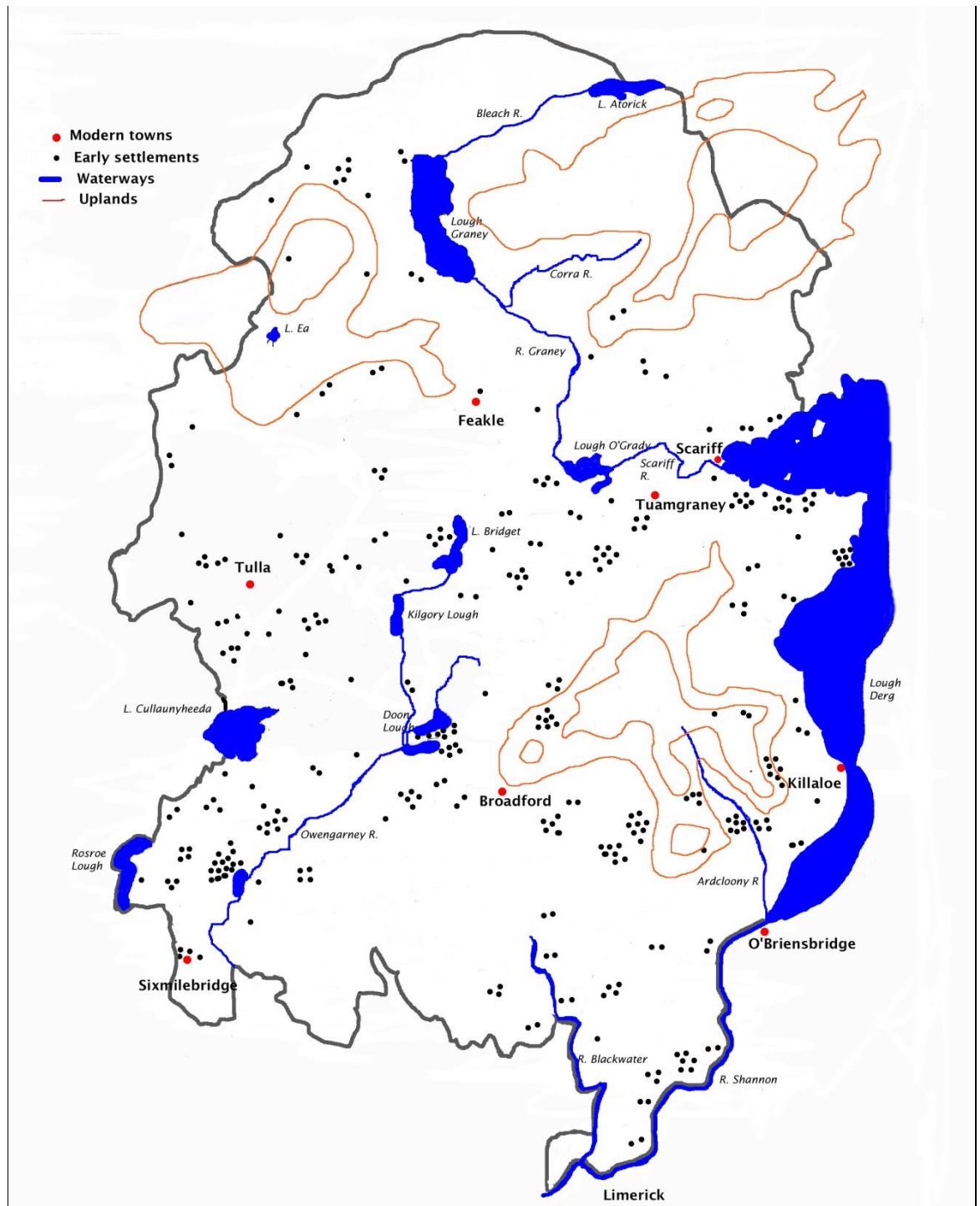


Figure 5: Density of early settlement, Barony of Tulla³⁴

³⁴ Sean Kirwan, Gina Johnson, Matthew Kelleher, Brendan Munelly and Aine Ó Regan, eds., *Sites and Monuments Record, co. Clare: A list of Archaeological Sites in Co. Clare* (Dublin: Office of Public Works, (1992).

Figure 5 shows the location and density of early settlements in the barony. The Sites and Monuments Record maps list early settlements as either enclosures, ringforts, raths or cashels.³⁵ An enclosure is a circular site bounded by a raised bank and a ditch which may have held a wooden or wattle and daub house as well as sheds for livestock, storage or workshops. It may also have been a simple fenced area where animals could be brought in at night. Rathes, ringforts and cashels were more strongly fortified and were more definitely dwelling-places.³⁶ These sites are generally agreed to date from the Early Christian period, or the second half of the first millennium, though many continued to be used well into the medieval period.³⁷ There was not by any means a universal correlation between early settlements and tower houses, most of which were built by the MacNamaras in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but comparison of Fig. 5 with Fig. 7 shows that most settlements of both types are located where the land was most suitable for pastoral and cereal farming. The early settlements clustered in the lowland river valleys, especially along the Owengarney river near Sixmilebridge, in the valley between Sliabh Aughty and Sliabh Bearnagh - the area known as the Clare Lakelands - and beside Lough Derg. Where tower houses were built in the vicinity of clusters of enclosures a continuity of settlement is implied, and it is possible that MacNamara scions or their clients built a tower close to their existing home. The earlier houses were probably similar to those described as 'poor huts' of straw, wooden boughs and clay derided by Fynes Moryson and the Armada fugitive Captain Cuellar, though these observers may have been confusing temporary summer dwellings with permanent homes.³⁸ Yet even if these dwellings were of wattle and daub or clay construction, there is no reason to suppose that they were inferior to stone-built dwellings since many such buildings survive for several generations: some have been recorded in Britain which were 700 years old.³⁹ Had they been of stone construction, it is likely that the materials were utilised in the erection of the tower house or its surrounding buildings.

³⁵ Kirwan, Johnson, Kelleher, Munelly and Ó Regan, eds., *Sites and Monuments Record, co. Clare*.

³⁶ Enclosure on the Ordnance Survey map indicates a site whose usage is in doubt and which may have been partially destroyed.

³⁷ Matthew Stout, *The Irish Ringfort* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), p. 23.

³⁸ Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, p. 140.

³⁹ Ian Pritchett, *Wattle and Daub*, available at www.buildingconservation.com/articles/wattleanddaub/wattleanddaub.htm, 16 April 2011.

Kenneth Nicholls surmises that a ‘typical’ Gaelic village clustered around a tower house might have consisted of between twenty and eighty houses of wattle and daub or all-timber construction. The tower house encompassed the living quarters of the lord and his family, with their kinsmen, friends, servants and artisans accommodated in adjacent dwellings. An Inquisition from January 1635 taken at Ballinahinch, a major MacNamara holding, tells us something about the quality of the buildings, which included ‘...a kitchen, a stable of cooples (sic), a bakehouse, four other cooples houses of timber ...’ and a water mill.⁴⁰ A ‘cooples’ is a brace or leash which is used to tie hounds together, so the Inquisition probably refers to kennels where hunting hounds were kept.⁴¹

Nicholls notes that dwellings such as Moryson and Cuellar saw would have been ‘erected quickly and abandoned without loss, reflecting the mobility of their occupants, for, he says, ‘of the mobility of the Irish population there can be no doubt’.⁴² He believes that the warfare and instability of the time accounts for the temporary nature of such structures. The report by one of Ireton’s officers in Clare in 1653 describing survivors of war, disease and famine huddling about the ruined tower houses suggests that tower houses were still important to the people as a locus of community, but it also indicates that existing settlements had been destroyed, leaving people to rely on easily erected and easily abandoned structures during the turbulent 1650s.⁴³ The mobile nature of the Gaelic community was a wartime phenomenon. Cattle herders moved their livestock to rotate pastures and people took goods and livestock to trading centres, but the majority of the population was sedentary and most travelling took place in the summer months. The *Hiberniae Delineatio* county map of 1658-9 (Fig. 6), based on the surveys of the 1650s, indicates villages in Kilnoe parish and in Tomgraney and Killaloe parishes on the

⁴⁰ *Inquisitions, James I*, in Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, pp. 321-2.

⁴¹ *Oxford English Dictionary*, available at www.oed.com.libgate.library.nuigalway.ie, 18 April 2011.

⁴² Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, p. 141.

⁴³ Patrick Nugent, ‘The Interrelationship between Population and Settlement in County Clare in the Seventeenth Century: the evidence from the 1659 ‘Census’’, in Matthew Lynch and Patrick Nugent, eds., *Clare: History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008), p. 80.

banks of the Shannon, but even in the upland and thickly wooded areas of Feakle and



Figure 6: Henry Pelham's Hiberniae Delineatio County map, 1660.

Tulla there is a scattering of hamlets along the trade routes.⁴⁴ The map indicates a variety of old and modern styles of building with some houses bearing chimneys. Prior to the Cromwellian conquest, there is evidence of quite substantial communities, although ‘town’ does not denote the same degree of settlement density that the term implies nowadays. A deed dated 4th December 1605 conveyed to Daniel O’Hickey and Owen Boy McKeogh ‘the castle, town and lands of Garruragh, Ballyurine, Fortanemore, Rayth, Feakle, Leaghkearward, Loghort and Rosslara’, in the south of Feakle parish.⁴⁵

The Poll Tax returns or ‘census’ of 1659 confirms the importance of tower houses as a focus of settlement (Fig. 7). Leighort, a former MacNamara stronghold, lists 38 adults compared to 16 in Feakle itself. There was a population of 54 adults at Ballynahinch, home of a major branch of the MacNamara Reaghs, while only 11 adults lived in the townland of Scariff. At the ecclesiastical centre of Tuamgraney a population of 55 adults was clustered around the tower house and church, and throughout the barony the 1659 estimates show larger centres of population in townlands where there was a tower house, with smaller populations in sites where villages would later develop.

Such statistical figures cannot be taken as accurate, because Petty’s population estimates were based on hearth-money rolls, and the household average was probably underestimated. The hearth money rolls counted every adult over 15 years and William Smyth suggests that a multiplier of 2.5 gives a more accurate total population.⁴⁶ They may also include inaccuracies, depending on the time of year that the figures were taken. If some of the inhabitants were in the summer pastures

⁴⁴ Petty’s *Hiberniae Delineatio* County Map, 1658-59, available at www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/maps/images/petty_county.djvu, 18 April 2011.

⁴⁵ *Inquisitions, James I*, in Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 282.

⁴⁶ William J. Smyth, ‘Society and Settlement in Seventeenth Century Ireland; the evidence of the “1659 Census”’, in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland* (Cork University Press, 1988) pp. 55-83; L. M. Cullen, ‘Population Trends in Seventeenth-Century Ireland’, in *The Economic and Social Review*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Dublin: Economic and Social Studies, January 1975), p. 150. Petty’s population estimates in 1672, the earliest point which data was available, are 5.5 persons per household, 6 in single-chimney houses. The majority of dwellings in the barony would have come into the latter category.

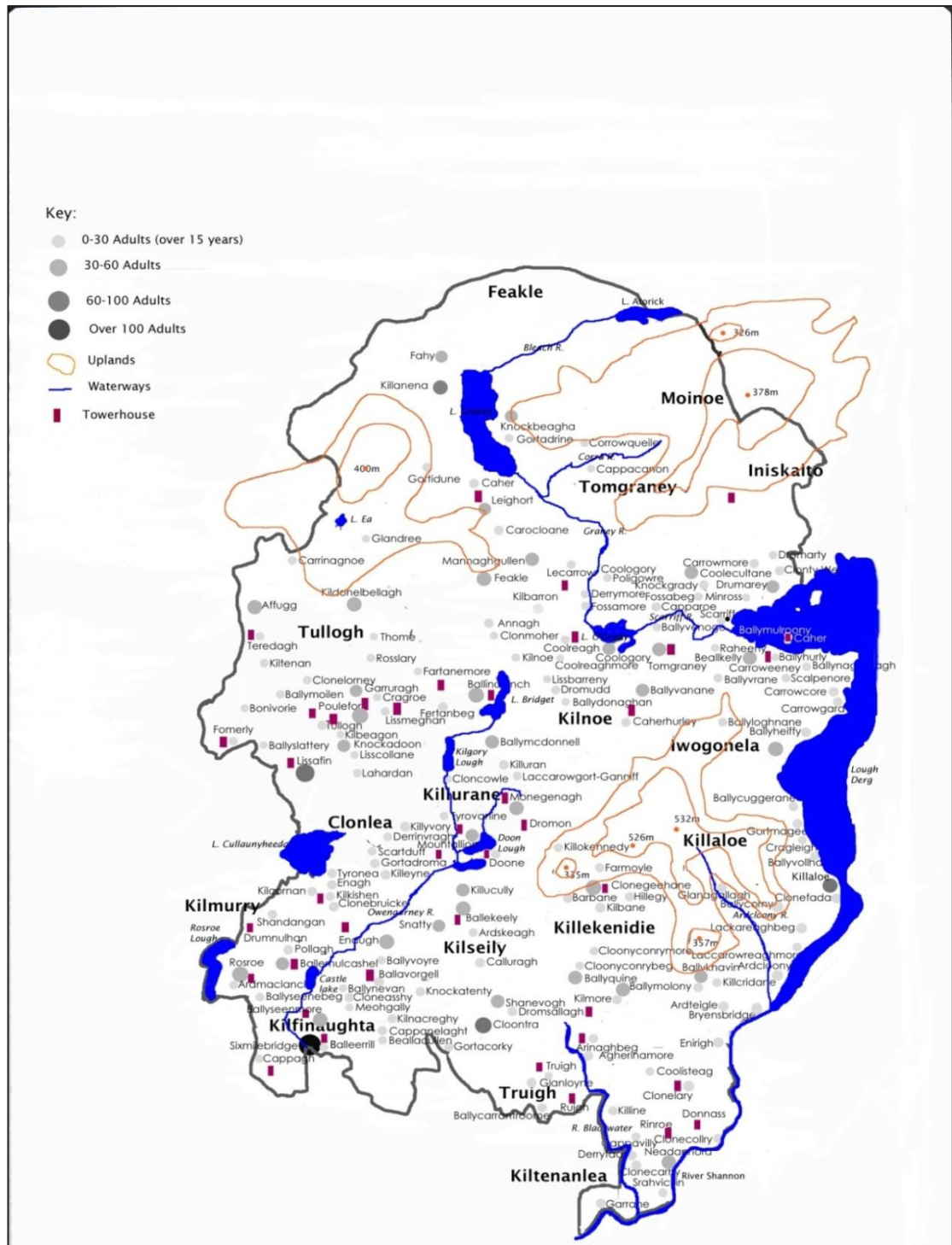


Figure 7: Tulla settlements in 1659

with their herds a settlement may show a smaller summer population than a winter one, which may account for the surprisingly small number of people in Scariff despite its tower house. Nevertheless, they do indicate the distribution of centres of

population, and they also illustrate the fact that although many of the tower houses had been destroyed, social infrastructure had not yet moved to villages such as Tulla which would later be central to local government.

The *Hiberniae Delineatio* shows a church in most parishes, and these appear to be substantial buildings with a central nave and side-building. The 16th century church at Fahy in northern Feakle parish is not shown on the map, though the ruins are still standing. It seems rather an anomaly to find a stone-built church in such a sparsely populated district. Gerard Madden believes it to have been an important way-station on the pilgrim route from Inis Cealtra to Kilmacduagh, inhabited by a small ecclesiastical community which would have had a lay community to provide labour and services; indeed, there was a population of 38 adults in the 1659 ‘census’ despite its remote location, nearly twice as many as neighbouring townlands.⁴⁷ The churches shown on the *Hiberniae Delineatio* were originally Catholic churches which had been appropriated by the Protestant establishment. As a church on the route from Feakle to Gort, in an upland area which was unstable and underpopulated, it is possible that an earlier stone church in Killanena had been destroyed, or it may have been a wattle and thatch building. As previously mentioned, this does not necessarily denote an impermanent structure.

As for comparative numbers of English and Irish people in Tulla barony as a whole, the 1659 ‘census’ states that there were 106 English (including Dutch) to 3949 Irish, or 2.7%.⁴⁸ There was at this time little evidence of Ulster surnames in the barony.

Some of the Old English or anglicised Irish were thus wrongly categorised, but despite the inaccuracies inherent in early demographic endeavours, the proportion of non-native people was very small in Tulla. Indeed, this was the primary reason that Tulla suffered relatively lightly during the 1641 uprising, because in many areas there were few new neighbours to have disputes with. Prior to 1650, the upland wooded areas north of Tulla and Feakle were very underpopulated with the largest areas of virgin forest and most people living and farming in the river valleys and

⁴⁷ Gerard Madden, ‘FÁS Assisted Conservation Projects in East Clare’, in *Sliabh Aughty* (Tuamgraney: East Clare Heritage, 1990), pp. 12-15.

⁴⁸ The total figure given in the 1659 ‘census’ is 3,903 Irish adults, but adding the totals for the individual parishes gives a total of 3,949, so I have used this figure. *1659 Census of Clare*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie, 8 May 2009.

lakelands. English settlers were clustered in small communities, with Irish farmers and artisans living in tower house or church-based communities where the lords were to a greater or lesser extent anglicised.

One significant exception to the trend towards castle or church-based settlement was Sixmilebridge, founded by the Earl of Thomond for his English and Dutch settlers as part of the Earl's settlement post-1603. Leases from the 1620s and 1630s show that the Earl was leasing parcels of land in and around Sixmilebridge and the neighbouring parish of Kilfinaghta to English and a small number of Dutch settlers.⁴⁹ Each parcel came with the condition that the lessee build a two-story stone and lime house with a stone or tile roof, to precise dimensions. The Earl's intention was to create a nucleated village of artisans and merchants in Sixmilebridge itself, with inhabitants holding land in the surrounding area as would be the case in an English village.⁵⁰



Figure 8: Thomond-sponsored settlements, 1641

An additional cluster of Thomond-sponsored Protestant tenants were located in Annaghmore and Annaghbeg, in the south of the barony between the Shannon and

⁴⁹ Cunningham, *Political and Social Change in the Lordships of Clanricard and Thomond*, pp. 216-220.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Blackwater rivers.⁵¹ Several of them submitted depositions after 1641 and from these it is possible to draw a picture of their farms and economic lives. There seems to have been a settlement similar in nature to Sixmilebridge with artisans in the village and farmland around it. William Culliver of Annaghbeg was a shoemaker by trade, but his farm produced a variety of livestock. He claimed that he lost cows, heifers, yearlings, a mare and colt, and pigs valued at £85 10s. in total. He grew winter fodder for his beasts and corn rather than oats because he states that he was robbed of household goods, hay, and corn, both threshed and in the ground. Among his losses were ‘garden fruits’, so he kept a vegetable garden and orchard for household consumption and preserving.⁵² If he is not exaggerating his losses of livestock, his holding must therefore have been a fairly substantial one, since he kept more than one house cow as well as yearlings and a horse and colt. In addition, he grew corn, to supply the family brewhouse and bakehouse as well as animal feed. Corn production would have utilised less land than livestock and hay so although he does not give his total acreage his cornfields would probably have been no more than a third of his holding, with the pigs grazing in the orchard in summer, consuming whey from the dairy and kept in sties and fed surplus vegetables and corn in winter. John Meale’s farm was similar in its losses of crops and livestock, and Anne Edwards’ lists ‘implements belonging to a weaver’ among her losses.⁵³ The remaining Kiltenanlea depositions tell similar stories of small farmers and craftsmen and women whose leases seem to have had a relatively short duration left, from six to ten years, and who grew vegetable and fruit gardens as well as hay and corn. Emmanuel Capell’s testimony is interesting because he states that he lost debts owed to him by ‘an impoverished protestant namly Rich. Mathewes’ and ‘a papist and in actual rebellion’, Donogh McOwen of Annaghbeg.⁵⁴ These debts were small, however, their loss amounting to £1 9s. In fact, small-scale lending of money was commonplace and many depositions list debts in their loss of assets.

⁵¹ Cunningham, *Clanricard and Thomond 1540-1640*, p. 48.

⁵² T. C. D. MSS 829, fol. 59r-v., available at www.1641.tcd.ie/depositions (20 January 2011).

⁵³ T. C. D. MSS 829, fol. 44r-v and 35r.

⁵⁴ T. C. D. MSS 829, fol. 32r.

The Sixmilebridge depositions tell a somewhat different story in that their authors were considerably more prosperous. James Vandelure's stolen goods were worth £1,836 and included tanned hides, malt and other grain, two water mills, a bark-mill, malt house, tan yards and 'many other tenements'.⁵⁵ John Comyn's lease had twenty-one years to run and he had laid out 'upon the same, in buylding, fenceing, and other Improuements, one hundred pounds sterling'. He had also lost fifteen bags of wool which he had bought from Patrick Creagh of Limerick, so he was probably a cloth merchant putting out the wool to local women to be spun into yarn.⁵⁶

Contrasting the two types of settlement, tower house hamlets and planned settlements, is difficult because of the dislocation caused by the wars of the 1650s. It is estimated that population decreased by more than 20 per cent, and contemporary accounts describe famine, epidemics of disease and transportation. In the baronies of Tulla and Bunratty the soldiers 'are stated to have murdered one hundred of the Irish ... although they were under protection'.⁵⁷ In 1657 Daniel Connery, a gentleman of Clare, was sentenced to banishment for harbouring a priest. The account of his case states that, 'This gentleman had a wife and twelve children. His wife fell sick, and died in poverty. Three of his daughters, beautiful girls, were transported to the West Indies, to an island called the Barbadoes; and there, if still alive ... they are miserable slaves.'⁵⁸

Fig. 9 shows the population of Tulla in 1659 according to Petty's 'census'.⁵⁹ Problems with using this source have been discussed on p. 25, but although it cannot be relied upon for absolute figures, the relative distribution of population is interesting. In some parishes such as Tulla, Killaloe and Inishcaltra, there appears to be a correlation between good land and high density, but in Feakle and Kilnoe the opposite appears to be the case. The relative size of parishes must be considered, as well as the presence of towns or proto-industry, and these factors will be examined in detail later on.

⁵⁵ T. C. D MSS 829, fol. 61r-v.

⁵⁶ T. C. D. MSS 829, fol. 101r-v. available at www.1641.tcd.ie/depositions (20 January 2011).

⁵⁷ Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 387.

⁵⁸ Maurice Morison, *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica* (Innsbruck, 1659), cited in John P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1870), p. 287.

⁵⁹ These figures are Petty's original estimates and do not include Smyth's multiplier of 2.5

Parish	Adults over 15
Teakill (Feakle)	359
Kilmurry	104
Killnoe	106
Killurane	204
Tulla	620
Moynoe	128
Inishgaltragh (Inishcaltra)	30
Tuoguinla (Ogonnelloe)	205
Tomgreany (Tuamgraney)	335
Kilfenaghta	492
Kilseily	258
Clonlea	260
Killogenedy (Killokennedy)	227
Kiltenanleigh (Kiltanlea)	187
Killalow (Killaloe)	434
Total	3949

Figure 9: Adult population per parish, 1659

The wars and their aftermath proved to be the watershed which finally broke the Gaelic system of landownership, and I will now consider what I believe to be a related change from a subsistence to a profit-based economy, by looking in detail at the significant families of Tulla.

As we have seen, cattle comprised a major part of the Gaelic economy, and were used as the basis of trade and wealth until the inception of the cash economy. Conspicuous wealth in the form of territory, clients and cattle signified power in a society where inheritance was based upon strength and ability rather than primogeniture.⁶⁰ However, a system based upon ownership of land and livestock incorporated an inbuilt restriction on the amount of stock the land could bear. Clients under the overlordship of a greedy or oppressive chief could, and did, transfer their allegiance or even attempt to take power for themselves, taking their kin and servants with them. It was in this way that, from the fourteenth century onwards, the

⁶⁰ Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, pp. 34-43.

MacNamaras had steadily amassed power, land and clients and surpassed lesser chiefs until they had come to control some 13,000 acres in the east Clare region.⁶¹

The influence of the MacNamara chiefs had waned during the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. By the early part of the seventeenth century, Daniel Oge MacNamara and his father had mortgaged a great deal of their 13,000 acres to other members of the *tuath*. Upon Daniel's death, the estate passed to his six-year-old son Teige, but it 'was seized upon by a motley collection of neighbours, fellow kinsmen, his own grandmother, who is recorded as having employed brute force, and even the Earl of Thomond'.⁶² Inquisitions from the 1620s and 1630s show the MacNamaras continuing to mortgage lands in the barony.⁶³ Furthermore, when Daniel MacNamara, also a minor, inherited the Ballynahinch estates his wardship was given to Turlogh O'Brien. O'Brien did not maintain his ward's property. An Inquisition of 1635, states that since 1631 O'Brien had 'suffered wastes to be done on the woods of the said Ward', selling the timber and allowing buildings and mills on lands at Kilbarron and Maghnagullen in Feakle parish to fall into disrepair.⁶⁴ Patrick Nugent summarises the decline of the MacNamaras by stating that the 'profoundly hierarchical, internal clan structure, with multiple socio-political tiers...would have been ill-equipped and reluctant to adapt to the new economic and political order of the mid-sixteenth century onwards'.⁶⁵ Implicit in his analysis is a failure on the part of the MacNamaras to adapt to an anglicised economy. This may be unfair because more was demanded than economic adaptability. The Thomond O'Briens had early on established themselves in a position of power with the English government, converting to Protestantism when they were granted the Earldom in 1624. William Smyth sees the breaking of Gaelic power, firstly by economic attrition, then by war and dispossession, as aspects of colonial domination, integral to 'the slow but certain construction of a centralised, island-wide ruling élite', of which the O'Briens were a key part.⁶⁶ Smyth asserts that the landscape itself thus

⁶¹ Nugent, *The Gaelic Clans of County Clare*, p. 193-6.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁶³ See Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare: Inquisitions - time of Charles I*, pp. 301-327.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁶⁶ William J. Smyth, *Mapmaking, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, c. 1530-1750* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), p. 5.

becomes the canvas for the visible symbols of colonial power, which was brokered through the agency of anglicised élite families such as the O'Briens and later by lesser landowners together with the merchants who represented the development of the market economy. This was indeed the case in Tulla, where the O'Briens, supported by the Crown through their favoured position within the colonial administration, were able to negotiate the changes much more successfully than the MacNamaras, as well as promoting a merchant class in Sixmilebridge. However, the destruction of tower houses, and the neglect of Turlogh O'Brien, has a deeper meaning. Smyth asserts that, 'the adaptation or destruction of sites of key symbolic significance to the conquered people, are all components of this (imperial) landscape strategy.'⁶⁷ O'Brien's neglect of Daniel MacNamara's inheritance was not mere carelessness but a demonstration of the relative powerlessness of the MacNamaras. The reduction of tower houses, tall potent symbols of Gaelic power across the barony, to stone which could be used in the erection of new 'big houses' by the incoming élite, was intended to send a clear message of conquest to the land and its people.

Disadvantaged socially by the State-supported power of the O'Briens, the MacNamaras were also disadvantaged economically. Although their socio-economic base had been extremely successful in the medieval period, it was unsuited to the English system which required greater flexibility and larger cash rents. Additionally, their remaining estates in Feakle and Tulla were situated in areas characterised by wet uplands and lowlands of blanket bog, and although they possessed extensive woodlands, the BSD, and the evidence in the Inquisitions, suggest that by 1641 much of this had already been degraded. The O'Briens, fully incorporated into the English political system and utilising a variety of tenancies from New English to Gaelic, had succeeded in driving a wedge through the centre of the MacNamara territory, taking control of what was the best agricultural land in the river valleys.

O Murchadha shows that the Earl of Thomond's preference for encouraging tenants to whom he was not bound by the obligations of tradition and kinship was a key difference between his successful land strategies and those of the MacNamaras.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 11-12. Kieran Sheedy cites an Edmund Doherty who presented a bill for £32 10s. for demolishing thirteen castles at £2 10s. each in Feakle parish. (Sheedy, *Feakle*, p. 34).

Tenants on the Thomond estate were generally of lower rank, and he promoted settlement on his estates ‘only when it coincided with his own economic interests’.⁶⁸ He was careful to restrict leases to 31 years and maximise his potential profit through improvement clauses. Tenants were integrated to the values and structures of the emergent English state, abandoning much of the tuath-based ideology.⁶⁹ In addition, the Earl bought, mortgaged and exchanged land in order to consolidate and expand his own estates.⁷⁰ In contrast, although the MacNamaras were aware of the realities of English state control, Nugent states that their ‘inherent inertial characteristics ... militated against them responding to the new opportunities or unused freedoms presented by the changing geopolitical and economic environment’.⁷¹ ‘Inertial characteristics’ is an unfortunate term. The MacNamaras would not have achieved their importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had they not been dynamic and adaptable. It was not their own inertia but the backing of state power and resources which enabled the O’Briens to exploit their own advantages to the disadvantage of the Gaelic families whose power was more intimately connected to traditional economic and social patterns.

At a lower level, O Murchadha’s analysis of chancery and exchequer records and the 1641 Depositions shows that ‘the lesser native gentry and the county’s freeholders were leasing and mortgaging land on a wide scale in the period up to 1641’, and that there was evidence of indebtedness on the part of the larger freeholders and gentry.⁷² The Deposition of Edmund Mainwaring shows that he was leasing land from his Old English neighbour, Patrick Morgan.⁷³ Morgan owned a ‘compact’ estate of 1,048 acres, that is to say, it comprised one holding, rather than dispersed plots, which his grandfather had owned in the 16th century. Mainwaring was one of the original Undertakers who came to Ireland under the Plantation of Munster.⁷⁴ The Deposition of James Vandelure, Dutch resident of Sixmilebridge, listed money owed to him by his debtors in the Kilmurry and lower Tulla region

⁶⁸ O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 29

⁶⁹ Nugent, *The Gaelic Clans of County Clare*, p. 240

⁷⁰ O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 30

⁷¹ Nugent, *The Gaelic Clans of County Clare*, p. 240

⁷² O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 18

⁷³ T. C. D. MSS 829, no. 70.

⁷⁴ M. McCarthy-Morrough, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 69, 261.

among Gaelic landholder and incomer alike, including Oliver Delahyde of Tyredagh, John MacNamara of Ralahine, Conor O'Brien of Ballymulcashell, John Reagh MacNamara of Kilmurry, Owen Molony of Ballyroughan, Daniel MacNamara of Mountallon, and Thomas and William Creagh of Sixmilebridge.⁷⁵

The MacNamaras and their allies the Delahydes of Tyredagh had played a key local role in the uprising of 1641, attacking their neighbours among the English settlers as well as ranging farther afield and stealing cattle and sheep.⁷⁶ Although driven to join the rebellion sweeping down from Ulster by a process of gradual social, economic and religious disenfranchisement, their actions in the uprising would lead to their final loss of control of east Clare. Nugent argues that New English ideology of profit and improvement was not disseminated or even promoted outside of the core areas of O'Brien power, which meant that in the peripheral rural areas such as Tulla barony there were greater cultural continuities in the pre-existing Gaelic societal system'.⁷⁷ There is some truth in this, and it may have been that pressure to adhere to traditional practice from the less adaptable elements of the MacNamara client group disadvantaged them further. In 1606, Sir John Davies had observed that:

The best freeholders next to the O'Briens are the McNemaraes and the O'Laneyes (O'Clancys) . The chief of which families appeared in a civil habit and fashion, the rest are not so reformed as the people of Munster.⁷⁸

Davies' observation indicates that the élite had adopted some English habits of dress and manner but that many of their tenants and kinsmen had not. Nugent's analysis supports this dichotomy within the 'traditional' Gaelic families, citing several septs such as the Cusacks and the O'Hickeys which were 'hybrid', utilising both Gaelic and anglicised economic and social structures.⁷⁹ According to Aidan Clarke,

It is clear that anglicised Ireland, outside the plantation areas, exhibited a contrast between areas of relatively archaic organisation, where the continuance of a subsistence economy was reflected in the survival of a form of manorialism that mingled English and

⁷⁵ Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 355.

⁷⁶ 1642 Depositions, T. C. D. MSS 829, nos. 453, 440, 449.

⁷⁷ Nugent, *The Gaelic Clans of County Clare*, p. 263.

⁷⁸ C. S. P. 719 (1606), Observations of Sir John Davys.

⁷⁹ Nugent, *The Gaelic Clans of County Clare*, pp. 231 & 236.

Irish influences, and areas of more advanced development in which only the vestiges of economic feudalism remained.⁸⁰

It is important to emphasise that although the Gaelic communities may have been slower to change than in other parts of Clare, the process of anglicisation was only one of several processes changing the way in which land was viewed and used. As Cunningham has shown, by the sixteenth century, 'there was a gradual movement away from the system of collective inheritance in favour of more clearly-defined individual holdings', a trend which was certainly influenced, but not wholly driven, by pressure from the crown and state.⁸¹ Other factors which led to this trend included a rise in population and economic demands which would have happened as a result of trade with European markets, and although 'modernisation' became associated with anglicisation, it was 'not generally the direct consequence of any political decision'.⁸²

Post-Cromwellian settlements: Natives and incomers

O Murchadha states that the Cromwellian settlement in Clare was 'beset by confusion, inefficiency and an indifference to the hardship imposed on the transplanter.'⁸³ It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the process and policies of settlement in detail, since that has already been accomplished by O Murchadha, Nugent and others, but to consider how the influx of new Catholic landowners and Cromwellian soldiers affected the overall dynamic of landownership and society in Tulla.

To sum up the purpose of the Commonwealth land settlements and their effect on Tulla, the various Acts which were passed from 1652-58 were intended to serve three purposes. Firstly, to punish the Irish who had taken part in the 1641 uprising

⁸⁰ Aidan Clarke, 'The Irish Economy, 1600-60', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne, eds., *A New History of Ireland, vol. III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, revised ed., 1989), p. 172.

⁸¹ Cunningham, *Political and Social Change in the Lordships of Clanricard and Thomond*, p. 158.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁸³ O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 63.

and to eliminate their power to threaten the English establishment by depriving them of their homelands and thus their income and followers. Secondly, to eliminate any future threat from those who had not taken part in the rebellion – the ‘innocent Papists’ – by removing them from their localities to lands in Connacht and Clare. Thirdly, to pay the arrears owed to the Adventurers who had funded the Parliamentary campaign in Ireland as well as the arrears of pay owed to the soldiers by granting them parcels of land.⁸⁴ There were numerous problems, including the fact that there were far more transplantees than available land, and most of the Acts which followed the original legislation were attempts to clarify the confusion of claims and allocations. In many cases the transplantees, either those who were to move out or those who were intended to move in, refused to do so or simply ignored the orders. In other cases the same grants of land were given to more than one transplantee, and occasionally the same transplantee received multiple grants, sometimes of the same plot of land.⁸⁵ Lands in Clare and Connacht were designated, on paper at least, for ‘the inhabitants of the Irish nation’ rather than for the arrears to Adventurers or soldiery.⁸⁶ Inhabitants of Kerry were assigned to two of the Clare baronies, with the remaining seven baronies, including Tulla, assigned to the inhabitants of Kilkenny, Westmeath, Longford, King’s County (Offaly) and Tipperary.

In addition to this diverse group of incomers, 49 grants of land (ranging from 20 to 2,500 acres) were given to inhabitants of county Clare, ‘whose estates and lands have been confiscated in whole or in part’ and whose grants were satisfied ‘in whole or in part’ within Tulla.⁸⁷ Many were re-granted land in their own townlands, but with additional land in another parish, such as Laughlin Cusack of Kilseily whose grants were in Kilseily and Killaloe.⁸⁸ A further category of land in Tulla was ‘Reserved land’, 2,748 acres of which was set aside for the Bishop of Killaloe, and a further acreage of 7,700 divided between seven Protestant landowners, by far the

⁸⁴ R. C. Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht, 1654-58* (Irish University Press for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1970) pp. vii-xii.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.xv-xvi.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. vii.

⁸⁷ Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht*, p. 54.

⁸⁸ The structure of the BSD, which lists the owners of a townland but does not give individual landholdings, makes it difficult to assess exactly how much land Cusack was allocated.

largest of which was a grant to the Earl of Thomond, comprising nine decrees spread over nine parishes (3,318 acres).

County	No.	Acres approx.
Kerry	1	372
Kilkenny	2	985
King's County (Offaly)	1	300
Tipperary	41	7099
Westmeath	1	800
Cavan	1	131
Cork	7	5400
Galway	3	84
Kildare	2	714
Meath	2	578
Waterford	3	2300
Wexford	1	800
Limerick	14	7963
Total transplantees	82	27,523

Figure 10: Origin of Transplantees in Tulla⁸⁹

The effect of the division and redistribution of lands belonging to the Tulla Catholics was to break up the surviving communally-owned Gaelic holdings and to enforce a system of single ownership. The Books of Survey and Distribution show that prior to the Commonwealth settlements, very many townlands across the barony had continued to be organised around joint ownership of land between several members of a kin-group. O Murchadha suggests that the grouping of holdings under a single tituladoc may not have ended the system of communal ownership but merely disguised it, with one individual applying for a decree of land under the Commonwealth regime, while the family lands continued to be managed much as before.⁹² Because many of the Tulla natives were allocated part of their original holdings, he contends that they were not compelled to transplant in any real sense.⁹³

⁸⁹ The full list can be seen at Appendix B.

⁹² O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 70.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

However, if we examine the BSD and the 1659 'census', the overwhelming evidence in Tulla barony is of Gaelic land owned in common being transferred to incoming single owners. Whether they managed to restore their lands, or remained as tenants under a new landowner, will be explored in later chapters.

According to the Books of Survey and Distribution, 49,100 acres out of the barony total of 109,000, had been almost wholly owned by Gaelic families who held the land in shared ownership before 1641; in other words, 99 townlands out of 243 were dominated by Gaelic kin-groups. Estimates of acreage in Gaelic hands after the distributions would be meaningless because, firstly, not all of the land in some townlands was allocated to incomers, and it is not clear whether the original owners remained in situ or not. For instance, in Kilbarron in Feakle parish, of the 437 acres belonging to Daniel MacNamara, 258 were allocated to Edmond McGrath of Ballymore, Co. Tipperary, a transplanted Catholic, and three members of the Ryan family of Limerick. 76 acres were allocated to Daniel himself, yet this only accounts for 334 acres, leaving us to wonder what happened to the remaining 103 acres. Very little about the BSD is clear-cut, and only when a whole townland was owned by a Gaelic kin-group and distributed entirely to an incomer, can we say with certainty that the Gaelic family lost title to it. In many cases much of the profitable land was distributed, leaving a large acreage of bog, rock and scrub without a new tituladoc, so we might assume that the native owners remained in situ on the marginal lands. Perhaps a clearer picture is provided by the fact that of the ninety-nine Gaelic-owned townlands in 1641, only two were still wholly in Gaelic hands thereafter, with four being mostly held by native owners and in a further three townlands the original owners held a minor acreage. In 1659 the situation is no clearer, because some townlands are not listed and others are included which were not listed in the BSD. Of the MacNamaras, Frost notes that in 1641 there were 200 'freeholders', i.e. those who owned estates, named MacNamara in Clare, but there were only 20 in the lists of people who were given grants of land under the various Acts between 1654-58. This is still not the full picture, though, because O Murchadha points out that there are many discrepancies between the transplantation tables and the 'census' and much displacement was caused by sale or exchange of lands, or the purchase of

transplanters' land by Protestants.⁹⁴ To list each major transplantee and analyse their landholdings would be outside the scope of this thesis, but it is instructive to identify some of the major landowners who will occur later in this history.

Tulla c. 1659

The native O'Molonys had lost a good deal of their lands in Tulla parish to Edmond McGrath, who was transplanted from Ballymore, county Tipperary. He was far from willing to move. On 28th October 1654 he petitioned for dispensation to be restored to his old lands because,

The woods upon the lands set out unto him in the County of Clare ... are daily cut and destroyed by the Irish there, who bear him malice for his good service to the English, and by others, to his great damage and discouragement.⁹⁵

McGrath had reportedly been a spy for William St. Leger, President of Munster, during the rebellion, and Cromwell ordered that his 800 acre Tipperary estate should be restored to him for his good service, though it is doubtful whether his lands were, in fact, restored.⁹⁶ The usual grant was one or two-thirds of the original estate, so if Cromwell ordered the full restitution of his Tipperary lands, it suggests that his 'good service' was very good indeed. His new holding was considerable: 3,168 acres spread over fourteen townlands in Tulla and Feakle parishes, taking up a significant part of the O'Moloney, MacNamara and Delahyde territories, so it is not surprising that the previous incumbents were unwelcoming.⁹⁷ He was listed as tituladoc in Ballinahinch, Feakle parish, in 1659.

The O'Molonys themselves are a good example of landholders who were dispossessed of their original lands but were granted land close by, in this case in the townland of Keildonnellballagh in the parish of Tulla. The Books of Survey and Distribution divide this townland between 'Teige O'Muldowney' and numerous others, most of whom who later disappeared from the record, leaving Teige the sole

⁹⁴ O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 82-83.

⁹⁵ Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 382.

⁹⁶ *Letters from the Lord Protector, 1654-1658* (Dublin Castle), in Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 519. Whether his original Ballymore holding was bigger than 800 acres is unclear, since he is not one of the landed gentry or big farmers mentioned in T. P. Power's *Land, politics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Tipperary*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

⁹⁷ BSD.

tituladoc by 1659. It is probable that the O'Molonys initially leased land on the estates of their new landlords, for apart from that one instance they do not appear again as tituladocs. But they were astute at maximising their assets, marrying well and later playing a significant role in the Tulla area, becoming the landlords at Kiltannon and Ballinahinch. We will trace their rise more fully in later chapters.

Some of the larger incoming beneficiaries never took up their holdings. Philip Bigoe, an English Protestant who was granted 1,229 acres in Tulla parish, failed to take out patents on the lands assigned so others took them instead. He is one of the Protestant grantees who were named in the 'reserved' list, being listed as merely 'Mr Bigoe'.⁹⁸ Donogh O'Callaghan, later The O'Callaghan of Mountallon, was a prominent member of the Confederation of Kilkenny, and was dispossessed of three-quarters of his estate in Cloonemane, Co. Cork, with his wife Ellen.⁹⁹ His total land grant was 2,675 acres across the parishes of south Tulla, Kilnoe, Clonlea and Killurane, forming a more or less compact estate which dominated the former MacNamara Finn lands.¹⁰⁰

Henry Ivers, an English Protestant whose family probably originated in Flanders, obtained a total of 1,614 acres across the southern half of the barony. He had arrived in Ireland in 1640 as a barrister's clerk and expanded his original grant to an estate of 6,000 acres, plus a further large acreage of bog and mountain. As well as purchasing land from other transplantees, he was revenue collector for Clare and sub-commissioner disposing of forfeited land in Clare in 1666. As O Murchadha wryly comments, his official positions would have given him ample opportunity to line his pockets by exploiting his fellow grantees.¹⁰¹

Many of the Catholic transplantees in Tulla came from Limerick, such as Sir Nicholas Comyn, who was, 'Numb with a palsy on one side of his body', accompanied by his 35-year-old wife Catherine and a maidservant, Honor ny MacNamara, who

⁹⁸ Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 523.

⁹⁹ Weir, *Houses of Clare* (Whitegate: Ballinakella Press, 1968), p. 159.

¹⁰⁰ BSD.

¹⁰¹ O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 114.

had no substance of her own but who was 'expecting the benefit of his qualification'.¹⁰²

Dominick Fanning was a member of one of the merchant families of Limerick. He was Mayor of Limerick at the time of the Rebellion and he was one of the leaders executed by Henry Ireton when he took the city in 1651. His son was granted 100 acres in Killanena, Tulla parish, which was in the hands of Thomas Fanning in 1659. Frost describes Thomas Fanning as a probable mortgagee, and the Fannings were a long-established family who were 'deeply entwined within the social and political fabric of the county'.¹⁰³

The McLysaghts, or Lysaghts, were a Gaelic sept, some members of whom became Limerick merchants. Patrick McLysaght was twenty-eight years old in 1641, single and working as a merchant in the family business. He remained aloof from the rebellion and the siege of Limerick and he was transplanted as an 'innocent Papist', receiving his final settlement in 1657 and moving to Shandangan in the parish of Kilmurry, where he appeared as tituladoc in 1659. He was forty years old by then, and his Transplantation Certificate describes him as being accompanied by his wife, Margaret, their two young children, and Patrick's sister Catherine with her own two children. Seven servants came with them.¹⁰⁴ The Certificate lists their 'substance' as sixteen cows, sixteen sheep, six pigs 'and pigeons', twelve garrons and mares, and twelve acres of winter corn.¹⁰⁵ They may well have brought all or most of their livestock and received some compensation for corn in the ground. The Civil Survey lists Patrick as sharing 1,000 acres of land in Camas, co. Limerick with Thomas and Ellen Browne. O'Mahony notes that he was granted 'sizeable farms' in Clare, and that it was probably well worth his while to move.¹⁰⁶

Bartholomew Stackpoole was a member of another Limerick merchant family who had been sheriffs of Limerick in 1596, and who intermarried with the Comyns and

¹⁰² Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 104.

¹⁰³ Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 405; Nugent, *The Gaelic Clans of County Clare*, p. 234

¹⁰⁴ Transplanters' Certificates for Limerick precinct, vol. 1E, 10, 123 (20 December 1653), in *ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ S. C. O'Mahony, *Cromwellian Transplantation from Limerick, 1653* (North Munster Antiquarian Journal, vol. 40 (2000)), p. 43.

Arthurs, both merchant families. He was transplanted as an 'innocent papist' and built Stacpole's Court at Ballymulcashel in Kilmurry parish. He was Recorder of Limerick at the time of Ireton's siege in 1651 and signed the capitulation of the city. His Transplantation Certificate in 1653 states that he was accompanied by his extended family. He was allocated just over 1400 acres in the parishes of Clonlea, Kilmurry, Kilfenaghta and Kilseily.¹⁰⁷ He was to become a significant Tulla landlord, appearing as tituladoe of the townland of Enagh in 1659.

This limited selection of transplantees, while by no means exhaustive, illustrates the variety of settler who occupied land in Tulla barony which had once been owned by native Gaelic families. The result was a dichotomy in the barony between dispossessed native and incoming Catholics.

The fortunes of the Clare nobility in the shape of the Earls of Thomond and Inchiquin are more than adequately dealt with elsewhere so it is not necessary to discuss them in detail here, but the Earl of Thomond continued to control major tracts of land across the old MacNamara territories, and Murrough O'Brien, the Earl of Inchiquin, likewise regained title to major tracts of land according to the BSD, retaining over 3,400 acres of land in Killaloe parish alone as well as considerable tracts in Killokenedy, Tuamgraney and Feakle. He had fought for Parliament, then switched to the Royalist cause in 1648, fighting for the next two years whereupon he embarked for France and continued with his military career. In 1654 he was created Earl of Inchiquin by Charles II, and his estates were restored under the Act of Settlement of 1662. He was the biggest beneficiary among the O'Briens under the Restoration settlements, tripling his Clare estates and obtaining further tracts in Tipperary and Limerick.¹⁰⁸

The Earl of Orrery, Richard Boyle, played a significant part in iron-making in the barony and his involvement in the enterprise will be dealt with in the next chapter.¹⁰⁹

He was granted just over 1600 acres in Tuamgraney and Inishcealtra, including much of the land of the McSheda MacNamaras. Although the parishes contain some

¹⁰⁷ Leverett S. Stackpole, *History and Genealogy of the Stackpole Family*, available at N. A. I., www.archive.org/stream/historygenealogy01stac, 2 May 2014.

¹⁰⁸ O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p 105.

¹⁰⁹ Kearney, 'Richard Boyle, Ironmaster', pp. 156-7.

of the most fertile lands in the barony, much of it was thickly forested, and it was these woods that were to fuel his profitable, if short-lived, venture into smelting. His main base was in Charleville, Co. Cork and he was also President of Munster, so that although he had a significant effect on Tulla's economic life, he was an absentee landlord.

The final major landowner in the barony was the Established Church. In 1641, Revd. Lewis Jones, the Anglican Bishop of Killaloe, held an estate of 10,485 acres across Clare including the entire parish of Moinoe, five townlands in Killaloe parish, and similar-sized compact holdings in other baronies, as well as more than 800 acres of more fragmented holdings. This was a fraction of the lands once owned by the bishopric, which had lost approximately 75% of its lands to the Earl of Thomond and his allies the O'Neylons during the sixteenth century.¹¹⁰ In Tulla, the BSD shows that the bishopric retained its control of Moinoe and the townlands in Killaloe parish, and acquired lands in other parishes, as illustrated in the table below. The total land owned by the Church in Tulla following the redistributions was 7,696 acres.

Parish	Lands Retained	Lands Acquired
Moinoe	5993	
Tomgraney		280
Killaloe	670	
Killokennedy		79
Kilseily	164	328
Clonlea	72	
Kilfinaughta	110	
Totals	7009	687

Figure 11: Church-owned lands, Book of Survey and Distribution

¹¹⁰ Nugent, *The Gaelic Clans of County Clare*, p. 230.

Revd. Lewis Jones died in 1646, and was succeeded by Edward Parry, who died of plague in 1650. Thereafter the See was vacant until 1660, when Edward Worth was nominated.¹¹¹

1659-1670: New Landed Estates

In 1670 there was still some uncertainty about the ownership of lands because not all claims had been heard, and allocations under the Cromwellian settlement were still being bought and sold. A list (Fig. 12) taken from the Carte MSS at the Bodleian Library contains many Tulla landowners.¹¹²

Name	Townland	Parish
Teige MacNamara	Garruragh	Tulla
Daniel MacNamara	Ballynahinch	Kilnoe
Connor O'Brien	Ballymulcashell	Kilfenaghta
Dermot O'Brien	Maghery	Tulla
Flan McBrody	Moinoe	Moinoe
John McLoughlin	Cloontra	Kilseily
Thomas Fanning	Ballyarily	Kilfenaghta
Sheeda MacNamara	Monogenagh	Killuran
Murrough O'Brien	Tulla	Tulla
John Delahyde	Fomerly	Tulla
Connor O'Molony	Toome	Tulla
Daniel O'Molony	Glandree	Tulla

Figure 12: Tulla landowners listed in the Carte Manuscript

It is not accurate to state, as it does in the introduction to this list, that the names were of those who were not granted lands under the Cromwellian settlement, because all of the landowners in the above chart except the Delahydes were given allocations in other parts of Tulla barony.¹¹³ Furthermore, comparison of new and indigenous Tulla names which are shown in the BSD with those in the Calendar of

¹¹¹ *1659 Census of Clare*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie, 8 May 2009.

¹¹² 'The Dispossessed Landowners of Ireland, 1664, part II: Munster and Ulster', in *Irish Genealogist*, vol. 4, no. 5, November 1972, pp. 445-447.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

Inquisitions, the Chichester House Trustees lists, and the Jacobite lists compiled by Dr. J. G. Simms from T. C. D. MSS N. 1. 3., shows that many of the families such as the MacNamaras, the Fannings and the Molonys who obtained or retained land as part of the Cromwellian settlement were still in situ at the end of the century. Chapter Two will show that they were active in land transactions: mortgaging, claiming, assigning and leasing lands to other family members as well as to other landowners. Tulla was not alone in suffering radical change in landholding patterns. Thomas Power's study of county Tipperary reveals similar upheavals; indeed, some of the dispossessed Tipperary Gaelic landowners were allocated lands in Tulla, intermarried with Tulla families and took their place in local society. Tulla's uniqueness lies in the fact that its largest Gaelic family, the MacNamaras, had been extremely successful magnates in earlier times; their estates were comparable to the O'Briens and their influence within the barony had been greater than that of the O'Briens. Constricted by their own once-successful strategies and pressure from the State-supported O'Briens they did not survive as well as other Gaelic magnates. The Tulla MacNamaras lost most of their lands and never regained their former *élite* status within the new society, but the next chapter will show that they did retain social capital and negotiate their way through the maze of later seventeenth century economic society with some success. Of the remaining Gaelic families in the barony such as the Clancys and Cusacks, their fortunes depended on how far they had retained their traditional economic and social policies and how they had conducted themselves during the rebellion. The minor Clancys, despite being described by Nugent as belonging to a less adaptive strata of hierarchy than their rebel kinsman Boetius, nevertheless retained small amounts of land in Kiltenanlea, Kilseily and Killurane, and the Cusacks did likewise in Feakle and Kilseily.

By and large, lesser Gaelic families remained on their ancestral lands as tenants of the new landlords. Catholic transplantees were forbidden from bringing their servants and workers with them, although the Certificates list servants in some cases, such as that of Sir Nicholas Comyn (p. 40). However, most of the farm workers and tenants on the old Gaelic estates, at least those who had survived the Cromwellian incursions and the famine that followed, would have stayed behind when their chieftains were relocated. The existing inhabitants of the land would therefore have remained, probably leading much the same lives as they did before the upheavals.

Conclusion

By 1670, the pattern has emerged of a complex network of indigenous families like the MacNamaras, O'Molonys and Cusacks who either remained on their old territories as tenants, retained some title to family lands, or leased lands from new landowners. Many new landowners such as the O'Callaghans, McGraths and Ryans were establishing themselves on their new estates and beginning to acquire land through leasing and income through re-leasing. Society, though traditionally hierarchical, was becoming stratified into landowners and tenants, a process which would increasingly marginalise Catholics and labourers. Margaret MacCurtain's analysis of rural society in post-Cromwellian Ireland raises some interesting and contentious points with regard to the inception of the Ascendancy class, the founders of landlordism. From the evidence we have seen, leaseholds were a key factor in land control. As MacCurtain observes, 'what emerged from the Cromwellian settlement was a tenant class of mixed backgrounds who farmed land through plantation allocation, or from proving prior possession before the law, or from contracting leases with the new landowners'.¹¹⁴ MacCurtain contends that the Cromwellian settlement was based upon an exploitive and ruthless mercantilist strategy on the part of the English government, 'buttressed by a landed class structure of which a large and dependent peasantry were both the base and the manpower for agrarian projects'.¹¹⁵ MacCurtain's stark division of exploitive, imperialist landowners and downtrodden peasantry is to an extent echoed by William Smythe:

The breaking of the power of the old autonomous lordships...saw the slow but certain construction of a centralised, island-wide ruling élite ...Resistance to such centralising political and economic controls gave rise to a wide variety of military alliances, accommodations, coalitions and oppositions; but the eventual outcome was the emergence of a single monolithic social system we now call landlordism.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Margaret MacCurtain, 'Rural Society in Post-Cromwellian Ireland', in Art Cosgrave and Donal McCarthy, eds., *Studies in Irish History presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (University College Dublin, 1979), p. 130.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹¹⁶ Smyth, *Mapmaking, Landscape and Memory*, p. 5.

Although it is indisputably true that the eventual result of the gradual processes of Anglicisation, as well as the effects of uprisings and their subsequent settlement and dispossession, led to a monolithic landlordism, I contend that there is enough evidence to show that it was a process which was negotiated, in some cases successfully, by those who had once been prominent Gaelic families. The evidence in the period from 1650-1670 is that although the Gaelic élite were severely disadvantaged, they and their kin and neighbours were learning to work the system, as it were. Those Gaelic families who were forcibly transplanted into Tulla were either restored, sold out, or settled, and within a short time they were working to achieve social and economic prominence. In the next chapter I will explore the working of these social and economic negotiations and how they were affected by the Williamite war. I will also consider the effect of penal laws on the fabric of Tulla society, and will begin to trace the establishment of the communities which still exist today.

Chapter 2: 1670-1750

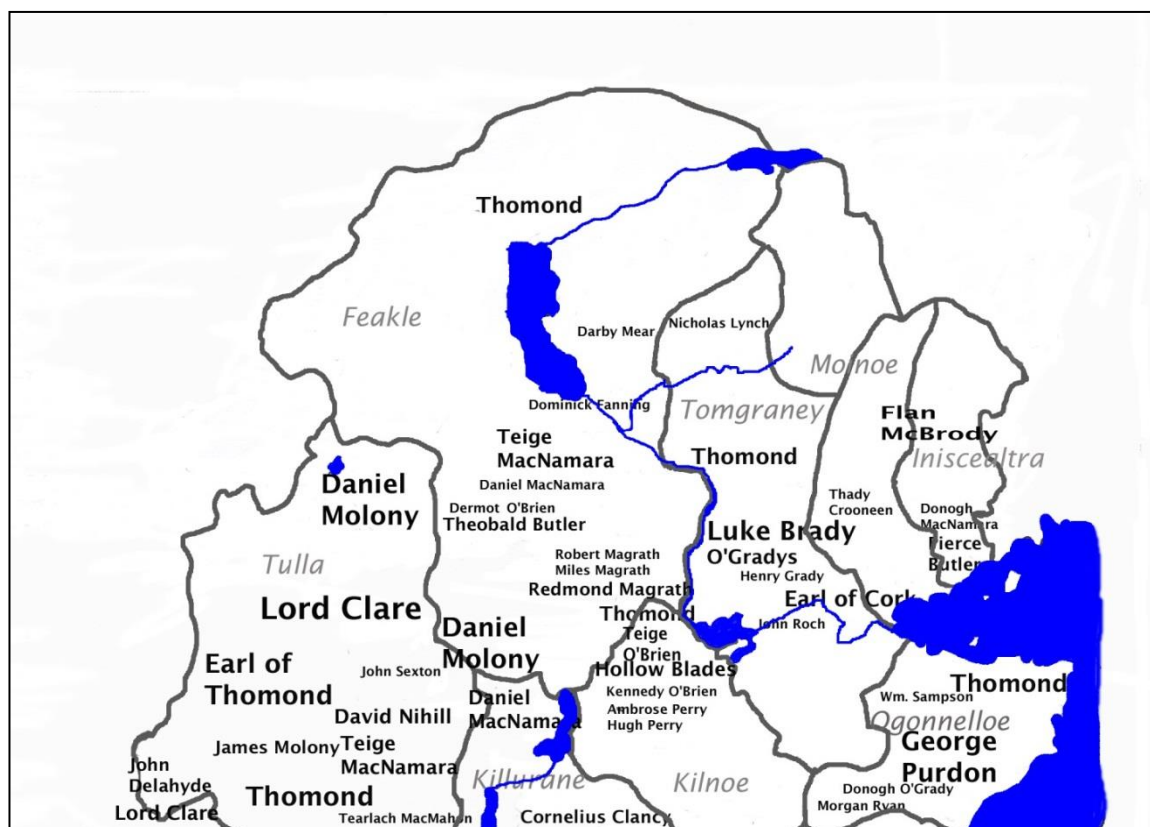


Figure 13: Landowners in 1670, north barony (Font size proportionate to size of estate)

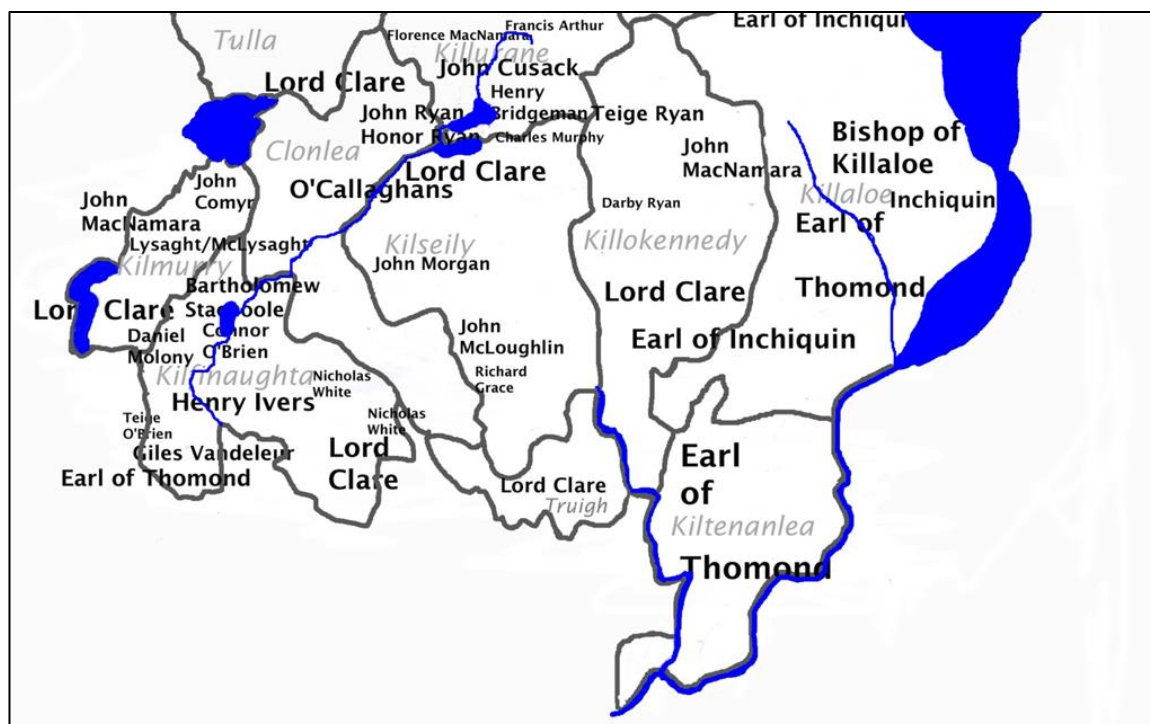


Figure 14: Landowners in 1670, south barony

Introduction

This chapter begins with the 1670s, when the Cromwellian confiscations had been largely confirmed and new landowners and old were settling into the new regime. It ends with the 1740s, at the start of which prolonged arctic conditions caused, in relative terms, probably the worse famine in Irish history. Across the country, this was a time of sharp discontinuity in landownership, with all that implied for political leadership and cultural gatekeeping by the native élite. Throughout the period, stop-start external economic demand was exacerbated by the fact that Ireland was locked into a mercantilist economic dependency. Population growth overall was sluggish. All of these phenomena may be related and it is proposed to explore these in a relatively peripheral and ‘backward’, or uncommercialised, region.

Questions of economic growth (or lack of it), population change and settlement distribution, break down into four main themes. The period from 1649-52 was an epoch of especially intense war, famine and emigration which had led to a drastic fall in population after which there was a gradual recovery which, when compared to national averages, was slow in Tulla. The chapter will explain the methodology and difficulties of establishing population figures and will ask why Tulla seems to have bounced back, demographically, so slowly. It will then outline national economic trends and explore their local effects, exploring Tulla’s forests, roads and waterways as a means of, or a barrier to, agricultural and proto-industrial development. The war of 1689-91 and the provisions of the Treaty of Limerick were crucial to Tulla’s landholding patterns and local estate formation, and this chapter will discuss how the confiscations resulting from native and incomers’ service in the Jacobite military affected their estates. From there, it will explore key questions of landownership and occupancy by long embedded native gentry families and the extent to which Catholic transplantees actually took up residence and assimilated to the older Catholic families. In a hierarchical society, the impetus for ‘improvement’ must come from above and is most likely to occur when continuity and community of interest between peasantry and gentry survives and stability and predictability in landownership is present. Were these conditions met in Tulla? Was there a substratum of middlemen, Whelan’s ‘underground gentry’, who provided

unsuspected elements of continuity?¹¹⁷ Or was the shock of discontinuity and a substantially upstart landowning/occupying class the sort of external shock that could accelerate commercialisation and economic growth?

Finally, the *Act to prevent the further growth of popery* (2 Anne, c.6) in 1704, and its companion act of 1709 (8 Anne, c.3), clarifying and amending the 1704 act, were intended to be rigorously enforced, and the implications of these and other penal laws for the old and new inhabitants of the barony will be explored. In other parts of Ireland, where the incoming landowners were Protestant and the indigenous classes Catholic, the laws would have affected most significantly the remaining Catholic landowners and not the new gentry. In Tulla, however, where the majority of the incomers were transplanted Catholics, the laws were particularly significant because they affected Catholic landowners, new and old.

Demographic Trends

It would be useful firstly to gain some idea of the size of the population of the barony from 1670-1740, and its dynamics. As we saw in Chapter 1, establishing population statistics before the nineteenth century is fraught with uncertainty. Petty's 1659 population estimates show no returns for Cavan, Galway, Mayo, Tyrone, Wicklow and thirteen baronies in Meath and Cork, so that there is no overall national total, though attempts have been made to fill in the gaps in the missing counties using computer projections, and later national population estimates are not universally accepted by statistical historians.¹¹⁸ Exploration of work on population by Cullen, Dickson, Ó Gráda, Daultrey and MacAfee has revealed more gaps than figures, and more debate than definitive methodology.¹¹⁹ Any work on local population is, therefore, open to many questions.

¹¹⁷ Kevin Whelan, 'An Underground Gentry? Catholic Middlemen in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr*, vol. 10 (Dublin: Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society, 1995), pp. 7-25, 27-68, available at www.jstor.org, 1 April 2010.

¹¹⁸ Smyth, *Mapmaking, Landscapes and Memory*, p. 200.

¹¹⁹ Cullen, 'Population trends in Seventeenth-Century Ireland', pp. 149-165; D. Dickson, C. Ó Gráda and S. Daultrey, 'Hearth Tax, Household Size and Irish Population Size', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 82C (1982), pp. 125-160, 162-181, available at www.jstor.org, 14 September

Petty's 1659 'census' is an abstract of the Poll Tax returns for adults over 15 years, and a multiplier of 2.5 is suggested to obtain the full total.¹²⁰ When this is applied, the population of Tulla in 1659 amounted by a speculative estimate to approximately 10,025 people, of whom less than four per cent were 'English'. Using the same multiplier, the population of county Clare as a whole was 42,285, so that by this yardstick Tulla barony contained roughly a quarter of the people in all of county Clare.

In 1682, William Molyneux estimated the population of county Clare to be around '30,000 souls ... whereof near 2,000 may be Protestants and English by birth or descent'.¹²¹ Molyneux had in fact sent a questionnaire on all aspects of local society to Hugh Brigdall, an Ennis lawyer, and Brigdall provided the population figures. If Tulla's population is approximately a quarter that of county Clare as a whole, this would give a figure of 8,500 in 1682. It is unlikely that the population would have dropped from over 10,000 to 8,500 in the thirteen years between 1659 and 1682, a period during which there was no war, famine or significant emigration.

Brian Gurrin suggests analysing estate surveys to extrapolate population data.¹²² Thomas Moland's survey of the Earl of Thomond's estates in 1703 gives the number of houses and cabins per townland, and Dickson et. al. suggest that a multiplier of 5.83 be used to calculate numbers per household.¹²³ This multiplier gives us a figure of 1,676 people living in 289 houses in 47 townlands, or 6.14 houses and 35.65 people per townland.¹²⁴ Some townlands in the Book of Survey and Distribution are missing from the 1659 census, and vice versa, but combining the missing townlands from the two sources gives us 287 townlands in Tulla barony, so if we use the

2011; William MacAfee, 'The Pre-Famine Population of Ireland: A Reconsideration, in Brenda Collins, Philip Ollerenshaw and Trevor Parkhill, *Industry, Trade and People in Ireland, 1650-1950: Essays in Honour of W. H. Crawford* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005) pp. 69-101.

¹²⁰ Smyth, 'Society and Settlement in Seventeenth Century Ireland; the evidence of the "1659 Census"', in Smyth and Whelan, eds., *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland*, pp. 55-83..

¹²¹ 'William Molyneux, 1682', in Brian Ó Dálaigh, ed., *The Stranger's Gaze*, p. 70.

¹²² Brian Gurrin, *Pre-Census Sources for Irish Demography*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002).

¹²³ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth Tax, Household Size and Irish Population Size', p. 154.

¹²⁴ Thomas Moland, *A Book of Reference to the Survey of the Estate of the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Thomond in the Kingdom of Ireland*, (1703), transcript, Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

average of 35.65 people per townland suggested by Moland's survey, that gives a rounded total of 10,232 people in the barony. There is a problem with using this method, however, because in some townlands Moland only mentions one house, and, in comparison of such townlands with the 1659 census, this suggests a drastic drop in population. Where Moland describes the house as being a 'good farmhouse' with orchards, fish weirs and so on, it can be assumed that Moland is not including the cabins of the farm labourers and servants. This issue is explored more fully later in the chapter. Additionally, the Earl of Thomond was part-owner of some townlands, so Moland only surveyed the number of cabins on the Earl's lands, therefore this method is only valid in townlands where the Earl of Thomond owned the townland in its entirety.

Nationally, Dickson et. al. give Hearth Tax household numbers on a county basis, and using their suggested multiplier, albeit with its 'unavoidable crudity', of 5.83 people per household, it is possible to estimate the population of Tulla if we assume that Tulla's population continued to be approximately 25 per cent that of Clare as a whole. That, of course, may not have been the case, but in the absence of firmer evidence I have continued to use this estimate.

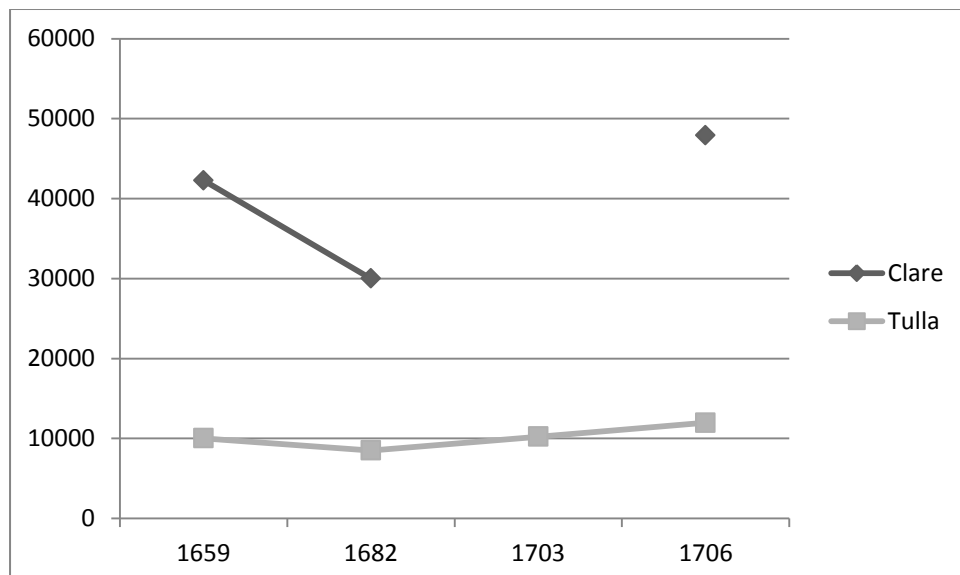


Figure 15: Clare and Tulla population growth (thousands)¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth Tax, Household Size and Irish Population Size', p. 154.



Figure 16: Population of Ireland 1672-1712

Ó Gráda provides comparative figures for 1672 and 1712, suggesting an average of almost 40 per cent growth (Fig. 16), making Tulla's overall growth of 20 per cent an even more significant contrast.¹²⁶ These three sources, though individually weak, bolster each other to suggest a population of about 10,000 in Tulla at the opening of the eighteenth century. This probably represents a fall from the 1659 figure, though by how much is hard to judge.

In 1736 David Bindon released the results of a survey of Catholic and Protestant families in Ireland, based upon the Hearth Tax returns for 1732.¹²⁷ Bindon states with commendable clarity that the survey does not include soldiers, residents of poor houses and hospitals, and those too poor to pay hearth tax. His estimate of the national population, using his stated multiplier of five persons per family, is two million, considerably lower than Dickson et. al.'s estimate. He gives the population of Clare as 665 Protestant families, or 3,325 people and 9,348 Catholic families, or 46,740 people, and he states that the proportion was one Protestant to every fourteen Catholics. This would suggest a population for Tulla of 11,685, excluding all of

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp. 156-8.

¹²⁷ David Bindon, *An abstract of the number of protestant and popish families in the several counties and provinces of Ireland* (Dublin, 1736), available at *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, www.find.galegroup.com.libgate.library.nuigalway.ie, 15 May 2013.

those who for one reason or another did not pay hearth tax. The total population therefore was undoubtedly much higher. Fig. 15 (p. 52) gives a population for Tulla in 1706 of approx. 11,000 people, so by 1732 the population had begun to rise, only to be levelled again by the arctic conditions of 1739-40.

Having explored the differing estimates of population, I will now look in more detail at why Tulla's population may have recovered slowly. One explanation for Tulla's fall in population between 1660 and 1700 may be because Tulla suffered exceptionally heavily in the Williamite war. John Stevens, an officer in the Jacobite army, kept a diary of his travels, and his observations provide an insight into the poor conditions in east Clare. In July 1690 he described Killaloe as 'the meanest (town) I ever saw ... having but very few houses that are anything tolerable, the rest ... are thatched cabins or cottages'.¹²⁸ Scariff, which had been an important proto-industrial centre, was 'not worth the naming but for some iron mills that were there before the war', and beyond Scariff 'begins one of the most desert wild barbarous mountains that ever I beheld and runs eight miles outright, there being nothing to be seen upon it but rocks and bogs, no corn, meadow, house or living creature, not so much as a bird'.¹²⁹ The following day, Friday 25th July, he was heartened to observe 'at a distance ploughed land, pasture and some few scattered cottages'.¹³⁰ At this point he was marching north-westwards towards Woodford, Co. Galway, and had possibly gone over the mountains rather than following the road, such as it then was, alongside Lough Derg, and could have been looking at the more fertile lands beside the Woodford River.

Stevens marched with four battalions, plus French troops, which made up another two small battalions. Altogether, about 3,000 men were marching through what was still a wasted and underpopulated landscape.¹³¹ Stevens remarks that they slept on

¹²⁸ Stevens, *A Journal of my Travels since the Revolution containing a brief account of all the War in Ireland*, R. H. Murray, ed., (Oxford, 1912), available at www.ucc.ie/celt, 22 January 2013, p. 152.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹³¹ George Story states that large regiments of foot consisted of 22 companies of 90 men (1,980 in total), and small regiments consisted of 13 companies of 60 men (780), plus a total of 500 French foot. Story, *An Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, available at www.eebo.chadwyck.com, 22 January 2013, p. 31.

bare bog with no tents or huts and that ‘meat was as scarce as other necessities, but that we might not be destitute of all, Providence had furnished a small brook which, though foul and ill tasted by reason of rain and bog, afforded us plenty of drink’.¹³² Stevens observed the effect that the presence of an under-provisioned army had on the locality:

The army like sheep without a shepherd having dispersed themselves all over the country lived upon the spoil of the people they ought to have defended from their enemies ... The soldiers, who (like a wild horse that has once got his head is not easily to be checked or stopped) had tasted the sweet of living at discretion on the public, and were grown proud of being under no command, were not easily to be curbed without some very severe examples, which were so far from being made that the men began to believe their officers durst not punish them.¹³³

August 1690 was unusually dry, and on August 10th the Williamite army was able to ford the Shannon at Annaghbeg, the cavalry swimming across while the infantry waded waist-deep. The Jacobite commanders on the Clare side assumed that the reconnaissance party was the vanguard of a larger force, and ordered that all forage be destroyed within a 16km. radius.¹³⁴ In the same month, George Story, chaplain to the Earl of Drogheda’s regiment, states that ‘the whole Army approached that strong hold of Limerick without any considerable loss, the greater part of their army being encampt beyond the River, in the County of Clare.’¹³⁵ Over that winter, ‘the land west of the river could not feed the army and a civilian population swollen with refugees’, and by December ‘the Irish in and about Limerick, and indeed in most other places within their line, were reduced to great necessities, both as to provisions and Cloaths’.¹³⁶

It is not difficult to imagine how the depredations of some thousands of ill-provisioned and undisciplined men would have impacted on the communities within Tulla barony. Indeed, in his study of the impact of the Jacobite and Williamite

¹³² Stevens, *A Journal of my Travels*, p. 153.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹³⁴ John Childs, *The Williamite War in Ireland, 1688-91* (London, Continuum Books, 2007), p. 247.

¹³⁵ Story, *An Impartial History*, p. 36.

¹³⁶ Pádraig Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest: Ireland 1603-1727* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2008), pp. 184-5; Story, *Impartial History*, p. 47.

armies on the midlands in the aftermath of the Battle of the Boyne, Alan Smyth describes how both armies looted the countryside on their line of march of food, horses, livestock and even household goods.¹³⁷ George Story noted how peasants ‘remove out of the way with their cattle and all their substance, at the approach of an enemy’. This prudent reaction may account for some of the depopulation described by Stevens in east Clare.¹³⁸ As we saw in Chapter One, Stevens himself writes vividly of a peripatetic population of ‘creaghts’, who may have been herdsmen with their cattle and families, Ulstermen, or dislocated indigenous people, who ‘make no scruple of taking where they find it’.¹³⁹ The army, Stevens claims, were preferable to the ‘insolences and barbarities’ of the creaghts, who ‘left nothing for the army, and where they came after they carried away whatever the army had left’.¹⁴⁰ To the north of Tulla barony in south county Galway, Story found Loughrea on 16th July 1691, ‘Plundered by the Irish army, as well by their own people as the English; the Irish soldiers giving their country-men this reason for what they did, that they had better be plundered by their own people, than give what they had to the English army, who would certainly strip them in a day or two more’.¹⁴¹ Tellingly, in Athenry, south county Galway the next day, Story saw some thirty deserted Irish cabins, ‘the inhabitants gone with the rest of the neighbourhood, towards the mountains of Slewhaughty’. The accounts of these two writers describe what would have been something of a no-man’s land extending in places up to twenty miles (32 km) from the banks of the river Shannon where the farms and people were regarded as a resource by hungry and undisciplined soldiers. Tulla’s parishes of Ogonnelloe, Killaloe and Kiltenanlea, bordering the Shannon and Lough Derg, were likely to have been most badly affected, but incursions could have been made into Killokennedy, Truogh, Kilnoe and southern Tuamgraney. People from the affected parishes would in turn have fled westwards into the mountains.

¹³⁷ I am indebted to Alan J. Smyth for allowing me to read his draft PhD thesis, *The social and economic impact of the Williamite war on Ireland, 1689–91* (Trinity College Dublin, 2013), especially Chapter 3.

¹³⁸ Story, *Impartial History*, p. 146.

¹³⁹ Stevens, *A Journal of my Travels*, p. 161.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Story, *Impartial History*, p. 149.

Between the depredations of refugees in the path of the armies, the armies themselves, and a population which had barely begun to put down roots and resettle after the harsh times of the 1650s, it is not surprising that Tulla's population growth was lower than the national average. Tulla was probably one of the worst affected areas in Ireland, more so than even Derry or the east midlands, which endured just one episode, not two.

Thomas Moland's 1703 survey enables us to conduct a micro-study of townlands on the Earl of Thomond's lands in order to explore the 'interconnections between population densities, economies and ethnic distributions', by comparing population statistics from 1659 with estimates of populations on Thomond-owned townlands.¹⁴²

Parish	Townland	Population 1659 ¹⁴³	Population 1703 (Earl of Thomond's lands) ¹⁴⁴
Feakle	Killanena	145	23
	Fahy ¹⁴⁵	95	-
	Gortidune	33	23
Killurane	Tyrovane	72	46
Tulla	Lissofin ¹⁴⁶	182	110
	Lackarowbeg (part of Liscolane)	55	29
	Clonteene	10	6
	Fomerly	60	35
Kilfenaghta	Six Mile Bridge	259	302
	Ballymulcashel	52	-
	Ballysheen	105	6
	Cappagh ¹⁴⁷	60	35
	Moygally	32	23

¹⁴² Smyth, 'Society and Settlement in Seventeenth Century Ireland', p. 58.

¹⁴³ These totals are taken from Petty's census using William Smyth's suggested multiplier of 2.5.

¹⁴⁴ These totals are achieved by counting the number of habitations in Moland's survey and applying Dickson et. al.'s suggested multiplier of 5.8.

¹⁴⁵ Moland lists no dwellings in Fahyallurane (Fahy) but says that it contains the remains of an old iron works 'of which the people make money by digging [cinders] and selling them to the iron works near the premises'.

¹⁴⁶ Moland's Lissofin farm consisted of : Ballyblood (865 acres BSD) Darragh (235 acres BSD) Cottenmore (30 acres BSD) Cottenbeg (41 acres BSD) Liscolane (421 acres BSD) Lissofin (178 acres BSD) and Forhy (33 acres BSD). The 1659 Census lists Lissofine and Liscolane, but none of the other townlands. Moland does not give the acreage, but the Earl owned the townlands outright in the BSD.

¹⁴⁷ There are three Cappaghs listed in Moland: Castle Cappagh, Cappagh Lodge (als. Cappagh North) and Lower Cappagh. The 1659 Census only lists one, so I have combined the total dwellings and acreages for all three townlands mentioned in Moland.

	Ballycullen	17	17
Kiltenanleigh	Coolisteige	35	41
	Errinagh	43	35
	Killeene	35	17
	Nedanora	97	157
	Cloonecarhy	13	-
	Derryfada	60	75
	Garrane	18	45
	Cappavilly	23	52
	Sraghvickin	17	99
Kilnoe	Cloonmogher	23	-
	Coolreaghbegg	58	17
Killaloe	Ballycarnes ¹⁴⁸	38	23
	Cloonfada	40	9
	Ballycuggerane	28	46
	Gortmagee	15	29
	Ballygarreene	23	23
	Agherinamore (+Agherinabegg) ¹⁴⁹	35 30	35
	Glanlun	13	41
Total population		1821	1399

Figure 17: Comparative populations 1659-1703¹⁵⁰

Overall, the population on the Thomond lands appears to have declined by some 23 per cent in the latter part of the century, corroborating the other evidence of a fall. It is impossible to compare the exact acreages of the townlands between the two sources since we do not know exactly how the boundaries would have changed during the confiscations and reallocations. As I have mentioned in the footnotes to the table, there is no reliable means of identifying townlands in the 1659 census from Moland's townland names. It is also possible that some tenants relocated during the incursions of 1690-91, and did not return. Moreover, as we saw in the previous section, Moland almost certainly does not include every dwelling. Do these disparities make any comparison between populations invalid? In one sense, they do if we seek accurate statistics. But if we accept that any analysis based upon statistics alone is deeply flawed, there is still a value in considering the land quality and the infrastructure of tenant farms to explore the reasons why some populations may have remained stable or declined.

¹⁴⁸ In the 1659 census it is listed as Bally Carrantroome and the tituladoe was Garrett Barry, gent.

¹⁴⁹ Moland only lists Agherinamore, but as the acreage is so much higher than the BSD figure, I have included the Agherinabegg acreage.

¹⁵⁰ Based upon the 1659 'census' and Moland's 1703 survey of Thomond lands.

The farm at Lissosfin, for example, had the advantage of good limestone soil and had upon it ‘an old castle in good repair and 18 or 19 cabins’, so the good farmland and inhabited castle would have maintained the structure of local society.¹⁵¹ Formerly, on the other hand, with an acreage which is roughly similar in both surveys, was the property of Sir Roland Delahyde, who was dispossessed for his part in the 1641 uprising. The townland was granted to John Carroll, of whom nothing else is known, so it is likely that he sold the lands to the Earl. John Delahyde was restored to the townland under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, but taking the lands back from the powerful Earl of Thomond would have been another matter. A lack of success may be indicated by the fact that the castle was out of repair, and the adjoining house only consisted of walls, with an orchard and just six cabins. Land quality in this area was classified as arable and rough pasture so that it was less profitable. With no nucleating feature, it can be surmised that it was less likely to maintain a coherent social and economic structure.

The townland of Nedanora appears to have increased dramatically in population despite the fact that the Earl’s acreage is less than that listed in the BSD. Some clues to this can be seen in Moland’s comments on the townland, which forms part of a farm of 3,048 acres, valued at £621. 15s. 6d., spread over five townlands and an island in the Shannon. Although the castle at Nedanora was ruined, the entire parish was in the possession of the Earl of Thomond before and after the Cromwellian incursions, so the structure of the estate remained intact. The property had the advantage of *corcass*¹⁵² land with a high proportion of arable and good pasture, plus an eel weir, a salmon leap, three orchards, and farmhouses as well as ‘ordinary cabins’ including one ‘good stone house, stable, barn and other outhouses...all in good order’. Moland frequently comments on whether farms or townlands generally were ‘improved’ or not, so it is clear that improvement of his estates was high in the Earl’s priorities.

The Earl of Thomond’s lands in the parish of Killaloe appear to throw up some anomalies, most notably Clonfadda, which is one of the townlands whose population

¹⁵¹ Moland, ‘Survey of the Thomond Estate, 1703’.

¹⁵² ‘Corcass’ was land beside the Shannon, which was enriched by silt.

seems to have dropped from several families to only one. The 1659 figures show 10 English people and 28 Irish, in line with Thomond's preference for Protestant tenants. Furthermore, Moland remarks that the property consists of 'a well improved farm having on it a good stone house slated, one story high, with stable, barn and other outhouses; an orchard by the side of the Shannon and several enclosed parks which render it a commodious farm'. Although Moland mentions only one house, there were certainly farm labourers, dairywomen and other servants in residence, so it is likely that the population had remained stable and even risen. Similarly, in Kilfinaghta, Moland only mentions one 'good slated house and outhouses' in Ballysheen. In 1659 there were 10 English and 95 Irish tenants, so it can be assumed that this too was an 'improving' farm and there were a number of labourers' or cottiers' cabins in 1703.

Otherwise in Killaloe the populations in each townland are reasonably similar except for Ballycarnes and Ballycuggerane. Ballycarnes could be either Ballycarneerum or Ballychorney in the BSD, but as the former belonged to the Earl of Thomond it is most likely that this is the townland mentioned by Moland. It is described in the BSD as 'arable mixt with coarse pasture, 15/16 profitable', plus an acreage of mountain, and in 1659 the population was 5 English and 33 Irish. The tituladoc, Garrett Barry, was from the Barony of Barrymore, county Cork.¹⁵³ He is not mentioned as a transplanted papist in the Clare BSD, and he was granted a Decree of Innocence in 1665 so it is unlikely that he or his family was still in residence in 1703.¹⁵⁴ The rental itself has not survived so we have no idea who leased the land by then. One would expect that there would be a good farmhouse, but only four cabins are mentioned by Moland. The land is good quality and Thomond appears to have more than doubled the acreage so it could well have supported a larger population, but instead it seems to have dropped. Thomond may have run the acreage as cattle pasture with some families of herdsman. It could have been, too, that its proximity to the armies located on the banks of the Shannon in 1690-1 led to incursions by foraging troops, causing the people to abandon their holdings, though it seems unlikely that good land would have remained abandoned over a decade after the war.

¹⁵³ John O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1884), pp. 278, 306, 328, 437.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

Ballycuggerane's lands were a mixture of arable, good pasture and timber. The increase in population could have been a result of forest clearance, opening up the lands for settlement, or of workmen being employed to utilise the timber. Sixmilebridge appears to have suffered a drastic drop in population, but Moland's survey notes only the tenements and cabins on the south side of the river, so there was undoubtedly a further population on the other side.

Overall, Moland indicates that in townlands where there was continuity of ownership throughout the period, with a centralised core of settlement such as an inhabited castle still in good repair, the population was maintained. Where Moland indicates a prosperous farmhouse with outhouses and orchards, he appears to feel no need to mention labourers' dwellings, probably because his primary interest would have been in the Earl of Thomond's chief tenants and their use of the lands. Of the five Thomond farms worked by English tenants in 1659, three maintained their population and the others were the examples of 'strong farmhouses' mentioned above.

Of the Irish-tenanted lands, most appear to have suffered some loss of population, and there may be one or more explanations for this. It could be surmised that the Earl invested more in farms where Englishmen held tenancies, or that Irish tenants were more badly affected by changes in the tenant matrix and social structure. It is probable that Moland considered it unnecessary to describe the cabins of the poorest landless labourers, so that a considerable proportion of the population was missing from the survey. Without knowing his exact terms of reference we can only guess. In most townlands, Moland refers to cabins, or even 'sorry cabins', as at Gorteahelrow, and we can gauge the contrast between improved or well-maintained houses by looking at his estimates of the rental of houses in Sixmilebridge, where a 'good tenement' is valued at £5 per annum, but a cabin at £1 per annum. Furthermore, attached to the farm of Corlea is a 'coarse mountain farm but with good bedding and shelter for black cattle in winter'. The presence of black cattle, and the overall unimproved nature of the land and cabins even on the Thomond estates indicates an economy that was still undeveloped and backward.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Moland, 'Survey of the Thomond Estate, 1703'.

Kilmurry, however, by 1731 there were five mass houses. In 1659 that would have given each mass house a congregation of eighteen people, so we can assume that Kilmurry's Catholic population had risen considerably by 1731. In Killaloe, there were in total five places of worship, which in 1659 would have served 84 people per chapel. As two of these were private chapels, it can be assumed that they would have served a smaller number of people than the public chapels. In 1659, the populations of Sixmilebridge and Killaloe were very similar, but by 1731 Sixmilebridge's Catholics were provided with ten mass houses, while Killaloe, formerly a major ecclesiastical centre where we would expect a high number of Catholic worshippers, had half as many. But Killaloe was also the site of the Church of Ireland bishopric, which owned much of the land, so land to build mass houses may not have been available.

Given the location of the two towns, one at the point where the armies crossed the river Shannon, and one well inland away from encampments of troops, it can be assumed that Killaloe's population had suffered badly, an observation borne out by John Stevens' opinion of the town in 1690 as the meanest he had ever seen, with only a few thatched cabins and few houses of note.¹⁵⁷ Killaloe had never acquired a market or fair, whereas the O'Brien controlled Sixmilebridge-Owengarney valley had mills and a mercantile community. Its population seems to have stayed healthy, and even increased as Moland's survey of Thomond land in the area indicated. The parish of Tulla, with a population of over six hundred in 1659, boasted only two mass houses with a priest each.

It is likely that the population in the upland areas recovered very slowly from the depredations of war and famine, and that clearance and settlement of the peripheral lands in the barony was a very slow process, hampered by poor roads and little economic opportunity for growth. The diocesan surveyor may have fought shy of penetrating the more remote reaches of the parish so some mass houses may not have been counted. Indeed, the report itself is startlingly incomplete, neglecting several parishes entirely. Nevertheless, its findings do support the overall picture that is formed by Stevens' and Story's observations on the effects of the war and the slow growth thereafter in less developed areas.

¹⁵⁷ Stevens, *A Journal of my Travels*, p. 152 . See page 55 for the full quotation.

Any exploration of population would not be complete without consideration of the role that the potato played in population increase, because for a long time historians linked the rise in population with the spread of the potato and its establishment as a staple crop, due to the influence of K. H. Connell's seminal work on diet and demographics.¹⁵⁸ However, it is unlikely that the potato was widespread in the west of Ireland by the early eighteenth century, and Connell himself does not consider that it became a universal staple until the 1740s. 'An Account of an Irish Quarter' in 1654 mentions 'A salted tail of salmon, and in the rear some rank potatoes'.¹⁵⁹ In 1657, it was said that 'the soyle of Ireland doth so well agree with (potatoes) that they grow there so plentifully that there be whole fieldes overrun with them'.¹⁶⁰ However, the spread of the potato was erratic and regional, and not until much later did it become more than a useful winter stored crop which was used in conjunction with other foodstuffs as part of a much more varied diet.¹⁶¹ The adoption of the potato as a staple foodstuff appears to have been linked to changes in dairying, particularly in fertile areas such as south Munster which were suitable for large-scale dairying and cereal growing, where 'potato gardens' were common to the gneever, or farm labourer. In addition, the growth of large cities such as Cork provided a ready market for large-scale field crops, and the potato fitted well into commercial rotations.¹⁶² In peripheral areas such as Tulla, where grain-growing and dairying did not take place on a large scale, some potatoes may have been grown at this early period, but only as a supplement to oats and barley; for the poorest labourers on lands where there was no strong farmer due to dispossession or absenteeism, or no continuity of ownership, subsistence was no doubt 'precarious and poverty stark right into the eighteenth century'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ K. H. Connell, 'The potato in Ireland', in *Past and Present*, no. 23 (November 1962), pp. 57-71.

¹⁵⁹ W. R. Wilde, 'On the Introduction and period of the General Use of the Potato in Ireland', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1836-1857)*, pp. 356-372, available at www.jstor.org, 30 October 2012.

¹⁶⁰ Cole, 'Adam in Eden, or the paradise of Plants' (London, 1657), cited in *Ibid*, p. 360. There was some early confusion between the true potato, *Solanum Tuberosum* and the Sweet Potato, *Convolvulus Batata*, but as the latter would be highly unsuitable to the Irish climate it is likely that the true potato is the variety referred to in contemporary accounts.

¹⁶¹ L. M. Cullen, 'Population trends in Seventeenth-Century Ireland', p. 161-2.

¹⁶² Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster, 1630-1830* (Cork University Press, 2005), pp. 237-238.

¹⁶³ Cullen, 'Population trends in Seventeenth-Century Ireland', p. 161-2.

The final significant factor in population changes from 1670-1750 was the Great Frost of 1740 and what was later known as *bliain an áir*, the Year of Slaughter, in 1741. It was unprecedented in recent history. For the previous thirty years no exceptionally bad weather occurred, and scientists have to this day found no convincing explanation for the event, though it may have been linked to volcanic activity in the Kamchatka peninsula the previous year. Whatever the cause, the results were catastrophic across Europe. Joseph McSweeney's 1830 essay on the Irish climate has this to say:

1740 : The cold was scarcely inferior to that of 1709, the snow lay on the ground eight or ten feet deep in Spain and Portugal, and the Zuder Zee was frozen over.¹⁶⁴

At the end of December 1739 a week of strong easterly winds brought air so cold that 'liquids froze indoors and ice floes appeared at the river mouths.'¹⁶⁵ Although the wind only lasted a week, temperatures continued to drop throughout January and within days the Shannon, as well as the Liffey, the Slaney and the Boyne, were partly frozen. From then until the summer of 1741, the weather was an almost constant procession of droughts, floods and severe frosts. Inevitably, crops failed, livestock died, and hunger was followed by outbreaks of smallpox, dysentery and fevers, principally typhus, spread by 'hordes of wandering beggars'.¹⁶⁶

Communities in peripheral areas such as Sliabh Aughty had few advantages, though having access to abundant turf, wood and furze, they were possibly able to keep warmer in the arctic winters than poor town-dwellers. Moreover, with war on-going in autumn 1740, a trade embargo to preserve stocks of beef and butter for naval use was declared, and though disastrous for the large Munster dairy farmers and graziers, it may have had a lesser effect in peripheral areas such as Tulla. In the face of starvation, these were meagre advantages. Very little is written about the effect of the terrible conditions in Clare, but Eugene O'Curry, writing almost a century later, described how his grandfather had transported the victims of disease for burial in his

¹⁶⁴ Joseph M'Sweeney, 'An Essay on the Climate of Ireland', in *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 17 (1831), pp. 179-233, available at www.jstor.org, 21 February 2013.

¹⁶⁵ David Dickson, *Arctic Ireland; The extraordinary story of the great frost and forgotten famine of 1740-41*, (Belfast: The White Row Press, 1998), p. 12.

¹⁶⁶ Laurence M. Geary, *Medicine and Charity in Ireland, 1718-1851* (University College Dublin Press, 2004), p. 73.

neighbourhood by horse and sledge.¹⁶⁷ Charles Lucas, whose family had been granted lands at Lisdweene, Moyarta, in 1688, kept a diary during 1740-41 and wrote that his foster-father died of ‘the lax’, or dysentery on 18 January 1741, several of his farm labourers were unable to work due to sickness, and he dismissed a herdsman because so many animals died during the bitter winter.¹⁶⁸ Lucas’s diary ended abruptly on 24 October 1741 and it may be that he too fell victim to the prevailing diseases of that year. No national records were kept of the numbers of deaths, but estimates vary between a third and a half of the population in some areas, with the hearth-tax evidence suggesting a national mortality of thirteen to twenty per cent.¹⁶⁹ In the absence of a state-supported Poor Law, aid was dependent upon the charity of individual landowners or churches. It appears that charity was most commonly found in the towns, and in Tulla, where the local economy was relatively poor and undeveloped, few landowners or chief tenants would have had the resources to support the lowest classes through such a long period of dearth. The price of grain in Clare rose by 56 per cent between 1739 and 1740 alone, and the price of a bushel of oats doubled between January and April.¹⁷⁰

In 1740-1, up to 400,000 people died, a proportionately higher number than that of the Great Famine.¹⁷¹ The duration of the crisis – some eighteen months – was considerably shorter than that of the Great Famine from 1845-51. Additionally, the national population had trebled by 1845, so the numbers of deaths were greater overall. But the Poor Law infrastructure, however inadequate, was in place by 1845. In 1739-41, the lack of a structured system of state support meant that relief was local and scattered. Voluntary hospitals only existed in Dublin, and the dispensary system only reached the provinces in the late eighteenth century. Even so, dispensaries were confined to towns and did not reach the rural districts until the

¹⁶⁷ Dickson, *Arctic Ireland*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁸ The patriot Charles Lucas, who agitated for reform of Dublin municipal politics in the 1740s, was the diarist’s cousin. Brian Ó Dálaigh, ‘The Lucas Diary, 1740-41’, in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 40, (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2007) pp. 73-188.

¹⁶⁹ Dickson, *Arctic Ireland*, p. 69.

¹⁷⁰ James Kelly, ‘Coping with Crisis: The response to the Famine of 1740-41’, in *Eighteenth Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr*, vol. 27 (2012), p. 108.

¹⁷¹ Geary, *Medicine and Charity in Ireland*, p. 73.

passing of the 1805 act to establish fever hospitals (45 Geo. III).¹⁷² The effect of the Great Freeze on population was severe as the graph below illustrates.



Figure 19: Irish Population, 1712-1753¹⁷³

By the early eighteenth century, as populations increased and the forests by Lough Derg and on the flanks of Sliabh Aughty and Sliabh Bearnagh were cleared, new land was being opened up for settlement.¹⁷⁴ Some outsiders from county Galway settled in the Feakle area, including several from the north of Ireland who may have come to the smelting works. Local tradition holds that one family of nailers came to work on the new Shannon bridge at Killaloe, and when the contractor went bankrupt they remained in Feakle parish.¹⁷⁵ There is little direct evidence of northern surnames during this period, but certainly by the nineteenth century northern surnames crop up with some regularity, with, among others, a Galiher and a Neil in Killanena, and Quigleys and O'Neills in Tulla parish.¹⁷⁶ These same names, along

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁷³ Joel Mokyr and Cormac Ó Gráda, 'New Developments in Irish Population History', in *The Economic History Review*, vol. 37, no. 4 (November 1984), p. 475, available at www.jstor.org, 15 July 2013.

¹⁷⁴ Ó Dálaigh, 'A History of Urban Origins and Village Formation', in Matthew Lynch and Patrick Nugent, eds., *Clare: History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008), p. 119.

¹⁷⁵ Sheedy, *Feakle*, p. 39. Gerard Madden's research on mining indicates that sheet iron for nails was manufactured in Mountshannon. (Clare Roots Society lecture, 16 May 2013).

¹⁷⁶ *List of Tenants on Colonel O'Callaghan's Estate, Bodyke, 1890's*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie (10 November, 2012); Robert E. Matheson, *Special Report on Surnames in Ireland*, (Dublin,

with several other Northern surnames, occur in Griffith's Valuation in 1855 and the 1901 Census.¹⁷⁷ Across the Shannon in the parishes of Kilcommon and Rearcross, in west Tipperary, Ulstermen – or Ultachs – were believed to have been either driven out of Donegal by new planters, or left behind on the retreat from the Battle of Kinsale in 1601.¹⁷⁸

To conclude this exploration of population, it is clear that attempts to construct statistics from fragmented and unverifiable data can yield inaccurate findings, and given the arbitrary nature of Moland's 1703 survey, its value as a statistical source could well lead to some highly doubtful conclusions. There is value, however, in using the data available to explore individual townlands and farmsteads and to draw some conclusions about the reasons for their possible decline or increase. Overall, the national picture is one of increase, then a sharp decline during the years affected by severe weather conditions, followed by a further increase which was to continue more or less unabated until 1845. How far the adoption of the potato as a staple contributed to rapid population growth varied from province to province, but it is likely that in the period up to the 1740s its importance was less significant in Tulla than in the greater Munster region. Given its proximity to the armies encamped along the Shannon, it is highly likely that Tulla's population was more harshly affected by the events of 1690-91 than other Clare baronies and that it would have increased more slowly than Ireland as a whole during the later seventeenth century. At this point, it is instructive to examine the economic trends which would have influenced Tulla's development and to compare Tulla's infrastructure with other regions and Ireland as a whole.

Economic Trends

Neglecting socio-economic history has given rise to 'a distorted view of the social revolution which occurred in Ireland between 1550 and 1700'.¹⁷⁹ Changes in

H.M.S.O., 1984); 'An Index of Surnames of Householders in Griffith's Primary Valuation and the Tithe Applotment Books – Co. Clare' (National Library of Ireland, 1964).

¹⁷⁷ Available at www.census.nationalarchives.ie (May 2013).

¹⁷⁸ Máirtín Ó Corrbuí, *Tipperary* (Dingle: Brandon Book Publishers, 1991), pp. 91-2.

¹⁷⁹ Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy 1550-1700* (Dundalgan Press: Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 1991), p. 3.

farming practice, occupancy and ownership of estates were not solely governed by post-war land confiscations, even in the upland areas of Tulla. After the war and depopulation of the 1650s, there was a slow recovery and expansion of the Irish economy throughout the latter part of the century and into the early eighteenth century, albeit with interruptions and reversals. Customs revenues indicate that Ireland recovered slowly from the Cromwellian upheavals, with, in the 1690s, a 'relative buoyancy with little medium-term setback – sharp declines in 1690, 1693, and 1696 were compensated by normal or record levels in 1691, 1692 and 1697'.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, the inception of the Ascendancy was linked to fundamental changes in economic and social thinking. The 'construction of a centralised, island-wide ruling élite' was paralleled by a single economic system during which 'road networks were enhanced, more fairs and markets established, and older modes of production were either assimilated or destroyed'.¹⁸¹

Each of these perspectives can be related to Tulla's position within the Irish economic and social framework. The 'fiscal-military' thesis explains economic and political changes in relation to the developments in warfare and the demands of expanding armies and navies across Europe.¹⁸² Irish economic trends can therefore be seen as a response to the demands of the English army and navy.¹⁸³ From 1688 onwards, military and bureaucratic expansion led to an increase in the size of armies, which in turn led to a 'revolution in government' as the State experimented with new taxes and public borrowing to fund the cost of their military machine. The demands of the military for foodstuffs had a direct effect on the Irish economy and, in turn, the English government's measures to curb and control increasing Irish exports in the form of trade legislation.

Strong export demand in the late 1690s was followed by a poor start to the new century, with depressed export prices, poor harvests and 'unfortunately timed

¹⁸⁰ L. M. Cullen, 'Economic Development, 1691-1750', in T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan, eds., *A New History of Ireland, vol. IV: Eighteenth Century Ireland, 1691-1800* (Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 133.

¹⁸¹ Smyth, *Mapmaking, Landscapes and Memory*, p. 5.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 28-9.

¹⁸³ Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland : The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & MacMillan, 2009), p. 3.

currency adjustments'.¹⁸⁴ Post-Restoration Ireland as yet 'hardly constituted an integrated market economy'.¹⁸⁵ This summary of the 'decidedly primitive' Irish economy is based on the small number of fairs in the rural hinterland: of the 503 listed in Bourk's 1684 *Almanack*, 43 per cent were in Leinster.¹⁸⁶ Whilst Ireland's economy was backward in comparison to England's, Ó Dálaigh believes that throughout the seventeenth century the 'unrealised potential' of Clare was realised, as market towns were revived and the economy began to develop.¹⁸⁷ By 1618 patents for markets had been granted in Clare(castle), Ennis, Killaloe, Kilfenora, Sixmilebridge, Quin and Tulla, though market houses were never built in the ecclesiastical towns of Kilfenora or Killaloe, so that these formerly important centres of commerce gradually stagnated.¹⁸⁸

Cash rather than barter was by now widely used. Land, enmeshed in customary tenure and reciprocal personal rights and duties, was now structured in the contractual cash-based relationship of landlord and tenant.¹⁸⁹ In the previous chapter we saw how land was sold and mortgaged between the different categories of landholder in the barony, but the key difference was that land use was now determined by cash valuation, not goods or services. By 1660 rents were 'almost universally', paid in cash, which would suggest that tenants must have been using markets and fairs to sell their produce. Additionally, new taxes such as hearth money were also paid in cash.¹⁹⁰ This may not have been the case in rural Clare, however, as Charles Lucas's diary, written in 1741, records tithes and rents paid in either cash or labour.¹⁹¹

The agricultural emphasis in the barony was on cattle grazing, though the acid upland soils were unsuited to the large livestock ranges which developed in east Galway and Tipperary. However, with markets in Tulla and Scariff, farmers had convenient outlets for their livestock. Roland Delahyde had been granted a patent for

¹⁸⁴ Dickson, *New Foundations : Ireland, 1660-1800* (Dublin: Helicon Ltd., 1987), p. 102.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 96

¹⁸⁶ *Bourk's Almanack, 1684*, cited in *ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Ó Dálaigh, 'A history of urban origins, pp. 112-13.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁸⁹ Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy*, pp. 22-3.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7

¹⁹¹ Ó Dálaigh, 'The Lucas Diary, 1740-41', p. 147.

a market and annual fair in Tulla by 1618, and its position on the main road from Ennis to Scariff made it an ideal centre for the surrounding hinterland.

Demand for salt beef from the Caribbean plantations ensured an Irish market for beef, including dry cows and fattened bullocks. Although there is little written evidence, folk tradition recalls cattle being driven on the drover's road through Sliabh Bearnagh to Broadford and the Limerick markets. Sir William Petty had described Limerick as 'the great mart town of the province of Munster'. However, the city's economy was over-dependent upon trade with Holland, so the intermittent Anglo-Dutch wars from 1652 to 1674 led to a decline in the town's trade. Subsequently, the Williamite war brought Limerick's trade to a halt and destroyed much of its property and thereafter the town recovered more slowly than other port towns, being overtaken by Cork as the principal port of Munster.¹⁹²

David Fleming states that butchers from as far away as Cork city came to autumn fairs in Clare to buy beef on the hoof, which could then be driven to slaughter.¹⁹³ However, although exporters operated salting-houses in Cork where the meat was processed and barrelled by the 1680s, I have found no evidence from this period that beef from east Clare was sent to Cork for the overseas trade.¹⁹⁴ Cattle were probably sold to butchers at the local markets, and processed in Ennis, where its Saturday market dealt in butter, cheese, corn, hides, skins and tallow. No slaughterhouse is listed until Joseph Cox's in 1797, but the existence of 'Shambles Lane' in 1752 indicates an earlier butchery trade. Tanneries under different proprietors were recorded in 1692, 1729, 1733, 1746 and 1749 and the existence of a soap and candle manufactory in 1746 suggests a slowly-expanding local economy.¹⁹⁵ In 1682 Hugh Brigdall stated that Ennis 'drives a considerable trade in hides, tallow and butter, which are sent thence by boat to Limerick'.¹⁹⁶ By 1812, Edward Wakefield

¹⁹² David Fleming, 'Limerick's eighteenth century economy', in Liam Irwin, Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh and Matthew Potter, eds., *Limerick: History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2009), p. 159.

¹⁹³ Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 139.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁹⁵ Brian Ó Dálaigh, *Historic Towns Atlas: Ennis* (Royal Irish Academy, 2012), pp. 12-19.

¹⁹⁶ Hugh Brigdall's answers to Molyneux's questionnaire, 'William Molyneux, 1682', in Brian Ó Dálaigh, ed., *The Stranger's Gaze: travels in County Clare, 1534-1950*. (Ennis, Clasp Press, 2004), p. 71.

confirmed that butter was sold in Ennis for export overseas via Limerick, and that although some beef was sold in Ennis, the main markets for beef and cattle were in Cork and Limerick.¹⁹⁷

Trade in hides and tallow rather than beef and processed meat would indicate a less-developed economy, reliant on the older staples. In comparison to the rich grazing areas of Cork, Tipperary or east Galway, county Clare was relatively undeveloped, and less fertile areas such as Tulla were further disadvantaged. The Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape classifies Tulla, along with the rest of Clare, as a region of mixed subsistence farming, whereas to the north, east and south lay regions of commercialised grazing.¹⁹⁸

Detailed customs records of direct exports from county Clare during this early period do not exist and there are few clues as to the volume and content of trade downriver. The main road between Ennis and Limerick during the seventeenth century was ‘almost non-existent’, so that transport of goods other than livestock by road would have been very difficult.¹⁹⁹ As trade continued to develop in Ennis, a public quay was built in 1711 and improved in 1731, with a second quay being built in 1752.²⁰⁰ In pre-industrial societies with poor roads, water transport was vital to the economy. Although Tulla was linked to the port of Limerick and the midlands via Lough Derg and the Shannon, the Shannon was not navigable above Doonass due to the presence of rapids until the canal was completed in 1799. Between Ennis and Clarecastle, too, the presence of a limestone bar hampered the transport of goods, which had to be portaged past the barrier.

¹⁹⁷ Edward Wakefield, ‘An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political’ (London, 1812), cited in Andrés Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare, 1815-1852*, unpublished PhD thesis, TCD, (1991), p. 112.

¹⁹⁸ F. H. A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout, *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy), p. 70.

¹⁹⁹ Joseph Power, *A History of Clarecastle and its Environs* (Ennis, 2004), p. 129.

²⁰⁰ Power, *A History of Clarecastle*, p. 130. Ennis’s development as a port was limited by a barrier of limestone across the river Fergus between Ennis and Clarecastle, restricting the size of boats which could ply their trade into the port to boats without sizeable masts, since they could not pass beneath the bridge at Clarecastle. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, Ennis had declined as a river trading centre and most of the river trade had gone downstream to Clarecastle.

‘Before the latter half of the seventeenth century,’ John Andrews says, ‘Irish roads seem to have been neglected for several centuries.’²⁰¹ John Stevens, travelling across east Clare in 1690, described the road between Limerick and Killaloe as ‘hard and pleasant for the most part open and often crossed by small brooks and springs’, but from Scariff northwards the road became very difficult, at best soft and boggy in places and in winter ‘absolutely impassable’.²⁰² Only in 1710 was the first of the Grand Jury Road Acts passed into legislation (9. Anne, c.9). Road-building, initially, was a private project and only when local landowners had consolidated their estates, and as county Grand Juries took on the authorisation of a network of ‘presentment roads’, did it become widespread in the rural hinterlands.²⁰³ As we will see in the next section, Catholic landowners were far from secure in their property tenure until their titles were confirmed after the war of 1689-91, and their insecurity would have militated against any major expenditure on road building. Road improvements happened hand in hand with improvements in the overall social and economic infrastructure of the county, which included the consolidation of new estates, innovations in the transport system and the increasing importance of local towns with new market- and court-houses.

²⁰¹ J. H. Andrews, ‘Road Planning in Ireland before the Railway Age,’ in *Irish Geography*, vol. V, 1964-1968(Geography Society of Ireland), p. 18.

²⁰² Stevens, *A Journal of my Travels*, pp. 152-3.

²⁰³ ‘Presentment roads’ occurred when an individual landowner applied to the Grand Jury for funds to build a road, and if they were satisfied that there was a proven need then permission and funding would be granted. Andrews, ‘Road Planning in Ireland before the Railway Age,’ p. 19.

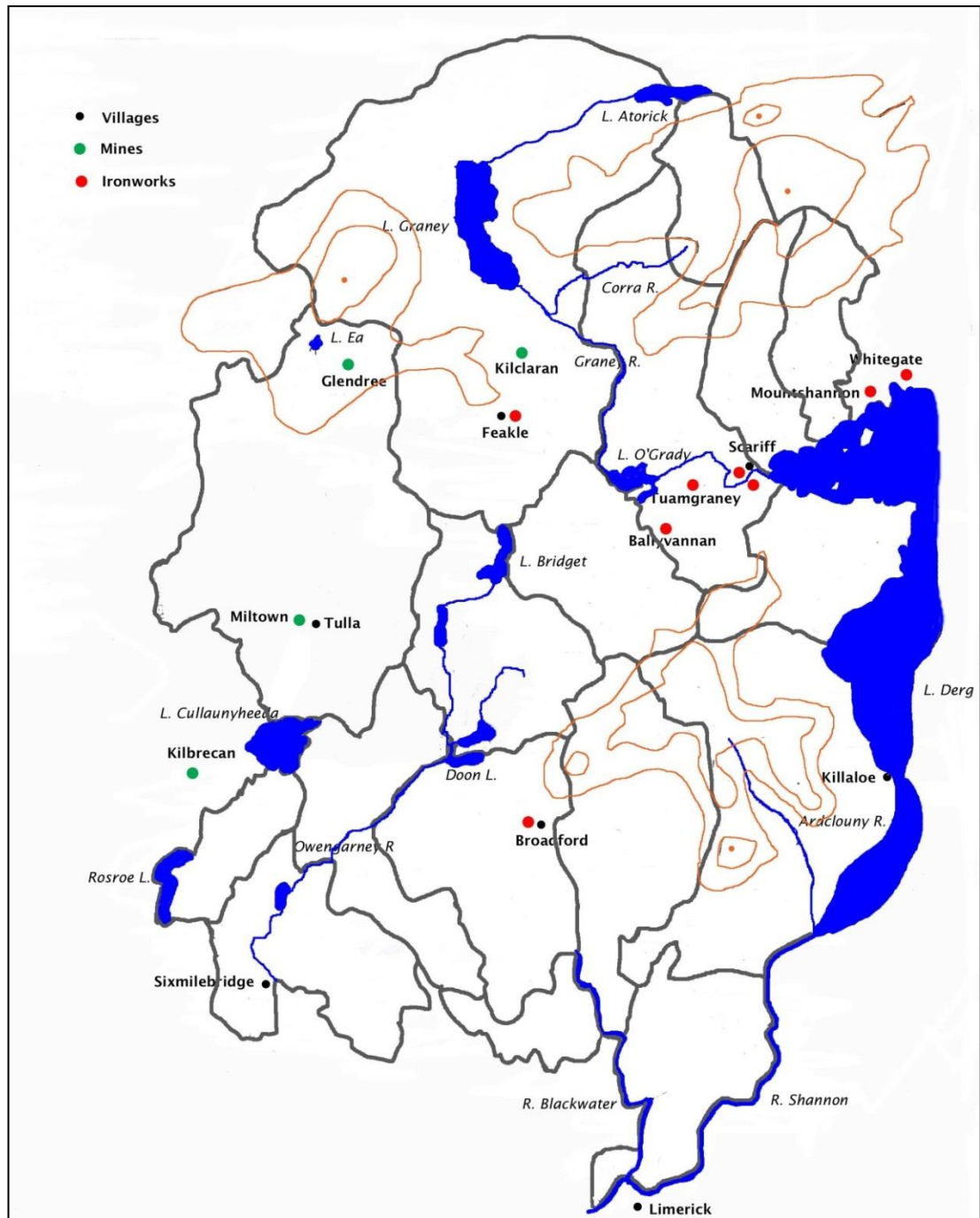


Figure 20: Ironworking in east Clare, 17th century.²⁰⁴

Despite poor overland transport links, ironworking in east Clare was far more important than has been hitherto recognised. Of the 160 mines in Ireland in the seventeenth century, eight were in east Clare and they provided ore for eight furnaces. Indeed, Madden asserts that some villages, among them Feakle, Scariff,

²⁰⁴ Based upon references to sites in Madden, Geisecke and Boate, see footnotes overleaf.

Woodford and Whitegate, originated as settlements providing housing for iron workers.²⁰⁵ Most of the iron mines have vanished without trace, and such sources as we have are tantalisingly vague. Gerard Boate asserts that there were iron mines ‘in Toumond or the county of Clare, six miles from Limerick’, and Charles Geisecke mentions clay ironstone in county Clare, plus meadow iron ore from Whitegate, which was ‘mixed with the red ironstone from Bristol, and afforded a very good pig-iron’.²⁰⁶ Grenville Cole’s list of mines refers to lead or silver mines, except for a brief mention of bog-iron deposits near Feakle.²⁰⁷ It is likely that the iron was ‘bog ore’, which was stripped directly from the upland bogs. It could then be carried by pack horse to the furnace near Feakle or taken by boat to Whitegate blast furnace close by Lough Derg. Although the industry remained locally important well into the eighteenth century, it had a devastating environmental impact. One ton of iron required twenty cords of wood to make charcoal, a cord being ‘a loose bundle of branches about twelve feet (3.5m) long’; that is, approximately 2½ tons of charcoal.²⁰⁸ An acre of good coppice oak provides enough fuel to make a ton of iron every twenty-five years, but although English iron masters practiced coppicing, Irish owners did not do so, and the industry was only profitable until the forests ran out. Cipolla describes the industry as inherently wasteful, parasitic and short-term.²⁰⁹ The chart (Fig. 21), based upon records of timber in each parish listed in the Book of Survey and Distribution, suggests that as early as the 1650s the once-extensive mature forests were inadequate to support a long-term iron industry.

²⁰⁵ Gerard Madden, lecture given to the Clare Roots Society, 16 May 2013. Madden is currently working on a book on metalworking in Clare with Paul Rondelez, UCC, but this MSS was not available at the time of writing.

²⁰⁶ Gerard Boate, *Ireland’s Natural History* (London, 1652), p. 71; Charles Lewis Geisecke, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a New Collection of Minerals in the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society* (Dublin: R. Graisberry, 1832), p. 247.

²⁰⁷ Cole, *Memoir of Localities of Minerals of Economic Importance and Metalliferous Mines in Ireland*, pp. 88, 116-121.

²⁰⁸ Eileen McCracken, *The Irish Woods Since Tudor Times*, pp. 92-93.

²⁰⁹ Carlo Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution : European society and economy, 1000-1700* (London: Methuen), pp. 209-210.

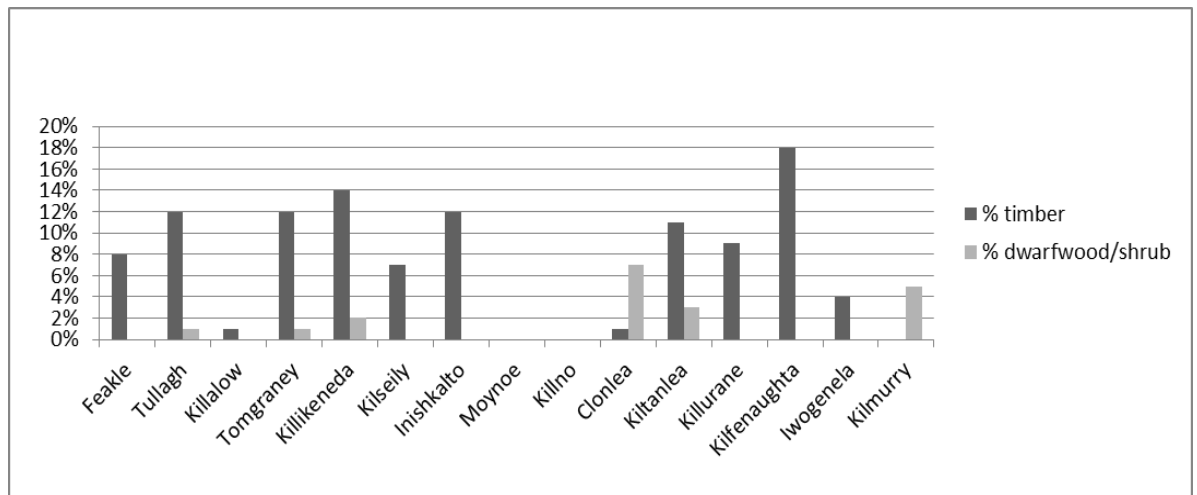


Figure 21: Percentage of woodland cover in the barony of Tulla, 1650²¹⁰

Iron required ore and wood in close proximity, as well as water to transport the product. As Fig. 20 shows, although Tulla had deposits of ore, and sufficient woodland to support charcoal-making in the short term, the distance between mines, furnaces and navigable rivers would have driven up costs.

Nevertheless, McCracken states that the industry would have supported ‘considerable colonies of people’, with lower-paid local people, including women, being employed in charcoal production and the transportation of ore, charcoal and iron.²¹¹ Madden believes that each ironworks required upwards of 150 workers.²¹² The higher-paid skilled workers were almost all English or from mainland Europe; in fact, Richard Boyle’s Tuamgraney ironworkers were Walloons, from Liège in Belgium, under the management of one Richard Crowley.²¹³ Rynne estimates that a single ironworks consumed between eighty and two hundred acres of forest so, given that there were eight ironworks in Tulla it is clear that the lifespan of the industry was limited.²¹⁴ As a Munster poet put it in the first decade of the eighteenth century,

Cad a dhéanfaimid feasta gan adhmaid?

Tá deireadh na gcoillte ar lár

²¹⁰ Data taken from the Books of Survey and Distribution.

²¹¹ Eileen McCracken, *Irish Woods Since Tudor Times*, p. 93.

²¹² Madden, lecture given to the Clare Roots Society, 16 May 2013.

²¹³ Colin Rynne, *Industrial Ireland, 1750-1930; an archaeology* (Cork: The Collins Press, 2006), p. 111.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

*Now what will we do for timber,
With the last of the woods laid low?*²¹⁵

Irish ore was suitable for the manufacture of iron which was brittle and of a low quality; in order to make high-grade iron, ore rich in haematite was required, but this was only found in England in the Forest of Dean, Cumberland or Lancashire.²¹⁶ The costs of importing ore and transporting it from England to east Clare would at first glance seem to have been prohibitive, and furthermore Irish ore had to compete with cheaper imports from Sweden and later Russia.²¹⁷ However, John Andrews argues that none of the difficulties faced by the industry in the 1660s were permanent, and that as the economy improved so did the demand for iron.²¹⁸ From 1662-1703 legislation regulating customs and excise duties of £24 per ton strongly favoured local markets by effectively prohibiting imports (14 & 15 Car. II, c. 9), and an iron shortage in England led to the removal of import duties on Irish and foreign metal in 1696 (7 & 8 Gul. III, c. 10).²¹⁹ Although import duties on goods into Ireland were reduced again in 1703, domestic consumption of iron rose and furnaces and forges were still being built in Ireland in the early eighteenth century.²²⁰ It is difficult to see how this could have been the case in Tulla, but although the clearing of forests and poor woodland husbandry would suggest that the local iron industry was of short-term duration, the Scariff ironworks were mentioned in *Pue's Occurrences* from 1731-41, and the importance of iron in local economic and social life can be seen from the abundance of folklore concerning forges and smiths.²²¹

Scariff was of particular importance in the Tulla context because it was already established as a proto-industrial centre. In February 1633, Richard Boyle, the Earl of Cork, had purchased ten quarters of land north of the Graney river, including the

²¹⁵ Seán Ó Tuama and Thomas Kinsella, *An Duanaire 1600-1900: Poems of the Dispossessed* (Mountrath: Dolmen Press, 1981).

²¹⁶ T. C. Barnard, 'An Anglo-Irish Industrial Enterprise: Iron-making at Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, 1657-92', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 85C (1985), pp. 101-144.

²¹⁷ M. F. Kearney, 'Richard Boyle, Ironmaster: a footnote to Irish economic history', in *JRSAI*, vol. 83, no. 2 (1953), available at www.jstor.org (12 May 2010), pp. 156-162.

²¹⁸ J. H. Andrews, 'A note on the later history of the Irish charcoal iron industry', in *JRSAI*, vol. 86, no. 2 (1956), pp. 217-219.

²¹⁹ Andrews, 'A note on the later history of the Irish charcoal iron industry', p. 217.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

²²¹ *Schools Folklore Collection*, 1937, available at James Hardiman Library, NUI Galway (microfilm).

castle and ironworks of Scariff, for £1,500 from the Bradys of Raheen, who had obtained a patent for the Manor of Tuamgraney in 1582. This land formed the ‘new’ parish of Scariff.²²² Situated on the confluence of the Graney River and Lough Derg, Scariff was the terminus of the trade road to Tulla and Ennis, and it was linked to Nenagh to the north and Killaloe and Limerick to the south by water. Water provided the motive power for Scariff’s iron and mills, and, equally importantly, the remaining forests provided the charcoal to power furnaces. The mills were located at Coolecoosaun in the 1650s, next to the fairgreen.²²³ Brigdall mentions two ironworks in Scariff in 1695.²²⁴ The mills functioned as a refinery turning pig iron to bar iron products, especially griddles, which were in high demand.²²⁵ This may give some indication of local diet, because if potatoes had become a staple food one would expect iron pots to have superseded griddles. If griddles were extensively used, it indicates that grain-based foods such as oatcakes remained the more important staple.

Richard Boyle was one of the most notable early capitalists, although other planters such as Sir Charles Coote and Sir Adam Loftus also invested in the iron industry. Of particular value in documenting what H. F. Kearney has described as a “premature” industrial revolution’ is Boyle’s diary, which he kept from 1612 to 1643.²²⁶ Boyle’s investment in the Brady lands in Tomgraney parish was no doubt a result of his interests in ironworking, and the BSD confirms the retention of his Tomgraney holdings as well as two further holdings in Inishkalto (Iniscealtra) parish, both of which contained extensive woodlands. After his death in 1643, the ironworks appear to have been continued by his son and grandson, until 2000 acres were sold by the third Earl to Thomas Croasdaile, an English settler in the Mountshannon area, in 1705. The Croasdailes were one of a number of English ironworking families who settled in the barony which included the Ringroses of Moineoe and the Watsons of Caherhurley. The families intermarried extensively between themselves and the existing local families, and along with the Maghlins of Feakle, a transplanter family

²²² Gerard Madden, *A History of Tuamgraney and Scariff since earliest times*, (East Clare Heritage, 2000), p. 13.

²²³ There is now a woodchip processing factory on this site.

²²⁴ Brigdall’s answers to Molyneux’s questionnaire, ‘William Molyneux, 1682’, in Ó Dálaigh, *The Stranger’s Gaze* (Ennis, Clasp Press, 2004), pp. 68-72.

²²⁵ Madden, lecture given to the Clare Roots Society, 16 May 2013.

²²⁶ Kearney, ‘Richard Boyle, Ironmaster’, pp. 156-162.

originating in the barony of Islands, they controlled the local iron industry into the nineteenth century.²²⁷

As the Book of Survey and Distribution has shown, lowlands in the river-valleys of Tulla were adjudged suitable for arable farming, and there is evidence that grains had long been grown across the barony. An Inquisition of January 1635 related how Turlough O'Brien, who was responsible for the wardship of Daniel MacNamara of Ballynahinch,

Suffered to fall down, a kitchen, a stable of coopes, a bakehouse, four other coopes houses of timber ... he hath suffered to fall down the mill at Ballynahinch, and its dam to be broken.²²⁸

The presence of a bakehouse strongly suggests that bread was an important part of the local diet, and the Depositions taken after the 1641 uprising mention damage to a 'maulhouse' in Sixmilebridge.²²⁹ Charles Lucas's diary lists crops of bere barley, Dutch barley, wheat and oats and Regina Sexton notes that leavened breads of many varieties had formed part of the Irish diet since Anglo-Norman times.²³⁰ Charges for the use of a village mill formed part of a landlord's income, and people were discouraged from milling grain at home by hand. Moland's 1703 survey mentions two grain mills in Cappagh, near Sixmilebridge. In the parish of Tomgreney, the BSD makes no mention of a grain mill in Scariff, but the parish is notable for considerable acreages of profitable arable land so it is likely that grain mills were located in the townland. In 1740, a seven-story building was erected in Scariff which housed a corn mill, an oil mill, a bark mill and a tuck mill.²³¹ The bark and tuck mills were components of the linen and wool industry, and because the attempts to develop a cloth manufacture in the barony were principally a feature of the latter part of the eighteenth century, they will be dealt with in the next chapter.

²²⁷ Madden, Clare Roots Society, 16 May 2013. I am also grateful to Paul Rondelez, UCC, for sharing his notes on ironworking with me.

²²⁸ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 318. See Ch. 1, p. 23, for a definition of terms.

²²⁹ T.C.D. MSS 829, fol. 61v and 61r. Ale and beer made from malted grain was commonly drunk

²³⁰ Ó Dálaigh, 'The Lucas Diary, 1740-41', p. 79; Sexton, *A Little History of Irish Food*, p. 84.

²³¹ Gerard Madden, 'The Stones that Ground the Corn', in *Sliabh Aughty Journal*, 2009, p. 29.

It is likely that, as new landowners began to consolidate their holdings and look for ways in which to profit from them, they would have looked to examples such as the Earl of Thomond's promotion of trading in Sixmilebridge and the Earl of Cork's promotion of iron smelting, as well as the increasing number of local markets. Indeed, as we will see in the next chapter, attempts were made to improve land and promote local industries. But Tulla landowners were hampered by relatively poor land and fluctuations in the national economy. The on-going transition to a market economy meant that Tulla's agriculturalists would be increasingly affected by national demand and legislation; local markets too would have fluctuated, though arguably less so than other regions. When Irish exports were affected by the Navigation Acts of 1654 and 1660 and the Cattle Acts of 1664 and 1667, restricting the export of live cattle as well as beef and pork products, Irish farmers in the rich rangelands of east Galway and the Tipperary/Limerick region could export their beef to the provisions trade in the Caribbean, where the navies and colonies themselves demanded supplies of salted beef and butter.²³² As we have seen, though, there is no evidence of such a diversion in Tulla and it is likely that Tulla beef was sold and consumed locally, with exports restricted to by-products such as hides and tallow.

By the end of Queen Anne's reign in 1714, then, Tulla was less commercialised in comparison to Ennis and its hinterland, with much trade taking place on a local level. From 1714-1750, the trend was towards long-term stagnation, with conspicuously bad years in 1728-9 and especially during the Great Frost of 1739-40 and the very wet year of 1744. These years were interspersed by years of booming economy, though prolonged poor markets and low prices left people vulnerable to distress. When prices rose, few had the resources to purchase extra food and 'many were in no position to survive a second season of hardship'.²³³

In order to enable the peasantry to better withstand fluctuations in the national economy, a great deal of hope was placed in the concept of 'improvement'. The surveys of the seventeenth century by writers such as Robert Downing and Hugh Brigdall, are useful sources of information on the topography and landownership of a

²³² Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, pp. 205-6.

²³³ Cullen, 'Economic Development, 1691-1750', p. 148.

changing society.²³⁴ But it is important to remember that inherent in these works was an ideology which was based upon an underlying agenda that ‘improvement’ was desirable. Notions of ‘improvement’ grew from long-standing notions of ‘civility’, a belief that prior to the plantations, Irish rural society had been barbarous, its land was undeveloped and only exposure to English methods and usage of land would bring it into full productivity.²³⁵ The Book of Survey and Distribution assessed the potential profitability of the landscape, and although the ideology of improvement was not fully developed until the eighteenth century, the basic notion of the inferiority of Irish land and its people was already firmly in place. Charles Lucas described the inhabitants of Clare in 1740 as ‘wild and unpolished; weak blind superstitious zealots of the church of Rome, led and enslaved by a set of mean, ignorant and illiterate priests.’²³⁶ A letter from William Brooke, the author of a survey of the natural history of Armagh, summed up the ideology of ‘improvement’ as a ‘good and ingenious design’ which would ‘undoubtedly undeceive our very neighbouring kingdom as well as more remote parts in their mean and despicable opinion of this nation.’²³⁷

‘Mean and despicable’ the more remote parts of Ireland might be, but the prevailing belief was that with good management they could be made productive and civil. In areas of Ireland which were settled by post-Cromwellian merchant adventurers and soldiers, it was supposed that Protestant landlords would set the best example of English land management. Certainly, the Earl of Thomond promoted improvements in his tenants’ holdings and through his mercantile settlement in Sixmilebridge, and the Earl of Cork and his successors were eager to encourage commercialism through their mining enterprises. The ideology of improvement, as with other social changes, was driven from above and its implementation in peripheral areas such as Tulla was patchy. Landlords were especially hampered in any ambitions they might have had to improve productivity of their estates by poor land and a lack of good transport

²³⁴ The much-quoted *Survey of County Clare* by William Molyneux, was comprised of reports compiled by Downing and Briggall. Molyneux’s survey was never published because its publisher, Moses Pitt of London, was arrested for debt. *Molyneux Survey*, T. C. D. MSS 833/1; Ó Dálaigh, ed., *The Stranger’s Gaze*, pp. 68-72

²³⁵ Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 170.

²³⁶ Charles Lucas, ‘A Description of the cave of Kilcorney in the Barony of Burren in Ireland... to Sir Hans Sloane’, in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, no. 41 (1740), pp. 360-64.

²³⁷ T.C.D. MSS 883, vol. 1, fol. 224, dated 26 October 1682.

links. Furthermore, its common people were a part of, and affected by, greater national and international trends and policies. The most important of these national policies were the Penal Laws, and these will be discussed later in this chapter. Secondly, land titles were far from secure until after the dust had settled on the confiscations following the Williamite war, so few landowners were in a position to develop their estates until questions of ownership had been settled. Many of the Tulla Catholic gentry were officers in the army of King James, and their involvement cost some their lands, enabling others to move into the local landowning class. The next section, therefore, will analyse the Restoration land settlement, and discuss the effects of the Williamite war and the Treaty of Limerick on landholding in the barony.

Landownership

When Charles II returned from exile in May 1660 and began to tackle the Irish land question, he faced a 'raft of conflicting proposals'.²³⁸ The Protestants argued that the existing Cromwellian land settlement should be confirmed; the Catholics hoped that their confiscated lands would be restored. In order to satisfy all of the conflicting demands, Ormond remarked that a new Ireland would be required.²³⁹ The King's declaration, issued on 30 November 1660, intended to emphasise the fact that the opposing factions had the right to nothing more than royal favour, but that some revision of the Cromwellian settlement would be made.²⁴⁰

The Declaration listed four categories of restorees. The first consisted of 39 members of the nobility who merited especial 'grace and favour'. Next were 200 'ensignmen', that is, Irish officers who had served under the Royalist ensign in exile. Third were the 'articlemen', or those who had subscribed to the 1649 Articles drawn up by Ormonde. But both articlemen and ensignmen were subjected to a clause which ordered them to 'reprise', or compensate, the Cromwellian grantees with the equivalent acreage elsewhere, and in effect few were able to do so and so most were

²³⁸ John Cunningham, *Conquest and Land in Ireland: The Transplantation to Connacht, 1649-1680* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2011), p. 121.

²³⁹ S. J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 133.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

not restored.²⁴¹ Some of these took to the mountains and forests, becoming outlaws or ‘tories’ – one such was Dudley Costelloe, who was said to have been in the woods in Tuamgraney in 1666 (p. 19). The fourth category were ‘innocent Papists’ or those who were not judged to have been in arms against Charles I. This category should have applied to only a few people because Confederates and their heirs were excluded, along with anybody who had remained on their estates within Confederate territory. But Charles II appointed seven English commissioners to hear claims, and out of 820 adjudications, the Commissioners issued 564 decrees of innocence to Catholics.²⁴² However, these claimants were mostly Palesmen, and there was uncertainty regarding the Commissioners’ ability to confirm claims because their powers were not authorised by an Act of Parliament, as well as some doubt as to their impartiality.²⁴³ The result was that overall Catholics were restored to approximately a third of their former estates.²⁴⁴

Fig. 22 overleaf is based upon the Carte MSS, vol. 44, which included a list of men who had lost their lands during the Cromwellian confiscations and who had not received grants of land in Clare or Connacht, nor been restored by the Court of Claims.²⁴⁵ Ormonde, as Lord Lieutenant, was responsible for recommendations for restoration, and in order to judge cases, letters categorising their conduct during the war of 1641-52 were devised. Category ‘B’ consisted of ‘Those who by their early repentance redeemed their former failings by submitting to the cessation in 43 to the peace in 46 to the cessation with the Earle of Inshyquin & upon all other occasions manifested their good affections to His Majestys service.’ Category ‘C’ were ‘Those who constantly upon all occasions opposed the Nuncio & his party, laboured to induce the people to returne to their former obedience to his Majestie’s Governmt & signally endeavoured to assert the peace of 46.’ Category ‘E’ were ‘Those named in H. M. Declaration & Act of Settlement as specially meritting on suffering,’ and Category ‘H’ included ‘Those who submitted and constantly adhered to the peace of

²⁴¹ Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 157.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

²⁴³ Cunningham, *Conquest and Land in Ireland*, p. 124.

²⁴⁴ J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685-91* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000) p. 3.

²⁴⁵ ‘The Dispossessed Landowners of Ireland’, in *Irish Genealogist*, pp. 445-447.

`48'.²⁴⁶ Some landowners were restored under more than one category, category 'C' and 'E' deserving of most favour, and 'H' least.

Parish	Townland	Name	Origin	Settlement
Kilfenaghta	Ballymulcashel	Bartholomew Stacpoole	Transplanted papist, son of James Stacpoole of Limerick.	Restored (by Charles II) 'after reprizals set out, and for whom no provision hath yet been made. Obtained Decree of Innocence under Acts of Settlement and Explanation.' ²⁴⁷
	Ballymulcashel	Connor O'Brien	Proprietor of Ballymulcashel in the BSD.	Categories B&H ²⁴⁸ No Decree of Innocence listed.
	Ballarilla (Mt Ivers)	Henry Ivers (son was John Ivers)	Transplanted papist, granted 5,773 acres of land in co. Clare.	Patentee under Acts of Settlement and Explanation of 5,778 statute acres of profitable land, plus large area of waste. ²⁴⁹
Kilmurry Also lands in Tullogh, Killokenedy, Kilseily, Clonley, Kilfinaghta	Rossroe	Daniel O'Brien, 1st Viscount Clare	Lord Clare was granted 2,005 acres across fourteen townlands in the BSD.	Granted Rossroe under Act of Settlement, mortgaged it to various people. ²⁵⁰ Categories B, C, E, H. 1662, 'in consideration of his own and his children's services, both at home and in foreign parts, he had restitution of his whole estate.' ²⁵¹ Obtained Decree of Innocence under Acts of Settlement and Explanation. ²⁵²

²⁴⁶ 'The Dispossessed Landowners of Ireland', pp. 445-447.

²⁴⁷ O'Hart, John, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1884), pp. 435 and 467.

²⁴⁸ 'The Dispossessed Landowners of Ireland', pp. 445-447.

²⁴⁹ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 407.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

²⁵¹ John D'Alton, *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List* (Limerick: The Celtic Bookshop, 1997), p. 312.

²⁵² O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry*, p. 464.

Kilmurry Killokennedy	Dromollin Killeagy, Shanknock, Carrowmeere	John MacNamara	Proprietor of this townland in the BSD, the lands were granted to Col. William Purefoy.	Categories B&H Killokennedy lands were confirmed in 1660 by the Court of Claims in Loughrea by right of his wife Una. ²⁵³ Obtained Decree of Innocence under Acts of Settlement and Explanation. ²⁵⁴
Killokennedy	Killeagy, Shanknock, Carrowmoore	Nicholas Stritch	Son of a transplanted papist, granted part of Killeagy and Shanknock in the BSD.	Grant confirmed by the Commissioners in 1676, plus lands in Carrowmore. ²⁵⁵
Clonlea	Mountallon	Peter Bolgier	Granted part of the townland in the BSD.	Grant confirmed by the Commissioners in 1676. ²⁵⁶
Feakle	Carocloane	Theobald Butler	Richard Butler was granted 129 acres in this townland in the BSD. Transplanted papist, a.k.a. the 'Poore Lord of Kilmallock', from Knocktopher, Co, Kilkenny. M. Mary Molony of Kiltannon.	Mentioned in Inrolments of the Decrees of Innocents, restoree. ²⁵⁷
	Maghery	Dermot O'Brien ²⁵⁸	See footnote	Categories B&H
Killaloe	Ailemore, Ballycorney, Classagh, Feenlea, Killestry, plus other part townlands in various parishes.	Earl of Inchiquin	Murrough O'Brien, sixth Baron Inchiquin, Protestant.	Act of Settlement 1661 'to be restored to their former estates and for whom no provision hath yet been made'. ²⁵⁹ Obtained Decree of Innocence under Acts of Settlement and Explanation. ²⁶⁰
Kiltenanlea		Earl of Thomond		Whole parish was granted to Earl of Thomond under the Act of Settlement, 1661. ²⁶¹

²⁵³ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 511.

²⁵⁴ O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry*, p. 462.

²⁵⁵ Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, Chapter 22. He was probably a member of a Limerick family, as there was a Nicholas, aged 70, but he was not mentioned in the *Transplantation to Connaught*. O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry*, p. 467.

²⁵⁶ Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, Chapter 22. No information is available on Bolgier's origins. His lands at Mountallion comprised less than a third of the townland, the remainder being divided between Donogh O'Callaghan and Bartholomew Stacpoole.

²⁵⁷ O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry*, p. 454.

²⁵⁸ Dermot O'Brien, Esq, was the dispossessed proprietor of Lecarrowbegg, parish of Tulla, and was the recipient of various part-townlands in Kilnoe, Ogonnelloe and Kilseily.

²⁵⁹ O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry*, p. 435.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

²⁶¹ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 514.

Kilnoe	Ballinahinch	Daniel MacNamara		Categories B&H
Kilseily	Cloontra	John McLoughlin	John McLaughlinboy McSheda owned part of this townland in the BSD, and his share was ceded to Henry Ivers.	Categories B&H
Kilseily	Kilukelly	George Clancy	Granted part of the townland in the BSD.	Grant confirmed by the Commissioners in 1676. ²⁶²
Ogonnelloe	Ballybran, Carrowgar, Ballynaglearagh Ballyhurly, Aughinish, Ballylaghnan, Caher, Carrowcore	George Purdon	James Purdon of Kirklington, Cumberland, settled in Co. Louth in 1580. George Purdon was given a grant of lands in 1668 and was High Sherriff of Clare in 1684. ²⁶³	Obtained patent to lands under the Commission of Grace. ²⁶⁴
Killuran	Drummin, Doorus, Doon, Killuran, Monogenagh & Gortnacomulla	Henry Bridgeman		Granted lands by the Commissioners as he had mortgaged them from Cornelius Clancy. ²⁶⁵ Obtained Decree of Innocence under Acts of Settlement and Explanation. ²⁶⁶
	Monogenagh	Sheeda MacNamara	Teige McSheeda MacNamara was part-proprietor of this townland in the BSD, and was dispossessed.	Categories B&H
No parish or townland		Pierce Creagh	From a Limerick merchant family, transplanted papist.	Act of Settlement 1661 'to be restored to their former estates and for whom no provision hath yet been made'. ²⁶⁷ Obtained Decree of Innocence under Acts of Settlement and Explanation. ²⁶⁸
Tulla	Roslara	John MacNamara	This townland was shared between John and Teige MacNamara in the BSD, and it	Categories B&H. Obtained Decree of Innocence under

²⁶² The Clancys had held lands in Killurane parish, though their major holdings were in the Barony of Corcomroe. Cornelius Clancy had been granted three of the original MacNamara holdings in Killurane in the BSD. He was also a tenant of the Earl of Thomond who served on the Grand Jury in the Manor Court of Quin in 1674: see S. C. Mahony, 'The Manor Courts of the Earl of Thomond, 1666-1686' in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 38 (2004) p. 187.

²⁶³ T. J. Westropp, *Clare Notebook*, p. 43, taken from Twigge MSS, available on microfilm at Clare Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

²⁶⁴ The Commission of Grace was a supplement to the Acts of Settlement and Explanation and covered those whose title had been in question. O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry*, p. 436-8.

²⁶⁵ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 511.

²⁶⁶ O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry*, p. 454.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 437.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 456.

			was granted to Edmond Magrath.	Acts of Settlement and Explanation. ²⁶⁹
	Tulla	Morrogh O'Brien		Categories B&H
	Fomerly	John Delahyde	Son of Sir Roland Delahyde, who was implicated in the 1641 Uprising, d. 8 March 1641. ²⁷⁰	Categories B&H. No Decree of Innocence listed.
	Toome	Connor O'Molony ²⁷¹	Fenola Delahyde was proprietor in the BSD, and the townland was granted to Edmond Magrath.	Categories B&H
	Glandree	Daniel O'Molony	Older brother of James Molony	Categories B&H
	Garruragh Roskarty	Teige MacNamara	Dispossessed to Edmond Magrath and Phillip Bigoe in the BSD.	Categories B&H
Truogh	Duogh	Daniel O'Brien		Obtained Decree of Innocence under Acts of Settlement and Explanation. ²⁷²
Moinoe		Flan McBrody	Indigenous family	Categories B&H
		Bishop of Killaloe		Obtained Decree of Innocence under Acts of Settlement and Explanation. ²⁷³
No parish or townland		Edward Rice	James Rice was granted the townland of Caher, in Feakle parish, in the BSD.	Obtained Decree of Innocence under Acts of Settlement and Explanation. ²⁷⁴

Figure 22: Tulla landowners listed in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation²⁷⁵

John MacNamara of Cratloe's claim in 1661 illustrates the inequities that arose from the Court of Claims. The court found in his favour,

But finding that part of his estates had been already set out and assigned to certain transplanted papists, viz.:—to Pierce Creagh and Laurence White, in satisfaction for their former properties, the Court ordered and decreed that John

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 456.

²⁷⁰ *Genealogy of the MacNamara family*, Twigge MSS, p. 99. Thereafter, the Delahydes disappeared from the Tulla region, but although they were dispossessed of some of their lands in Bunratty barony in the BSD, John Delahyde retained his lands in Kilmaleery parish. It is probable that they remained in Bunratty barony because another Roland Delahyde was a member of the Grand Jury at the Manor Court of Quin in 1675. Mahony, 'The Manor Courts of the Earl of Thomond', p. 187.

²⁷¹ There are several variations on Connor O'Molony, or O'Mulowny, in the BSD, part proprietors of townlands in Tulla and Kilnoe. He is not mentioned in Charles Molony's history of the Molony family so it is difficult to know whether he retained his lands. No Molonys or O'Molonys are mentioned in the lists of restorees in O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry*.

²⁷² O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry*, p. 464.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 437.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 435.

²⁷⁵ Carte MSS, cited in 'The Dispossessed Landowners of Ireland', in *Irish Genealogist*, pp. 445-447.

M'Namara should be restored to the remainder, Creagh and White not to be disturbed unless they were reprised or restored to their former estates.²⁷⁶

The result of decisions such as this was a period of instability during which the dispossessed were aggrieved that their lands were not fully restored and the grantees did not feel fully secure in their new estates in case they were restored to their former owners. Most of the Protestant land in county Clare, some 36 per cent of the total profitable acreage, had been in the hands of the O'Brien family prior to 1641. The Cromwellian settlements had increased this by only 2 per cent, but the Restoration settlement increased Protestant lands to around 73 per cent of the county's total profitable acreage. 19 per cent was now in the hands of Protestant settlers, with the Established Church increasing its holding by 4 per cent and the O'Briens owning the remaining 50 per cent.²⁷⁷ Consequently, land in Catholic hands was reduced from its pre-1641 total of 64 per cent to 27 per cent, or approx. 64,000 acres. O Murchadha estimates that 10 per cent of land in Clare was in the hands of native Catholics after the Restoration settlement; the pre-1641 small freeholders had virtually disappeared, and some major old native gentry, such as the MacNamaras, were severely affected.²⁷⁸ But determining whether native landowners or indeed settlers were confirmed in their grants, is very difficult, because the claims of most Catholics were not heard until 1676.²⁷⁹ Decrees made by the Commissioners authorising the issue of Letters Patent of lands in the Tulla district to Peter Bolgier, Nicholas Stritch and George Clancy, appear to be confirming some old and new names.

Although Simington lists symbols which were applied to each entry in the BSD to indicate on what grounds title to the lands was given, the Clare BSD only gives the land sold by the Trustees in 1688, and not that granted under the Act of Settlement.²⁸⁰ No rentals survive from Tulla during the Restoration period, but Thomond and

²⁷⁶ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, Chapter 22. John MacNamara was the chief representative of the MacNamara Finns who had owned extensive lands in the Barony of Bunratty. This settlement reduced their holding to a mere three townlands. A John MacNamara, claiming to be a protestant from 'Cracolo' (Cratloe) who married into a Catholic Waterford family, was implicated in the Popish Plot of 1679, but there is no evidence to suggest that this was the same person. John Gibney, *Ireland and the Popish Plot* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), pp. 81-110.

²⁷⁷ O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 102.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122-124.

²⁷⁹ BSD, Introduction, p. xvii.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xivii.

Leamanegh O'Brien rentals show that the old native gentry still owned reduced acreages, but most of their income was derived from becoming chief tenants on leasehold land.²⁸¹ In such a time of uncertainty, it is likely that a leaseholder would have been inclined to seize short-term gains from subleasing rather than considering the benefits of 'improving' his holding. Additionally, any impetus towards improvement in Tulla in the Restoration period was all too soon to be negated by the Williamite war.

For a time, Charles II's policy of toleration, and more particularly his brother James's Catholic sympathies, had given Irish Catholics some hope that they would regain their lost estates and enjoy political power. Indeed, once elevated to Lord Deputy, the Earl of Tyrconnell 'accelerated the pace of Catholicisation of central government, army, judiciary, magistracy, commissions of the peace and parliamentary boroughs'.²⁸² Tyrconnell remodelled the electorate using *quo warranto* proceedings to dramatically increase the number of Catholic borough voters in 1688, with most Catholic MPs urging complete restoration of confiscated lands and the repeal of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation which had legalised the post-1641 confiscations. Four prominent Catholic Claremen attended the 'patriot parliament' of 1689: representing county Clare were the third Lord Clare, Daniel O'Brien of Carrigaholt, and John MacNamara of Cratloe, along with Theobald Butler and Florence MacNamara who represented the borough of Ennis.

The feelings of both Catholics and Protestants in Clare ran particularly high because of the diversity of ethnic and religious groups, all competing for the same land. Upon his accession to the throne on 6 February 1685, James II did not agree to more than a compromise between re-granting estates to Catholics whilst requiring them to compensate Cromwellian grantees with the equivalent of six years' rent or half of their estates.²⁸³ Like most Irish landowners, Clare Catholics were frustrated with the limitations of Catholic restoration, and Protestant landowning interests had been

²⁸¹ O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 126.

²⁸² Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 175.

²⁸³ Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, p. 175.

‘severely damaged’ by the Act of Explanation, as well as fearing a repeat of the 1641 troubles in a county with such a high Catholic population.²⁸⁴

In the event, the ‘patriot parliament’ was soon overshadowed by outright war. In June 1688, opposition to King James’s support of Catholic interests had reached ‘dangerous levels’, and the birth of a daughter to James and his Catholic queen gave rise to the real possibility of a royal Catholic dynasty.²⁸⁵ William of Orange, husband of King James’s daughter Mary, landed in England from Holland on 5 November 1688 with a 5,000 strong army, and on 13 February 1689 William and Mary took the throne after James, realising that he had lost most of his supporters, fled to France. Catholic hopes of restitution of their former political and landowning rights were dashed by the Jacobite defeats at Derry, Athlone and Aughrim. Although the conflict brushed close to Tulla’s borders, there was no action in the barony itself apart from the depredations of the army explored earlier in the chapter. Nonetheless, several members of leading Tulla families were involved in the military campaign. D’Alton’s army lists name several members of the O’Brien and MacNamara families, but it is unclear whether they were all landholders in Tulla. The chart below lists those whose location can be confirmed.

Regiment	Name	Tulla landholding
Clare Dragoons	Col. Daniel O’Brien (Lord Clare)	Lands in Tullogh, Killokennedy, Kilseily, Clonley, Kilmurry, Kilfinaghta
	Capt. Redmond Magrath	Kilbarron & Lecarrow, Feakle parish
	Capt. Teige O’Brien	Brickhill and Moyhill, Kilfinaghta parish
	Lieut. William Lysaght	Lands in Tulla parish
	Quartermaster Daniel MacNamara	Ballinahinch, Kilnoe parish
Col. Charles O’Brien’s regiment of infantry	Capt. Dermott O’Callaghan	O’Callaghans owned lands in Tullagh, Kilnoe, Kilmurry, Clonlea & Killlurane parishes.
	Capt. Daniel Molony	Glandree & Kiltannon, Tulla parish; Ardmaclanchy & Ballysheenbeg, Kilfinaghta parish
	Capt. Donogh O’Brien	Possibly Daniel O’Brien of Duogh, Truogh parish
	Capt. Teige MacNamara	Lismeeghan, Leighort & Ayle, Feakle parish
	Capt. Teige Ryan	Iragh & Killavoy, Killuran parish; Cloongaheen, Killokennedy parish
	Lieut. James Molony	Kiltannon, Tulla parish
	Lieut. Teige O’Brien	Coolreaghbeg, Kilnoe parish

²⁸⁴ O Murchadha, *Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare*, p. 134.

²⁸⁵ Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, p. 178.

	Ensign Callaghan O'Callaghan	Kilconry, Kilmurry parish
Grenadiers	Capt. James O'Brien (Viscount Inchiquin)	Ailmore, Ballycorney, Classagh, Feenlea, Killaloe parish
Col. John Barrett's Infantry	Lieut. Miles Magrath	Barony of Tulla
No regiment listed	Col. Donogh O'Callaghan	O'Callaghans owned lands in Tullagh, Kilnoe, Kilmurry, Clonlea & Killlurane parishes

Figure 23: Tulla military personnel in King James' Army²⁸⁶

The Treaty of Limerick, signed on the third of October 1691, comprised of military and civil provisions. The military articles were relatively straightforward, permitting all who wished to do so to go to France, and the Williamite commander in Limerick, General Ginkel, went so far as to promise ships and an escort. The civil articles, however, were far more opaque. James II had initially promised Catholics religious liberty, though this was tempered by what would prove to be serious reservations. The civil articles applied to 'Catholics in Ireland generally and, in particular, those of the Irish army and of the inhabitants of Limerick who wished to stay in Ireland'.²⁸⁷ Briefly, they consisted of three main clauses. Firstly, that Catholics would be allowed to practice their religion in accordance with the law, 'or as they did in the reign of King Charles II' – a modifier which was meaningless since Charles' reign had never guaranteed religious privileges to Catholics, and the clause may have been deliberately drafted to make it easy to renege later.²⁸⁸ Secondly, Jacobites were to be pardoned with their property rights intact if they agreed to take the Oath of Allegiance, a concession which Protestants considered to be 'dangerously lenient'.²⁸⁹ This clause did not apply to those who had been captured or who had unconditionally surrendered, or the successors of those killed in action.²⁹⁰ Additionally, a 'missing clause' that was never ratified specifically included counties under the protection of the army, Clare and Limerick amongst them. The articles of the Treaty, which would have consolidated Catholic rights if it had been

²⁸⁶ J. G. Simms, 'Irish Jacobites', in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 22 (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1960), p. 13.

²⁸⁷ J. G. Simms, *The Treaty of Limerick* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1961), p. 9.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 15; Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 188.

²⁸⁹ Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 152.

²⁹⁰ Simms, *The Treaty of Limerick*, p. 10.

implemented in full, were drafted with 'questionable looseness', giving the Irish parliament the pretext to restrict its applicability.²⁹¹ When the bill to ratify the Treaty came before parliament in 1697, it omitted the promise that Catholics would have the same freedom of religion they had enjoyed under Charles II, a further clause which extended the treaty to cover non-combatants under the protection of the Jacobite army, and the 'missing clause'.²⁹² As a result of these deficiencies, and the provisions of the Declaration of Finglas, which had excluded the leaders of the Jacobite army from pardon if they surrendered before August 1690, forfeitures were to further reduce the amount of land in Ireland under Catholic ownership from 22 per cent in 1688 to 14 per cent by 1703.²⁹³

At the beginning of 1689 William III demanded the surrender of all supporters of James II. There was 'virtually no response', after which fifty-seven Jacobites were outlawed for high treason.²⁹⁴ The most significant of these was Daniel O'Brien, Lord Clare, who was the leading supporter of James II in county Clare and the leader of Clare's Dragoons, which was mauled in a skirmish preceeding the Battle of Newtownbutler in 1689 and subsequently routed the following year at the Battle of the Boyne. The BSD lists him as having been allocated 2,005 acres of land in Tulla barony, but his total acreage in county Clare was 80,000 acres, all of which was lost when he was attainted for foreign treason, having embarked for military service in France by March 1690.²⁹⁵ His estate was presented to a Dutchman and favourite of William III, Joost Van Keppel, who sold it to Nicholas Westby, Francis Burton and James MacDonnell, all Protestants.²⁹⁶ Captain Teige MacNamara of Ayle, near Tulla, raised an independent troop of soldiers and fortified Clare Castle, holding it until after the siege of Limerick, 'in the articles of which he, being included, saved his estate and removed to the old family mansion at Ayle'.²⁹⁷

²⁹¹ Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 152.

²⁹² Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, p. 201.

²⁹³ Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, pp. 188-9; J. G. Simms, 'Williamite Peace Tactics, 1690-1', in *The Old Limerick Journal*, 1690 Siege edition (Vol. 28, Winter 1990), pp. 29-30.

²⁹⁴ Simms, 'Irish Jacobites', p. 13.

²⁹⁵ Sheila Mulloy, *Franco-Irish Correspondence, December 1688-February 1692*, vol. 1 (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1983), pp. 280-281.

²⁹⁶ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 415.

²⁹⁷ D'Alton, *King James's Irish Army List*, p. 154.

Following the war, many individuals who had taken service with the French army were indicted for foreign treason, or ‘high treason beyond the seas’ and were outlawed by default.²⁹⁸ Captain Redmond McGrath of Derrymore, Feakle parish, left for France with the rest of the Jacobite army and thus became one of the latter. His Tulla lands were sold by the Commissioners of the Forfeitures, although some lands which were entailed were allowed in the Petitions of 1700.²⁹⁹ At the Siege of Limerick in 1691, we find two brothers in Colonel O’Brien’s regiment of Foot, Daniel and James O’Molony. Daniel, the eldest, was killed, but James survived and his case was adjudicated under the articles of Limerick on 6 December 1694.³⁰⁰ He became the first Molony of Kiltannon, later known as the Patriarch, and his rise to local prominence will be explored in greater detail in the next section. The O’Molony brothers were the nephews of John O’Molony II, at that time Bishop of Limerick while still administering the bishopric of Killaloe. Bishop O’Molony was without a doubt one of the most important Tulla figures of this era, considered by Lord Lieutenant Essex to be very dangerous indeed due to his ability to encourage unity among Catholics. From January 1679 to June 1681 he was the subject of an intensive search through Clare, Limerick and Connacht by the authorities, led by Orrery, the President of Munster, one of his ‘most implacable enemies and critics’ because he was believed to be ‘much in the confidence of France’ and conspiring to bring the French to Ireland.³⁰¹

As noted, the O’Callaghans belonged to a Cork family of transplanted who were granted lands in the parishes of Tulla, Kilnoe, Kilmurry, Clonlea and Killurane. Donogh, the O’Callaghan patriarch, had been a member of the Supreme Council of the Kilkenny Confederacy from 1645-6.³⁰² Following his transplantation, he took up residence at Kilgory with his wife and sons. His brother Cornelius, or Connor, moved to Clonlough, in Killurane parish to the north of Kilgory.³⁰³ The O’Callaghan estate, comprising some of the best arable lands across the more fertile

²⁹⁸ Simms, ‘Irish Jacobites’, p. 14.

²⁹⁹ Sheedy, *Feakle*, p. 35; D’Alton, *King James’s Irish Army List*, p. 328.

³⁰⁰ Simms, *Irish Jacobites*, p. 99.

³⁰¹ Ormonde MSS, N. S. 4 (1906), p. 303, cited in Leonard Howard, ‘The Penal Laws in County Clare, 1677-1685’, in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, Issue 13(1970), p. 30.

³⁰² Donal F. Cregan, ‘The Confederate Catholics of Ireland: The Personnel of the Confederation, 1642-9’, in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 29, No. 116 (November 1995), p. 511.

³⁰³ Weir, *Houses of Clare*, p. 159.

central lowlands, had formed the heartland of the MacNamara Finns and by 1659 the O'Callaghan estate at Mountallion had the highest population in the parish. Dermott O'Callaghan, possibly the son of Cornelius, and Ensign Callaghan O'Callaghan, were in Colonel O'Brien's infantry. Morgan (or Morogh), Patrick and Callaghan O'Callaghan, sons of Donogh, of 'Killgonry', were all indicted and outlawed for treason.³⁰⁴ Most importantly, Colonel Donogh and Darby (Dermott) O'Callaghan, of Killurane, were covered by the articles of Limerick and Galway in November and December 1694, and Teige O'Callaghan of Mountallion's case was favourably adjudicated in 1699, so the family were able to consolidate their role as significant members of Tulla society, as we shall see in the next section.³⁰⁵

Name	Parish	Townland	Outlawed for high treason 1689	Exempted under the articles of Limerick or Galway	Adjudications 1699
Daniel O'Brien, Viscount Clare	Tullogh, Killokennedy, Kilseily, Clonley, Kilmurry, Kilfinaghta		o		
Kennedy O'Brien	Kilnoe	Coolreaghbegg			o
Daniel O'Brien	Truogh		o		
Pierce Butler	Inishkalto	Coogy		o	
Morgan Callaghan	Clonlea	Mountallion	o		
Patrick Callaghan	Clonlea	Mountallion	o		
Callaghan O'Callaghan	Clonlea	Kilgory	o		
Donogh O'Callaghan	Clonlea	Mountallion Kilgory	o	o	
Darby O'Callaghan	Killurane			o	
Teige Callaghan	Clonlea	Mountallion			o
Thady Crooneen	Moinoe	Coolecoosan	o		
Dominic Fanning	Feakle	Caher			o
Henry Grady	Tomgreney	Derrymore		o	
Donogh	Ogonnelloe	Bellickany ³⁰⁶		o	

³⁰⁴ D'Alton, *King James's Irish Army List*, p. 874; Simms, *Irish Jacobites*, p. 75.

³⁰⁵ Simms, *Irish Jacobites*, p. 92.

³⁰⁶ Probably Bealkelly.

O'Grady					
Nicholas Lynch	Tomgreney	Carrowkeile			
John Lysaght	Kilmurry	Kilcornan		o	
Daniel MacNamara	Feakle	Leighort			o
Donogh MacNamara	Inishkalto	Coogy			o
Florence MacNamara	Killurane	Drummin		o	
Teige MacNamara	Feakle	Leighort Kilvoony ³⁰⁷		o	o
Miles Magrath	Tulla		o		
Redmond Magrath	Tulla	Parcels in several townlands	o		o
Robert Magrath	Feakle	Kilbarron		o	
Tearlach McMahon	Tulla, poss. Kilseily	Cregg	o		
Darby Mear ³⁰⁸	Feakle	Knockbeagh			o
James Molony	Tulla	Kiltannon		o	
John Morgan	Kilseily	Snaty			o
Charles Murphy	Killurane	Doone	o		
Ambrose Perry	Kilnoe	Cloonemogher		o	
Hugh Perry	Kilnoe	Cloonemogher			o
John Roch	Tomgraney	Fossabegg	o		
Darby Ryan		Derryargid		o	
Morgan Ryan	Ogonnelloe	Currananagh ³⁰⁹		o	
William Sampson	Ogonnelloe	Ballyhurly			o
John Sexton	Tulla	Drumsellaghy ³¹⁰			o

Figure 24: Tulla landowners listed as Irish Jacobites³¹¹

Two factors, then, were of primary importance in the landholding network in Tulla: the first was the final round of confiscations of the lands of those attainted for treason, and the second was the subsequent penal legislation itself. As we would expect in Tulla, the lists indicate that both indigenous and transplanter families were

³⁰⁷ Probably Kilgory.

³⁰⁸ He was probably an O'Meara.

³⁰⁹ Probably Carrownecorr.

³¹⁰ Probably Drumsarlagh.

³¹¹ D'Alton, *King James's Irish Army List*.

heavily involved in King James's army, hardly surprising as each had much to gain from a Catholic victory.

Fig. 24 is based upon D'Alton's lists of Jacobite army personnel, and does not include all of the Tulla men whose lands were forfeit. The most significant landowner in this list was Lord Clare. The O'Callaghan losses as a result of Morgan, Patrick and Callaghan's outlawry were balanced by the fact that Donogh, the patriarch, was exempted under the articles of Limerick. James O'Molony and Teige MacNamara were both covered by the Articles of Limerick, but their success in maintaining their social and economic status thereafter is sharply contrasted. James O'Molony's developing strategies will be further considered later in the chapter. Teige MacNamara attempted to use the Chichester House claims court to obtain title to lands, but ultimately his strategies were not as successful as those of the Molonys, as we will see. The development of the Lysaght, or McLysaght, family will also be considered in light of their conversion strategy in the next section.

The final phase of adjudications took place in May-August 1699, and Fig. 24 shows the Tulla landowners whose cases were heard at the court. Only Donogh McNamara's 1699 claim is listed as rejected, but of the others it is not always clear whether their claims were in fact allowed. Teige MacNamara remained on his lands, and the Mear³¹² family continued to live at Knockbeagh, but nothing is known of Kennedy O'Brien.

With the exception of Lord Clare, no Tulla families were wholly dispossessed through attainder, though the Ryans suffered severely. Families which did suffer attainder had losses mediated by the subsequent pardons of other family members, and the negotiations by the remaining family members suggest that there was much squabbling over claims to land, and such detail of the fates of the landowners that is available in the sources is tantalisingly vague. For example, Redmond Magrath left to fight in France - along with Miles Magrath - and was attainted, but an entail estate claimed by James and Mary Magrath was allowed, as was the claim of another Redmond, a minor.³¹³ No other details are available about either claim. Furthermore,

³¹² This is an Anglicisation of the name O'Meara in the records.

³¹³ *A List of the Claims as they are entered with the Trustees at Chichester House on College Green, Dublin, 10th August 1700*, nos. 2158 and 2161, pp. 247-8, available in the Glucksman Library,

John Magrath, of Teerovanin (Killuran), claimed that four hundred acres of profitable lands in Lecarrow and Lecarrowgarry, parish of Tulla,³¹⁴ were mortgaged to him by Redmond Magrath for £400.³¹⁵ These latter claims might well have been part of collusive transactions between family members in which entails or mortgages were created to save part of the estate, and the forfeiture trustees took them at face value. Honora Magrath, widow of Thomas, claimed an annuity granted to Thomas by his brother Redmond on lands in Drummin and Knockmaelpatrick.³¹⁶ ‘Some difference having arisen between the brothers Magrath as to the true meaning of the deed’, the case went to arbitration, whereupon the deed was confirmed in March 1688.³¹⁷

The Ryan family had been granted lands belonging to the MacNamaras, Molonys and Delahydes across several townlands in the parishes of Killokennedy, Tulla and Feakle.³¹⁸ Several members of the family were not listed in D’Alton’s army lists, so do not appear in Fig. 24, so it is difficult to establish why their lands were forfeited. Connor Ryan, ‘a poor man’, was claiming ‘an estate in fee by descent as uncle to Martin Ryan’, who died at Cashel in 1699, of 50 acres in the quarter of Kilbarron so Connor’s claim was almost certainly an attempt to keep the lands in the family.³¹⁹ Captain Teige Ryan was attainted in 1696, his estates being purchased by John Ivers, John Cusack of Kilkishen and Hector Vaughan of King’s County.³²⁰ Why Teige Ryan was attainted as late as 1696 is puzzling, as no Teige Ryan is listed in Simms’ Jacobite outlawry lists, though it is possible that he went abroad to join the Jacobites

University of Limerick. D’Alton mentions a further claim on an entailed estate by one Robert Magrath, but this is not listed in the Chichester House claims. D’Alton, *King James’s Irish Army List*, p. 328.

³¹⁴ This is a mistake; these townlands are in Feakle parish.

³¹⁵ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 585. There is some confusion over the success of the claim. Frost states that it was disallowed and the lands sold by the Chichester House commissioners to John Cusack, but the list of Chichester House claims shows that it was allowed and referred. Chichester House claims, no. 1257, p. 141. D’Alton asserts that a large portion of his land was sold to Terence Geoghegan by the Commission of Forfeitures in 1703. D’Alton, *King James’s Irish Army List*, p. 328. This was probably the case, as any land belonging to those convicted or attainted of treason after 13th February 1688 could be sold under the Acts 11 & 12 Will. III. James Hardiman, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Keeper of Records*, 1825, available at *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online*, 21 May 2013.

³¹⁶ Knockmulpatrick was part of the lands of Fortanemore, parish of Tulla, granted to Edmond Magrath under the Cromwellian Settlement.

³¹⁷ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 591.

³¹⁸ See the Ryan genealogy, Appendix D.

³¹⁹ J. G. Simms, *The Williamite Confiscations in Ireland, 1690-1703* (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), p. 181.

³²⁰ D’Alton, *King James’s Irish Army List*, p. 880; Simms, *The Williamite Confiscations*, p. 181.

in 1695-6, or that attainting him was not considered necessary until it became apparent that he could make a claim to the estates. Frost confirms that the lands of John and Teige Ryan, 'attainted for the adherence to the cause of James II', at Iragh and Killavoy, were purchased by Cusack in 1703, and Vaughan bought the lands at Monogenagh for £405, but he provides no further details of Teige's attainer.³²¹

Darby Ryan claimed an entailed estate of 319 profitable acres in Monogenagh under the terms of the will of his father John Ryan, who died c. 1687.³²² After John Ryan senior's death, Darby took possession of the land, but an Inquisition in Ennis found that the lands were actually the property of his eldest son, also John, who had been killed in rebellion, thereby forfeiting the lands to the crown.³²³ Simms lists John Ryan junior as forfeiting 1,005 acres in total, and Darby counterclaimed that he himself was exempted under the articles of Limerick.³²⁴ Meanwhile, Honor Ryan, John Ryan junior's widow, claimed dower lands at Monogenagh from Darby Ryan, which suggests that she accepted Darby's legal claim to the estate, but perhaps illustrating that there was not always a cohesive family strategy.³²⁵

James O'Molony, too, had an interest in these Ryan lands, claiming that John Ryan senior had granted 600 acres of profitable land in Killavoy, Iragh South and Clongaheene (Killurane) to Daniel Ryan, his grandson by his son Teige, upon his marriage. Daniel died in 1674 and his wife Mary ultimately married James O'Molony, who, being adjudged within the articles of Limerick, claimed the lands on her behalf.³²⁶ His claim was disallowed and the lands sold to John Ivers, John Cusack and Hector Vaughan; it is clear, therefore, that Daniel Ryan's father Teige was the same Captain Teige Ryan who was attainted in 1696.³²⁷ Daniel O'Molony, James's elder brother, was killed in rebellion at the Siege of Limerick, thereby forfeiting his estate.³²⁸ 176 acres in Kilfinaghta parish which he had purchased from Peter Crainsborough were sold to Thomas St. John of Ballymulcashel by the

³²¹ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 512.

³²² Chichester House claims, no. 1256 & 1258, p. 141; Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 585.

³²³ Mary's first husband Richard Butler had been outlawed for foreign treason but adjudicated under the Articles of Limerick in August 1699. Simms, *Irish Jacobites*, pp. 74 and 121.

³²⁴ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 586.

³²⁵ Chichester House claims, no. 997, p. 110.

³²⁶ Simms, *Irish Jacobites*, pp. 85 & 121.

³²⁷ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 587.

³²⁸ Simms, *The Treaty of Limerick*, p. 17.

Chichester House Commissioners for £268.³²⁹ Daniel O'Molony appears to have mortgaged his lands to several people. An equity of redemption on his estate at Ayle 'and several other lands' was the subject of a claim by Dominick Fanning and his wife Slany, Daniel O'Brien and his wife Mary, and Cornelius and Margaret Brody, all of whom also claimed the same equity of redemption upon Lord Clare's estate at Rathfolan, barony of Bunratty; presumably most, or all, were perjuring themselves.³³⁰

Teige, or Thady, MacNamara of Rannagh, entered a three-part claim before the Chichester House Commission with regard to lands formerly owned by the 'O'Muldowneys' and MacNamaras, which were granted to Donogh O'Callaghan in the BSD. 'Said Donogh died and was succeeded by his son Donogh; in 1684, in consideration of £400, he conveyed to petitioner's father, John MacNamara, the lands of Rannagh, Knockmanistra, Lacnegoologe, and Knockballykelly', as well as a lease of 31 years at Kilbuggoone, Tulla parish; a third part refers to a mortgage dated 19 and 20 March 1696, on lands at Knockacloggin, also part of the townland of Kilbuggoone, both of which were the property of Donogh O'Callaghan 'in considerations of further advances of money'.³³¹ In fact, Teige MacNamara placed no less than four claims, including the three-part claim cited above, for properties in Tulla, plus another in Bunratty barony, before the Chichester House Committee. One claim was in right of his wife, but of the others, two single claims were leases and the fourth consisted of two leases and a mortgage.³³² The MacNamaras, it will be remembered, had lost all but 500 acres of their extensive estates, which included all of these townlands, in the initial round of confiscations, and prior to the 1641 uprising had suffered severe financial difficulties. These townlands comprised just over 350 acres of profitable arable and pasture in the BSD, so that despite their ongoing fiscal difficulties, it would have been worth their while to claim for good land on which there was the possibility of income from sub-leases.

³²⁹ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 405.

³³⁰ Chichester House claims, no. 1582, p. 181.

³³¹ Chichester House claims, no. 1588, p. 182; Frost p. 596.

³³² Chichester House claims, no. 506, p. 54; no. 1560, p. 179; no. 1591, p. 182; no. 2156, p. 247; no. 2208, p. 254.

Evidently, the MacNamaras, having been dispossessed of ownership of their ancestral land, did not vacate it, becoming instead middlemen on the estates of those who owned it. In Clare during the seventeenth century, and into the eighteenth, the term ‘esquire’ tended to denote a large-scale landowner, and ‘gent’ a middleman.³³³ Kevin Whelan’s landmark study suggests that middlemen were important in the new social hierarchy, acting as a ‘stabilising force, guaranteed of local acceptability and able to smooth the transition from the old to the new regime’.³³⁴ Where native landowners retained their lands by lease, the social transformation from chieftainship to Ascendancy landlordism was a ‘lateral translation, an internal low-key dislocation’, rather than a complete upheaval.³³⁵ Only four native Tulla families, the Molonys, the Gradys, the Cusacks and the MacNamaras, appear in the Chichester House records, suggesting that most native families did not have the resources to take substantial leases or to make claims.

David Nihill, the Limerick transplantee who was mentioned in one of Teige MacNamara’s claims, was listed as tituladoc of the townland of Garruragh, Tulla parish, in 1659. In 1684 Redmond Magrath demised ‘the half quarter of Arud, part of Clogher Lower’, to the same Nihill. Clogher Lower is probably Cloghereater, Kilnoe parish, which was granted to Edmond McGrath according to the BSD. Frost notes that Nihill also possessed the lands of Fortanebeg, in Tulla parish.³³⁶ David Nihill junior was killed in April 1681 in Limerick during the Williamite uprising and his lands confiscated; his widow, Ellinor, ‘widow and executrix’, claimed the third part of the estate of her Testator according to the Chichester House Trustees, so the Nihills were still resident in Tulla until the turn of the eighteenth century.³³⁷ Frost adds in a footnote that ‘his estate was sold, in 1703, to Robert Westropp of Bunratty, gent., for £435.’³³⁸

³³³ Ignatius Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1991), p. 36.

³³⁴ Kevin Whelan, ‘An Underground Gentry? Catholic Middlemen in Eighteenth Century Ireland’, in *Eighteenth Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr*, vol. 10 (1995), p. 10, available at www.jstor.org, 1 April 2010.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³³⁶ Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 332.

³³⁷ No. 2708, *Chichester House Trustees, 1700*, p. 313.

³³⁸ Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 332.

The O'Callaghans, as we saw, were a strongly Jacobite family. Three sons of Donogh O'Callaghan had been attainted for treason: Morgan, Patrick and Callaghan, and a younger son, Teige came before adjudication in 1699. Their father Donogh and one Darby, or Dermott, probably his nephew by his brother Cornelius, were exempted under the articles of Limerick.³³⁹ Cornelius's other son Captain Teige, or Thady, appears in three claims, one of which involved three claims of a leasehold interest on lands owned by his father: forty-one years on lands in Mountallon, Cappalahine 'and other lands'; nineteen years on lands in Liscullane; and twenty-one years on lands in Keelderry and Knocknasilla. All three claims were dismissed as 'cautionary', a judgement which meant that Teige had no legal interest in the lands but that he was entitled to object to their dispossession..³⁴⁰ The second claim was for dower lands in right of his wife Maire, who was originally married to Teige's uncle, Donogh, on lands in Mountallon and 'several other lands' in Tulla and Bunratty baronies, also owned by Donogh. Once more, the claim was dismissed 'by like rule'.³⁴¹ Frost's explanation of Thady's third claim provides clues to the complex situation which arose after some members of the family were attainted and others pardoned:

Thady O'Callaghan ...declares that in 1679, Donogh O'Callaghan of Kilgorey, made a lease to his (Thady's) father Conor O'Callaghan, of the lands of Mountallon, Cappalaheen, Coolistoolan, and Cunninagh, for a term of forty-one years, at the yearly rent of £26, the witnesses to the lease being Mor, Con and Darby O'Callaghan.... After the surrender of Limerick, Donogh sent his two eldest sons, namely Callaghan and Charles, to France for their education. Soon afterwards, they were outlawed for foreign treason,

³³⁹ See genealogy of the O'Callaghans at Appendix E. I am indebted to Paddy Waldron of the Clare Roots Society for help with this genealogy, which is taken from *Burke's Irish Family Records* (1976) pp. 887- 890. It is not clear what relation Darby, or Dermott of Killurane, is as he is not mentioned in the above source. Burke shows a fourth son to Cornelius of Clonlough, in Killurane parish just north of Mountallon, so Dermott may have been this son.

³⁴⁰ Chichester House claims, no. 1980, p. 226. Stewart Rapalje and Robert L. Lawrence, *A Dictionary of American and English Law*, vol. 1, available at Google Books, 18 May 2013. *Burke's Irish Family Records* lists Teige as the son of Cornelius, not Connor, and it is possible that they were the same person as Burke also states that Connor, or Cornelius, was the ancestor of the Liscullane line. (p. 888).

³⁴¹ Chichester House claims, no. 1981, p. 226.

and to guard his property, their father, by his will, left it in tail male³⁴² to his younger sons, Donogh, Michael, Daniel, Teige, and Conor.³⁴³

What seems to have happened, then, was that having leased lands to his brother Conor (Cornelius), Donogh realised that the property was under possible threat of confiscation and sought to safeguard his title to it by vesting it in his younger sons. In claiming the title rights of his young cousins, as well as his father's leases, Thady could have been either making a challenge for the title to the family lands, or seeking to double-safeguard the family titles. In light of the fact that Donogh had been adjudicated innocent of treason under the articles of Limerick as far back as 1694, the former seems more likely. Thady's marriage to his uncle's widow 'ante 1700' supports this theory, but as the claims were dismissed the titles reverted to Donogh's heirs. His son Daniel succeeded to the title, becoming The O'Callaghan of Mountallon upon his father's death.

³⁴² A male entail meant that Donogh O'Callaghan had an interest in the estate for his lifetime and that of his male heirs.

³⁴³ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 602. In addition, he was guardian to several McCarthy minors in the barony of Muskerry, co. Cork, indicating that as well as consolidating their Clare landholding, the O'Callaghans kept close links with their old estates. Chichester House claims, no. 1978 & 1979, p. 226.

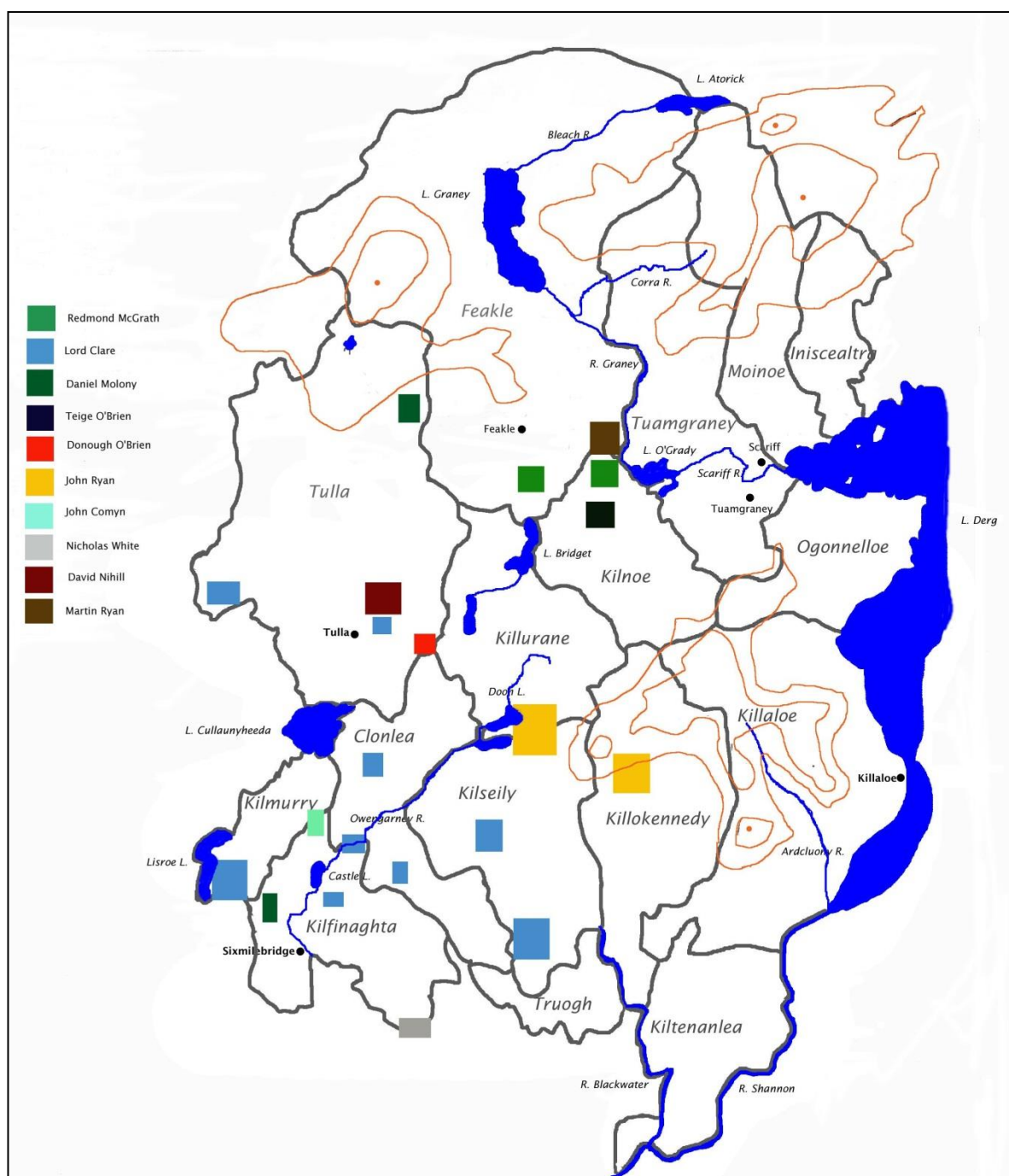


Figure 25: Tulla lands confiscated in 1703³⁴⁴

³⁴⁴ The size of squares is in approximate proportion to the size of estates.

Comparison with Kiltartan and Leitrim Baronies

A brief examination of the fates of the major landowners in the neighbouring Galway baronies of Kiltartan and Leitrim brings up some interesting comparisons. In contrast to Tulla, where there were several prominent families prior to the Cromwellian confiscations, the barony of Kiltartan was owned overwhelmingly by two families: the O'Shaughnessys and the de Burgos (Bourkes). The O'Shaughnessy lands were confiscated, but they do not appear to have moved away, and were reinstated under the Act of Settlement and Explanation.³⁴⁵ Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy fought at the Battle of the Boyne, was injured and returned home to die in Gort ten days later. His only son William, a captain in Lord Clare's Dragoons, fought at Aughrim and thereafter sailed for France to join the Irish Brigade. Both Sir Roger and William O'Shaughnessy were attainted for treason. The estate was confiscated on 11 May 1697 and granted by King William to Thomas Prendergast, whose descendants became the Lords Gort. Land mortgaged to Charles O'Shaughnessy of Ardamullivan Castle in the parish of Beagh, which had been allowed after the confiscation, was granted to Prendergast upon Charles's death in 1722, making Prendergast the owner of virtually the whole barony.³⁴⁶ The barony of Leitrim is an even more stark contrast, being owned prior to the Cromwellian settlement almost wholly by the Clanricard Bourkes. John Bourke, son of William, the seventh Earl, was created Baron Bourke of Bophin and sat in the parliament of 1691. He had been colonel of a regiment of foot and was imprisoned after the Battle of Aughrim, being kept in Dublin Castle whilst negotiations were taking place regarding the Articles of Galway. Although covered by the Articles, he was unable to submit to the Governor of Galway within the required period. It was unfortunate that part of the estate had been granted to King William's favoured courtier Joost Van Keppel, earl of Albemarle, who had also gained much of the land previously owned by the earl of Clare. His financial settlement with Albemarle was to cost Bophin £7,500 and the legal struggle to regain title to his lands continued over ten years. Even then it was a

³⁴⁵ *Books of Survey and Distribution*, vol. III, County of Galway (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1962), pp. 44-55, and 206-225; Sr Mary de Lourdes Fahy, *Kiltartan: Many Leaves, One Root* (Gregory Cultural Society, 2004), p. 23.

³⁴⁶ Marguerite Grey and Marie McNamara, eds., *Gort Inse Guaire: A journey through time* (Gort Heritage Trust, 2000), pp. 82-3.

Pyrhhic victory culminating in the estate being placed in the hands of trustees with the stipulation that his eldest sons were to be raised as Protestants.³⁴⁷

Essentially, then, we can see that the landholding basis of both baronies differed from the Tulla basis in that in both instances ownership was vested almost entirely in one family. The Prendergasts were Protestant and Bophin's heirs had been raised as Protestants, so the lands would have become more a typical pattern of Protestant Ascendancy and Catholic tenantry, whereas in Tulla the Catholic majority included some important landlords such as the O'Callaghans, the MacNamaras, the McLysaghts and the O'Molonys, until the restrictions of the Penal Laws forced increasing numbers of conversions, as we will see in the next chapter.

To return to Tulla itself, analysis of the Chichester House claims (Fig. 26) reveals that several pre-1640 native landowners were leasing a portion of their ancestral lands confiscated in the 1650s. Other claims refer to leases on the lands of attainted landowners, or family members, suggesting the presence of middlemen in the barony. Examination of the claims made against Lord Clare's Tulla estates shows that out of seven claims, five related to leases and two to mortgages.³⁴⁸ Indeed, as the table shows, several other estates were mortgaged, indicating that many of Tulla's landowners had been facing financial difficulties; hardly surprising considering the unsettled economic and social conditions of the second half of the seventeenth century. The example of Daniel O'Molony's Ayle estate, which was mortgaged to several claimants, illustrates the lengths to which landowners would go to release capital invested in land.

³⁴⁷ Eoin Kinsella, 'In Pursuit of a positive construction: Irish Catholics and the Williamite articles of surrender, 1690-1701', in *Eighteenth Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr*, vol. 24 (2009), pp. 31-32, available at www.jstor.org, 9 May 2013.

³⁴⁸ Chichester House claims, no. 1249, p. 142; no. 1585, p. 182; no. 1586, p. 182; no. 2002, p. 228; no. 2105, p. 241.

Page	Number	Townland	Parish	Lease/mortgage
54	506	Roscharty (Roskary)	Tulla	Estate for lives
70	655	Cooldorrog	Iniscaltra	Grant in fee
110	997	Monogenagh	Tulla	Dower lands
141	1256	Kilbarron	Tulla	Estate in fee
140	1247	Killeen	Clonlea	Estate for lives
141	1257	Lecarrow/ L.garry	Feakle	Mortgage in fee
141	1258	Monogenagh	Killurane	Estate tail
142	1260	Monogenagh, Iragh, Clongiheen	Killurane	Estate for life
182	1587	Keilmore	Tulla	61 year lease
182	1591 (2)	Kilbuggoone	Tulla	31 year lease
217	1919	Shanboe	Kilseily	Mortgage in fee
226	1978	Mountallon, Liscullane & others	Kilmurry	Estate tail
226	1980 (1)	Mountallon, Cappalahine & others	Kilmurry	Lease 41 year term
226	1980(2)	Liscullane	Kilmurry	Lease 19 yr term
226	1980 (3)	Mountallon	Kilmurry	Dower lands
226	1982 (1)	Lisbarreen	Kilnoe	Mortgage in fee
226	1982 (2)	Clounmoher	Kilnoe	Mortgage in fee
226	1983	Gulishill		Lease 21 year term
228	2003 (1)	Cloonyconrymore, Pollogh, Gortpollogh	Killokennedy	Mortgage in fee
228	2003 (2)	Tyronea	Tuamgraney	Estate in fee
241	2105	Ballyslattery	Tulla	Mortgage by deed, plus covenant & bond for 99 year lease from end of mortgage
247	2155	Ballyseenbegg	Kilfenaghta	Mortgage in fee
247	2158	Tyredagh	Tulla	Estate tail by lease & release
248	2160	Cooleready (Coolreathmore) & Insishallaghoge (Insenloghoge)	Kilnoe	Mortgage in fee
248	2161	Tyredagh & Kilbarron	Tulla	Estate for life
248	2162	Drumscale	Kilnoe	Lease 99 year term
254	2208	Lismeeghan	Tulla	Lease 21 year term
254	2209	Castlebridgeman (Coylagh)	Kilseily	Lease 21 year term
274	2366	Rosroe	Kilmurry	Mortgage in fee
305	2646	Fortanebeg	Tulla	£200 inheritance via will
313	2708	Fortanebeg	Tulla	Third part of estate
339	2941	Ballydonaghan	Kilnoe	2 Mortgages in fee
339	2941 (3)	Ballydonaghan	Kilnoe	Lease in trust
345	3000	Annaghneale	Kilnoe	Mortgage

Figure 26: Breakdown of Chichester House Claims from the barony of Tulla

Besides the efforts of old landowners to regain lands, and new landowners to retain them, there is evidence of land speculation in the barony, notably by John Ivers and John Cusack. Ivers was the son of Henry Ivers, a successful planter in the Sixmilebridge area. Henry Ivers had purchased part of the lands sold by Peter Crainsborough in Kilfinaghta, and his son John added 395 acres from the Chichester House confiscations, including 66 acres owned by Nicholas White in Ballybroughan, Richard Grace's estate in Cloontra (Kilseily), and John and Teige Ryan's lands in Iragh and Killavoy, Killuran parish.³⁴⁹ Acting as his father's executor, John Ivers entered two claims against Lord Clare's estate. The first was for a debt of £400, plus interest, borrowed by Lord Clare from 'said Henry as security to Pierce Merrony on all the estate.'³⁵⁰ The second was in two parts: the first was a mortgage in fee of £130, on half a quarter in Cloonyconrymore, parish of Killokennedy, and Pollogh, in Kilfinaghta parish, and the second part was an estate in fee in the baronies of Inchiquin, Clonderalaw and Tulla (Tyronea, parish of Clonlea).³⁵¹

John Cusack was of a native family that had lost extensive lands across Killokennedy, Kilseily and Clonlea under the Cromwellian settlement, and was allocated a much lesser acreage in Feakle. He was said to be 'of Kilkiseene' (Kilkishen, Kilmurry parish), and purchased 825 acres, including part of Redmond Magrath's lands, and John and Teige Ryan's estate in Cloongaheen, Killokennedy, as well as an estate belonging to John Comyn in Tipperary.³⁵² He was himself a middleman, claiming a lease on lands in Ballyvoire (probably Ballanveere, Clonlea) which was the property of Lord Clare.³⁵³

Apart from Cusack and Ivers, the other noteworthy speculator in the Chichester House sale was the Hollow Blades Company, an English company formed in 1691 to make sword blades.³⁵⁴ The company purchased forfeited estates totalling 253,709 acres across Ireland, of which 219 acres were in Clare including Teige O'Brien's

³⁴⁹ Simms, *Irish Jacobites*, p. 187.

³⁵⁰ Chichester House claims, no. 2002, p. 228. This was Pierce Morony who was from a Limerick merchant family. It is not clear whether it was the elder or younger Pierce Morony.

³⁵¹ Chichester House claims, no. 2003, p. 228.

³⁵² D'Alton, *King James's Irish Army List*, p. 883; Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, pp. 512 & 519;

³⁵³ Chichester House claims, no. 1586, p. 182.

³⁵⁴ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 521; Simms, *Williamite Confiscation*, p. 181.

lands in Tulla.³⁵⁵ O'Brien was attainted in 1693 and the company purchased 88 acres of his Coolreagh property. Within ten years or so, however, the company had sold most of its Irish estates.³⁵⁶

In total, approximately 4 per cent of Catholic-owned land in Tulla was forfeited and sold in 1702-3. This is quite a small proportion – nationally, approximately a third of Catholic land was lost – and was mostly attributable to Lord Clare's departure for France. Several points are clear from this analysis of landholding. Firstly, the extent and complexity of the claims and counter-claims demonstrates that Tulla landholders, incomer and native, were plagued by uncertainty and financial difficulties, as one would expect after a period of upheaval and economic chaos. But through tenacity and legal stratagems, most held on. We can see that landholdings were far from stable, and landholders were seeking ways to maximise revenue from their estates or to escape debts. A landholder such as Redmond McGrath or Donogh O'Callaghan might lease out land to others while leasing land himself, or mortgage acreages. Land could be assigned to family members either as marriage settlements or to ensure that it remained in the family in uncertain times.

By now, native and 'new interest' Catholic landowners could be considered an integrated group, united by their Jacobite sympathies. Intermarriages had taken place, between the Ryans and O'Molonys, for instance. The Manor Court Rolls also show that the settler members of Tulla society were taking their place on the Grand Juries, with William Lysaght serving at Ballyvannan in October 1683.³⁵⁷ These roles were important as indicators of integration; government business was carried out 'not by impersonal bureaucracies but by people who were known to each other ... local administrative and judicial offices were held by neighbourhood gentry whose lack of knowledge of the law was more than offset by the respect they commanded in the local community'.³⁵⁸ In the links being forged between the old native gentry

³⁵⁵ Coolreagh, or Coolreaghbegg, in Kilnoe parish, was granted to Thady, or Teige, O'Brien in the BSD.

³⁵⁶ Landed Estates Database, available at www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie, 8 February 2013.

³⁵⁷ S. C. Mahony, 'The Manor Courts of the Earl of Thomond, 1666-1686', in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 38 (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2004), p. 192.

³⁵⁸ Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth Century Ireland: Making Ireland Modern* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 2006), p. 5.

and the settler community, we can see the structure of what was to become the Ascendancy class.

With regard to the old native magnates, the MacNamaras, although they had lost much of their power and property, they were still actively attempting to claim or re-claim lands and income fifty years after they had been dispossessed. This could be interpreted as an attempt by a defeated family to cling onto some sort of landholding or income. But it could also be seen as an acceptance of the realities of the leasehold system and an ability to perceive advantages to be gained from pressing claims through the official channels; in other words, a survival strategy, which was at least partially successful since two of the claims were allowed and possibly a third. In addition, they remained as significant members of the local gentry and although diminished they enjoyed social capital. Daniel and Roger MacNamara are listed as Grand Jurors at Quin Manor Court in 1674. Daniel MacNamara appears as Grand Juror in Bunratty Manor Court in 1676, and Thomas MacNamara is listed as Grand Juror in Ballyvannan in 1683.³⁵⁹ This was not uncommon because although former magnates may have lost land, in many cases they retained considerable social prestige.³⁶⁰

Finally, the very fragmentation of the Catholic estates, and the prevalence of mortgages and leaseholds, meant that Tulla's landed gentry were much less vulnerable to complete loss than those in neighbouring Kiltartan and Leitrim.

To this combination of landowners and leaseholders, we must now add the final ingredient which would define the Tulla Ascendancy: the Penal laws.

Law, religion and local society

Between 1695 and 1719, fourteen laws were enacted to control and restrict the practice of Catholicism. Between 1726 and 1750, a further ten Acts were passed clarifying issues raised by the passing of previous Acts. Connolly's analysis of the

³⁵⁹ Mahony, 'The Manor Courts of the Earl of Thomond', pp. 183-219.

³⁶⁰ Gillespie, *Seventeenth Century Ireland*, p. 8.

penal laws emphasises the fact that, far from being a coherent scheme, they were a 'rag-bag' of laws passed in response to immediate concerns and were by no means unanimously agreed upon by the Protestant legislature. Catholics were not forbidden to practice their religion at any time during this period, but, as Connolly points out, there was a fine distinction between outright prohibition and the enactment of a range of laws that economically, socially and politically disabled members of a church so long as they remained loyal to their faith.³⁶¹

Of all of the acts, the 1704 and 1709 acts to restrict the further growth of popery were the most rigorously enforced, though as Whelan comments, 'hemmed in by legal restrictions, Catholics quietly discovered loopholes and felt very few moral qualms about squeezing through them'.³⁶² Additionally, Pádraig Lenihan maintains that the laws were not designed to force wholesale conversion on the entire populace, but 'there is no mistaking their urgent desire to force the conformity of the remaining Catholic élite'.³⁶³ In Tulla barony, those without estates or a place in the social élite remained Catholic. But both settler and native families who had retained or regained land were, ultimately, forced to conform to the established church. Conversions began early in the eighteenth century, and gathered momentum as more laws were enacted, though it was by no means a wholehearted process, with families continuing to educate their sons in European Catholic institutions and retaining strong links through family members to the Catholic church. In the Tulla context, where the majority of landowners were from Catholic families, the laws were particularly significant. For example, Thady O'Callaghan's claims to his uncle's title and his attempts to act on behalf of his nephews would have been negated by the Act. Indeed, his cousin Daniel was to inherit both lands and honorific title of The O'Callaghan.³⁶⁴ Most significantly, Catholic gentry who had bought land from the Chichester House Commission would no longer be able to do so, unless they

³⁶¹ S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: the making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 263.

³⁶² Kevin Whelan, 'An Underground Gentry? Catholic middlemen in eighteenth-century Ireland', in *Eighteenth Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr*, vol. 10 (1995), p. 10.

³⁶³ Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 214

³⁶⁴ Donatt, or Donogh O'Callaghan, probably the son of Daniel O'Callaghan, is listed as converting in 1743, shortly after his first marriage. It is not known when, or if, Daniel O'Callaghan himself converted. Eileen O'Byrne, ed., *The Convert Rolls*, Irish Manuscripts Commission (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1981); *Burke's Irish Family Records*, p. 889.

converted. It therefore forced landowners who refused to recant their faith into the role of middlemen.

As the century progressed, and the effects of the the 1704 and 1709 acts ‘to prevent the further growth of popery’(2 Anne c. 6 and 8 Anne c. 3) were increasingly felt, they were consolidated by other legislation restricting Catholic participation in public and professional life. The 1699 act prevented Catholics from becoming solicitors, although they could still clerk, unless they took the Oaths, and in 1707 this law too was tightened up. The State’s fears of Catholic connections to potentially rebellious factions at home and abroad resulted in the 1715 act to restrain Catholics from being high or petty constables (2 Geo. 1, c.10). This act seems to have been more or less ignored, largely because of ‘demographic reality’ – outside of Ulster there were simply not enough Protestants to fulfil the ‘lowly but necessary’ office, and the law was allowed to lapse.³⁶⁵ Further acts in 1728, 1734, 1738 and 1746 denied Catholics the right to serve in parliament, the law or the army, and in 1740 they were once again forbidden to bear arms. Finally, acts in 1734, 1746 and 1750 controlled marriage and the education of children, as the government attempted to close the loopholes allowing families to have nominally converted husbands and Catholic wives and children. In the hinterland of Tulla, a blind eye had often been turned to infractions of the laws, and among the working population, who could not hope to gain the wherewithal to own land or aspire to public office, the laws would have had little effect. But from the minor gentry upwards, for those who would have held office as J. P.s, or whose younger sons would have entered the law or the army, and who aspired to a place in society, there was less and less option but to convert. Another problem, which would have been very relevant to Tulla, where the new gentry were anxiously marrying their daughters to families who would enhance their social or economic status, was a ‘limited pool of potential partners’ among the Catholic gentry community.³⁶⁶ The effects of the laws are clear to see, as the following chart shows:

³⁶⁵ Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, p. 255.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

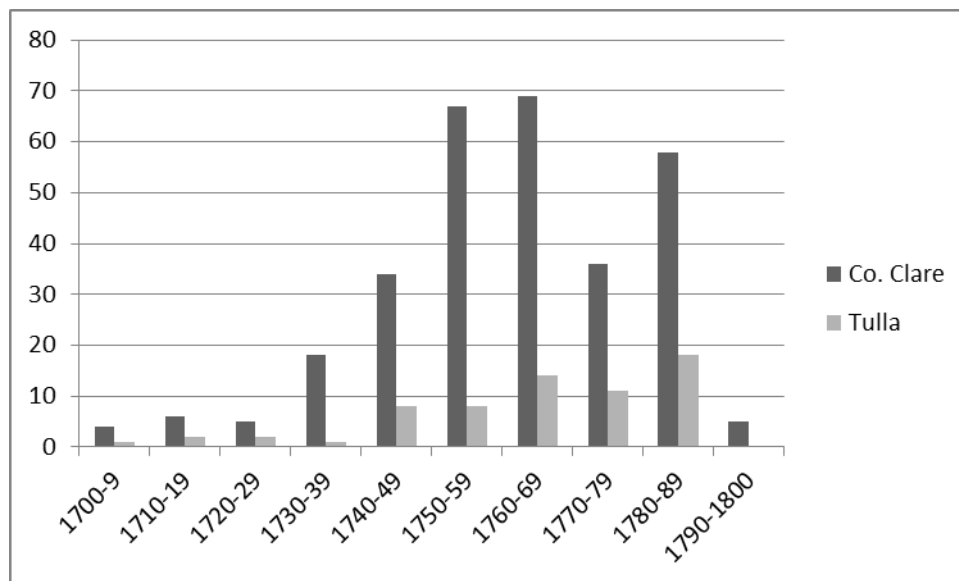


Figure 27: Conversions to protestantism³⁶⁷

It must be stated that the Convert Rolls are not an entirely reliable source. Many converts were not listed, some were listed twice, and in many cases no townland or parish was given so that it is difficult to ascertain if a convert was a Tulla man or not. But similar provisos could be attached to all early statistical sources, and as an indicator of trends the lists are useful, especially since the Tulla results are curious when seen in relation to Clare as a whole, because clearly the laws of 1730-59 had a more drastic effect on conversion numbers outside of the barony. Murphy's comment that the 1727-34 legislation 'led to a noticeable increase in conversions in the mid-1730s but by no means a mass exodus', hardly applies to Tulla, where there was barely an exodus at all.³⁶⁸ I suggest that, in the early part of the century, for those of the core baronies of Inchiquin and Bunratty full inclusion in political and social affairs was increasingly important, but in Tulla it was much more likely to have been those landholders who wanted to buy land or hold long leases in order to sublet who converted. The depression of the 1730s, caused by successive failure of harvests and exacerbated by the savage winter of 1741, meant that many landowners needed to sell or mortgage, and only Protestants could take advantage of land for

³⁶⁷ Eileen O'Byrne, ed., *The Convert Rolls* (Irish Manuscripts Commission(Dublin, Stationery Office, 1981), pp. 95, 126, 200, 244, 278-9.

³⁶⁸ Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 71.

sale. This may account not only for the sharp rise in conversions Clare-wide in the 1740s, but the corresponding rise in Tulla converts.

I will now discuss in some detail how individual families negotiated the Penal Laws and why some strategies were successful and others less so. In doing so, we can also examine the prevalence of middlemen in the barony.

The Registration Act of 1704 ordered every priest to register with the authorities and produce two securities of £50 each to ensure his good behaviour and prevent him from leaving his county of registration (4 Anne, c.2). Its intention was to ensure that over time, as the existing priesthood died, no others could come in to replace them and in due course Catholics would be forced to turn, for want of priests, to the Established Church.³⁶⁹ The Act left a useful by-product to historians because it resulted in a list of local clergy and their guarantors, as shown in the chart below.

No.	Popish Priests' names	Places of Abode	Age	Parish of which they pretend to be Parish Priests	Time of their receiving Popish Orders	Places where they received Orders	From whom they received them	Sureties Names that entered into Recognizance for such Priests according to the said Act
30	William Dugan	Cluonclagher	36	Killaloe	1689	At Cashel	John Brenane, Titular Bishop	Florence MacNemara, of Ardcluony, esq. Maurice Cogan, of Killaloe, gent.
31	William Connellane	Lisuagleragh	48	Tulla	1679	At Paris	Francis Harlay, Archbp. of Paris	Nicholas Rice, of Lisofin, esq. Francis M, of Crevagh, gent.
33	Daniel MacNemara	Lisbarrive	45	Killnoe and Ogonnilla	1682	At Curragh, Co. of Limrick	James Daly, Tit ^r Bp. of Limerick	Col. John macNemara, of Crevagh, James Margisson, of Tomgreny, gent.
34	Daniel Vaghan	Coolreagh	36	Killogenedy and Killsily	1691	At Ballilnage, Co. of Gallway	Maurice Donnellan, Bp. of Clonfert	Henry Boucher, of Anagh, gent. Nicholas Lynch, of Ballyvany, gent.

³⁶⁹ Gerald O'Brien, ed., *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: Collected Essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1989), p. 13.

35	Charles Hicky	Cnockbeghagh	39	Fickle	1690	At Ennis	James Whelan, Tit' Bp. of Ossory	Col. John macNemara, of Crevagh, Henry Boucher, of Anagh, gent.
36	Edmond Grady	Cappagh Roe	50	Iniskaultragh, Cluonrisk, in C. of Gallway, Tomgreny and Moynoe	1677	At Cragiclara	Andrew Lynch, Tit' Bp. of Killfenora	John Ringrose, of Moynoe, James Boucher, of Capakinane, gent.
37	Edmond Glissane	Keilderry	60	Clonlea and Killurane	1668	At Dublin	Patrick Plunket, Tit' Bp. of Meath	John Magrath, of Tyrovanin, gent. John Reed, of Killevoy, gent.
38	Maurice macInerhiny	Six-Mile-Bridge	52	Killfinagghlin, Killmurry and Finagh	1675	At Garryrickin, Co. of Kilkenny	James Whelan, Tit' Bp. of Ossory	Col. John macNemara, of Crevagh. Florence macNemara, of Moghane, gent.

Figure 28: Tulla priesthood, 1704³⁷⁰

The guarantors were a mixture of Catholic names such as the MacNamaras, Lynches and Magraths, with Protestant names such as Ringrose and Reed. The men who stood as guarantors to registered Tulla priests in 1704 - Florence MacNamara of Ardcluony, near Killaloe, and Nicholas Rice of Lissosfin - appear to have owned a quantity of land, whereas Francis MacNamara of Creevagh (near Quin) and another Florence MacNamara, of Moghane (Mooghaun, near Newmarket-on-Fergus), were middlemen. Henry and James Boucher, James Magrath, John Ringrose, Nicholas Lynch and James Margisson, all beneficiaries under the Cromwellian settlement, were middlemen.

The Ringrose family were originally English and were heavily involved in the mining industry. John Ringrose, a Protestant, purchased lands from the Earl of Cork's estates in 1705 and 1713.³⁷¹ Within a few years, had become a Justice of the Peace in 1716, High Sherriff of Clare in 1722 and served on the Grand Jury in 1732.³⁷² Garnham states that not only did members of the Grand Jury need to have

³⁷⁰ Listed in Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century*.

³⁷¹ Landed Estates Database, available at www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie, 5 November 2013.

³⁷² Frost, *The History and Topography of County Clare, Appendix IV*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie, 30 June 2009.

close ties of kinship, patronage and mutual interest locally, but they were almost always significant landowners.³⁷³ In Ringrose's case, he was both landowner and middleman.

The Margissons were also a Protestant family. A local tale claims that John Margison of Tuamgraney, presumably a relative of James Margisson, was caught in adultery with a Catholic woman, Catherine Hickey, in 1715, and was made to suffer penitential punishment.³⁷⁴ The incident, if true, indicates that the family were resident at that time.

Florence MacNamara of Ardcluoney does not seem to have converted at all. He was subsequently reported to the authorities because he had sent his sons abroad to be educated, the younger of which became a Franciscan priest who later served at the private family chapel.³⁷⁵ The Lynch family had strong links to Limerick, so it is possible that Nicholas Lynch at least remained in residence in the city, subleasing his property there.

Another Tulla notable, James Molony of Kiltannon, was guarantor to Conor Molony of Cappagh, the parish priest of Kilraghtis. Molony did not appear on the Convert Rolls, but he became a J.P. in 1725 and converted relatively early in his career, at which point the family dropped the 'O' from their name.³⁷⁶ James Molony appears in the Chichester House Court of Claims list of 1700, claiming lands at Monogenagh, Iragh and Clongiheen, all in Tulla barony, by right of his wife Mary through her previous husband, Richard Butler.³⁷⁷ One clue to his survival is Charles Molony's comment that he was 'soon afterwards to transfer his loyalties to the Dutch king, the Reformed religion and a succession of Protestant wives who happened to be heiresses'.³⁷⁸ In fact, Molony draws a distinction between the Protestant branch of the family, starting with James, who 'by his apostasy considerably raised his social

³⁷³ Neal Garnham, 'Local Elite Creation in Early Hanoverian Ireland: The Case of the County Grand Jury', in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 42, no. 3 (September 1999), p. 632.

³⁷⁴ Ger Madden, *Sliabh Aughty Ramble*, p. 65

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century* p. 37.

³⁷⁷ *Chichester House claims* no. 1260, p. 142.

³⁷⁸ Charles Molony, *The Molony Family* (1971), p. 56. Molony's unpublished MSS must be used with caution, but where sources can be verified they appear to be accurate.

and financial standing', and the Catholic branch who 'paid dearly for their loyalty to their Faith and the Jacobite cause'.³⁷⁹ Apart from James Molony's first wife Joan, of whom nothing is known, his other three wives were all well-connected, 'and one at least was wealthy; in fact it seems probable that at least three of the four wives came to James far from empty-handed'.³⁸⁰ His Chichester House claim referred to above indicates that his choice of second wife was astute since through her he could claim title to her husband's property. His alacrity in converting probably saved him from severe punishment, and from then till the end of his life in 1733 he devoted his energy to acquiring land, in the barony of Tulla and beyond, building houses and providing for his brood of six sons. Molony's initial reason for conversion, to escape punishment, was not his only motivation. Although he could, and did, acquire large acreages by lease, he could not purchase land nor rise in the local hierarchy, and it is likely that he had ambitions to step into the vacuum left by the MacNamaras. Although his earlier acquisitions were leases - in one case a property of 1,200 acres in the baronies of Burren and Corcomroe - by the 1720s he was buying freehold property in the parish of Tulla and neighbouring parishes, including the freehold of Ballynahinch and Kiltannon, the family's principal seat. As a Catholic, he was restricted to 31-year leases, and was unable to buy property, so that in order to acquire the Burren property on a lease in perpetuity, he would have had to convert. Charles Molony lists the first freehold purchase, of 65 acres at Clonlurny, 'known as Knockankelly', in the parish of Tulla, in 1710.³⁸¹ Molony's 1708 conversion, then, was probably spurred by the desire to own land rather than lease it, especially since there are many cases of nominal conversions and he might well have been quietly still observing mass whilst publicly professing to be a Protestant.

It is interesting to compare Molony's landholding strategy with that of an incoming family, the McLysaghts. This family were Catholic transplants from Limerick, continuing in trade through Nicholas McLysaght, a merchant in Sixmilebridge, whilst developing their estate in the parish of Kilmurry under the auspices of Patrick McLysaght. Patrick was well-off due to his ongoing Limerick concerns and died in

³⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 60.

³⁸¹ Ibid., p. 63.

1672 aged sixty, leaving his estate to his son William, whom family biographer Edward McLysaght describes as feckless, one of the ‘hard riding, hard drinking and gambling squires of the eighteenth century’.³⁸² William McLysaght remained a Catholic. McLysaght accounts for this by stating that it was legal to be a Catholic and ‘the disabilities attaching to the old religion pressed more hardly on the clergy than the laity’.³⁸³ He may also have been in the Jacobite army, and if so he may have escaped censure under the same conditions as the Molony brothers. William married Barbara Arthur of Limerick, and her father, perhaps knowing the mettle of his prospective son-in-law, insisted that the Clare property was settled on her for life, in the event only until she died, shortly after the birth of her first child, another Patrick. Arthur paid £700 cash in settlement upon her death. McLysaght points out that although William McLysaght was improvident, the late seventeenth century was very difficult, with low land prices and high interest rates. William moved to Ballymarkahan, near Sixmilebridge, after his wife’s death, making improvements to the tower house there, but his son Patrick was equally reckless, mortgaging this property as well as the family properties at Shandangan and Feakle to William Butler in 1717. Although Patrick married into a small, well-connected family, he and his father either sold or mortgaged all the land, ‘sometimes twice over’, and were involved in numerous lawsuits.³⁸⁴ Neither William nor Patrick McLysaght appear on the Convert List, so they may have remained Catholic. They seem to have been much less astute, or more unlucky, than the Molonys. The Molonys do not seem to have embraced the same hard-drinking, hard-riding school of squirearchy, and this probably accounts for their careful acquisition and husbanding of assets.

It is important to note that the key goal for landlords after the turmoil and financial ruin of the post-Cromwellian period was stability. Ideally, landlords in most of Ireland sought solvent Protestant head-tenants who would provide a guaranteed rent and improve the property. In Tulla, where Protestants were in the minority and both native and incomer head leaseholders were of Gaelic Catholic origin it was probably considered better to attract ‘reputable solvent tenants than to gamble on unknown

³⁸² Edward McLysaght, *Short Study of a Transplanted Family*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1979 edition), p. 37

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-46.

ones'.³⁸⁵ Cullen comments that nineteenth-century tenant farmers often had 'names long associated with the locality where they lived; they often had a tradition of uninterrupted occupation of the same holding, and they were intermarried repeatedly into a handful of other families in the same or neighbouring parishes'.³⁸⁶

It is possible to explore these themes by examining the Earl of Thomond's tenant records for his Tulla properties, and to do this we can examine the different categories of middlemen as set out by David Dickson, and consider how Tulla fits into the pattern.³⁸⁷ By comparing the Thomond rentals in the barony in 1681 and 1711, it is possible to break down the tenant base into its component categories.³⁸⁸

Surnames	1681	1711	Protestant	Papist	Native	New Leaseholders
Bennis	*	*		*		
Butler		*		*		
Comyn	*	*		*		
Cooper	*		*			
Craven	*		?			
Cullin	*			*		
Foxon	*		*			
George	*	*	*			
Gillereagh		*		*		
Hackett	*		*			
<i>Hallurane</i>	*	*		*	*	
Hart	*	*	*			
Hartegan	*		?			
Hicky	*			*	*	
Hodge		*	*			1707
Ivers /Ivers	*	*	*			
Grady						

³⁸⁵ Whelan, *An Underground Gentry?*, pp. 8-9.

³⁸⁶ Louis M. Cullen, 'Catholic Social Classes under the Penal Laws', in T. P. Power and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990), p. 67.

³⁸⁷ David Dickson, 'Middlemen', in *Penal Era and Golden Age: essays in Irish history, 1690-1800*, Thomas Bartlett and D. W. Hayton, eds., (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2004), pp. 170-174.

³⁸⁸ N. L. I. MSS n. 4772, p. 4769, 'An abstract of such rents and revenues as doe belong to the Right Hon'ble Henry Earle of Thomond', taken by Thomas Spaight, 1681; P. H. A. MSS no. 1707, MO B9/28 'A rent roll of the estate of the Rt. Hon'ble Henry Earl of Thomond', by Ambrose Upton, esq., 1711.

Jackson		*	*			1703
Kearcher	*		*			
<i>MacNamara</i>	*	*	*		*	
Marshall		*	*			1704
<i>McShyda</i>	*	*		*	*	
O'Brien		*		*		
Pease		*	*			1707
Purdon	*	*	*			
Reddane		*	*			
Reynolds	*		*			
Rice	*		*			
Ryan		*		*		
Spaight		*	*			
St. John		*	*			
Stacpole	*			*		
Starkey	*		*			
Thornton	*	*	*			
Upton		*	*			
Vandelure	*	*	*			
Ward		*	*			
Willson		*	*			1707
Worth		*	*			

Figure 29: Thomond Tenants in Tulla barony, 1681-1711³⁸⁹

As the chart illustrates, eleven leaseholders appear in both rentals (bold). In each case, they leased the same parcels over the period of the two rentals. Of these eleven, six were Cromwellian transplinters and three were indigenous Tulla families (italicised), all of whom belonged to the MacNamara kin group. Perhaps most interestingly, these families - the Halloranes, the McShydas and the MacNamaras themselves - were all renting the same lands that had been confiscated from them after 1641. Hicky, or Hickey, is also a local name, and although the Hicky who appears on the lease is not renting his family acreage, the lease is still within the family's original parish of Tulla. This shows not only a remarkable longevity but an

³⁸⁹ Taken from N. L. I. MSS n. 4772, p. 4769 (Spaight, 1681), and P. H. A. MSS no. 1707, MO B9/28, (Upton, 1711).

important cultural continuity. The tenacity of the MacNamaras is illustrated by this quote from the agent's notes in the 1711 O'Brien Rental, relating to the lease of John Cummin, or Comyn, whose family were originally transplanters from Limerick:

John Cummin the leasee is dead and never was married or ever had any natural sons and it is said the late Earl of Thomond ordered him when he gave the lease to put Andrew and Nicholas in and if he married and had children should name them so but this Andrew and Nicholas are nephews who never pretended any title till Capt Teige MacNamara got them to assign over their interest to him which was really none at all, but under pretence of it still holds it.³⁹⁰

As Catholics, they could have held lands on lease, albeit restricted to a 31-year term, though it would certainly by 1711 have affected the MacNamaras' ability to purchase their old lands, even had the Earl been prepared to sell it or they able to afford it. The list of converts shows that one MacNamara conversion took place in 1748, with four MacNamaras converting in the 1760s, two in the 1770s and one in 1789. Not until 1775 did James MacNamara of Ayle convert, so it may have been that the Ayle family's reluctance to convert was part of the reason for their ongoing financial difficulties.

Dickson divides middlemen into four basic categories. Landlords, all things being equal, preferred Protestant chief tenants. The Thomond rentals do indicate a preference for English or Dutch tenants rather than local names or Irish transplantees. The number is relatively small compared to the preponderance of Catholic middlemen. One Protestant tenant was Francis MacNamara, who allegedly had a 99 year lease and 'possessed the said lands in trust' for Daniel MacNamara, so that Daniel was the real beneficiary of the lease.³⁹¹ In 1729 a 'discoverer', Mary Manwaring, from a family who were originally Elizabethan settlers, brought a case by reason of the 'explaining and amending' act of 1709 (8 Anne c.3), which allowed any Protestant 'discoverer' to sue against property transactions forbidden to Catholics if they believed that 'the purported Protestant landlord was a decoy

³⁹⁰ Upton, Rent roll of the estate of the Earl of Thomond, 1711, as above.

³⁹¹ P.H.A. MSS 11,141.

holding the land in some form of collusive trust ... If the discoverer proved his case, he would get the property for himself'.³⁹²

Dickson's second category, the Catholic ex-freeholder, is common in the barony, and this category includes Cromwellian transplantees who would have been freeholders on their original lands as well as indigenous families. His third category, the lease speculator, was a phenomenon most common to 'periods of rapid land inflation of land values,' principally the 1750s and 1760s, and will be dealt with later.³⁹³ Along with Catholic ex-freeholders, it is Dickson's fourth type of middleman, the perpetuity tenant, that is most relevant here, as the following table of Thomond leases from Tulla will show.

1681		1711	
21 years	2	29 years	1
25 years	1	53 years	1
29 years	1	One life only	1
31 years	6	99 years or 3 lives	13
53 years	1	3 lives with renewal	7
3 lives	10	3 lives without renewal	1
No term given	4	No term given	3
		Out of lease	1

Figure 30: Term of Thomond leases, 1681-1711³⁹⁴

Clearly, the Earl's preference was for leases-for-lives, unsurprisingly as heriots or fines were due on the death of each named lessee and a further fee was due on renewal of the lease. There is one lease in each rental of 53 years; this is in fact the same lease, to Edmond Hallorane, dated from 7 October 1672. Hallorane had died by 1711 and Ambrose Upton remarks that 'there may be more principall tenants dead since to be enquired into', a comment which may have had a basis in truth since Hallorane was a member of the extended MacNamara kin group, so clearly the Earl's

³⁹² Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 214.

³⁹³ Dickson, 'Middlemen', p. 172.

³⁹⁴ Taken from N. L. I. MSS n. 4772, p. 4769, (Spaight, 1681), and P. H. A. MSS no. 1707, MO B9/28 (Upton, 1711).

agent was not above exploiting the remnants of the defunct Gaelic inheritance structure in order to acquire fees and heriots.³⁹⁵ In 1681, a lease in the name of James Hicky for 21 years may have originally been a three-lives lease since Thomas Spaight comments that it was for ‘21 years after the death of Honora Glissane and the present tenant’.³⁹⁶ Such perpetuity leases could not be granted to papists after 1704: the collusive lease to Francis MacNamara was doubtless a bid to create such a perpetuity lease to Daniel.

T. P. Power’s study of landed society in County Tipperary shows that after 1701 leases-for-lives on the Earl of Ormond’s estates, which were renewable upon payment of a lump sum or fine, were converted into fee farm grants, where the tenants obtained ‘a virtually absolute perpetuity interest’, and by 1715 the fee farm was the most common form of tenure on the Ormond estates.³⁹⁷ Dickson points out that the perpetuity tenant was an Irish institution dating from the seventeenth century, which was originally intended to provide for a group of British tenants ‘who could be relied upon to maintain a regular payment of rent’.³⁹⁸ This was only partly relevant in Tulla, where the Earl’s chief tenants were a mix of Irish, English and Dutch with a considerable number of Irish Catholic transplantees. However, its other advantage was to bring in fees and fines at the going rate of interest, thereby helping with short-term financial needs, especially in the case of absentees. The income from such fines and fees for renewal could be considerable, with some Thomond charges being as much as £200-£300, and the heriot on the death of each named lessee was from £5 up to a year’s rent. A common feature of Thomond leases was a payment to be made to the Countess Dowager at renewal of the lease; moreover, leases did not give tenants the right to use the land as they wished, since timber was exempt from the tenants’ use. If the Earl’s agent found that wood had been cut by the tenant, he did not hesitate to bring legal proceedings against them for the value of the timber.³⁹⁹ The system had its drawbacks, however. A list of the Earl’s defaulters from the early

³⁹⁵ Upton, *Rent roll of the estate of the Earl of Thomond*, 1711.

³⁹⁶ Spaight, *Rental of the Earl of Thomond’s estates*, 1681.

³⁹⁷ T. P. Power, *Land, Politics and Society in Eighteenth Century Tipperary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 79.

³⁹⁸ Dickson, ‘Middlemen’, p. 174.

³⁹⁹ See, for example, P.H.A. MSS no. 3198, Documents regarding dispute over timber, undated but probably c. 1622-1642.

eighteenth century shows Edward Reynolds owing £448 19s. 6d. on the townland of Doonass at his death, upon which the farm passed to Isaac Jackson; The ‘Observations’ column states that the arrears,

...became due before Jackson entred upon this farm, and his Executors they say not able to pay it, how far Mr Jackson may stand obliged for it doth not appear to me. In 1704 I understand he had a new lease granted him by my Lady Henrietta Walden – whether it may indemnify him of this arrear I know not.⁴⁰⁰

Of the sixteen leases in arrears in this document, five are for more than £100 and seven are ordered ‘to be prosecuted for’, so the Earl, unsurprisingly, took such defaulters seriously.⁴⁰¹ But he appears to have been remarkably patient on occasions, as his agent, rather wearily, remarks of James Hackett, who owed £50 17s. 6d. in 1706, that he ‘never paid one farthing rent... he is dead and left the land waste’; Mathew Molony and Roger Hickie, presumably Hackett’s under-tenants, also owed £13 2s. 5d., but although they promised to pay their own arrears, ‘how far they may be lyable for James Hackett I know not’.⁴⁰²

It is clear, reading the agents’ comments on each lease, that the pattern of tenants and under-tenants, and the question of financial liability in the event of a death or dispute, was complex and often obscure. In one case a lease was sold and the purchaser died, at which point it passed to his daughter, whose husband declared that she had sold it on to Mr. Butler, ‘who was to indemnifie her from any Arrears’, but unfortunately this was only a verbal agreement and although the lease does not say, we might assume that Mr. Butler denied all knowledge of any such indemnity.⁴⁰³ Despite the drawbacks of tenants in arrears and complex sub-leasing, there was money to be made and we can safely assume that rack-renting went on in Tulla as elsewhere. A Catholic could hold large acreages and sublet land to tenants, and indeed the Tulla gentry, both large and small, did so. But their leases were restricted to 31 years by law, and they could not raise money by mortgaging land. Moreover,

⁴⁰⁰ P.H.A. MSS no. M.O. 1706 B9/28, no. 13.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid, no. 27.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., no. 25

although one Protestant family member could act on behalf of another, leases could be challenged and disputed and there was the risk of ‘falling victim either to a discontented relative or a predatory outsider’, as may have happened in the case of *Mary Manwaring v. Francis and Daniel MacNamara*.⁴⁰⁴ All in all, it was in the Tulla Catholic’s economic interest to convert.

The Penal laws, then, forced major changes in Tulla’s social landscape. But the religious debate was also integral to its physical landscape. Among historians, Protestantism as a religious faith is often conflated with Protestantism as a political state and it is difficult to tease out the actual practice of churchgoing from the debates about dissent, Presbyterianism and the Ascendancy. Indeed, Ian McBride remarks that for most eighteenth century people, ‘political, social and religious concerns were still inextricably interwoven. The local Anglican clergyman was a symbol of temporal as well as spiritual authority; the assizes and quarter-sessions, the town corporations and the parish vestry were all manifestations of the same government.’⁴⁰⁵ Moreover, at this time there was no professional bureaucracy so government depended on the local Protestant gentry who ‘maintained law and order and acted as intermediaries between the centre and the localities’, and appointed constables, militiamen, sheriffs and jurors.⁴⁰⁶ The structures of local government will be dealt with in the next chapter, but at a local level, and in a barony where increasing numbers of wealthier Catholics were converting, the question of congregations, churches and churchgoing are very relevant ones. Given that converts were required to attend divine service in order to receive their certificate of conversion, what provision was there for them doing so in their own parishes? Did they regularly attend church near their homes, or only when attending the Assizes in Ennis, Castlebank or Doonass?

The *Hiberniae Delineatio* County Map of 1658 shows a church in every parish except Ogonnelloe and Clonlea, and these would have been taken over by the established church. However, J. G. Simms points out that the effects of the war of 1689-91 and the Jacobite campaign had left the Church of Ireland in a ‘deplorable

⁴⁰⁴ Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, p. 256.

⁴⁰⁵ Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, p. 297.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

condition', with many churches ruined and many clergy absent. Recovery was a 'slow process, obstructed by the old evils of absenteeism, pluralism, lay appropriation of church revenues, and general indifference'.⁴⁰⁷ A letter from William King, Archbishop of Dublin, to Lord Sunderland in October 1714, informed his Lordship that,

There are at least ten parishes in the diocese of Killaloe held all by one man. Perhaps they yielded between £200 or £500 per annum, and might be twenty miles in length. This showeth the miserable condition of the church in this kingdom.⁴⁰⁸

As late as 1764, Sir Lucius O'Brien complained to Parliament that of the seventy-six parishes in Clare, there were no more than fourteen churches,

...So that the inhabitants of many parishes must either live in total neglect of all religious duties, or they must have recourse to popish priests. The priest, Sir, must marry those who would enter into the nuptial contract, the priest must baptise their children, and the priest must bury their dead.⁴⁰⁹

Tulla church was used as the Protestant church.⁴¹⁰ Tuamgraney is a tenth-century structure, which was remodelled and extended over the generations.⁴¹¹ A small church existed in Moynoe, and Killaloe boasted a cathedral and two stone-roofed oratories. Kilseily church was in use but it is not possible to ascertain whether Ogonnelloe, Killuran, Killokennedy, Clonlea, Trough and Kiltenanlea were in use.⁴¹² Weir observes that some churches were erected by landlords but more were built with grants or loans from the Board of First Fruits or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, supplemented by parliamentary grants between 1777 and 1850,

⁴⁰⁷ J. G. Simms, 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691-1714', in T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan, eds., *A New History of Ireland, 1691-1800: Early Modern Ireland, 1691-1800*, vol. IV (Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 21.

⁴⁰⁸ Cited in Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland: from the Reformation to the Revolution* (London: J. W. Parker, 1840) p. 288.

⁴⁰⁹ Ignatius Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe*, p. 165-66.

⁴¹⁰ T. J. Westropp, 'The Churches of County Clare', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Third Series, Vol. VI, No. 1. (October 1900), pp. 100-176, available at www.clarelibrary.ie, 31 August 2011.

⁴¹¹ Fiona M. Reilly, *A Study of the Medieval Parish Churches of East Clare*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University College Cork, 1995, p. 123.

⁴¹² Westropp, in 'The Churches of County Clare'.

Tulla and Broadford among them. The remainder are medieval or earlier, including Killaloe cathedral and Tuamgraney.⁴¹³

It is likely, then, that prior to the building of new nineteenth-century churches by the Board of First Fruits, Tulla Protestants worshipped in appropriated Catholic churches which they repaired if necessary. Apart from Tulla and Kilseily parish churches and St. Flannan's cathedral in Killaloe, there is little evidence of their actual churchgoing habits, and if Lucius O'Brien's claims are correct it appears that the provision of clergy was haphazard and irregular.

Even though at Killaloe a full diocesan structure, inherited from the medieval period and continued after the Reformation, required to be administered, nevertheless, on account of the very scant Protestant population the work was never very onerous... Those (bishops) spent their time, money and energies in being what they were appointed to be, namely, lords of the realm – no more, no less.⁴¹⁴

Early numbers of Protestants were so small that outside of hamlets such as Tulla where several big houses were located close by, congregations would probably have travelled to the nearest church where services were held regularly, but less regularly than local residents. Nicholas Peacock, a Protestant of Yorkshire descent who settled in county Limerick near Kilmallock in the seventeenth century, mentions in his diary going to church five or six times a year, 'probably because the country cures were served irregularly', though he took part in vestry duties, but 'the ritual year invented by the protestant church and state in Ireland exerted only a feeble grip on him'.⁴¹⁵ It is likely that among Tulla's Protestant community, churchgoing followed a similar pattern.

⁴¹³ Hugh W. L. Weir, 'Interesting County Clare Churches', in *The Other Clare*, vol. 21 (Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society, 1997), pp. 32-33.

⁴¹⁴ J. Falvey, 'Killaloe's Eighteenth Century Anglican Bishops: a biographical survey', in *The Other Clare*, vol. 19 (Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society, 1995), pp. 34-38.

⁴¹⁵ Toby Barnard, 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities, 1660-1760.', in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, eds., *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland c. 1650-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 231.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the landholding matrix of Tulla before and after the Williamite confiscations. On the face of it, there was a sharp break in continuity of landownership, with all of the cultural aftershocks that implies. But the discontinuity was mediated by a number of factors. Firstly, the Cromwellian transplantees such as the MacGraths, Ryans and O'Callaghans, shared the religious and cultural background of the native landowners such as the MacNamaras and their tenants. Secondly, the Williamite confiscations affected the barony comparatively lightly, largely because of the fragmentary nature of landholding. Evidence from the Thomond estates show that Catholics of both 'old' and 'new' interest survived on long leases, indicating that the Earl of Thomond was in a weak position regarding his preference for Protestant tenants, but also demonstrating a remarkable tenacity on the part of the native landholders. Furthermore, Tulla seems to have been anomalous in its slow rate of increase in population because its proximity to the Shannon meant that the region was exceptionally badly affected by the war of 1689-91.

With regard to ideologies of improvement, it appears that only the major landowners such as the Earls of Thomond and Cork had the resources to attempt large-scale mercantile enterprises, utilising Tulla's natural resources to develop mining and milling. The lesser gentry were occupied until well into the eighteenth century with the consolidation of land ownership and negotiation of the penal legislation. This chapter has shown how the penal laws restricted and disempowered Catholic landholders, and it has examined some of the ways in which people attempted to negotiate loopholes in the law. It is clear though that as each loophole was closed, Tulla's Catholics, both natives and incomers, had to choose between public position and private faith. For the lower classes, the small farmers, artisans and craftspeople of the barony, there was less of an issue. Only intermittently faced with purges against the practice of their religion, they by and large were allowed to worship in peace, if served by a scanty and disadvantaged clergy. However, the pastoral situation was little better for Protestants until fairly late into the eighteenth century. Only as the century progressed, and numbers of converts steadily increased as the Ascendancy consolidated its position, did the physical infrastructure of church and state become established in the material fabric of Tulla's villages and landscape.

In the next chapter, I will explore the ideology of 'improvement' by examining the gentry houses in the barony, considering the cultural implications of new styles of architecture and landscaping.

Chapter 3: Improving Tulla, 1760-1845,

Part 1: The Big House and its demesne

Introduction

The previous two chapters have explored the landowning structure in Tulla, and the discontinuity caused by the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations. I will now consider the extent to which the discontinuity in landownership disrupted the barony's development and modernisation, by investigating the effect of 'improving' ideologies in Tulla. At its core, the impetus to 'improve' should have led to an overall increase in the physical, economic, social and moral wellbeing of the whole community. The next two chapters will explore how far this actually happened. It will begin in this chapter by exploring Big Houses and demesnes, and will continue outwards to the urban centres and transport links in Chapter Four. As we will see, although the standards of living of the landed classes undoubtedly improved, efforts to raise the economic status and standards of living of the lower classes were less successful, leading to rising levels of poverty which will be examined in detail in Chapter Five.

Ideologies of improvement underpin the writings of most eighteenth-century commentators. As a case study, Arthur Young offered Robert French's development of his estate at Monivea, county Galway, which encompassed land reclamation, the establishment of a linen manufactory, woodland planting and the creation of an estate village which complemented his house and demesne.⁴¹⁶ Henry Maule, the Anglican Bishop of Dromore, declaimed from the pulpit that that the 'miserable huts, and cottages, and a mass house' of the Catholic rural poor should be replaced by Protestant villages, complete with church, Charter school, and a vicarage for the Protestant clergyman from which he might 'daily converse with and instruct his flock', neatly summing up many of the ideals which drove the improving landlord.⁴¹⁷ These ideologies, then, were intended to permeate Irish society from the top down. Landlords would lead by example, and the improving of the Irish would encompass

⁴¹⁶ Young, *A Tour in Ireland*, pp. 85-90.

⁴¹⁷ Henry Maule, *A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Dublin, 1733*, cited in Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 212.

their language, religion, morals and work ethic until they became an English-speaking, Protestant, hardworking people; in other words, civilised and Anglicised.

This chapter, then, will explore the cultural and material aspects of the developing Ascendancy class. The question of religion was integral to an individual's position in local society so it will consider the long-term effects of the penal legislation on the Tulla Ascendancy. It will then examine the material improvement of Tulla's estates by studying the architecture and landscaping of the new houses and their demesnes, and finally it will assess the importance of the Big House as an employer.

Cultural Improvement

Despite evidence that Catholic merchants in the larger towns were as ambitious and industrious as their Protestant counterparts, and that Catholic landowners such as the Earl of Kenmare were equally committed to principles of improvement, there remained a firm linkage between Protestantism and 'improvement'.⁴¹⁸ The inception of the Dublin Society in 1731 and the Physico-Historical Society in 1744, along with satellite societies in Limerick and other provincial towns, linked the moral improvement of the Irish poor with agricultural practice and industrial initiatives.⁴¹⁹ This blend of 'utility, materialism and morality' was not confined to Ireland, but had its roots in Enlightenment thinking and the economic and political changes across Britain and Europe during the previous century.⁴²⁰

Religious conversion, then, was key to one's position in the social hierarchy. In 1778, the penal code was eased to enable Catholics to hold property on the same terms as Protestants, and by 1782 they could acquire freeholds for lives or by inheritance, open schools, and educate their children as Catholics.⁴²¹ But although Catholics obtained the right of voting for Protestant members of parliament in 1793, they could not sit themselves, and George III did not grant them full political

⁴¹⁸ Barnard, *Improving Ireland?*, p. 170.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p. 18.

⁴²¹ *An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Subjects of the Popish Religion* (1778), 17 & 18 George III, c.49, and *An Act for the Further Relief of His Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom Professing the Popish Religion* (1782), 21 & 22 George III, c.24.

emancipation.⁴²² There was, therefore, a complex link between land, local politics and social position.

Sir Lucius O'Brien's list of voters in the 1768 and 1783 elections demonstrates that if anything a public profession of Protestantism was more important than ever, as the tables below of Tulla voters show.⁴²³ In 1768, the most common reason for rejection of voters was a lack of freehold. In 1783 it was lack of freehold, undue influence, being a papist/married to a papist or educating children as a papist.

No.	Name	Residence	Freehold	Value	Comments
49	Thomas Arthur	Cloonyconrymore	Cloonyconrymore	10s	Objected as papist. Admitted conversion to protestantism, took the oath and vote was admitted.
246	George Hickey	Town of Sligo	Tomgraney	40s	Rejected as not registered.
283	Richard Molony	Oughterush	Oughterush	10s	Objected for want of freehold and raising his children as papists. Took the freeholders and converts oath & produced a certificate of conformity & vote allowed.
311	Cornelius Callaghan	Coolready	Clounloun	10s	Objected as convert. Took converts oath in court and allowed.
336	Thomas Campbell	Doonass	Doonass	10s	Objected to for want of freehold but being supported vote allowed.
410	James Grady	Derrymore	Ayle	40s	Objected for want of freehold & irregularity in the registry. Allowed to be present but reserved for further scrutiny. Vote allowed after a [certificate?] produced and pleading.
413	Thomas Taylor	Mountshannon	Holy Island	40s	Objected for want of freehold & undue influence, took bribery & freeholders oath & vote allowed.
414	Teige O'Brien	Coolreagh	Coolreagh	10s	Rejected and disallowed for raising his children as papists.
415	Holms Williams	Mountshannon	Holy Island	40s	Objected for want of freehold and undue influence.

⁴²² www.libraryireland.com/articles/Eighteenth-Century-Ireland/Legislative-Independence-1782.php, 7 November 2013.

⁴²³ Inchiquin MSS 14,793: *Sir Lucius O'Brien's list of freeholders who voted on 12 July 1768*. Taken by Thomas Arthur, High Sherrieff. The candidates were Sir Lucius O'Brien, Francis Pierrepoint Burton and Murrough O'Brien; Inchiquin MSS 14,795: *List of freeholders in 1783*.

416	Edward Thornburgh	Mountshannon	Holy Island	40s	Objected for want of freehold and undue influence. Vote allowed.
417	John Humphrys	Mountshannon	Holy Island	40s	Objected for want of freehold and undue influence. Vote allowed.
425	Richard Broderick	Ayle	Baroe	40s	Objected for want of freehold. Vote allowed.
435	Matthew Logan	Mountshannon	Holy Island	40s	Objected for want of freehold and undue influence. Vote allowed.

Figure 31: Sir Lucius O'Brien's freehold voters, 1768⁴²⁴

No.	Name	Residence	Reason for Rejection
18	Bartholomew Warin	Rinagurraght	Objected to his wife being a papist. Took the freeholders' oath: withdrawn
223	Patrick Molony	Scariff	Being a papist and educating his children as papists.
238	James Bennett	Scariff	Being a papist, married to a papist and educating his children as papists. Lacked Freehold.
239	Elias Palmer	Scariff	Being a papist, married to a papist and educating his children as papists. Lacked Freehold.
378	John Bennett	Scariff	Being a papist.

Figure 32: Sir Lucius O'Brien's freehold voters, 1783⁴²⁵

The 1783 list contains considerably more voters being passed without question than the earlier one, and it is interesting to explore the reasons why this was so. More voters could have obtained the required freehold, but as we saw in Chapter Two, conversions in Tulla, as well as Clare, were at a peak in the 1760s and 1780s. It is possible that at least some of the freeholders converted in order to be able to vote, presumably for their landlord's candidate. However, they may also have been coerced by their landlord. McCracken points out that the election of county members involved patronage, bribery of freeholders and even intimidation.⁴²⁶ The reform of the county franchise, where the forty-shilling freeholders were described as being 'driven to an election like cattle to market' by the 'overmighty territorial interests' in the counties, was a primary objective of progressive thinkers in the late eighteenth

⁴²⁴ Inchiquin MSS 14,793.

⁴²⁵ Inchiquin MSS 14,795.

⁴²⁶ J. L. McCracken, 'The Political Structure, 1714-60', in Moody and Vaughan, eds., *A New History of Ireland*, vol. IV, p. 75.

century.⁴²⁷ As elections became more closely contested from the 1770s, it was in a landlord's interest to have freehold tenants who could vote, because even if he himself was not running for election, the power structure of local society was very much an 'old boy' network where landlords cultivated connections with each other. Therefore a local landlord who could bring freehold Protestant tenants to vote for his patron would enhance his own standing.

The election of 1783 was a case in point, with Hugh Dillon Massey of Doonass mounting a nine-month long campaign in the *Clare Journal* and *Ennis Chronicle* newspapers against his rival Sir Lucius O'Brien.⁴²⁸ Although O'Brien was a very active politician who had strongly promoted repeal of the penal laws, he was regarded as a 'government man' and Dillon Massey and his fellow candidate Edward Fitzgerald were both prominent Volunteers.⁴²⁹ O'Brien was convinced that Massey's victory in the previous election had been 'deliberately engineered' by Andrew Creagh, the High Sheriff, but by 1782 the Bishop of Killaloe was convinced that the Volunteer movement was being used to further the ambitions of local politicians.⁴³⁰ With two candidates determined to topple the Baronet, whose seat had been assured since 1760, it is not difficult to imagine that the candidates and their allies put a great deal of pressure on their tenants to become eligible voters. This is confirmed by the convert rolls, which show that of the eleven Tulla freeholders who converted in 1782-3, two lived in Sixmilebridge, which was owned by Sir Lucius O'Brien, and seven were from Doonass, home of Dillon Massey. The remainder were Scariff men who were listed on the chart of objectors (Fig. 32). In all, eighteen Tulla people converted during the 1780s, so clearly the election of 1783 was a significant factor.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ R. B. McDowell, 'Colonial Nationalism and the Winning of Parliamentary Independence, 1760-82', in *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁴²⁸ Kieran Sheedy, *The Clare Elections* (Dun Laoghaire: Bauroe Publications, 1993), pp. 86-7.

⁴²⁹ The Volunteer movement began in Belfast as a response to the threat of foreign invasion during the French Revolution, but quickly evolved into a 'national army' to fight for free trade and legislative independence. Its members were largely composed of Protestant landlords, though some Catholics were admitted. Thomas MacNevin, *The History of the Volunteers of 1782* (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., 1845), pp. 81-3.

⁴³⁰ Denva O'Mahony, *Sir Lucius O'Brien, Third Baronet: Quintessential Patriot or Government Man?* (Unpublished M. Litt. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2002), pp. 292-3.

⁴³¹ O'Byrne, *The Convert Rolls*, pp. 95, 126, 200, 244, 278-9.

Locally, then, it was necessary to become part of Protestant society in order to retain or enhance prestige. But it is important to place the Penal Laws in their wider European context because ‘the world of these dim provincials was not sealed against outside influences. From time to time the distant Dublin government and even the remote Hanoverian state impinged’.⁴³² Ian McBride comments that the laws were ‘part of a common European experience’ of religious conflict, not just the uprisings of seventeenth century Ireland but those in a larger Europe, which created a climate of anti-Catholic fear and suspicion.⁴³³ The result was that even in peripheral Tulla, whether the ex-Catholics remained sympathetic to their unconverted family members or friends or not, they were ‘co-opted to the Protestant ascendancy and thereby helped to legitimise it’.⁴³⁴

Notwithstanding this, gradations in Tulla society were possibly more subtle than we might assume. Although to outsiders, local society may have appeared to have been sharply delineated between the landlords living in elegant Georgian houses and the poor tenantry in humble cabins, this may not have been the case in fact. What Nolan describes as the ‘middle category’ of Irish tenants often lived in simple, mud-walled, thatched houses and dressed in a shabby manner that belied their wealth.⁴³⁵ Such people lived frugally and saved rather than spent their wealth on material goods and decoration, though they were frequently noted for their lavish hospitality.⁴³⁶ Often they invested their money on dowries for their daughters which were in some cases larger than those of the gentry whose more extravagant lifestyles drained their capital. The successful marriage strategies thus employed enabled them to retain social capital in the form of respect and status which may not have been apparent to outsiders but which would have been clear to local people both above and below them on the social scale.⁴³⁷ The fact that many of the gentry houses were of simple, single-storey, thatched construction, as we will see in the next section, seems to indicate that either Tulla’s gentry class were not wealthy enough to afford the latest

⁴³² Barnard, ‘Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities, 1660-1760’, in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, eds., *Protestantism & National Identity, Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 234. Barnard was writing about Nicholas Peacock of co. Limerick and Lucas of Corofin, co. Clare.

⁴³³ Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, (Dublin: Gill & MacMillan, 2009), p. 213.

⁴³⁴ Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 215.

⁴³⁵ Nolan, *The Shaping of Ireland*, p. 125.

⁴³⁶ Whelan, *An Underground Gentry?* p. 19.

⁴³⁷ Nolan, *The Shaping of Ireland*, p. 126.

architecture, or that they were investing money in other ways such as dowries. Their importance, therefore, was not in the mark that they made on the physical landscape, but in their place within the social and cultural landscape.

As an example of ‘gentry middlemen’, the MacInerneys are an interesting case study of a Tulla family. Originally a sept of the MacNamaras, they were dispossessed of most of their lands in Feakle in the Cromwellian confiscations, and many of them moved to west Clare.⁴³⁸ These, along with the family members who remained on their ancestral lands, joined ‘an intermediate type of gentleman/yeoman’ who leased estates on the Thomond and Inchiquin estates; that is, younger sons of lesser branches of the family who became landed tenants.⁴³⁹ The *Inchiquin Manuscripts* contain sporadic mentions of the family in west Clare, but Thomas McInerhiny procured a lease from Sir Lucius O’Brien of a holding in Sixmilebridge in 1785, and it was probably he who conformed to the Church of Ireland in 1782.⁴⁴⁰ Unfortunately the lease describes the holding in terms of its borders with other landowners but does not give the overall acreage, but the fact that it was in Sixmilebridge town itself indicates that it was not large. The same lease also states that John McInerhiny deceased, held a second plot of land in Sixmilebridge, which was subsequently set ‘for the lives of Charles Fitzgerald eldest son of James Fitzgerald of Shepertown and John and Edmund Singleton sons of John Singleton of Ballygareen.’⁴⁴¹

The Catholic Relief Act (17 & 18 George III, c. 49) of 1778, enabled Catholics to take 999 year leases, and the second, in 1782 (21 & 22 George III, c. 24) gave Catholics virtually equal rights with Protestants with regard to land purchase and disposition.⁴⁴² Thomas McInerhiny’s conversion in 1782 was not, therefore, in order to take out a lease on the property, but was almost certainly so that he could vote in

⁴³⁸ Luke McInerney, *Survey of the McInerney Sept of Thomond*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/genealogy, 12 November 2013.

⁴³⁹ T. P. Power & Kevin Whelan, eds., *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press), p. 68.

⁴⁴⁰ Ainsworth, *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*, no. 1741, p. 599; Ignatius Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 165. There is no McInerhiny listed in Eileen McCracken, *The Convert Rolls*.

⁴⁴¹ Ainsworth, *Inchiquin Manuscripts*, no. 1741, p. 599

⁴⁴² W. N. Osborough, ‘Catholics, Land and the Popery Acts of Anne’, in T. P. Power and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990), p. 49.

the 1783 election campaign. However, the O'Briens did prefer Protestant tenants when they were available, so McInerhiny's Protestant status in 1785 could have given him preferential status. Interestingly one 'Jos. McInerheny' was one of three witnesses to the will of Sir Edward O'Brien of Dromoland, in 1765.⁴⁴³ Although they were a relatively insignificant family in terms of political power, they must have retained a degree of social capital, and they were an enduring family who spread across east and west Clare and into Limerick and Tipperary.⁴⁴⁴ The McInerneys, then, might certainly be described as 'strong farmers', not ostentatious in material wealth but relatively land-rich overall, and with a good name locally.

In establishing a family's place within the social gentry network, daughters were an important asset because they could be married into other gentry families for reasons of prestige or money. It was common in the eighteenth century to recognise a marriage link by incorporating the mother's maiden name into a son's Christian name. Thus, among the landed class, we see Croasdaile Molony, MacNamara Molony, Ringrose Drew and Massy Stacpoole.⁴⁴⁵ Examination of any family genealogy reveals a complex web of intermarriages between neighbouring families and families farther afield. For instance, James Molony of Kiltannon's children and grandchildren married into the MacNamaras, the Croasdailes, the Drews, the Cusacks, the Butlers, the Massys, the Brownes and the Bradys.⁴⁴⁶ No doubt guided by James the Patriarch's astute ability to marry advantageously – it will be remembered that he had four wives, all rich or well-connected – the Molonys might have been extreme in their marriage connections, but every Tulla family can show connections to other gentry families. Edward MacLysaght's family study shows that over two generations the MacLysaghts had married into the Arthurs, the Bourkes, the MacNamaras and the Whites.⁴⁴⁷ By such marriages, a family's place within the cultural and economic élite was established, reinforced or even improved. Marriage and conversion, then, were important cultural markers. But the 'improvement' of the landed class encompassed cultural, familial and religious elements, but it also

⁴⁴³ Ainsworth, *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*, No. 1511, p. 525.

⁴⁴⁴ McInerney, *Survey of the McInerney Sept of Thomond*.

⁴⁴⁵ Molony, *The Molony Family*, p. 78; www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/genealogy/genealog.htm, 19 November 2013.

⁴⁴⁶ Molony, *The Molony Family*, Table no. 3.

⁴⁴⁷ McLysaght, *Short Study of a Transplanted Family*, Appendix B: MacLysaght Pedigree, available at www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/genealogy, 19 November 2013.

encompassed the physical differentiation of the ‘improved’ and the ‘unimproved’ landscape, and we will examine the phenomena of the Big House and its landscape next.

Material Improvement

The notion of ‘place-making’, or the intimate relationship between people and the physical landscape, has not been much explored by historians, though some excellent work has been done by historical geographers such as William J. Smyth and Patrick Duffy. Keith Basso states that a sense of place, and the process of place-making, is ‘a way of constructing social traditions, and, in the process, personal and social identities... what people make of their places is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of society.’⁴⁴⁸ Duffy’s exploration of Irish landscape and history describes a metaphorical and metaphysical landscape, a landscape of everyday lived experience which is rooted in the practical and physical but is also about identity and cultural concepts regarding the meaning of land.⁴⁴⁹

The ideology of Enlightened, rational thinking was inscribed in the symmetrical architecture of the Ascendancy houses, and the planned, tamed avenues, lawns and plantations. Improvements were symbolic as well as utilitarian, articulating in the landscape ‘the visible signs of a stable and civilising Protestant society’.⁴⁵⁰ Parks, demesnes, and woodlands, were all features from which local people were disbarred unless they were servants or labourers employed by the landowner. This separation of the gentry from the Catholic lower class was closely related to the politics of power, which was intimately linked to symbols of ‘good taste’, such as art, music, and architecture, which confirmed and strengthened differences.⁴⁵¹ Those who displayed the symbols of tasteful, ‘proper’ living, then, such as elegant architecture and landscaped gardens, were accumulating cultural capital which could be used to maintain or create a place in the local hierarchy of power.

⁴⁴⁸ Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), pp. 143-5.

⁴⁴⁹ Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*, pp. 52-101.

⁴⁵⁰ Whelan, *An Underground Gentry*, p. 10.

⁴⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu, cited in Thomas Hylland Erikson, *Small Places, Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*, 2nd ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2001), p. 153.

Mervyn Busted states that, ‘There is almost a sense of theatricality about the country estates of eighteenth-century Ireland. They were the stage upon which proprietors displayed their worth and that of their caste and class’.⁴⁵² The use of one’s house to make a statement of wealth and power was nothing new, especially in Tulla where tower houses had been a visible demonstration of the wealth and influence of the leading families. Neo-Palladian architecture has been described as a ‘taste revolution’ that transformed eighteenth-century Britain, and although its origins have been linked to Whiggism and the succession of George I, Fry has shown that it was in fact apolitical. Of arguably more importance were the networks of contact between subscribers to the new styles and their families and friends.⁴⁵³ We know that those networks existed at an élite level because in her *Household Book*, Lady Elizabeth O’Brien of Dromoland mentions sharing recipes and ideas on garden design with other members of the Irish nobility.⁴⁵⁴ Intermarriage and extended familial networks undoubtedly fostered such sharing of ideas.

Busted states that although some of the design and building work was done by skilled architects, local landlords used knowledge gained by reading journals and books and were very much involved in the process of designing and building estates, visiting neighbours and friends and travelling further afield, as well as corresponding with like-minded builders in Ireland and Britain.⁴⁵⁵ Christine Casey has shown that a wide-ranging canon of books on architecture were available in Ireland in the eighteenth century, either from booksellers, private libraries or gentlemen’s libraries, albeit chiefly in Dublin.⁴⁵⁶ Nor was it just men who directed operations. Catherine O’Brien, the driving force behind the design and construction of Dromoland Castle during her son’s minority, claimed that she was obliged to dip her

⁴⁵² Mervyn Busted, *Castle Caldwell, County Fermanagh: Life on a West Ulster estate, 1750-1800*, Maynooth Studies in Local History, no. 69 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).

⁴⁵³ Carole Fry, ‘Spanning the Political Divide: Neo-Palladianism and the Early Eighteenth-Century Landscape’, in *Garden History*, vol. 31, no. 2 (Winter, 2003), pp. 180-1.

⁴⁵⁴ N. L. I. Inchiquin MSS, 14,887.

⁴⁵⁵ Busted, ‘Castle Caldwell, County Fermanagh’, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁵⁶ Christine Casey, ‘Architectural Books in Eighteenth Century Ireland’, in *Eighteenth Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr*, vol. 3 (1988), pp. 105-13.

hands in mortar and build ‘with something more success both for beauty and conveniency’.⁴⁵⁷

In all of county Clare, only Dromoland can be compared to grand mansions such as Powerscourt and Carton House. Although some of Tulla’s gentry houses such as Kilgory, Tinarana and Kiltannon were impressive, they were on a considerably smaller scale, reflecting the comparative impoverishment of the western region. Fig. 33 shows the location of gentry houses and indicates how the variety of designs related to the status of their owners. A close scrutiny of Henry Pelham’s 1787 Grand Jury Map reveals between eighty and ninety ‘big houses’ in the barony, although several other smaller houses are shown but not named.⁴⁵⁸ In comparison, there were seventy-one big houses shown in neighbouring Bunratty, which was approximately thirty per cent smaller.

The map for Feakle parish is not always clear, and in places it is difficult to decipher the name or style of house. Pelham uses different symbols for different types of building. Castles are shown as towers with jagged tops, indicating a ruin, and smaller houses are shown as a two-chimney single-storey dwelling. Next Pelham depicts a slightly taller house with a line below the roof, probably indicating a two-storey house, and lastly a tall house with extensions on either side.

As the following map shows, the Big Houses or gentlemen’s seats follow approximately the same settlement pattern as their predecessors, the tower houses.

⁴⁵⁷ Finola O’Kane, ‘Design and Rule: Women in the Irish Countryside, 1715-1831,’ in *Eighteenth Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr*, vol. 19 (2004), p. 58.

⁴⁵⁸ Henry Pelham, *Grand Jury Map of Ireland, 1787*, available at www.clarelibrary/eolas, 4 November 2013.



Figure 33: Big Houses 1750-1842⁴⁵⁹

In some cases the new gentry had simply extended existing tower houses, as Dinely illustrated in his sketch of Ballyclough Castle, between Sixmilebridge and Ennis.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁹ Compiled from Pelham's 1787 Grand Jury map, and the 1842 OS 6-inch map.

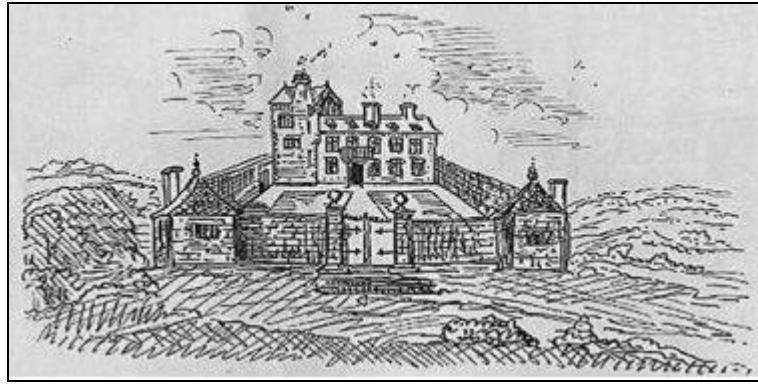


Figure 34: Ballyclough Castle (Dineley)

Despite the abundance of tower houses in Tulla, no examples like Ballyclough survive in the barony, although, across the region, seventeen houses were erected adjacent to existing castles. The decision to build anew rather than extend may have been because most tower houses were so badly damaged during and after the Cromwellian war that they were beyond re-use.⁴⁶¹

House styles varied a great deal. Fortanemore House, an early seventeenth-century example of a half-storey thatched dwelling, was one of the simplest types.⁴⁶²



Figure 35: Fortanemore House (Weir)

⁴⁶⁰ Thomas Dineley, *Journal of County Clare, 1681*, in Ó Dálaigh, ed., *The Stranger's Gaze* (Clasp Press, Ennis), 2004, pp. 47-50.

⁴⁶¹ Hugh Weir, *Houses of Clare*, p. 47.

⁴⁶² Weir, *Houses of Clare*, p. 129.

Fig. 36 shows several houses in Feakle parish. Clondanagh House, towards the western edge, appears to be a plain single-storey house probably similar to Fortanemore. Ayle, Garruragh, Fort Anne and Lismeghan are all depicted as extended houses, probably neo-classical in design, with avenues of trees or plantations.

The origins of these landowners vary. Ayle was owned by the MacNamaras, an indigenous family, but Fort Anne was the residence of Poole Westropp, whose forbears were a seventeenth-century Limerick family. Newgrove House, close to Tulla village, was owned by Thomas Browne, High Sheriff in 1773, who was descended from Edmund Browne, a New English settler.⁴⁶³ The planting of avenues and ornamental gardens seems then to have been a common theme regardless of the origins of the owners, and Pelham's 1787 map depicts seven houses in Tulla which show evidence of planted avenues. Interestingly, several of these landscaped houses were in close proximity to each other, as the following map shows, so perhaps there was an element of neighbourly competition.

⁴⁶³ Eric Shaw, 'The Brady Browne Family of Newgrove, Tulla, Co. Clare', in *The Other Clare*, vol. 8, (Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society, 1984), pp. 5-6.



Figure 36: Estates with avenues in Henry Pelham's Grand Jury Map, 1787, parish of Tulla.

Aalen comments that by the mid- eighteenth century, the single-storey seventeenth century thatched farmhouses were sometimes being extended or modernised, but more usually they were demolished and replaced by small-scale models of large demesne houses, often from a book of designs, characterised by symmetrical façades and elegant entrances topped by oval fanlights.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁴ Aalen, *Man and the Landscape in Ireland*, pp. 166-7.



Figure 37: Milltown house detail (Pelham 1787)

Milltown House, shown above, appears to be such a house, with a second storey and approached by an avenue of trees. This new style of house is exemplified by Caher House at the foot of Lough Graney, a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century house which has been extended in recent years, but which still retains its original classical frontage. Such houses were rather modest in scale, more imposing farmhouses than grand mansions, with a few exceptions such as Kilgory and Kiltannon. John Lloyd, writing in 1780, was far more impressed with Kiltannon's natural curiosities such as its underground cavern and natural rock-bridge over the river, than its house, which he describes as an 'elegant seat', set in a 'rich and respectable' neighbourhood, though he does comment that in the central part of Tulla parish, 'the buildings and improvements are truly commendable'.⁴⁶⁵ The only picture of Kiltannon extant is a photograph taken after the house was derelict, showing one wing.

⁴⁶⁵ John Lloyd, *A Short Tour, or, an Impartial and Accurate Description of the County of Clare* (Ennis: Busteed and Trinder, 1780), pp. 44 & 48.



Figure 38: Kiltannon House⁴⁶⁶

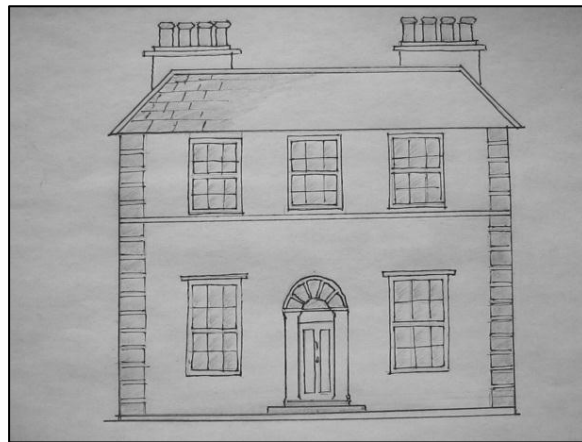


Figure 39: Caher House⁴⁶⁷

As we saw in Chapter 2, the Molonys were wealthy and well-connected. The O’Haras, landlords of Caher House, were from Raheen, co. Galway, where they owned a considerable amount of land and several properties and were extensively involved in subletting. Although the BSD states that the townland of Caher consisted of 488 profitable acres, the earliest record of the size of Caher House demesne is from Griffith’s Valuation in 1855, which gives it as 255 acres. By comparison, Griffith states that the Molonys owned twenty-four townlands in Tulla parish and

⁴⁶⁶ Landed Estates Database, www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie, 5 November 2013.

⁴⁶⁷ Drawing courtesy of Alan Shoosmith.

nine in Feakle.⁴⁶⁸ It was, then, a lesser family property, unlike Kiltannon, which was the Molony family seat.⁴⁶⁹

The landed estate, reorganised by confiscation and conversion, had become the ‘engine of growth’ of an imperialist commodity-based economy, based upon a rent-paying tenantry with the landlords themselves acting as the agents of improvement.⁴⁷⁰ The significance of the new houses was not their size but their design, with large, expensive windows, gracious rooms and elegant façades, set in landscaped grounds and approached by avenues of trees, setting them apart from the utilitarian farmland around them.⁴⁷¹ Such neo-Palladian houses were based upon the architectural styles of Augustinian Rome, which was considered to be the ‘golden age of Enlightenment’. The rural house, then, was idealised as a ‘rural retreat for sensual and intellectual pleasure’, where the principles of ‘true and harmonious living’ were inscribed upon the landscape.⁴⁷² Caher House’s setting, overlooking Lough Graney and surrounded by lawns and trees, gave it a gravitas out of proportion to its actual size and demonstrated the owners’ recognition of the principles of improvement, refinement and the physical display of civility which differentiated them from their lesser neighbours. It was a private space, hidden from the road amongst young trees, yet designed to be seen from across the lake.

Although several travellers passed through parts of the barony, few mention the design of the houses of the gentlemen with whom they stayed. Typical is the Chevalier de Latocnaye’s comment that Mr. H. Brady’s house was near Tomgraney, ‘a rather pretty village set at the end of the bay’.⁴⁷³ This was Raheens House, and it may have a symbol for an extended house on the Grand Jury map although it is rather unclear. Despite the lack of comment, Weir’s description of eighteenth century houses indicates that many of Tulla’s landowners had embraced neo-Palladian architecture. This is supported by the Grand Jury map, which shows twenty-nine clearly depicted extended two-storey houses, with a possible three more

⁴⁶⁸ Richard Griffith, *Griffith’s Valuation*, Co. Clare (Dublin: Thom and Sons for His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1855).

⁴⁶⁹ Landed Estates Database, www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie, 5 November 2013.

⁴⁷⁰ Aalen, Whelan and Stout, *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, p. 68.

⁴⁷¹ Aalen, *Man and the Landscape in Ireland*, p. 166.

⁴⁷² Fry, ‘Spanning the Political Divide’, pp. 184-5.

⁴⁷³ Chevalier de Latocnaye, *A Frenchman’s Tour of East Clare, 1797*, in Ó Dálaigh, *The Stranger’s Gaze*, p. 138.

whose symbols are less clear. Additionally, some houses were in the process of being built. Doonass House in Kiltenanlea, for example, the residence of the Massy family, was described by Wilson as ‘a superb and elegant mansion house’ in 1786, and it is likely that this too incorporated pleasure gardens and plantations in its landscaping.⁴⁷⁴

The desire of Tulla’s landed class to demonstrate their place in the new Ascendancy is interesting, because as we saw in Chapter 2, many of them were descended from transplanted Irish Catholics, and nominal conversion appeared to be common. Catholic Ireland was all too frequently described by outsiders as a land of feckless, ostentatiously hospitable people, idle, irrational and primitive in comparison to the Protestant British.⁴⁷⁵ It may have been that Tulla’s gentry were attempting, by their use of new, rational styles of architecture, by the laying out of refined and gracious grounds, and by the clear separation of their own dwellings from those of their tenants, to distance themselves from their ancestry and display their industry and modernity. Pelham’s 1787 map also shows that many of the new houses had Anglicised names such as Mount Rice (Kilseily), Lakefield (Kilfinaghta), Drewsborough (Tomgraney), and Stackpoole’s Court (Ballymulcashel, Kilfinaghta), and it is instructive to explore the origins of their owners.

The owners of Mount Rice were most likely related to Nicholas Rice of Lissofin, a transplantee from Limerick who was guarantor to William Connelane, parish priest of Tulla in 1703.⁴⁷⁶ Weir describes Mount Rice as an eighteenth century thatched house, inhabited either by the Rice family or rented to a family named Franks.⁴⁷⁷ Possibly, then, it was an early house which was only partially modernised. Lakefield, later known as Castlelake, was the home of the Gabbetts, an English family who had settled in Caherline, co. Limerick, in the seventeenth century, and intermarried with the Westropp. ⁴⁷⁸ It was a late eighteenth century, three bay house, albeit single-

⁴⁷⁴ William Wilson, *The Post Chaise Companion, or the Traveller’s Directory Through Ireland* (Dublin, 1786), p. 96.

⁴⁷⁵ Toby Barnard, ‘Public and Private Uses of Wealth in Ireland, 1660-1760’, in Jacqueline Hill and Colm Lennon, eds., *Luxury and Austerity: Historical Studies, XXI* (Dublin, UCD Press, 1997), p. 67.

⁴⁷⁶ Registration Act (2 Anne, c.3).

⁴⁷⁷ Weir, *Houses of Clare*, p. 198.

⁴⁷⁸ Landed Estates Database, available at www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie, 5 November 2013.

storey.⁴⁷⁹ Drewsborough was the home of the Drews of Limerick, who married into the Ringroses of Moynoe. Francis Drew of Drewsborough was High Sheriff of Clare in 1788.⁴⁸⁰ Unfortunately nothing is known of the design of the house, but it appears on the map as a single-storey unextended dwelling. Stackpoole's Court was built on the site of Enagh Castle, an eighteenth century house which incorporated a tower house.⁴⁸¹ In 1677 Bartholomew Stackpole, a transplantee from Limerick had been granted over 3,000 acres in county Clare and was granted a licence to hold fairs at Stackpoole's Court. The Pery family of Limerick inherited the estates when Stackpoole's daughter married Colonel Edmond Sexton Pery.⁴⁸² Weir describes it as a 'most interesting, large, irregular seventeenth century, two and three-storey, gabled house, with many additions'.⁴⁸³ Close inspection of Pelham's 1787 Grand Jury map shows differences in the symbols attached to each house. When Mount Rice is compared to Stackpoole's Court, Mount Rice appears to be, and indeed was, a smaller, less extended and probably single-story house.

It may have been expected that landowners who used English names for their houses would be more likely to have embraced the Georgian symmetrical style, but judging from the above examples, that does not appear to have been the case; neither were such owners very recent incomers into the barony, most having been there since the seventeenth century or earlier. It must be pointed out, however, that marriage between old and new families was common and it is often difficult to ascertain whether the builder of a property was of an old or new family.

For example, the Kilkishen estate, comprising approximately two thousand acres, had belonged to the Cusacks who had been resident in the parish since the sixteenth century, and who had purchased the forfeited Ryan lands from the Chichester House Commissioners in 1703.⁴⁸⁴ In the early eighteenth century, one Madam Cusack of

⁴⁷⁹ Weir, *Houses of Clare*, pp. 173-4.

⁴⁸⁰ Weir, *Houses of Clare*, p. 108.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 252.

⁴⁸² Landed Estates Database, available at www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie, 5 November 2013. See also Chapter 2, p. 40.

⁴⁸³ Weir, *Houses of Clare*, p. 252.

⁴⁸⁴ See Chapter 2, p. 97.

Kilkishen married Thomas Studdert of Bunratty Castle.⁴⁸⁵ The Studderts originated in Antrim in the seventeenth century, but by 1685 George Studdert was Rector of Rathkeale, Co. Limerick. The Cusacks had become Protestants because, although he does not appear on the Convert Rolls, Madam Cusack's father Thomas was described as a 'noted priest hunter' who left well over two thousand acres to his daughter.⁴⁸⁶ The imposingly classical Kilkishen House, pictured below, was built by the Cusacks and became part of the Studdert estate on the death of Thomas Cusack.



Figure 40: Kilkishen House⁴⁸⁷

The Cusacks' alliance with the wealthy Protestant Studderts and the erection of an imposing modern house thus consolidated their place in the new Ascendancy.⁴⁸⁸

Pelham's 1787 map indicates that a great number of houses had been built by the latter eighteenth century. Weir's survey of the gentry houses in Clare does not give the date of construction, but if we examine his entries for 38 of the most prominent houses in Tulla, we can see that although approximate dates are given for only 26

⁴⁸⁵ The last Earl of Thomond sold Bunratty castle to Thomas Amory in 1712, and it was subsequently sold to Thomas Studdert circa 1720. (Landed Estates Database, available at www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie, 22 November 2013)

⁴⁸⁶ Bill McInerney, 'The Studderts of Kilkishen', in *The Other Clare*, vol. 4 (Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society, April 1980), p. 32.

⁴⁸⁷ Landed Estates Database, www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie, 5 November 2013.

⁴⁸⁸ William Cusack of Tulla converted to Protestantism in 1785 but there is no record of when the other members of the family converted.

houses, the most prolific phase of house-building was at the end of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth.⁴⁸⁹

Undated	Seventeenth century	Eighteenth century	Late eighteenth-early nineteenth century	Late nineteenth century
12	7	7	11	1

Figure 41: Approximate period of erection of Tulla gentry houses (Weir)

Landscaping of the approaches and immediate environs of even modest houses was no less important than the design of the house itself. Landscaping was a visible demonstration of culture, taste and status, and like house design it altered in style as fashions changed. Walled demesnes were frequently created from existing deer parks, and Nolan observes that such walls were in many cases erected as employment-creating activities in the period during or after the Great Frost of 1739-40.⁴⁹⁰ Gardens were integral to the ideologies of improvement and were a ‘taming of the menacing environment,’ across all aspects of horticulture and agriculture— in the parklands and plantation trees, orchards and vegetable gardens, as well as the promotion of crops such as rape and sainfoin, and improved breeds of livestock.⁴⁹¹ Moreover, Nolan states that the creation of new houses and demesnes, together with their estate villages, went hand in hand with local initiatives such as the promotion of linen manufacture, the establishment of Charter schools, and the building of military barracks.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁹ Weir, *Houses of Clare*, p. 262.

⁴⁹⁰ William Nolan, ed., *The Shaping of Ireland: The Geographical Perspective* (Dublin: The Mercier Press, in association with RTÉ, 1986), p. 128.

⁴⁹¹ T. C. Barnard, ‘Gardening, Diet and “Improvement” in Later Seventeenth Century Ireland’, in *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Taylor and Francis, 1990), p. 71.

⁴⁹² Nolan, ed., *The Shaping of Ireland*, p. 128.

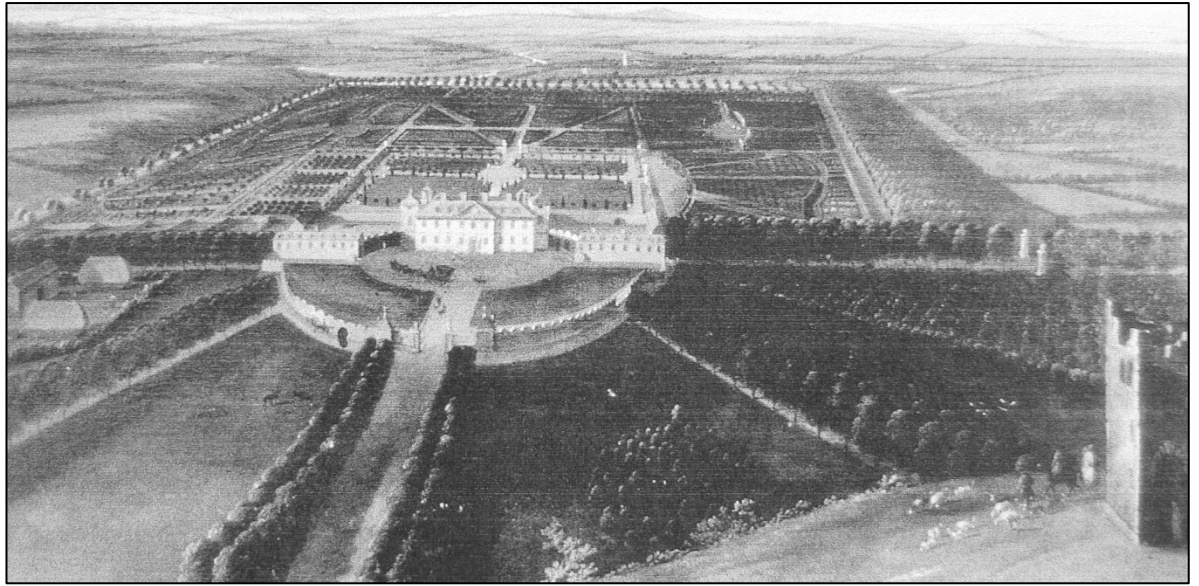


Figure 42: Carton House, co. Kildare⁴⁹³

Carton House, shown above, is one of the most impressive examples of the baroque demesnes of the late 17th century, characterised by ornamental and kitchen gardens, orchards and walks. But by the late eighteenth century, fashion in estate landscaping was sweeping away the formal, geometric garden in favour of ‘landscape parks’ of field and woodland where livestock were grazed, gamebirds were raised for shooting and horses exercised.⁴⁹⁴ Such parks were designed to be profitable as well as places of leisure, so although this style of design may have appealed to landowners whose finances were limited and for whom the potential for profit was important, they may have been influenced by fashion too.

Not all of Tulla’s landowners were keen to discard their baroque gardens, however, since several gardens are depicted with a formal geometric layout juxtaposed with parkland, as the following examples show.

⁴⁹³ Aalen, Whelan and Stout, *Atlas of the Irish Rural Countryside*, p. 200.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-2.

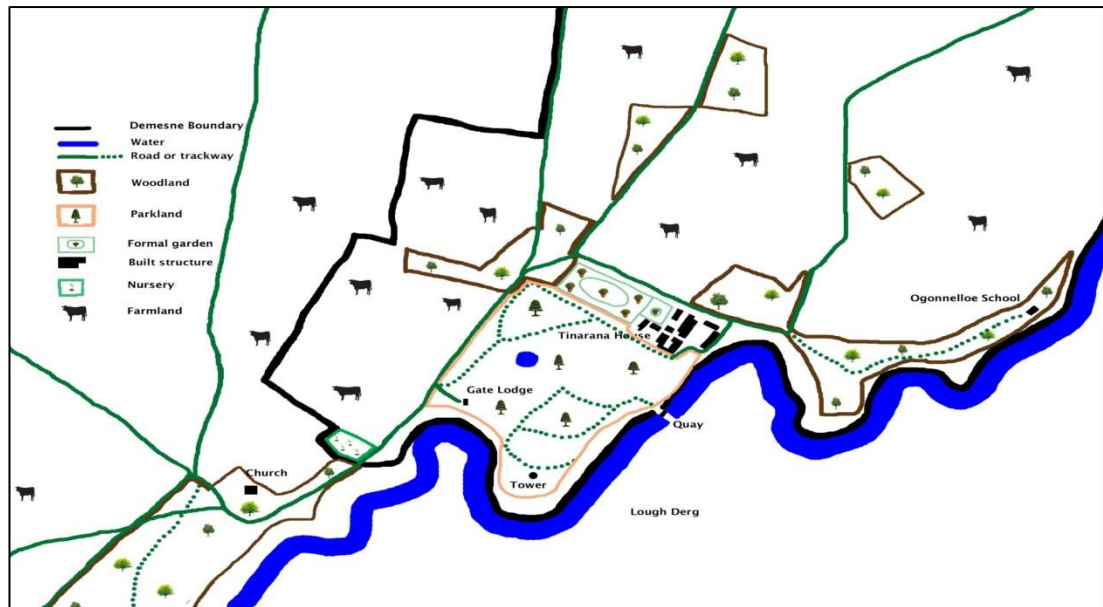


Figure 43: Tinarana House⁴⁹⁵

Tinarana, home of the Purdon family (Fig. 43), had a pleasure garden which consisted of a small square, possibly with a central fountain, and a larger walled garden which consisted of a single large oval bed. Its parkland contained a small lake, and a walk to a tower with views across Lough Derg. Across the park on the border of the demesne there was a plant nursery. Note, too, the school, which was erected by the family and run by Miss Purdon.

⁴⁹⁵ Based upon the OS 1842 6-inch map.

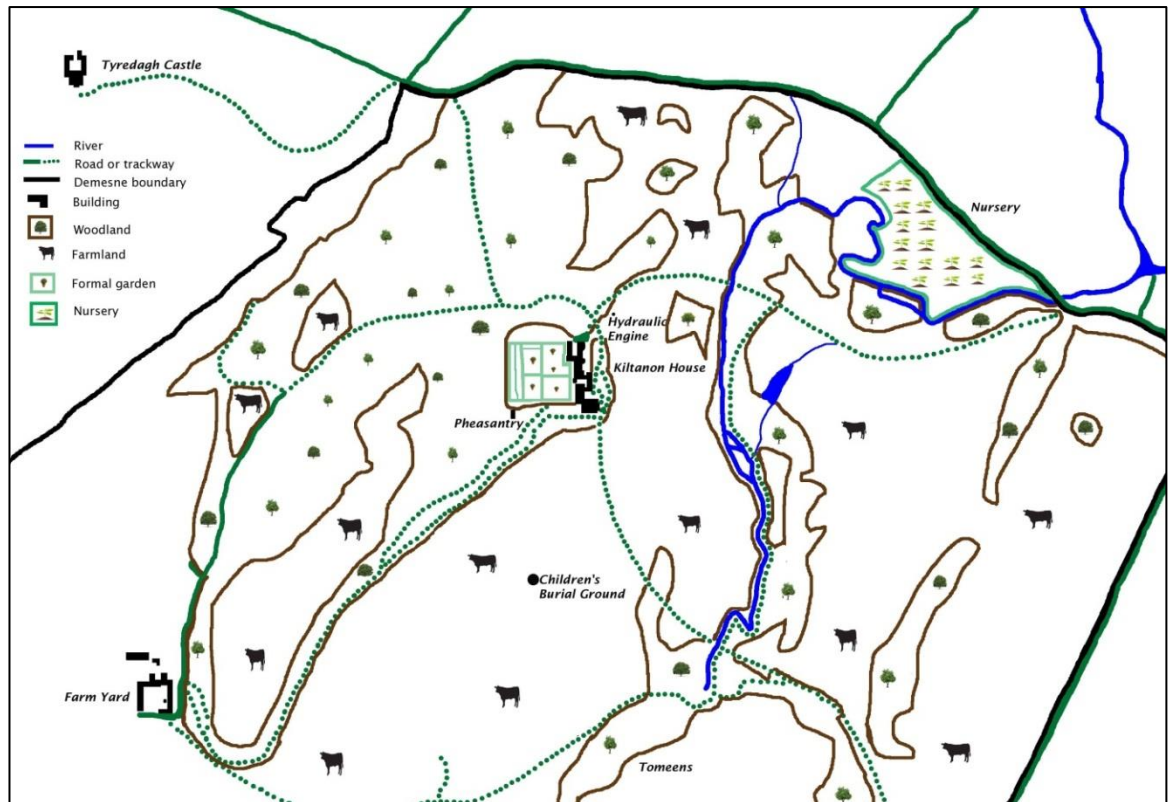


Figure 44: Kiltannon House⁴⁹⁶

The Molony demesne at Kiltannon had a four-bay formal garden, and close examination of the 1842 OS map indicates surrounding farmland rather than parkland, interspersed with woodland through which a small river flows. This river, a natural phenomenon rather than a diverted stream which disappears underground, included the cavern known locally as the Tomeens, mentioned by John Lloyd in 1780.⁴⁹⁷

The most elaborate garden in Tulla barony was at Ballyvally House (Fig. 45), owned by the Parker family who were originally from Tipperary and who married into the local Massys and Gradys. Ballyvally had a very large formal garden, certainly walled, of large and small beds with a glasshouse and surrounding park and plantation. The glasshouse at Ballyvally, at the top end of the garden against a south-facing wall, was very likely used to grow peaches, early strawberries and citrus fruit as well as exotic plants such as orchids. Evidence for such produce comes

⁴⁹⁶ Based upon the OS 1842 6-inch map.

⁴⁹⁷ Lloyd, *A Short Tour*, pp. 44 & 48.

from the writing of Lady Elizabeth O'Brien, Countess of Thomond, who left a household book which contained recipes for fruit and vegetables grown in the Dromoland estate's gardens – including such tender fruits as hothouse peaches - and her journal states that garden owners corresponded with each other, swapping plants and recipes.⁴⁹⁸



Figure 45: Ballyvally House⁴⁹⁹

The laying out of elaborate gardens, orchards and elegant plantations of specimen trees required money, knowledge and skilled staff. Seeds, catalogues and specimen plants were available from numerous nurserymen in Ireland, and there were fifty-

⁴⁹⁸ N. L. I. Inchiquin MSS, 14,887.

⁴⁹⁹ Based upon the OS 1842 6-inch map.

eight nurseries in Dublin alone, with eighteen in Limerick city and county.⁵⁰⁰ Specialist merchants such as Edward Bray published a catalogue which included flowers, vegetable and medicinal herb seeds, bulbs, fruit trees, and ornamental trees and shrubs.⁵⁰¹

Comparison of garden styles and ownership of estates indicates that where families have intermarried, garden designs are similar. For instance, Derrymore and Newgrove, both owned by the Gores, share symmetrical garden styles, and the O'Callaghan garden at Ballinahinch is almost identical to that of the O'Callaghan house at Kilgory.⁵⁰² It is not always the case that the more elaborate the garden, the more modern it was. Although landowners such as Robert O'Hara at Caher and the MacNamaras of Ayle had 'simple' landscape parks, this did not mean that they could not afford baroque pleasure-gardens, though in the case of the MacNamaras that may well have been true. Their choice of landscaping may simply have been a reflection of personal style, and in fact such landscape parks were more modern than the classical geometric layout.

Most estates shown in these examples contained an area of woodland as distinct from parkland, which was much more open. Woodland had two functions: it preserved the privacy of the owners, creating a physical division between the 'improved' landscape of the demesne and the 'unimproved' landscape of the peasantry, and it could also be profitable. The planting of timber trees was promoted by the Dublin Society, and forestry as a means of improving the economic potential of marginal land was approved of by surveyors such as Hely Dutton.⁵⁰³ Fig. 46 shows that Caher House, on the south-western shore of Lough Graney, was set within a 280 acre landscaped 'parkland' of specimen trees, with woodland separating the house from the road.

⁵⁰⁰ Mary Forrest, 'Nurseries and Nurserymen in Ireland from the early eighteenth to the early twenty-first centuries', in *Studies in the history of gardens and designed landscapes*, vol. 30, no. 4 (Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 2010), p. 324.

⁵⁰¹ Eileen McCracken, 'Irish Nurserymen and Seedsmen', in *Quarterly Journal of Forestry*, vol. 59 (1965), pp. 131-139.

⁵⁰² Landed Estates Database, www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie; OS 6 inch map, 1842.

⁵⁰³ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 269-71.

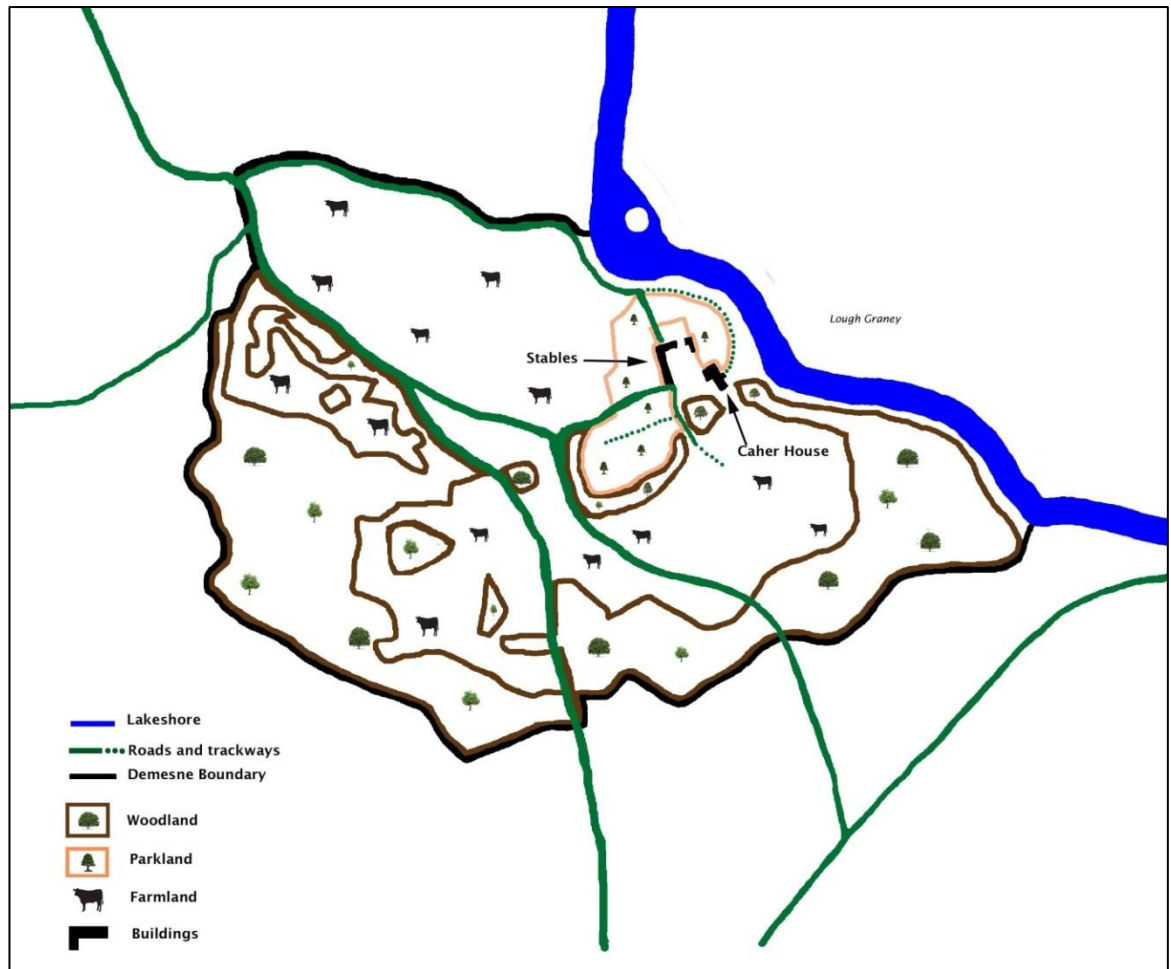


Figure 46: Caher house and demesne⁵⁰⁴

As early as 1710, an act of parliament for the preserving and planting of timber trees (9 Anne c.5) made it illegal to remove sapling trees from woodland and henceforth planting had to use nursery-grown stock.⁵⁰⁵ By the late eighteenth century, the Dublin Society was offering premia for the establishment of nurseries, the provision of young nursery trees and the training of apprentice arboriculturists, as well as a premium of £4 per acre to landowners for tree-planting on their estates.⁵⁰⁶ Robert O'Hara, who built Caher house, received premia from the Dublin Society for plantations in 1790 and 1791; by 1808 these young woods were 'well preserved and

⁵⁰⁴ Based upon the OS 1842 6-inch map.

⁵⁰⁵ This followed earlier legislation of 1695 which was never enacted. Forrest, 'Nurseries and Nurserymen', p. 323.

⁵⁰⁶ Forrest, 'Nurseries and Nurserymen', p. 323.

beautiful'.⁵⁰⁷ James Molony also availed of the Society's £4 per acre funding for tree-planting. He received premia for plantations in 1785, 1786, 1789, 1793 and 1794, and he also seems to have fostered tree production as an economic activity because the map (Fig. 44) shows Kiltannon Nursery, established by Molony's 'late gardener', who had spent time in England and cultivated 'the best kinds of fruit trees'.⁵⁰⁸

Hely Dutton had reservations about the wisdom of granting premia for tree planting, citing Sir Joseph Peacock's estate in Tulla barony which had received a premium in 1793 but was 'quite ruined by cattle'; he also believed that premia for the planting of oaks without the use of lime was 'so much money thrown away'.⁵⁰⁹ Given that the oakwoods of Sliabh Aughty had thrived long before modern farming methods, his objection seems somewhat unfounded. Lewis, however, stated in 1837 that in the Lough Graney area the soil was 'well-adapted for the growth of oak and larch' and he anticipated that extensive acreages of waste land would shortly be brought into cultivation under trees.⁵¹⁰ Dutton lists five Clare landowners receiving premia for tree-planting between 1785 and 1791, three of whom, O'Hara, Peacock and Molony, were in Tulla barony. Mr. Arthur of Springmount also planted 'extensive plantations', and Captain Massey of Doone, near Broadford, had woods 'under very bad management', but neither plantation was listed as having received premia.⁵¹¹

The estate demesnes of Tulla's gentry class reflect the importance of being seen to live in an 'improved' landscape which was inhabited by cultured, educated people. The contrast between the elaborate demesnes of the gentry, designed to showcase Enlightenment ideals, and the 'unimproved' potato gardens and fields of the rural poor, is stark. The gardens of the wealthy were intended for leisure and pleasure although they could also be productive and profitable. An acreage set aside for a parkland walk through beautiful trees, albeit grazed by cattle or sheep, was unthinkable for the impoverished cottier or even the farmer with twenty or thirty

⁵⁰⁷ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 277. The O'Haras were from Raheen in Co. Galway, where they owned extensive estates across several baronies.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 277 and 281.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 278. Sir Joseph Peacock owned an estate in the townland of Barntick, barony of Islands, and Dutton seems unsure whether the estate in question was in fact his.

⁵¹⁰ Lewis, *County Clare, a History and Topography*, p. 48.

⁵¹¹ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 272.

acres, all of which had to be utilised for domestic food or crops and livestock for market.

The erection of new houses and the planting and maintenance of gardens and demesnes required workers. Furthermore, although the adoption of new styles of house and landscape was intended to emphasise class differences, the gentry nevertheless had a responsibility to inculcate good moral habits among their tenants. Employment in the house or on the estate not only helped to raise the living standards of local people, but also discouraged idleness and vice. As we saw earlier, many estate walls were erected as relief works during periods of hardship.⁵¹² The map of gentry estates (Fig. 33, p. 140) shows that the distribution of Big Houses provided most employment opportunities across the central area of the barony, but even in the peripheral areas there were some Big Houses requiring a range of indoor and outdoor servants. We might also expect to find skilled tradesmen such as carpenters, roofers and stonemasons within the community.

There are no records of the occupations of local people in Tulla itself, but the Census of Elphin provides a good idea of the typical occupations found in rural areas and villages similar to those in Tulla.⁵¹³

Townland	Gentlemen, etc.	Carpenter/ Joiner/ Woodturner	Cooper	Mason/ Stonecutter	Saddler	Smith	Pump maker	Wheel wright
Ahascragh	15	2	1	5		7		
Taghboy	4	1	3			3	1	
Killosolan	4	1				1		
Drumatemple	31 ⁵¹⁴	2		1		1		
Aughrim	6	2		3		4		
Kilglass	7 ⁵¹⁵	2	2	1	1	6	7	1
Lissonuffy	3 ⁵¹⁶	1				4		5
Elphin	4	6	1	3	1	6		
Cloonygormican	1			2		5	2	1

Figure 47: Census of Elphin, 1747: skilled craftsmen

⁵¹² Nolan, *The Shaping of Ireland: The Geographical Perspective*, p. 128.

⁵¹³ Marie Louise Legg, *The Census of Elphin, 1749* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2004).

⁵¹⁴ This townland was listed as having twenty-seven yeomen, three gentlemen, three farmers and an esquire.

⁵¹⁵ There were four gentlemen listed, two gentlewomen and one widowed gentlewoman.

⁵¹⁶ This includes one widowed gentlewoman.

Some crafts were in demand in almost every townland. Smiths were vital to the rural and urban economy, and carpenters only slightly less so. In Tulla, then, we would expect to see at least one smith in every townland, almost as many carpenters spread across the townlands, and other trades concentrated in the larger population centres such as Tulla and Killaloe.

The biggest category of employment was domestic service. Again, the Elphin census throws some light on just how large an employment sector this was.

Townland	Household servants	Servant	Mower
Ahascragh	68		
Taghboy	43	3	1
Killosolan	43		
Drumatemple	98		
Aughrim	150	3	
Kilglass	82		
Lissonuffy	68	2	2
Elphin	463	73	
Cloonygormican	360	8	
Total	1375	89	3

Figure 48: Census of Elphin, 1749: Servants

Protestant households had more servants than Catholic.⁵¹⁷ The average number of servants per Protestant household was 1.5, with Catholic households averaging less than one per house, but it is reasonable to assume that Big Houses had a cook and housekeeper as well as a general domestic and a children's nurse.⁵¹⁸ In Limerick, a landowner earning £500 a year could afford a carriage, four horses, three men, three maids, a nurse and a cook, so it is likely that the same would apply to Tulla's landed class.⁵¹⁹ The home farm and garden would also have required dairymaids, poultry keepers, pig keepers and gardeners, so for this reason I have classified mowers as servants. Monica Nevin's analysis of an eighteenth-century mid-sized country house in Kilkenny shows that big houses produced a great deal of their own food and drink, but that other goods, both foodstuffs and household linens, were bought in local

⁵¹⁷ Legg, *The Census of Elphin, 1749*, p. xxxi.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

⁵¹⁹ Young, *Tour In Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 395.

towns or from pedlars.⁵²⁰ Whiskey and ale was bought locally by the barrel. As we will see in the next chapter, illicit distilling formed a significant part of Tulla's rural economy, with even gentry families such as the MacNamaras of Ayle becoming heavily involved in order to keep afloat through financial difficulties.⁵²¹

In the 1780s, Dorothea Herbert described her father's household staff as consisting of three nurses, a coachman, a pantry boy, an apprentice boy, a dairymaid, a housemaid, a cook, a gardener, and a housekeeper.⁵²² Nuala Cullen notes that by the late eighteenth century, larger farmers' wives were moving into more of a managerial role and so would have required household and dairy staff, usually recruited cheaply from poor local families and requiring a great deal of training in household skills and hygiene.⁵²³ Assuming that each of the 'extended' big houses on Pelham's Grand Jury map employed around ten servants, and the others perhaps four or five, the eighty-four plus named houses probably employed around seven hundred house and garden staff. The numerous houses depicted on the map but not named probably belonged to farmers who were not quite of the yeoman class and they may well have accounted for two or three servants each, possibly more. Even quite small farms, some as low as twenty acres or less, employed farm servants.⁵²⁴ Service on the farms and in the local Big House, then, would have accounted for a large proportion of the paid labour force and would have been an important part of the barony's economy, increasingly so as houses were rebuilt on a grander scale.

The 1831 census enumerated 22,208 male labourers in co. Clare, and by 1841 this figure had risen to 45,128 male 'servants and labourers'.⁵²⁵ To distinguish domestic servants from farm servants and labourers is difficult because of the way the statistics are compiled. The 'Occupations' table of the 1841 census states that there were 1,149 male and 7,619 female 'domestic servants' in the whole county of Clare.⁵²⁶ Figures are also given by barony. The barony of Tulla was broken down

⁵²⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

⁵²¹ Ó Dálaigh, 'Poet of a Single Poem', p. 124.

⁵²² Dorothea Herbert, *Retrospections, 1770-1806*, vol. 1 (London, 1988), pp. 311-12.

⁵²³ N. Cullen, 'Women and the preparation of food', in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd, eds., *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Edinburgh University Press, 1991), p. 271.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Timothy P. O'Neill, 'Clare and Irish Poverty, 1815-1851', in *Studia Hibernica*, no. 14 (1974), pp. 8-9.

⁵²⁶ Census of Ireland, 1841, pp. 164.

into Tulla Upper, consisting of the parishes of Feakle, part of Inishcealtra, Kilnoe, Moynoe, Tomgraney and Tulla; and Tulla Lower, consisting of the parishes of Clonlea, Killuran, Killokennedy, Kilseily, Kiltenanlea, O'Briensbridge and Ogonnelloe. The breakdown by barony lists 1,500 male and 1,706 female 'servants' in Tulla Upper and Lower, but some of the male servants at least must have been farm servants rather than domestic as this is higher than the whole county figure for male domestic servants.⁵²⁷ T. P. O'Neill comments that it is likely that the 'vast majority' of the servants and labourers in 1841 were indeed landless agricultural workers, but as over 80 per cent of farms were between one and fifteen acres, many of the smallest farms could have been held by cottiers who laboured for the farmer in exchange for a small acreage of potato ground and perhaps some grazing for a cow.⁵²⁸ Labour as farm and domestic servants would have been important to the family economy, with the boys working on the farm and the girls, some as young as eight, spinning or undertaking seasonal agricultural work for pay as well as family household work and dairying.⁵²⁹

The *First Report of the General Board of Health* in 1822 stated that females in county Clare were employed much as they had been in the previous century, spinning and dressing flax where work was available as well as planting and manuring potatoes, weeding and harvesting potatoes and corn, but that many Clare women spent the greater part of the year 'most deplorably idle'.⁵³⁰ In the ideology of 'improvement', idleness was undesirable. Dickson points out that the discourse of 'improvement' often had a cultural implication: in the case of the 'deplorably idle' women of Clare, it implied that the labouring Irish were lazy. But behind such cultural judgements, there was an economic implication. An idle tenant was unproductive, and time spent 'deplorably idle' could be better spent raising the value of land or housing, to the benefit of higher rents.⁵³¹

⁵²⁷ Census of Ireland, 1841, pp. 160-1.

⁵²⁸ O'Neill, 'Clare and Irish Poverty', p. 8.

⁵²⁹ Mary O'Dowd, 'Women and Paid Work in Rural Ireland, c. 1500-1800', in Bernadette Whelan, ed., *Women and Paid Work in Ireland, 1500-1930* (Dublin, 2000), p. 27.

⁵³⁰ *First Report of the General Board of Health, Dublin, 1822*, in Maria Luddy, ed., *Women in Ireland, 1800-1918: A Documentary History* (Cork University Press, 1995), p. 166.

⁵³¹ Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 161.

Jill Franklin notes that jobs in grand houses were more desirable because the pay was better and work lighter, and in small establishments the maid or man servant would be expected to do all kinds of work.⁵³² None of Tulla's gentry houses were grand mansions on the scale of Dromoland or Powerscourt, so servants in the smaller gentry houses were undoubtedly expected to be jack-of-all-trades, and on farms they would have had to work outside as well as in. A typical maid's chores in a household with one male and one female servant included dairying and cleaning milk-pans and butter-making equipment, baking and cooking for the household, cleaning the house, laundering clothes, serving food at mealtimes and bed-making.⁵³³ Some staff remained for a long period with the same family, accumulating savings and even receiving pensions when they retired, but these were generally servants at the upper end of the scale such as lady's maids and housekeepers, and many general maids stayed for a year or less in one position.⁵³⁴ Wages for men in service were reasonable for a single person, as the Poor Inquiry commissioners observed in Killaloe in 1837 that 'the only labourers that can ever save are farm servants', but not sufficient to feed, clothe and house a family since 'when they marry, their condition soon becomes the same as that of the other labourers'.⁵³⁵ A single labourer's wage was 'all found', as he lived in with the family, so he was able to save the money which married men had to spend on their families.

One form of service that did occur in the barony was wet-nursing. In Killaloe, three illegitimate children who had been deserted by their mothers were 'in the charge of the churchwarden' and sent out to nurse with local women, who were paid out of vestry funds. One woman thus employed was found to have weaned her own child in order to nurse the abandoned baby, and seemed to be very fond of it as she 'did not express any disinclination to continue bearing her gratuitous burthen' even after payments had stopped.⁵³⁶

⁵³² Jill Franklin, 'Troops of Servants: Labour and Planning in the Country House 1840-1914', in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Dec., 1975), p. 212, www.jstor.org, 3 April 2014

⁵³³ Mary O'Dowd, *A History of Women in Ireland, 1500-1800* (London: Pearson Education, 2005), p. 138.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵³⁵ 'First Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland', in *Poverty before the Famine: County Clare 1835* (Clasp Press, 1996), p. 109.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the culture of improvement and its effect on Tulla's social and physical landscape. The design and erection of numerous houses with their walled gardens and demesnes reflected the desire on the part of Tulla's landed class to demonstrate, and to consolidate, their place within the Ascendancy. This consolidation was reinforced by intermarriage between native and 'new interest' families. Increasingly, the landed classes were culturally separated from their poorer tenants by their Enlightenment values and their religion, and physically by their wooded and walled demesnes. Yet such houses were integral to the economy of the barony, generating significant employment in building, repairing and staffing them. There was some evidence, albeit sometimes tantalisingly vague, that society was not strictly segregated into a rich upper class and a poor underclass, but contained a class of Catholic tenant farmers who possessed social and possibly 'hidden' economic capital. In the next chapter, I will continue to explore the theme of 'improvement' by moving out into the wider community and examining the development – or lack - of towns, villages, social infrastructure and proto-industry.

Chapter 4: Improving Tulla, 1760-1845

Part 2: Town, Village and the Economic landscape

Introduction

This chapter will move out from the ‘improved’ landscape of the Big Houses and their demesnes, to explore the development of urban centres, the roads which connected them, and their markets and proto- industries. ‘Improvement’ was driven nationally by government initiatives which were intended to stimulate economic development, and locally by the policies of individual landlords who then encouraged or coerced their tenantry into implementing them. An economically and morally improved tenantry should have led to a better return in rents, so it was in a landlord’s interest to improve his estate and to contribute towards the improvement of his locality. Therefore, a top-down improvement of the barony’s urban settlements, economy and overall standard of living should have taken place as the eighteenth century progressed. As we will see in this chapter, improvement of the towns, villages and roads did occur, and proto-industries were locally encouraged, but real ‘improvement’ was erratic and largely short-term. This chapter will explain the reasons why this was so.

Villages, Towns and Social Institutions

Local maps published in the eighteenth century tell us where Tulla’s towns and villages were located, but they also reveal the ideology of the institutions which commissioned them. Fig. 49 has been compiled from three maps of the area, published in 1750, 1787 and 1790, and looking at what was included, and what was left out, tells us something about the process of ‘improvement’.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁷ The originals of these maps are available at www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas.

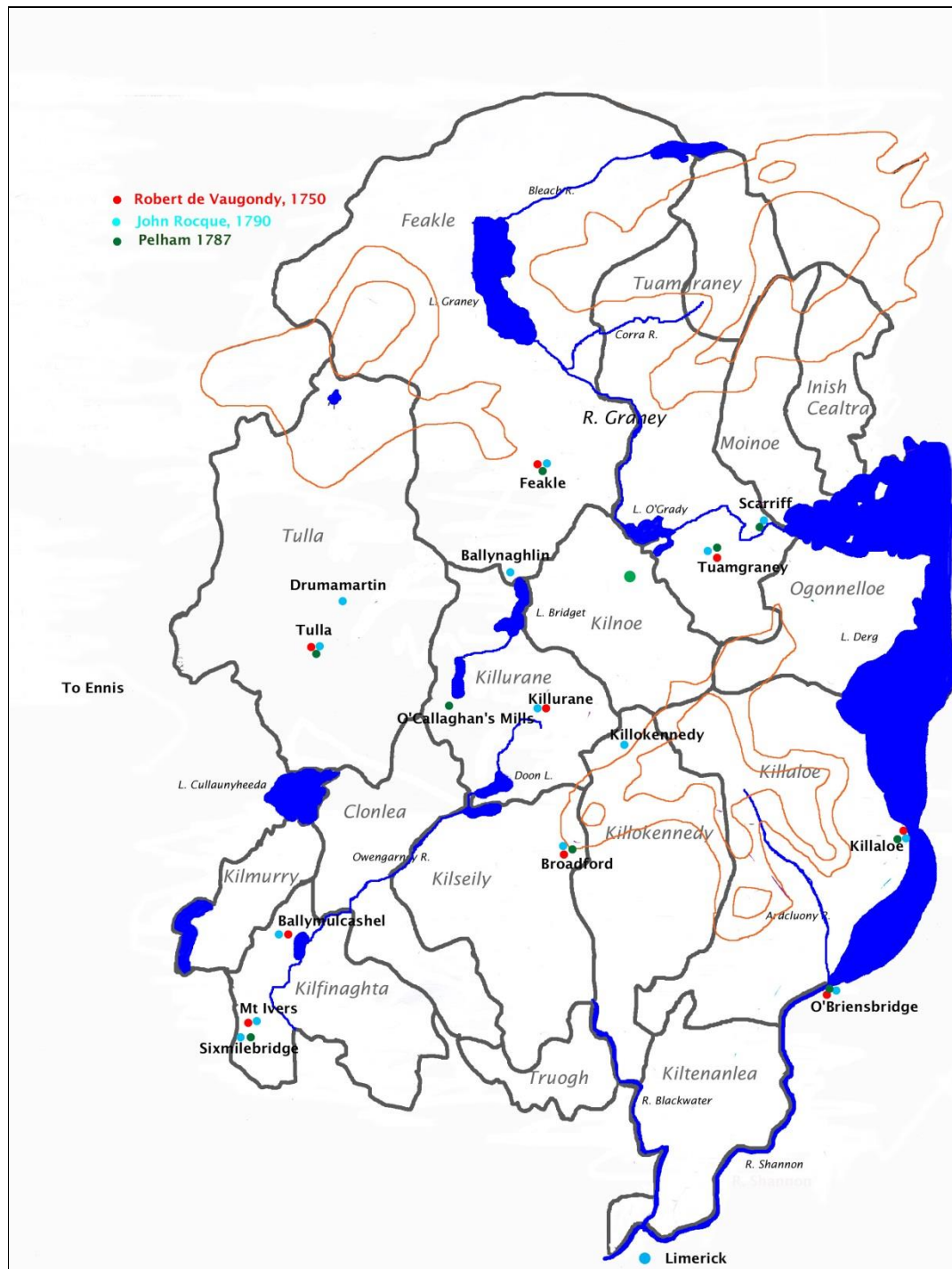


Figure 49: Villages in Tulla depicted on maps between 1750-1790 (www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas)

By 1750 Feakle, Tulla, Scariff, Sixmilebridge, Broadford, Killaloe and O'Briensbridge were established communities which were well-known to cartographers. De Vaugondy shows Tuamgraney but not Scariff, although Scariff was a known industrial centre by this date. He also shows Mount Ivers, Ballymulcashel and Killurane, none of which were notable as mercantile or

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industrial sites, although landed families were associated with each location, so it is likely that his intention was to illustrate the socially important locations rather than the economic. This may go some way to explain the apparent inconsistency in the number and location of the settlements. De Vaugondy and Pelham each show eight settlements and Rocque fourteen, together with ‘Stacpolles Court’ and ‘Bridgman’ on the road between Sixmilebridge and Killaloe, so Rocque’s inclusion of locations which did not have a significant village at the time was probably to do with patronage rather than geographical importance.

Each map shows the roads between each settlement. John Rocque does not show the road from Ennis to Tulla and Scariff, but both of the latter towns held fairs well before 1650 so a well-used route was certainly in existence. However, it is significant that he included the road from Sixmilebridge to Killaloe and continuing on down the Shannon, both of which sections would have been important for military purposes. Along with many of his contemporaries, Rocque saw his work of making maps as part of the British imperialist effort to bring civilisation to Ireland, and though he prided himself on the scientific accuracy of his work, his maps had an undoubtedly pro-British agenda.⁵³⁸ Pelham’s map was produced for the Clare Grand Jury during the ‘hopeful decades’ of the late eighteenth century, one of many commissioned to illustrate an improved landscape, and therefore its focus was on roads, gentlemen’s estates, demesnes and the new canal bypassing the rocky bar in the lower Shannon.⁵³⁹ Although, as we saw, Pelham showed the big houses, he depicted the villages as rows of buildings, and Killaloe as a small town with individual streets.

There are several reasons why villages and towns develop. Ó Dálaigh notes that the reason why Clare is characterised by small-scale settlements and no cities is due to its physical geography.⁵⁴⁰ Large-scale settlements typically occur on the estuaries of major rivers, as in the case of Galway and Limerick. Sixmilebridge and Ennis are situated on tributaries of the Shannon, but Ennis in particular was prevented from

⁵³⁸ Prunty, *Maps and Map-making*, p. 16.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁵⁴⁰ Brian Ó Dálaigh, ‘A History of Urban Origins and Village Formation in County Clare’, in Matthew Lynch and Patrick Nugent, eds., *Clare: History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008), pp. 105-137.

establishment as a major port by the presence of the limestone bar across the river below the town. In the barony of Tulla, the oldest settlements arose on the crossing points of the Shannon at O'Briensbridge and Killaloe, but again Killaloe's prosperity as a port was hampered by the presence of rapids downriver. Other villages such as Tulla and Tomgraney originated around ecclesiastical settlements, but it is no coincidence that Killaloe also became an ecclesiastical centre. Its early function as the seat of the *Dál Cais* chieftains was influenced by its strategic location, and in turn influenced the decision to site the diocesan centre there.

Villages such as Feakle and Scariff originated as a result of proto-industry, smelting in the case of Feakle and milling and smelting in Scariff. Scariff's position at the confluence of two rivers, the Graney and the Shannon, encouraged its development as a proto-industrial centre, again illustrating the fact that a village was often sited because of its relationship with natural resources and its actual and potential transport links. Once established, villages developed social institutions such as churches, fairs and markets.

The presence of successful fairs and markets was linked to the patronage of landlords who sought to maximise their profits. Landlords such as David Wilson of Belvoir and Jonas Studdert of Sion Ville⁵⁴¹ were promoting land improvements and the establishment, or re-establishment, of fairs and markets, but efforts to revitalise the local economy and encourage village development were largely unsuccessful. Tulla village, for instance, had developed from its ecclesiastical origins due to its location on the main road between Ennis and Killaloe. It survived the downfall of its patron Roland Delahyde in 1641 and by 1776 it boasted a market house with a wide main street and some good buildings.⁵⁴² But its proximity to Ennis was a disadvantage. It could be surmised that as roads in the east of the county improved with Grand Jury and landlord investment, Ennis with its bigger market and better trade links became more attractive and easier to access, and although Tulla's cattle fairs continued to thrive the market declined.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ The Studderts of Kilkishen House owned several smaller properties including Sion Ville in Clonlea parish. See Chapter 2, p. 149 for the origins of this family.

⁵⁴² John Lloyd, *A Short Tour in the County of Clare, 1780* (Cambridge: Jonathan Palmer, 1893), p. 44.

⁵⁴³ Ó Dálaigh, 'A History of Urban Origins', pp. 105-137.

There is a major difference in the economic basis of a fair and a market. Livestock fairs were easy to organise, requiring only an open green, and did not require any municipal organisation. Markets, on the other hand, necessitated the production of surplus for sale and a degree of urban infrastructure such as a market house where goods such as flour and bread could be weighed to ensure fair measure. In Ennis, market disputes between traders were settled by the seneschal of the manor or the provost of the corporation, so that the market functioned in tandem with the courts, but in Tulla's village communities this did not happen.⁵⁴⁴ The predominance of fairs in Tulla rather than markets tells us much about the relative lack of commercialisation among Tulla's farmers and landlords.

Patents for fairs and markets had been given for Killaloe, Sixmilebridge and Tulla in 1618. In 1712 John Cusack, who had bought land in Tulla following the Williamite confiscations, obtained a patent for fairs and a market in Killanena and Kilclaran in Feakle parish.⁵⁴⁵ Both of these villages were on the trade route from east Clare to Galway. Although fairs were held in both villages, no market was ever held because Cusack was unlikely to have the financial resources to erect market houses if the region could not produce the scale of surpluses required. In 1731 each village boasted a chapel, and over the next hundred years settlements developed in these townlands, so it would seem that the presence of the church acted as a nucleus around which households clustered.⁵⁴⁶

Sixmilebridge, once a thriving town under the auspices of the Earl of Thomond, had suffered a severe blow. In 1784, Henry D'Esterre built a bridge across the Ratty River at Rosmanagher, downstream from Sixmilebridge, which effectively cut river traffic to the town. D'Esterre was an extensive landowner and the river had hindered access to his lands. Although there were strenuous objections to the bridge, D'Esterre completed the project, and attempted to recoup costs by charging tolls on the western side.⁵⁴⁷ Whether this was a commercially successful venture is not

⁵⁴⁴ Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'The Origins, Rise and Decline of the Ennis fairs and Markets', in Denis Cronin, Jim Gilligan and Karina Holton, eds., *Irish Fairs and Markets: Studies in Local History* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 50.

⁵⁴⁵ Ó Dálaigh, 'A History of Urban Origins', pp. 118-9.

⁵⁴⁶ *Report on the State of Popery in Ireland, 1731*. See Chapter 2, p. 18.

⁵⁴⁷ *Clare Places: Sixmilebridge*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas, 29 November 2013.

recorded, but it proved to be devastating for Sixmilebridge, which steadily declined until the advent of the railways, almost a century later.⁵⁴⁸

The case of Killaloe illustrates the kind of problems that attempts to improve and develop local economy could face. An abortive attempt had been made to revive the town's fortunes by Thomas Lindsay, the Anglican bishop, who had taken out a patent for a new fair and market in 1712, but this had come to nothing and subsequent bishops took little interest in the town. Despite the construction of a new thirteen-arch bridge c. 1770, no further improvements were made in the town in the later eighteenth century. However, the town's situation on the Shannon was seen as key in developing the districts on either side of the river. As early as 1697 proposals had been put forward to make the Shannon navigable from Limerick to county Leitrim, but it was not until 1767 that an Act of Parliament approved the funding of a canal from Limerick city to the deep water channel above Killaloe, bypassing the rapids. By 1799 the new canal was open to passenger and freight transport between Limerick and Killaloe.⁵⁴⁹ The Limerick to O'Briensbridge section cost fifteen pence per ton for freight and two pence per passenger, but between O'Briensbridge and Killaloe the charges were higher at two shillings and six pence per ton and four pence per passenger.⁵⁵⁰ However, despite the government's investment, all was not well. In 1808, Dutton commented that 'the walls of the canal between the entrance from the Shannon and Killaloe are most wretchedly built of water-worn stones, and in the most insubstantial manner, resting against a gravelly bank; consequently they and the gravel are constantly falling in, and choking the canal, which must be dragged by boats with seven men each.'⁵⁵¹ In 1813, ownership of the canal passed to the Directors-General of the Inland Waterways. Ongoing problems at O'Briensbridge, where the channel was narrow and very fast in winter, meant that all the traffic tried to use the centre of the stream and in April and May 1818 two boats

⁵⁴⁸ In 1823, Tulla and Bunratty were both divided into Upper and Lower baronies. Following this, the Boundary Code created a new parish, O'Briensbridge, in Tulla Lower, but Kilmurry and Kilfinaghta, including Sixmilebridge, were transferred to Bunratty Lower, and Knockaphort (part of Inishcealtra) was transferred to the barony of Leitrim, county Galway. R. C. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, vol. IV, County of Clare (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1967), p. xxxvi.

⁵⁴⁹ Charlotte Murphy, 'The Limerick to Killaloe Canal', in *The Other Clare*, vol. 8 (Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society, 1984), pp. 45-6.

⁵⁵⁰ Murphy, *The Limerick to Killaloe Canal*, p. 45.

⁵⁵¹ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 222.

sunk there, with one crewman drowning.⁵⁵² Several proposals to solve the problems were put forward: steam vessels, which would be better able to make headway in strong winds, were proposed in 1815, and again following the sinkings, when the Grand Canal Company proposed that in addition to steam vessels, a new section of canal needed to be built at Parteen to facilitate passage of a ‘violent stream’ in the waterway.⁵⁵³ However, none of these proposals were accepted by the Directors-General. In 1822 two engineers, John Grantham and John Stokes, produced separate reports which repeated the recommendations that improvements should be made at O’Briensbridge, and a lock or a new section of canal was needed at Parteen.⁵⁵⁴

By 1837 Lewis was rather more optimistic about Killaloe’s economic basis, claiming that ‘a spirit of cheerful industry and enterprise seems to promise much for the increasing prosperity of the town’.⁵⁵⁵ Although its former trade in ‘stuffs, camlets and serges’ had ended along with the twice-weekly market, the water-powered slate quarries employed a hundred workmen, who were provided with slated cottages.⁵⁵⁶ In addition, the Shannon Steam Packet Company had headquarters close to the slate works, and ran a boat-building yard there, employing a number of local people in the construction of docks and warehouses. The river and lake were exploited with several eel-weirs and a salmon fishery: ‘Pike, perch, trout and various other fish are taken in abundance [and] the shores are embellished with several handsome mansions, embosomed in luxuriant woods and plantations’.⁵⁵⁷

Nine years after Lewis’s *History and Topography*, Slater’s Directory of 1846 lists only two ‘towns’ east Clare, Tulla itself and Killaloe. Of the two, Killaloe was by far the most prosperous, with seven schools, two apothecaries, four physicians, two music teachers and no less than sixty-seven entries for tradesmen and artisans, both men and women, though some of these are one person who had an entry under two or more categories, such as John Crotty of the High Street, who is listed under coal

⁵⁵² Murphy, *The Limerick to Killaloe Canal*, p. 46.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ *Minutes of the Grand Canal Company*, 8 May 1822, National Archives of Ireland, CSO/RP/1822/410.

⁵⁵⁵ Lewis, *County Clare: A History and Topography*, p. 72.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 72. Camlet was a textile made of mixed wool and cotton; serge was a woven twill used for overcoats and uniforms, and stuff was a thickly-woven fabric made of wool or wool/linen mix. www.oed.com.libgate.library.nuigalway.ie (23 September 2013)

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 73.

and timber dealers, grocers and hardwaremen. In addition, the Imperial Slate Company employed 'five hundred of the industrious class' and produced fifteen thousand tons of slate annually.⁵⁵⁸ In contrast, by 1846 there were forty-eight shopkeepers and traders in the village of Tulla and its vicinity, with a national school, a church school and three private schools, but by then the Great Famine was taking its toll and the small town was declining fast.⁵⁵⁹

Two things might account for the change in Killaloe's fortunes. Most important was the construction of the canal, which for all its earlier faults had removed the obstacle of the falls and rocky bar, enabling rapid packet-boats to transport goods and passengers between Killaloe, O'Briensbridge, and Limerick, and via Lough Derg to Portumna, Athlone, Banagher, and the connecting canal to Dublin. But tourism also seemed to be having an effect on the town's economy. The Ponsonby Arms, run by the Board of Inland Navigation, accommodated visiting tourists, and Lewis lyrically describes the vista over the cathedral town from the rapids as 'strikingly romantic', and 'beautifully picturesque', surrounded by 'beautiful and interesting scenery'.⁵⁶⁰ Although the market was never resurrected, the town retained some municipal functions as petty sessions were held fortnightly and the constabulary was stationed there, with fairs taking place in April, May, September and October. The town's relative prosperity may help to explain why, in the 1841 Census, although the numbers of fourth-class houses in the parish were high at 58 per cent, the literacy rates were also the highest in Tulla Upper or Lower, with 37 per cent of people able to read and write and a further 20 per cent able to read but not write.⁵⁶¹ We will explore housing standards and literacy levels across the barony a little later.

Patrick J. O'Connor argues that towns and villages provide the forum for the cultural strands of society to interact. Towns and villages were the venue for mechanisms of

⁵⁵⁸ Isaac Slater, *National Commercial Directory of Ireland* (Manchester & London, 1846), pp. 245-6, transcript, Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Lewis, *County Clare: A History and Topography*, p. 73.

⁵⁶¹ *Census of Ireland*, 1841.

trade such as fairs and markets, but they were also the focus of ‘modernising markers’ such as police barracks, dispensaries and schools.⁵⁶²

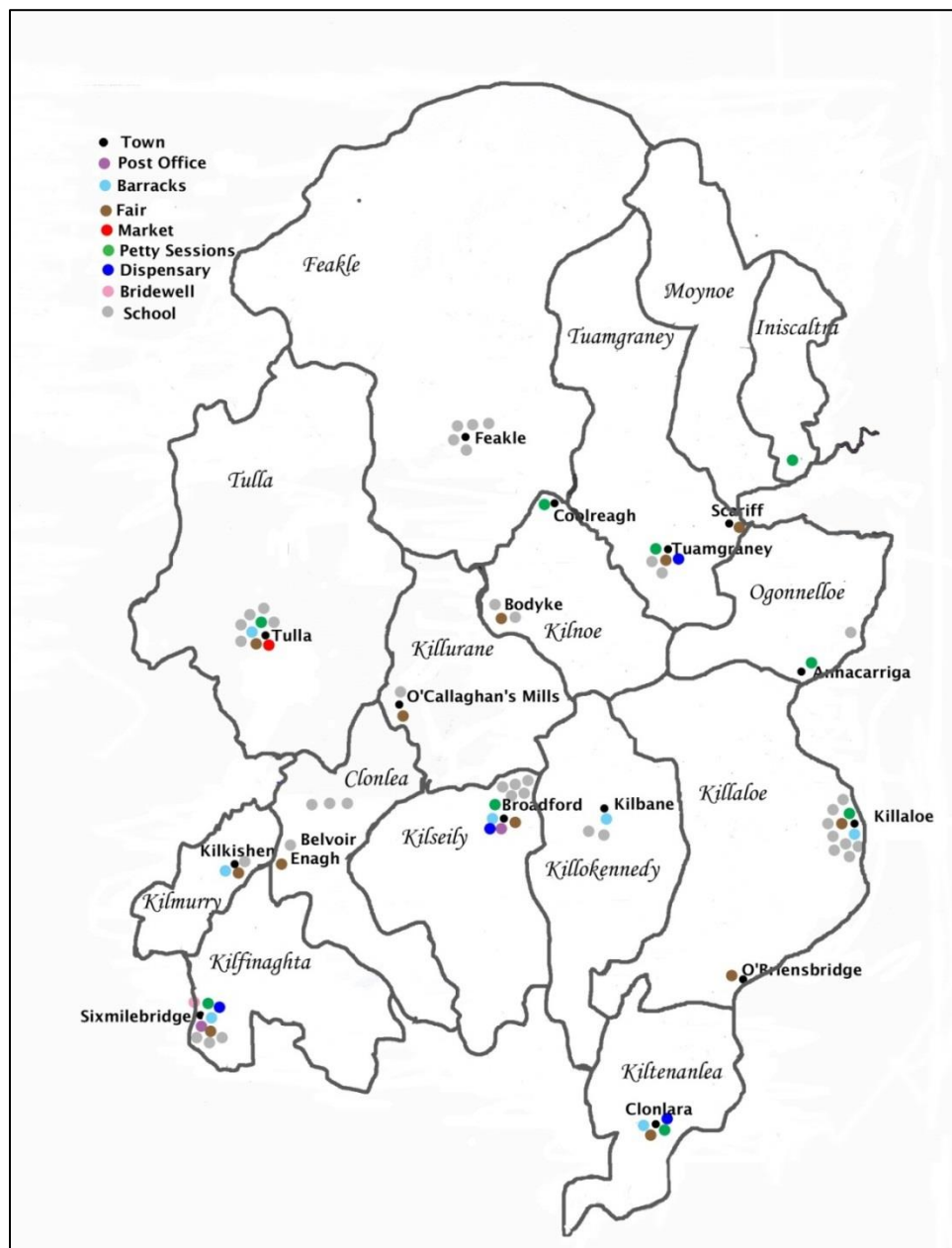


Figure 50: Nos. of urban institutions in Tulla parishes, c. 1837⁵⁶³

⁵⁶² Patrick J. O'Connor, 'The Maturation of Town and Village Life in County Limerick, 1700-1900', in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland* (Cork University Press, 1988), pp. 149-154.

⁵⁶³ Lewis, *County Clare, a History and Topography*.

Contemporary writers were aware of the role of villages and towns as a focus of modernisation. Samuel Lewis clearly links improvements to the estates of the landed class with the growth of villages and towns and development of local infrastructure such as roads, although it should be pointed out that his *History and Topography* was comprised of reports by local informants, not by Lewis himself. Its description of each parish incorporated the ‘elegant seats’ and ‘pleasing villas’ of the gentry, but noted the presence of modernising markers such as constabulary barracks, session houses (either for assizes or debtor’s courts), bridewells and schools, some of which were erected through the benevolence of the landlord, such as the Purdon-sponsored school at Tinarana.

The provision of schools for the uneducated Catholic lower classes was perceived as a vital tool for improvement, and Mokyr and Ó Gráda suggest that the number of schools can be used to assess standards of living.⁵⁶⁴ Literacy is not necessarily an indicator of wealth, but the cost of schooling was a considerable factor when a school place cost, on average, a penny a week to a labourer whose daily wage was as low as five pence and children were numerous. The 1824 *Education Inquiry* gives some figures for schooling costs in Tulla. In Killaloe parish, the Catholic schoolmasters were paid between 1s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. per pupil per quarter, but in O’Callaghan’s Mills the teacher at the Catholic school charged from 1s. 8d. to 3s. 4d. per pupil per quarter. In Meenross (Moynoe), however, Ellen Brady, who taught thirteen pupils in a ‘miserable cabin’, charged 1d. per week.⁵⁶⁵

In 1824, there were seventy-two schools in the barony. Pupil numbers were subject to discrepancies as two sets of returns were given, one Protestant and one Catholic. The Protestant return gave a total of 4,199 pupils, and the Catholic 4,506, giving an average of 4,352. Just under half of these were girls, though the Catholic return gives a lower number of girls than the Protestant.⁵⁶⁶ By 1835, when the second government report on education was published, the number of schools in Tulla had dropped to fifty-three, catering for 4,218 pupils, over half of which were boys.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁴ Mokyr, ‘Poor and Getting Poorer’, pp. 222-226.

⁵⁶⁵ *Irish Education Inquiry, 1824*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie (18 February 2009).

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ *State of religious and other instruction now existing in Ireland: second report(1835)*, available at Enhanced Parliamentary Papers Online (EPPI), www.eppi.dippam.ac.uk (29 July 2013). There were twelve pence to a shilling, so 1s. 3d. =15d., 2s. 6d. =30d., etc.

The Protestant returns for 1835 would indicate a slight rise in pupil numbers since 1824 and the Catholic returns a considerable drop, but population numbers had steadily risen in the intervening eleven years, so it appears that fewer children overall were attending school in proportion to the population. Paradoxically, the report also lists whether pupil numbers were increasing or decreasing, and in only four schools was there a decrease; fifteen had remained stationary, but the remaining thirty had all increased their pupil numbers. It is likely that as the number of schools declined, pupil numbers were absorbed into the surviving schools. But the report may also indicate a growing gulf between a farming class which was modestly prospering, probably with the help of other economic activities, and the increasing numbers of very poor. Given that the poorest section of the population were Catholics, it is entirely possible that the cottier class were finding it more of a struggle to educate their children despite the formalising of State primary education in 1831. State schools were slow to reach Tulla; in 1835 only two National schools existed in the barony, in Clonlea and Killaloe, with parent-funded hedge schools making up the overwhelming majority.⁵⁶⁸

The low level of general education in the barony is borne out by the 1841 Census statistics on education. In county Clare as a whole, only 17.9 per cent of children between five and fifteen years were attending school and the ratio of teachers to pupils county-wide was 1-172 pupils. 63 per cent of people over five years in Clare were unable to read or write, though literacy levels were higher than in county Galway where just over 77 per cent of people over five were unable to read and write.⁵⁶⁹ In Limerick and Tipperary, however, 55 per cent and 51 per cent respectively of people over five were unable to read or write, so literacy levels were higher than in Clare.

Tulla's literacy rate was slightly higher than that of Clare as a whole, with 54 per cent of people in Tulla Lower and 60 per cent in Tulla Upper unable to read or write, reflecting the higher numbers of very poor cottiers and labourers in the upland parishes. In each parish, the number of illiterate females was considerably higher than males, so it can be assumed that what funds there were went to the education of

⁵⁶⁸ See Appendix G for a list of schools in 1835.

⁵⁶⁹ *Census of Ireland, 1841*, pp. xxxii and 160.

boys, not girls. As a marker of disimprovement and poverty, the poor provision of schools and low literacy levels provide a very clear picture of people for whom there were too few schools and teachers, and who lacked the income to send even their sons to school.

Visible markers of law and order are also important in the discourse of 'improvement', and petty sessions took place in Tulla village, Killaloe, Kilseily, Ogonnelloe and Tomgraney.⁵⁷⁰ Regular constabulary barracks were located in the southern half of the barony, though temporary barracks were set up in trouble spots during periods of agrarian agitation. There were even a few dispensaries, so clearly some village development was taking place commensurate with a rising population and consolidation of state institutions.

Roads

Urban growth and development happens hand in hand with improvements in transport links, and roads were key to the development of towns and cities. Government officials, lawyers, army officers, the seasonal travels of the wealthy between town and country, all added to a growing number of travellers. Furthermore, what Connell describes as 'tribute farming', the practice of selling produce in order to pay rents in cash, required good roads to transport grain crops to market; unlike cattle, which could walk over poor roads, wagons quickly became bogged down.⁵⁷¹ As we will see later, there is some evidence that a surplus of grain, chiefly oats and barley, were produced in Tulla, and butter was sold in Ennis from all over Clare. It is unlikely, however, that the need for better roads to facilitate wagons was the primary reason for road building in Tulla, though the local landlords' desire to improve the commercial productivity of their lands was undoubtedly a factor.

The importance of roads is evidenced by George Taylor and Andrew Skinner's *Maps of the Roads in Ireland*, based upon surveys carried out in 1777-1778.⁵⁷²

⁵⁷⁰ Lewis states that in 1837 part of the parish of Inishcealtra was in Tulla barony, but 'the greater half' was in the barony of Leitrim, co. Galway. Lewis, *County Clare*, pp. 52-3.

⁵⁷¹ K. H. Connell, 'The Colonization of Waste Land in Ireland', in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol. 3, no. 1 (The Economic History Society, 1950), p. 59.

⁵⁷² George Taylor and Andrew Skinner, *Maps of the Roads in Ireland*, J. Andrews, ed. (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969).

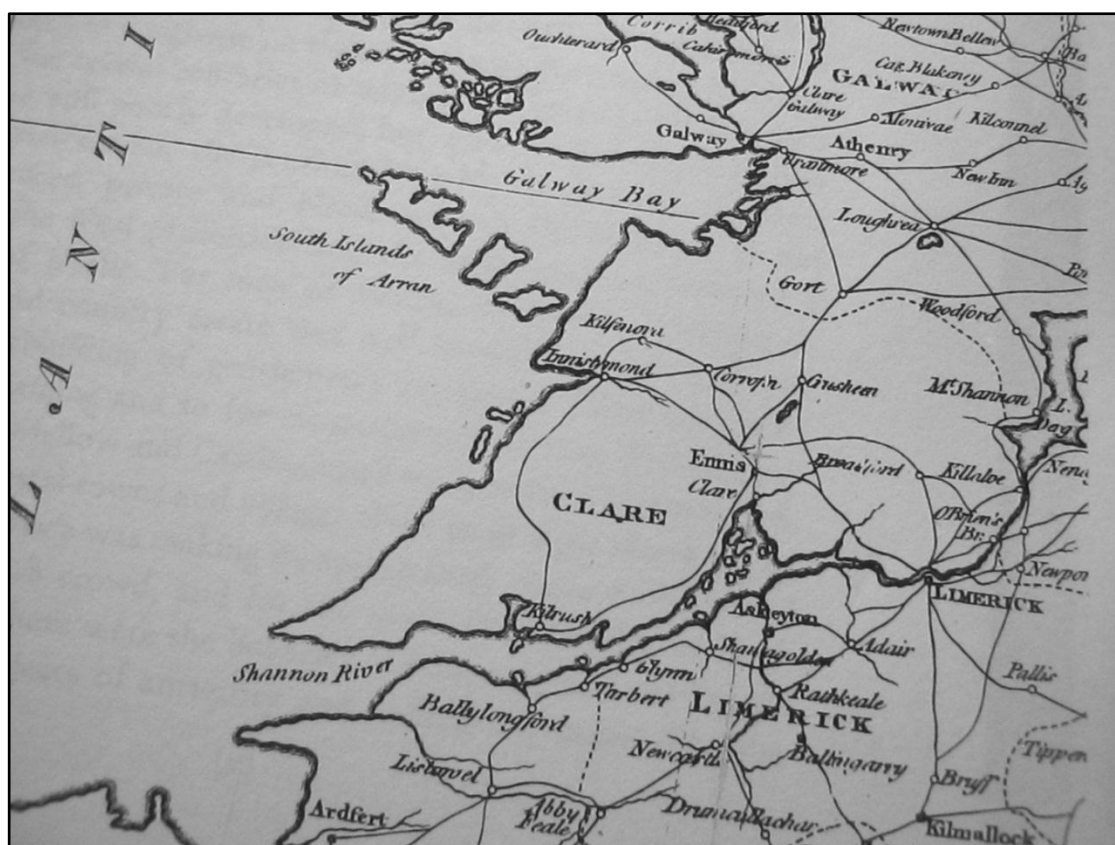


Figure 51: County Clare, frontispiece of *Maps of the Roads of Ireland*

The national map forms the frontispiece of the book. Roads radiate outwards from Ennis, the mercantile centre of the county as well as the administrative centre. In Tulla it is clear that the lower barony was more well-endowed with roads than the upper barony, especially towards the Shannon. As we saw in earlier chapters, much of the south-eastern part of the barony was owned by the O'Briens, for whom commercial development was important.

The individual maps are in strip form, detailing important structures along the way. These are 'self-consciously from the "gentleman's viewpoint"', listing the title and name of each landowner and adding follies, Anglican churches, mills, castles, and antiquities, plus racecourses, inns, barracks and Charter schools, all 'within the ambit of a small landed class'.⁵⁷³ Conspicuously absent are most townland names, Catholic chapels and schools, evidence of cottage industry, and, apart from a few exceptions, women. Of course, the authors were focussing on the seats of potential subscribers,

⁵⁷³ Jacinta Prunty, *Maps and Mapmaking in Local History* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p. 70.

but the result is a series of maps in which, by and large, ‘whole strips of the country, not necessarily sparse in population, have remained anonymous’.⁵⁷⁴

For all their omissions, the maps show in detail the network of roads in an area, because even though they depict only the main routes, the number of smaller crossroads indicates a proliferation of local roads, including the private roadways which led to the estates themselves, the network of rivers and the layout of villages. Absent from the book is the road from Feakle to Killanena and on to Gort, which would have been a locally important route to Galway at the time, though this is understandable as the author’s primary purpose was the mapping of post roads and this would have been a relatively minor road in national terms. This road was depicted on Pelham’s 1787 Grand Jury map. Taylor and Skinner’s most important aspect is perhaps not what it tells us about settlements in Tulla, but that its publication is proof of the importance of roads in the ideologies of improvement. Although in the case of Tulla village, road improvement disadvantaged the town, it was believed that one remedy for the recurrent famines and dearth of effective husbandry in Ireland as a whole was the improvement, using public funds, in roads, canals and bridges.⁵⁷⁵

Fig. 52 shows the roads which appear on Taylor and Skinner’s *Maps of the Roads of Ireland* and Pelham’s Grand Jury map of 1787. It is interesting to note the pattern of settlements with English names such as Broadford, O’Briensbridge and O’Callaghan’s Mills, denoting a conscious negation of a Gaelic past.

⁵⁷⁴ Andrews, introduction to *Maps of the Roads of Ireland*, p. xiii.

⁵⁷⁵ Barnard, *Improving Ireland?*, p. 37.

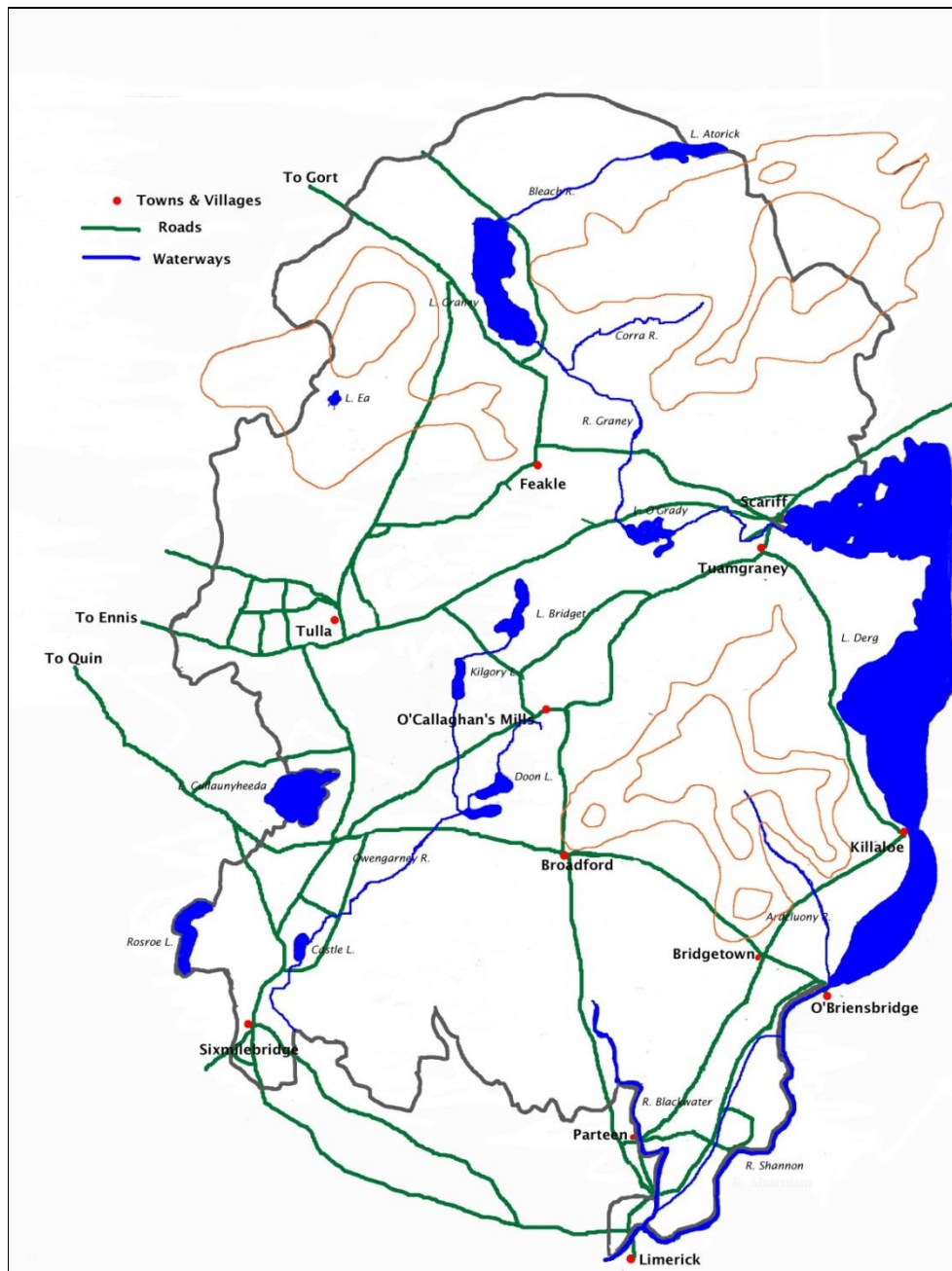


Figure 52: Roads c. 1790⁵⁷⁶

Some roads were funded by private individuals, but most were built through the Grand Jury presentment programme of road contracts. The Grand Jury was the county's administrative body, and during its Presentment Sessions it could raise a cess, or rate, with which to carry out repairs to roads and bridges.⁵⁷⁷ The building of

⁵⁷⁶ Based on Pelham's 1787 Grand Jury Map.

⁵⁷⁷ Garnham, 'Local Élite Creation in Early Hanoverian Ireland', p. 625.

roads and their upkeep was then contracted out to local contractors, but a landowner could also apply to the Grand Jury for funding to build a new road in his vicinity. For some landlords, road-building was a lucrative business, but for all its faults the presentment system was also a successful means of developing and extending the road network. Arthur Young was not impressed by the turnpike system, but he wholeheartedly approved of the Grand Jury presentment roads, claiming that, 'I will go here; I will go there; I could trace a route on paper as wild as fancy could dictate, and everywhere I found beautiful roads without break or hindrance'.⁵⁷⁸ An exaggeration, perhaps, but undoubtedly the peace and relative prosperity of the country had improved and extended the road system since John Stevens' comments on the difficulties of wartime travel in 1690.

The 1807 *Abstract of Spring Assizes* lists numerous presentments in the barony for road repairs and bridge-building. The following are good examples of the sort of work that was being presented for:

To Mat. Stackpoole, esq., and Corn. Molony, to lower and widen twenty-two perches of the hill and fill up the hollow on the road from Limerick to Tulla, on the lands of Mountcashell, at the rate of 20s. by the perch: £23 2s. 0d.

To the Rev. Chas. Massy, Walter Arthur esq. and John Clanchy, to build a wall against a dangerous precipice, to support and widen the road between Newtown and Doonass Church, on the road from Limerick to O'Briensbridge: £54 14s. 9d.

To Thady McNamara, esq. and Pat. Purcell, to repair the bridge and battlements at Gortclaffy, on the road from Killaloe to Gort: £22 3s. 0d.

To Henry Brady, esq., Edmond Roughan, and William Dinan, to repair the bridge and battlements at Coolocussane, and to level the hill adjoining said bridge, on the road from Tomgreany to Gort: £23 17s. 9d.⁵⁷⁹

These sums give us some idea of the money to be earned by applying for presentments. As we might imagine, the system was open to abuses, and in 1808 Hely Dutton was vociferous in condemning it, stating that,

⁵⁷⁸ Arthur Young, *Tour of Ireland*, ii, part II, p. 57.

⁵⁷⁹ *Account of Presentments passed by the Grand Jury, County of Clare, Spring Assizes, 1800*. Available at the Local Studies Centre, Ennis, p. 43.

In claiming for presentments the most bare-faced perjury is well-known to be used; new roads, that have a small quantity of earth or bog thrown up from the ditch on either side, and covered with an inch or two of clay, which they have the assurance to call gravel or sand, are always sworn to be faithfully and honestly executed.⁵⁸⁰

In Tulla, the road near Tomgraney was paved with large stones, ‘not unlike the vile roads in Wexford’, but clinker from lead mines in the roads near Tulla village was ‘an excellent material’.⁵⁸¹ Dutton claimed that in some cases three presentments were paid for the same stretch of road, useless roads were made in order to provide a contract for a relation or tenant, and some roads were begun at both ends but the middle section was never finished. Furthermore, little or no inspection took place, no proper records were kept of work done, and the conservators, who were responsible for the works, were untrained, incompetent and open to bribery.⁵⁸²

Examination of the presentments themselves shows that there may be some truth in Dutton’s assertions, although it is sometimes difficult to establish the exact location of works in an era with no road numbers, where the location of a stretch of road in a presentment can be defined by the names of nearby residents. In most cases, though, it is possible to ascertain where work took place with reasonable accuracy. Mapping of the works applied for in Tulla in 1800 and 1807 (Fig. 53) shows that in very many cases there was a clear correlation between gentlemen’s seats and presentments for road improvement and drainage works. In 1800, the presentments at Coolreagh and Formoyle were both on local tracks which only led to the big house and nowhere else.⁵⁸³ Again, in 1807, three presentments were put forward for works on the road ‘from Limerick to O’Briensbridge’ in the vicinity of Doonass church by the Reverend Charles Massy, Walter Arthur and John Clanchy.⁵⁸⁴ In fact, the road from Limerick to O’Briensbridge passed on the other side of the new canal, and the road to Doonass Church formed part of a network of minor roads linking the estates of Newtown, Mount Catherine, Springfield, Coolisteige, Summerhill, and Doonass

⁵⁸⁰ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, pp. 208-9.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 214-5.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁵⁸³ Grand Jury Presentments, 1800, pp. 23-25.

⁵⁸⁴ Grand Jury Presentments, 1807, p. 43.

Demesne itself. A great deal of land in Kiltenanlea was owned by the Massy family, and Summerhill was the residence of Rev. Massy himself.⁵⁸⁵

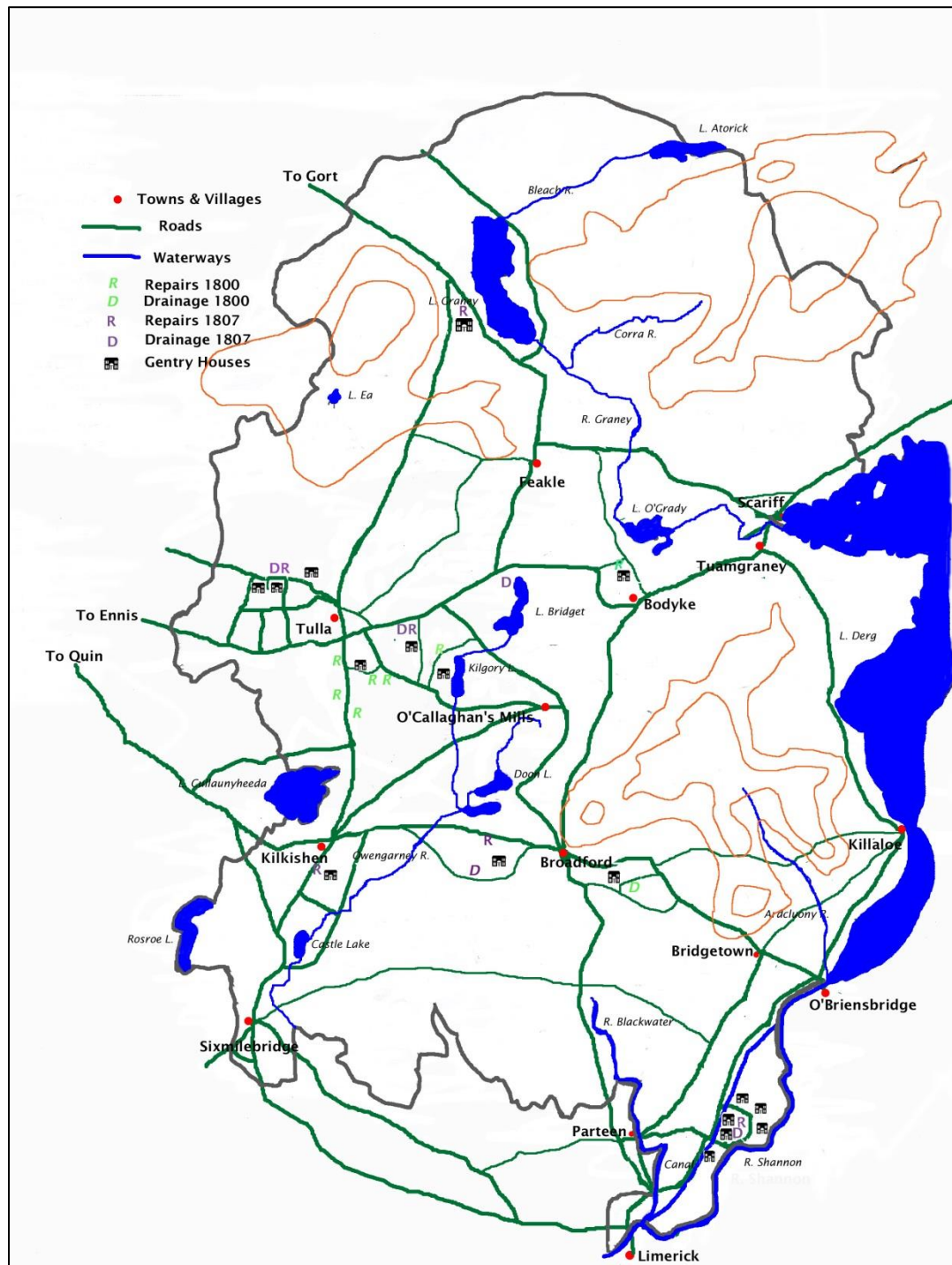


Figure 53: Grand Jury Presentment roads in Tulla, 1800-1807

⁵⁸⁵ Weir, *Houses of Clare*, p. 256.

Road building may have been lucrative, but payments were often delayed. In the Summer Assizes of 1807, nine presentments were passed for payment dealing with a total of 10, 623 perches (approximately 68 km.), but only one had been applied for at the same assizes, the oldest one referring to a presentment made in 1801, and the remainder between 1803 and 1806. Roads were often regarded by middle-class and small gentry as a useful means of supplementing income, and although most of them linked villages and towns directly, many others were indirect, superfluous, or largely for the benefit of the landowner concerned.⁵⁸⁶

In the 1830 assize, a total of 37 presentments were made for Tulla barony with a total value of £1,172 9s. 9d., including four for damages to land caused by road building, and one payment to B. Molony, High Constable, for collecting and paying the previous summer's levy. Interestingly, six presentments refer to the 'new road' between Limerick and Tulla (now the R465), and another six to the 'new' road between Tulla and Gort (now the L4016). The former road is known locally as the 'drover's road' and was undoubtedly in common use to drive cattle to market in Limerick. In fact, the route appears on Pelham's 1787 Grand Jury map (though not on Taylor and Skinner's *Maps of the Roads of Ireland*), but the apparent rebuilding of the road is significant in the development of the barony's infrastructure. Six big houses are shown along the route on the Grand Jury map, which influenced matters because the landed gentry required better roads for their carriages than cattle, as well as an efficient means to take produce from their estates to market. Yet the houses appeared on the map in 1787, and the first example cited above from the 1807 assizes, as well as another for the repairs and widening of a damaged bridge at Hurlstown (Hurdleston), refer to just this road. Why then is it referred to as a 'new road' in 1830?

There are two possible reasons. Firstly, it was at this time that the government linked road building with the stimulation of economic development, rather than lagging behind it, and also recognised that the west of Ireland formed a distinct region with its own specific difficulties. In 1817, two bad harvests, thought to be the result of a volcanic eruption on the island of Tamboura which caused widespread famine across Europe, together with the agricultural depression caused by the end of the

⁵⁸⁶ Andrews, 'Road Planning in Ireland before the Railway Age', p. 21.

Napoleonic wars, gave rise to a series of loans to create public works schemes in distressed areas (57 Geo. III, c. 34).⁵⁸⁷ An indication of worsening conditions for the poor was included with John Stokes's report on the Limerick to Killaloe Canal in 1822, which stated that the construction of another stretch of canal would provide work for an 'immense population' of 'the poorest wretches human eyes ever beheld', who waited at the quay in the hope of catching fallen potatoes as boats were being unloaded.⁵⁸⁸ Heavy rain in 1821 had led to damage to the potato crop and in 1822, following an outbreak of distress and disorder in the west, the government provided a total of £250,000 for public works including roads, canals and bridges, and an engineer was appointed to county Clare.⁵⁸⁹ John Andrews describes the government's inception of relief road building schemes as 'timid', but states that 'the engineers on the spot were more ambitious and struck out boldly with new lines of permanent utility', so it may well have been that the Clare engineer was instrumental in bringing relief works to Tulla.⁵⁹⁰

In addition, it was at this time that John Loudon McAdam's ideas about road building were coming into widespread use.⁵⁹¹ His new method improved road construction, specifying that roads should be raised to facilitate drainage, then built up with layers of large stones topped with small aggregate, with a coating of fine gravel or slag as a cementing agent, a method which would have been particularly applicable in a Tulla context, with its poor drainage and abundance of mining slag. McAdam had become surveyor-general of the Turnpike Trust in England in 1816 and Surveyor-General of Metropolitan Roads in Britain in 1827. His booklet *Remarks (or Observations) on the Present System of Roadmaking*, was published in nine editions between 1816 and 1827 and *A Practical Essay on the Scientific Repair and Preservation of Public Roads* was published in 1819.⁵⁹² It is possible that Tulla's 'new' roads could well have been designated new, not because

⁵⁸⁷ Global temperatures dropped by as much as 3°C and recovered slowly over the next few years. www.volcanodiscovery.com/tambora.html, 29 October 2013.

⁵⁸⁸ Nigel Johnston, Project Archivist, National Archives of Ireland, *Chief Secretary's Office Registered papers*, available at www.csorp.nationalarchives.ie/context/1822.html, 25 February 2014.

⁵⁸⁹ Johnston, *Chief Secretary's Office Registered papers*, available at www.csorp.nationalarchives.ie/context/1822.html, 25 February 2014.

⁵⁹⁰ Andrews, 'Road Planning in Ireland before the Railway Age', p. 27.

⁵⁹¹ Brenda J. Buchanan, 'McAdam, John Loudon (1756–1836)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., May 2007, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17325, 10 March 2014.

⁵⁹² Buchanan, 'McAdam, John Loudon'.

of the routes, which were well-established, but because they were a combination of new technology and new economic initiatives.

In 1831, The Board of Works (later the OPW) took over the duties of the Postmaster General, becoming responsible for the maintenance of roads constructed after 1820 by local Grand Juries.⁵⁹³ In 1837, Samuel Lewis wrote of the parish of Feakle,

Prior to the year 1828 there was scarcely a road on which a wheel carriage could be used; but thanks to the spirited exertions of Jas. Molony, Esq. of Kiltannon, excellent roads have been constructed, partly by the Board of Works and partly by the county; and this district has now a direct communication with Limerick, Gort, Ennis, Killaloe and Loughrea. These roads encompass three sides of Lough Graney, the banks of which are in several places finely planted.⁵⁹⁴

One of the roads mentioned in the 1807 and 1830 presentments was the road from Tulla to Gort, which passed Molony's house at Kiltannon. The fourth James Molony of Kiltannon died in 1823 and was succeeded by his son James, who had served in the East India Company for some years. James Molony V lived in England for most of the time between 1823 and 1830 before returning to Kiltannon to take up residence. Lewis was probably therefore referring to his father, James IV, though Charles Molony comments that, 'compared to the success of his predecessors in exploiting and extending the estate the fourth James's efforts in that direction are unimpressive'. He seems to have had little money for dowries for his daughters, and upon his death his son inherited considerable debts.⁵⁹⁵ James Molony's 'spirited exertions' towards the infrastructure of his land may have been guided by the desire to facilitate prosperity among his tenants to the benefit of his rents, or recognition of the fact that presentment roads were a useful source of income. Be that as it may, it appears that whatever the problems and abuses associated with road building in Tulla, good roads had arrived in even the peripheral areas of the barony.

In the minds of those seeking to improve the productivity of the country and its people, roads opened up the region to trade links and encouraged honest hard work

⁵⁹³ Rena Lohan, Archivist, National Archives, in *Journal of the Irish Society for Archives*, (Autumn 1994), available at www.nationalarchives.ie, 3 October 2013.

⁵⁹⁴ Lewis, *County Clare: A History and Topography*, p. 48.

⁵⁹⁵ Molony, *The Molony Family*, p. 89.

among the natives. Sir Robert Kane, reflecting on the industrial and agricultural resources of Ireland, believed in the benefits of road building, not just to the rural economy, but to the moral and social improvement of local people. His views illustrate the gulf between the ‘improver’ mind, informed by science and reason, and the supposedly ignorant, uneducated peasantry.⁵⁹⁶ He states that one reason for the proliferation of illicit distillation in rural districts was the lack of good transport links to market towns, which meant that rather than selling surplus oats and potatoes, people were forced to make use of them locally, and liquor was one profitable way of doing so. ‘For this’, he remarks, ‘the remedy is not Draconian legislation, but making roads; not blindly punishing the people for being savage, but opening to them the means of civilisation and honest industry’.⁵⁹⁷ The immediate effect of road-building, then, was to:

Excite the minds of the people to the pursuits of honest industry; they can now bring lime into the mountains, and they can carry produce out of them. Illicit distillation has been checked, first by a market being opened for the sale of grain, and secondly, by the facilities afforded to the revenue officers in their search after private stills; the consequent benefit in a moral point of view is immense.⁵⁹⁸

In fact, locals had been selling their surpluses at fairs for many years. Although better roads undoubtedly facilitated access to bigger markets in Ennis, Galway or Limerick, it is doubtful whether difficulty of access to markets for surplus produce was the driving force behind the illicit distilling in the region. No doubt the very remoteness of some of Tulla’s communities enabled stills to be more easily hidden, but it is probable that the making of poitín was driven by the demand for liquor, and the money to be made from it, rather than bad roads. Roadmaking, then, was for some people an economic activity in itself, and roads both enabled producers to market their goods more efficiently, and to bypass local markets for those in larger towns.

⁵⁹⁶ Robert Kane, *The Industrial Resources of Ireland* (1844, this edition, Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), p. 346.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 347.

The inculcation of industrious habits among the rural Catholic poor was a primary goal of the improvers, and the worsening poverty of the lower classes was a problem which, it was believed, could be solved by the creation of local industry. As Robert French of Monivea, one of the foremost improving landlords, declaimed to parliament: ‘To increase the Protestant Religion and to train up the children of the poor to labour and industry are the most acceptable services that can be done to this kingdom’.⁵⁹⁹ To this end, I will now survey the range of economic activity in Tulla and look at the factors which led to their success or failure.

Improvement and Industry

Ironworking and mining had been a mixed blessing in Tulla, providing work for labourers and tradesmen who supplied the works with food, horses and materials. It was also an industry which ultimately did not flourish, for several reasons. T. C. Barnard has shown that the success of the seventeenth-century Enniscorthy iron works was linked to its proximity by sea to markets in Bristol, and the production of iron for nails.⁶⁰⁰ Similarly, Hayman’s study of late eighteenth and nineteenth century charcoal iron production in Shropshire suggests that local charcoal ironworks survived where there was a demand for specialised products such as wire and screws, and where manufacturers were able to implement new processes such as puddling to refine their product.⁶⁰¹ Proximity to major industrial centres such as Manchester and Birmingham meant that niche markets could be exploited and new plant was easily accessible. None of these conditions existed in Tulla. Andrews has pointed out that although Irish iron exports declined in the face of Baltic imports, iron manufacturing continued in Ireland for the home market and ‘the period of its most serious and rapid decline must be placed as late as the 1740s and 1750s’.⁶⁰² To date, very little

⁵⁹⁹ Draft speech to the House of Commons, c. 1770, N. L. I. French MSS. E/83, cited in Barnard, *Improving Ireland?*, p. 155.

⁶⁰⁰ T. C. Barnard, ‘An Anglo-Irish Industrial Enterprise: Iron-Making at Enniscorthy, County Wexford, 1657-92’, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature, Vol. 85C (1985), pp. 127-8.

⁶⁰¹ Richard Hayman, ‘Charcoal Ironmaking in Nineteenth Century Shropshire’ in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 61, No. 1 (February 2008), pp. 80-98, available at www.jstor.org, 11 June 2014.

⁶⁰² Andrews, ‘A note on the later history of the Irish charcoal iron industry’, p. 219.

work has been done on the reasons why this was so, but in Tulla the destruction of the woodlands which provided cheap fuel must have been crucial. Additionally, the ironworks consumed enormous amounts of the region's resources, devastating the remaining forests and polluting waterways. Where mining took place in bogs such as the workings at Glendree, it would have damaged and removed access to an important local resource, because access to turf for warmth, light and cooking made a significant difference to standards of living for the rural poor.⁶⁰³

In any event, by the mid-1700s, the industry was all but at an end. By 1690, the Scariff furnace had closed and its owner, John Emmerton, passed his share in the works to Thomas Croasdaile, who was to buy out Richard Boyle's interest in mining in the barony in 1705, as well as taking over the Woodford works. But by 1742 Croasdaile had moved to Ballinruane in county Galway and begun a new venture there. In 1758, both the Woodford and Ballinruane works were for sale.⁶⁰⁴ No accurate information on the demise of the other ironworks in the barony is available, but Paul Rondelez describes the late eighteenth century as 'the very end of the metalworking period in the area'.⁶⁰⁵ However, Hely Dutton believed that the minerals were far from worked out because he mentions 'very rich' lead ore at Glendree and 'rich lead ore, from a remarkably large course of fine white calcareous crystal spar, forty yards wide, between the grey limestone rocks on the estate of Anthony Colpoys, esq., near Tulla,' in 1808. Whether these workings were still in use is unknown.⁶⁰⁶

Linen manufacture had begun to spread out from Ulster during the second half of the eighteenth century and spinning and weaving became an important part of the domestic economy. The key difference between Ulster and the rest of Ireland was that in Ulster, textile industries were linked to external markets; in the western, marginal areas of Ireland yarn and linen production, together with small agriculture-based industries such as milling, distilling and brewing, were mainly for the

⁶⁰³ Cormac Ó Gráda has explored this issue in some detail in *Ireland: A New Economic History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 1-23.

⁶⁰⁴ Paul Rondelez, U. C. C., is currently working on a book on ironworking in Clare in collaboration with Gerard Madden, and I am grateful to him for allowing me access to his working notes.

⁶⁰⁵ Paul Rondelez, email 31 July 2013.

⁶⁰⁶ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, pp. 13-18. The Colpoys were the owners of Ballycar Castle, on the border of Tulla and Bunratty baronies.

domestic market.⁶⁰⁷ Arthur Young had remarked that on the Earl of Thomond's estates, flax was sown in small quantities for home consumption, and very little was sold. Less than half of the women spun, and those who did spun wool for their own clothing, into worsted yarn for serges, and yarn for stockings. They made linens, bandle cloths and Clare dowlas, bandle being a narrow linen fabric and dowlas a type of coarse sheeting. However, he says that 'great quantity' of frieze, a coarse woollen cloth, was sold out of the country.⁶⁰⁸ Although Young considered the cloth produced by local women to be of poor quality, they produced canvas for sacks and bags, and towels which were sold at market.⁶⁰⁹ It turned the women of the house into important contributors to the family budget, because a woman could earn three to five pence a day spinning yarn.⁶¹⁰ Such domestic-scale manufacturing provided much of a family's cash income and material goods, but, as Dickson pointed out, 'therein lay the economy's vulnerability', because although the work enabled the family to rise above the worst poverty when there was demand for the wool and linen produced, it was dependent on an unreliable market.⁶¹¹

On March 31st, 1791, the *Clare Journal* carried its first advertisement for premia on flax and linen manufacture by the Trustees.⁶¹² In 1796 the Trustees offered spinning wheels to flax-growers, while those growing five acres or more were awarded a weaving loom. Ó Dálaigh lists comparative numbers of wheels given per county: Galway was given 2,350 spinning wheels, Clare received 590 and Tipperary a mere 77.⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁷ Aalen, *Man and the Landscape in Ireland*, pp. 155.

⁶⁰⁸ 'Arthur Young, 1776', in Brian Ó Dálaigh, ed., *The Stranger's Gaze*, p. 120.

⁶⁰⁹ Young, *A Tour in Ireland*, pp. 286-7.

⁶¹⁰ Ó Dálaigh, 'Poet of a Single Poem', pp. 101-136.

⁶¹¹ Dickson, *New Foundations : Ireland, 1660-1800*, p. 127.

⁶¹² *Clare Journal and Ennis Advertiser*, 31 March 1791, available on microfilm at Clare Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

⁶¹³ *A list of persons to whom premiums for sowing flax seed in the year 1796 have been adjudged by the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture*, N. L. I. MSS Ir 633411 i 7.

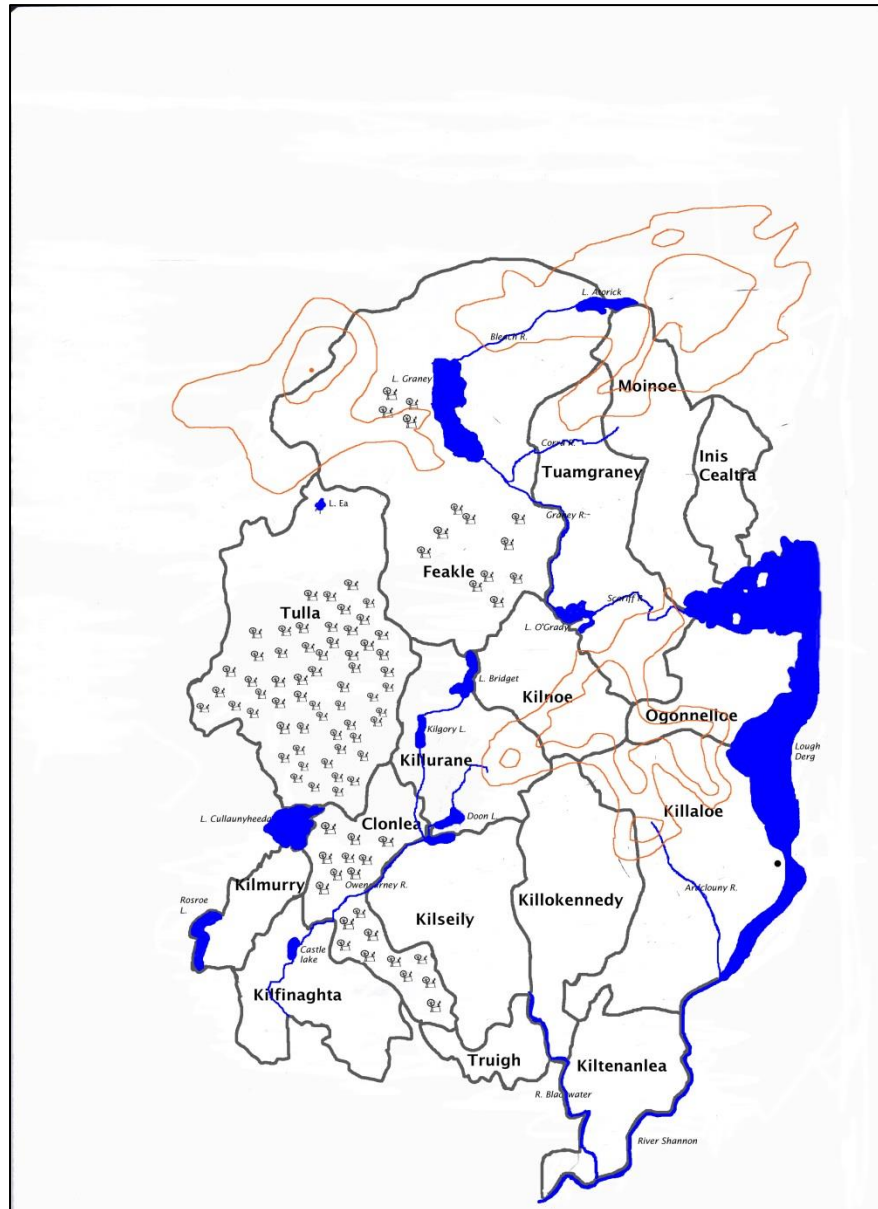


Figure 54: Location of grants of spinning wheels in Tulla barony, 1790-1840

The distribution of spinning-wheels under the Linen Manufacture scheme reflects the levels of poverty in the respective counties, where spinning was carried out by ‘the poorest people over the country’, confirming Tulla’s kinship with the Connacht small-farm zone where poverty rates were higher rather than the richer rangelands of Tipperary.⁶¹⁴ One of those who took advantage of the offer was the poet Brian

⁶¹⁴ Parliamentary Papers, 1825, V, *Report from the Select Committee on the Linen Trade of Ireland*, cited in Frank Geary, ‘The Evolution of the Linen Trade before Industrialisation: Why did Firms not Replace the Market?’ in Brenda Collins, Philip Ollerenshaw and Trevor Parkhill, eds., *Industry, Trade and People in Ireland, 1650-1950* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005), p. 140.

Merriman, then teaching in Feakle parish, where fourteen wheels were awarded in total. Merriman received two wheels, and other Feakle parishioners also received wheels under the scheme: Patrick Brody had four, Thady McNamara also had four, John Naughtin had two and John Hehir had two. The Linen Manufacture's list of flax growers stated that, 'The person who should sow between the 15th day of March and the 1st day of June 1796, with a sufficient Quantity of good sound Flax-seed, any Quantity of Land, well-prepared and fit for the purpose', would be granted four spinning wheels for one acre, three wheels for three roods, and two wheels for two roods.⁶¹⁵ Two roods would have been about half an acre, so Merriman, Naughtin and Hehir grew half an acre each, and MacNamara and Brody grew an acre.⁶¹⁶ Clonlea received 19 spinning wheels and Tulla, the biggest parish, 58, so in total Tulla barony received 91 wheels, with the neighbouring parish of Bunratty receiving only 10. West Clare received more wheels than east Clare, with Kilfarboy receiving 36 wheels, Ibrickan 65, Dunaha 37 and Kilrush 57, a total of 195.⁶¹⁷ Altogether, the three Tulla parishes grew less than twenty-three acres under the scheme, though other landholders might have grown smaller amounts for their own use. The barony of Bunratty grew 2 ½ acres; in west Clare, Kilfarboy grew a total of 9 acres, Ibrickan grew 16 ½ acres, Dunaha 9 ¼ acres and Kilrush 14 ¼ acres.

Why distribution of spinning wheels in Tulla was restricted to only three parishes is not clear, though undoubtedly the suitability of land for flax-growing, or the commitment of applicants to the cultivation process, was a key factor. It may also have been that literate individuals like Merriman were more likely to have applied for wheels and seed, and to have helped neighbours to do so; it is also probable that some landlords assisted their tenants to apply.

Merriman's venture into commercial spinning gives us some insight into the lives of women at the time. Ó Dálaigh says: 'To Brian Merriman, with a wife and two growing daughters, the spinning of linen must have appeared an attractive way of supplementing his income from farming and teaching'.⁶¹⁸ From his perspective this was true, but Arthur Young had observed that in the division of labour between the

⁶¹⁵ N. L. I. MSS Ir 633411 i 7.

⁶¹⁶ Ó Dálaigh, 'Poet of a Single Poem', pp. 126-127. Two roods would have been about half an acre.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*

sexes, women cleared and weeded the ground, pulled the ripe flax, saved the seed, spread the stalks to dry, beat the fibres and spun the yarn. This was hardly an equal division for a woman whose duties also included household tasks, care of poultry and young livestock, and childcare.⁶¹⁹ Merriman did not grow enough flax to merit a weaving loom, so they probably sold the yarn at market, with the family working in the field to cultivate the flax in spring and summer and the women and girls spinning over the winter.⁶²⁰

The spinning wheel used for linen was the 'Dutch' or 'Flax' wheel, which was operated by a foot-treadle. The 'Great' wheel was moved by hand by a standing rather than seated spinner and is likely to have predated the Dutch wheel. The flax wheel could also be used for wool, and despite the vagaries of the national economy it remained a useful tool for the spinning of yarn. Mary Daly comments that although women's social status was not necessarily improved by their wage-earning ability, it did enable many women to marry young and establish their own households, so that areas with a high density of textile workers also had a high proportion of early marriages.⁶²¹ Consequently, the linen proto-industry may have contributed to the high rate of population increase in Tulla and the west Clare baronies. A woman who had a wage-earning skill would have been a good marriage prospect because it was often the case in the west of Ireland that men provided the food and women earned a cash income for their family.⁶²²

The linen proto-industry initially appears to have enjoyed some success, and on 24 January 1805 the *Clare Journal* carried an advertisement regarding Sixmilebridge Bleach Green, stating that James Gurnell and John M'Namara (sic) of Church Street, Ennis, were receiving linen and yarns for finishing by 'a foreman from the North of Ireland and good Workmen'.⁶²³ On February 7th, there was a repeat of the same advertisement. On 9th May, at Doonass bleach green, John Massy informed

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ Brenda Collins, 'Proto-Industrialisation and Pre-Famine Emigration', in *Social History*, Vol. 7, Issue 2 (1982), p. 130.

⁶²¹ Mary E. Daly, 'Women in the Irish Workforce from Pre-Industrial to Modern Times', in Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart, eds., *The Irish Women's History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 192.

⁶²² Mary O'Dowd, 'Women and Paid Work in Rural Ireland, c. 1500-1800', in Bernadette Whelan, ed., *Women and Paid Work in Ireland, 1500-1930* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), p. 24.

⁶²³ *Clare Journal*, 24 January 1805, available at Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

clients that he had just returned linens from this season's bleaching.⁶²⁴ It can be inferred that, in common with the iron industry, local labour was used for basic work, but skilled finishers were brought in from Ulster. Linen manufacture appears to have operated on a piece-work system in some areas, where individual spinners and weavers produced the cloth, which was then transported to a commercial bleach-green for processing.

Dutton listed three bleach greens in Clare, at Doonass, Ennis and Ballyhonege, though there were probably more because the Clare Journal mentioned one at Sixmilebridge.⁶²⁵ Dutton remarked that twenty years earlier there was a 'very flourishing' trade in Killaloe in stuffs, camlets and serges, employing 150 hands with two markets per week.⁶²⁶ Why was there so much proto-industry in Killaloe? It is probably no coincidence that Killaloe was close to the centre of the iron industry. In the mining heyday there would have been a ready customer base among the workers in the smelting-mills and other services and industries associated with ironworking as well as easy access to other markets for textiles in Limerick and Tipperary. Gerard Madden states that each smelting-works would have employed about 150 people and it is likely that as the iron industry declined, so did the market for textiles. Kieran Sheedy's history of Feakle parish also mentions a tuck-mill in what is now Flagmount and two others in Feakle which were used to process linen.⁶²⁷ Tucking was a process in which woven wool was combed to produce a warm worsted fabric so the flax-mill at Flagmount was probably a scutching-mill, where a heavy roller crushed the outer shell of the fibres so that the inner strands of linen could be extracted. This process was originally done by the grower, but from the mid eighteenth century it was increasingly done in small local mills.⁶²⁸ The mills in the vicinity of Feakle are listed by Samuel Lewis and shown on the 1842 OS 6-inch map as tuck-mills, so by 1837 the scutching-mills had probably been converted to tuck-mills for woollen cloth instead of linen.

⁶²⁴ *Clare Journal*, 24 January 1805, February 7 1805 and 9 May 1805, available on microfilm at Clare Local Studies Centre, Ennis. .

⁶²⁵ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, pp. 260-64.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 260. See p. 170 for a definition of these fabrics.

⁶²⁷ Kieran Sheedy, *Feakle* (Feakle GA Hurling Club, 1990), p. 40.

⁶²⁸ W. J. Smyth, 'Flax Cultivation in Ireland: The Development and Demise of a Regional Staple', in W. J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland* (Cork University Press, 1988), p. 237.

Historians are in dispute as to whether Ireland's proximity to a mechanised, industrialised Britain, the removal of trade tariffs following the Union in 1801, or labour-saving technological developments led to what Frank Geary calls the 'deindustrialisation' of Ireland.⁶²⁹ To allow the Irish economy to adjust to free trade, woollen and cotton goods had remained subject to trade tariffs until 1824 when all tariffs were removed.⁶³⁰ Additionally, improvements in the steam-packet service from Dublin to Britain allowed goods to be brought in more quickly and cheaply.⁶³¹ Geary concludes that the removal of trade tariffs was less significant than technological development which allowed for the mass-production of textiles, leaving Ireland's cloth industry at a disadvantage.⁶³² In Clare, although a Linen Hall was established in Ennis in 1816, linen manufacture declined as a result of cheap imports of cotton and the Linen Board ceased operations in 1846.⁶³³

Despite the efforts of the Linen Manufacture, Tulla was on the very edge of the flax-growing area, and textile production had never taken place on more than a domestic scale, although Enright states that across the county woollen cloth production had provided 'substantial employment'.⁶³⁴ But as textile exports declined, linen and wool production reverted to the role it had occupied for generations, that of providing clothes and household goods for the family as well as some surplus for sale or trade. Men and women still wore frieze in the early nineteenth century, which the women often dyed red with home-made dye, but they also wore 'dimity and other cotton fabrics' to church or market, buying their gowns from 'shop keepers or pedlars at fairs and markets' in 1808, so clearly changing consumer taste favoured cotton over wool and linen.⁶³⁵ By 1805 the *Ennis Chronicle and Clare Advertiser* was showcasing the latest fashions, and Ennis shopkeepers were supplying customers with haberdashery, hats, and fashionable clothes.⁶³⁶ There is little evidence of

⁶²⁹ Frank Geary, 'The Act of Union, British-Irish Trade, and Pre-Famine Deindustrialization', in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 48, No. 1 (February 1995), pp. 68-88, available at www.jstor.org, 16 January 2014, p. 69

⁶³⁰ Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine*, pp. 106-7.

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Geary, 'The Act of Union, British-Irish Trade, and Pre-Famine Deindustrialization', p. 87.

⁶³³ Flannan P. Enright, 'The Pre-Famine Worker in the Shannon/Newmarket Area', in *The Other Clare*, Vol. 15 (Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society, 1981), p. 8.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

⁶³⁵ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 179.

⁶³⁶ *Ennis Chronicle and Clare Advertiser* (February 11, March 7 and July 21, 1805), available on microfilm, Clare Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

whether these items were made locally, though a Mr. Carney was making cloth for 'beaver' coats in Ennis in 1808.⁶³⁷ Geary has shown that although imports of clothing and cotton fabric from Britain in the early nineteenth century rose, most of the imported yarn was cotton wool which was spun and woven in Belfast, so Irish-made cotton fabric was certainly available.⁶³⁸

It should also be noted that cloth was not the only textile manufacture in the barony. Near Scariff, 'a considerable number of coarse hats are manufactured... they are in great estimation all over the country, and sell at from 3s. 9½ d. to 5s. 5d.; they are dyed with alder bark, and twigs, and log-wood, but principally the first'.⁶³⁹ 'Coarse hats' were still being made in the vicinity in 1837, though neither Dutton nor Lewis account for the industry being located here.⁶⁴⁰ There is no evidence that the mills in Scariff were used for fulling woollen cloth which might then be used for felted hats, and no indication that sheep were numerous in the vicinity. There were twelve fairs a year, some of which could have been sheep fairs, but only pigs are specially mentioned. One factor may have been the presence of iron in the vicinity from the smelting works. Iron was used as a mordant, or substance which changes and fixes the colour during the dyeing process.⁶⁴¹ Although the ironworks had long been closed, enough ferrous material from the old works was undoubtedly available to use for a local hat-making enterprise.

Slate quarrying has existed in the barony since the early eighteenth century and has indeed continued on until recent times. John Grantham's map of Lough Derg, published in 1830, depicts a number of slate quarries in the vicinity of Killaloe and Ballina.⁶⁴² Samuel Lewis wrote in 1837 that the Broadford quarries 'produced slate

⁶³⁷ 'Beaver' was a dense, almost felted woollen cloth which was napped, i.e. combed, to resemble beaver fur. www.oed.com.libgate.library.nuigalway.ie, 3 February 2014.

⁶³⁸ Geary, 'The Act of Union, British-Irish Trade, and Pre-Famine Deindustrialization', pp. 78-79.

⁶³⁹ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, pp. 265.

⁶⁴⁰ Lewis, *County Clare, a History and Topography*, p. 118.

⁶⁴¹ *Dyeing with Iron*, www.wildcolours.co.uk, 3 February 2014.

⁶⁴² John Grantham's survey of the Shannon was published in 1830. It is reproduced in a damaged book in the Jim Kemmy Municipal Museum, Limerick, which has no cover. The title page reads, *The Traveller's Map of The River Shannon, Arranged as a Guide to its Lakes, and the Several Towns, Gentlemen's seats, ancient castles, ruins, mines, quarries, trading stations and general scen[ery] from its Source in Lough Allen to the S[ea] in a course of 239 miles through the Counties of Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Westmeath, Kings' County, Tipperary, Galwa[y] Limerick?] and Clare, Accurately taken from the survey made by John Grantham, Esq. C. E. By order of the Irish Government, under the Direction of the Late John Rennie Es[q.].*

of an excellent quality', and 'the best slates are those of Broadford and Killaloe, of which the former have long been celebrated; though the latter are superior, and both are nearly equal to the finest Welsh slates'.⁶⁴³ There were slate quarries in Kilseily, at Ardskegh, Hurlston and Lyssane (sic), the produce of which was used in Ennis and Limerick.⁶⁴⁴ In Killaloe, Lewis noted a water-powered mill which cost £6,000 and was used to cut and polish stone and marble from the slate quarries for mantel-pieces, flags and slabs. He adds that 'a spirit of cheerful industry' was in evidence, perhaps due to the 'handsome slated cottages' which were provided for the hundred workers at the mill.⁶⁴⁵

In addition to mills for processing woollen and linen cloth, there were several corn mills. 'Grist' is corn which has been coarsely ground to remove its husk, after which it can be used in brewing and distilling, or finely ground to produce flour. Dutton listed grist mills in Scariff, Killaloe and Sixmilebridge, but Risteárd Ua Croínín maintains that there were large numbers of water-powered grist and corn mills across county Clare in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶⁴⁶ Many mills were associated with large estate workings, such as the corn and grist mill built by John Coonan on the lands of Cornelius O'Callaghan in 1772, which gave its name to the townland of O'Callaghan's Mills, but many were small-scale mills which were worked by local people for their local community.⁶⁴⁷ Some surplus grain was produced in the barony, because Dutton noted that Scariff and Sixmilebridge markets dealt in oats, barley and some wheat, with the principal grain markets located in Ennis, Clare(castle) and Kilrush, dealing with grain which was sent to Limerick for export.⁶⁴⁸ It is possible, then, that with improvements to the navigation between Killaloe and Limerick, some grain was sent from Scariff market to Limerick, although Dutton asserts that 'The greater part of the barley is consumed in the private stills, that abound in every part of the county, and, however they may have

⁶⁴³ Samuel Lewis, *County Clare, a History and Topography* (Ennis: CLASP Press, first published 1837, this edition 1995), p. 5 and 20-21.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶⁴⁵ Lewis, *County Clare: a History and Topography*, p. 72.

⁶⁴⁶ Risteárd Ua Croínín, *Industrial Heritage Review of County Clare*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas, p. 17.

⁶⁴⁷ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 267.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

injured the morals and health of the inhabitants, they have tended to increase the quantity of tillage.’⁶⁴⁹

In Feakle, Lewis notes several tuck-mills, with ‘extensive’ oil and flour-mills in Scariff.⁶⁵⁰ Not all the mills were productive, since the corn-mill at Sixmilebridge had been converted to paper, but had recently closed, as had mills below the town.⁶⁵¹ Sixmilebridge had declined as a result of the bridge built by Henry D’Esterre in 1784 across the Ratty river, thereby blocking river access to the town from Limerick, and this no doubt accounts for the failure of the mills.

Both Dutton in 1808 and Sir Robert Kane in 1846 noted the illegal manufacturing and sale of poitín which formed a small but significant part of local economy. The imposition of stringent excise laws in the 1780s had caused the closure of many legal distilleries, with a corresponding rise in illegal operations.⁶⁵² Dutton asserted that ‘though there is no licenced distillery in the county, the private stills abound in every direction’, claiming that they were ‘more numerous than ever, and more whiskey is made than in the former distilleries’.⁶⁵³

In 1789, three hundred barrels of malt were discovered and destroyed in Ayle House and a private malthouse nearby. Ayle was the principal home of the MacNamaras and they may have turned to distilling in order to avoid bankruptcy, because they had had several actions brought against them for debt, including a prolonged case brought by the O’Callaghans of Kilgorey in 1750.⁶⁵⁴ In 1792, Thady MacNamara was advertising Ayle House and demesne for rent, plus several townlands across the barony, but the advertisement appeared only once and the family remained at Ayle.⁶⁵⁵

On 18 February 1805, the *Clare Journal* reported that a still from the barony of Tulla was brought in by gaugers, describing it as, ‘the largest private still, head and worm

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 41.

⁶⁵⁰ Lewis, *County Clare, a History and Topography*., p. 48.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., p. 119.

⁶⁵² Andy Bielenberg, ‘The Locke Family and the Distilling Industry in Kilbeggan’, in *History Ireland*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Summer, 1993), pp. 46-50.

⁶⁵³ Lewis, *County Clare, a History and Topography*, p. 205-6.

⁶⁵⁴ Kieran Sheedy, *Feakle* (Feakle G. A. A. Hurling Club, 1990), p. 41.

⁶⁵⁵ *Clare Journal*, 19 March 1792.

ever seized in the district; besides smaller seizures to a considerable amount.’⁶⁵⁶ In 1807, the following fines for unlicensed stills were imposed at the Spring Assizes, and levied from the parishes concerned, showing clearly that Feakle was the heartland of poitín distillation.⁶⁵⁷

Parish	Number of fines	Amount levied
Clonlea	2	£108 6s. 8d.
Feakle	5	£170 16s. 8d.
Kilnoe	2	£108 6s. 8d.
Ogonnelloe	3	£162 10s
Tuamgraney	2	£108 6s. 8d.
Tulla	1	£54 3s. 4d.

Figure 55: Unlicensed stills in Tulla parishes, 1807⁶⁵⁸

In 1809, an exciseman named Reddin, accompanied by a party of dragoons, spent three days in the parishes of Tuamgraney, Ogonnelloe, Tulla and Feakle searching for evidence, and discovered six private distilleries, seven malthouses, over a thousand gallons of ‘potale’ and five kilns of oats.⁶⁵⁹ Raids in Tuamgraney, Feakle and Ayle caught several distillers red-handed. In 1815 another exciseman named Considine and a party of light dragoons discovered a still and destroyed a large quantity of spirits, potale and malt.⁶⁶⁰ But, although there were fears that the sheer number of stills would lead to a shortage of oats, the excisemen were highly unpopular in the district, and as Considine and his dragoons were returning through the woods near Caher they were fired upon, and later that year a crowd attacked the men of the 88th Foot who were protecting an exciseman, injuring a soldier and killing one of the attackers, a man named Moroney. Not long after that, Considine and his men were rowing out to an island in Lough Graney to seize a still, and as they were

⁶⁵⁶ *Clare Journal*, 18 February 1805, available on microfilm at Clare Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

⁶⁵⁷ *Account of Presentments Passed by the Grand Jury of Clare*, Spring Assizes, 1807, available at Clare Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

⁶⁵⁸ Taken from *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁹ ‘Potale’ is the residue left after distilling, and could be used as a high-protein food for livestock. www.oed.com.libgate.library.nuigalway.ie, 3 February 2014.

⁶⁶⁰ Sheedy, *Feakle*, p. 45.

rowing back with a heavy load of potale and singlings the boat overturned, drowning three of the soldiers.⁶⁶¹

In 1816 the MacNamaras of Ayle were once again implicated in illegal distilling. A letter from Thady MacNamara to William Vesey Fitzgerald maintained that a still had been set up at Ayle during his absence from the estate. He complained that:

Every effort is made to injure me. I am writing for a military detachment to put down illicit distillation as my own efforts have been ineffective. An application was made to the Chancellor to deprive me of my commission as a Magistrate, in addition to every misrepresentation of myself and my wife.⁶⁶²

Whether MacNamara was actually involved in the operation made no difference in law because the owner of an estate was liable for fines for illegal activity. It was a penalty that MacNamara could ill afford since he was, according to Vesey Fitzgerald, an 'impoverished and redundant gentleman' who was dependent on an impoverished tenantry for his income.⁶⁶³

It does not appear that efforts to control illicit distillation were successful in the long term. In 1837, Samuel Lewis commented that in Ogonnelloe parish, the 'almost perfect' castle on Cahir Island just offshore in Lough Derg had been recently blown up because it had been used for illegal distillation, and now formed a 'picturesque ruin'.⁶⁶⁴ As we saw, in 1846 Sir Robert Kane claimed that the proliferation of illicit distillation in rural districts was due to the lack of good transport links to market towns, which meant that rather than selling surplus oats and potatoes, people were forced to make use of them locally, and liquor was one profitable way of doing so.⁶⁶⁵ Despite the risk of capture and punishment, the demand was clearly such that those involved in illegal distillation considered it worthwhile to continue.

⁶⁶¹ Sheedy, *Feakle*, pp. 45-6. Singlings are the first spirits to be produced from the distillation process. www.oed.com.libgate.library.nuigalway.ie, 3 February 2014.

⁶⁶² N. L. I. MSS 7813, cited in Kieran Sheedy, 'The private letter books of William Vesey Fitzgerald, 1812-1822', in *Sliabh Aughty*, vol. 6 (East Clare Heritage, 1995), p. 17.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁴ Lewis, *History and Topography*, p. 114.

⁶⁶⁵ Kane, *The Industrial Resources of Ireland*, p. 346.

The woods in Tulla were used not just to hide the activities of illegal poitín makers, but to provide the raw materials for a variety of local crafts. Dutton lists the cost of the various wooden or woven articles commonly sold in Clare: ‘couples’ for cabins (roof trusses), from 2s. 6d. to 5s.; oak stakes ‘to support the wattling of eel weirs’, from 5s. to 6s. per dozen; oak wattles, also for eel-weirs, 5s. to 10s. per hundred, which were ‘usually split down the middle and are generally brought from Tinerana to Killaloe’; ‘sallows’ for basket making, 2s. 2d. per hundred⁶⁶⁶; scollops of hazel &c., 6s. per hundred; a pair of baskets for a horse ‘which a man will make in a day’, 3s. 3d.⁶⁶⁷ Given the importance of the basket in an age before plastic containers, basket-makers would have supplied almost every community.

The oak wood used for eel-weirs and for roof trusses was not mature oak but young, slender timber which could, in the case of eel-weirs, be split to form stakes. Trees utilised in local crafts probably came from secondary woods which had grown up where ancient woods were cut down for the ironworks. Willow and hazel are both coppiced and the new growth cut for basketry every few years. Coppicing is an ancient form of woodland management where stems are cut to within a few centimetres of the ground so that the tree produces multiple new stems. In this way a great deal of material can be produced from a relatively small wood.⁶⁶⁸ Dutton was fairly scathing of local coppice management, noting that on Captain Massey’s woods near Broadford, cattle were allowed to graze on the young coppiced shoots: ‘Yet I dare say there is a person dignified with the title of wood-ranger’.⁶⁶⁹ Interestingly, Law points out that woods managed by coppicing are commonly known as ‘underwood’, the name frequently used to describe wooded areas in the *Books of Survey and Distribution*.⁶⁷⁰

In addition to wood used for building and basketry, Dutton comments that a few of the formerly extensive orchards still remained around Sixmilebridge, and that young trees had recently been planted. ‘Very fine cider’ was made from a ‘great variety of kinds mixed in the pressing’, and was purchased by local gentlemen for domestic

⁶⁶⁶ These were willow rods. The word comes from the Gaelic *saileach*, or willow.

⁶⁶⁷ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 283. A scollop is a rod which is used to pin down thatch.

⁶⁶⁸ Ben Law, *Woodsman* (London: Harper Collins, 2013), pp. 70-1.

⁶⁶⁹ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, pp. 272-3.

⁶⁷⁰ Law, *Woodsman*, pp. 70-1.

consumption, costing five guineas per hogshead.⁶⁷¹ Fruit trees were also being produced at the nursery established near Kiltannon by a gardener formerly employed by the Molonys, who had spent some time in England and gained some skill in fruit propagation.⁶⁷²

It is clear that a variety of domestic and commercial-scale manufactures operated in the barony, providing a vital income which supplemented that brought in by farming. But attempts to improve the productivity of the barony's working class by commercialising industries such as linen production failed, as ironworking had, because of competition from outside markets. In addition, although individual landlords encouraged economic enterprises, by and large there was a lack of the necessary skills, or support from the landed class which would have ensured that, for example, woods were properly coppiced to provide charcoal and materials for commercial crafts. It is probably no coincidence that virtually the only business which continued to thrive in the face of opposition was poitín making, an 'industry' which utilised surplus local produce and supplied a local demand, thereby circumventing the problems of outside competition, trade tariffs, and difficulties with transport.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the complex relationship between towns and villages, transport links and economic development – or lack of it. Technology removed obstacles such as the rapids below Killaloe, allowing the town to once more expand, or erected bridges such as the one which caused the decline of Sixmilebridge. Perhaps more than any other feature, the expansion and improvement of the roads opened the barony to the wider world. Yet, although Tulla could now be said to be part of an 'improved' Clare, and its towns and villages showed the 'markers of modernity' such as schools, constabulary barracks and even dispensaries, it remained a peripheral and disadvantaged area. There is little sign that these infrastructural developments led to the kind of long-term improvements in industry and manners that the progressive thinkers hoped. Attempts to improve the economic life of the barony, for example the system of grants for linen manufacture, were intended to

⁶⁷¹ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 276.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 281.

encourage landlords to ‘improve’ their tenantry by promoting a culture of productive work which would also improve the profitability of estates and, ultimately, the State. But as we have seen, despite modernisation of the infrastructure of the barony in the form of improved roads and river transport, these attempts were largely failures.

Part of the reason for failure was decline on a national scale. Ireland was hampered by lack of sources of industrial fuel and energy and the consequent focus of industry and wealth on the burgeoning factory towns where coal-fuelled steam power was abundant.⁶⁷³ Yet the key problem was the Act of Union and subsequent economic integration. Thereafter, an ‘unusually protracted’ depression led to a sharp fall in linen exports, although other manufactures such as shipbuilding, glass-making and paper increased their exports during the same period.⁶⁷⁴

Although improvements had been made in the road system and canals had begun to reshape the waterways, few of Ireland’s roads were suitable for heavy freight and transport infrastructure lagged well behind that of Britain; by 1836 a mere 6 miles of railway track were opened and rail freight was worth £105.⁶⁷⁵ In any case, with few resources of coal or metal to promote large-scale industrial development outside of Ulster, railways could hardly become the instruments of industrialisation. Cork, with its easier sea-route to England and the Continent, had already overtaken Limerick as Munster’s principal port, and Galway was also to decline as trade favoured the eastern ports.

Overwhelmingly, though, the reason for the failure to ‘improve’ Tulla was that the district remained locked into a small-scale farming economy for whom conditions grew steadily more precarious. It is the intimate relationship between population growth, landlordism and the farming economy that we will explore in the final chapter.

⁶⁷³ Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine*, p. 106.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁶⁷⁵ Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine*, p. 109.

Chapter 5: Population, Farming and Unrest, 1760-1845.

Introduction

The final chapter of this thesis examines the barony of Tulla at the end of the eighteenth century and in the decades preceeding the Great Famine. The two previous chapters have considered the ideology of ‘improvement’, and as we saw in Chapter Four, although there were some advances in infrastructure in the form of roads, markets and fairs, proto-industry was declining and attempts to raise the economic status of Tulla’s people had not succeeded on any permanent basis. The region’s economy had remained overwhelmingly agricultural, and this chapter will show that as the population continued to expand, the question of farm size and viability was critical to rising levels of poverty.

Closely related to farm size was the question of whether landlords preferred to let land in bulk to a middleman or directly to tenants themselves. As we will see, although the practice of leasing to middlemen and subletting was discouraged and declined as the nineteenth century progressed, it did not always follow that tenants were better off as sole tenants with their own holdings.

The chapter will also explore standards of living among the poor of the region and will analyse the recurring subsistence crises which were a feature of the pre-famine period. The worsening conditions of poverty, and the lack of available land for an expanding population, led inevitably to outbreaks of agrarian unrest, and the chapter will relate how and why the focus of such unrest altered over the period from questions of tenant rights to the simple demand for food, either food at reasonable prices or land on which to grow food.

It should be noted that throughout this chapter I will be making reference to the different classes of farmer and sub-tenant. Terms such as ‘peasantry’, ‘cottiers’, ‘labourers’ and ‘tenants’ can be problematic and it is useful to explore their meaning in the Tulla context. The Oxford English Dictionary defines a cottier as ‘a peasant renting and cultivating a small holding under a system hence called *cottier tenure*’,

that is, leasing small portions of land annually directly to labourers, the rent being fixed not by private agreement but by public competition.’⁶⁷⁶ Robert Bell, writing after the Act of Union, divided the peasantry (that is, the rural lower orders) into categories which defined ‘tenants’ as groups of five or six families jointly leasing a farm of thirty to forty acres, and conflating cottiers and labourers into a single group who were typically paid by a tenant farmer for their labour by getting an informal sub-lease on one or two acres for potatoes with grazing for a cow.⁶⁷⁷ Both of these definitions imply that tenants were those who, although they may not individually have rented much more land than cottiers and labourers, were nevertheless principally earning their living by farming, with additional income perhaps being earned through their wives’ skills or their own. Cottiers and labourers, on the other hand, were those who earned their living by working for others and who produced no surplus for the market. In Tulla, both were common, though the prevalence of one category or another varied from parish to parish. ‘Tenant’ and ‘farmer’ will hereafter refer to a person whose principal living was from their land, and ‘cottier’ will refer to a cottier/labourer.

Population Growth

By 1845, it has been generally accepted that the population of Ireland had quadrupled.⁶⁷⁸ William Macafee suggests that the rise in marriage numbers during the late 1770s and 1780s was as a result of falling child mortality during the 1750s-60s, which in turn led to a ‘baby boom’ in the 1780s. Why were more babies surviving? The adoption of the potato as a staple across Ireland raised nutrition levels in mothers and children, but the potato, mixed with milk, is also a very suitable food for early weaning, leading to shorter intervals between births.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁶ Oxford English Dictionary, available at James Hardiman Library, www.oed.com.libgate.library.nuigalway.ie (26 September 2013).

⁶⁷⁷ McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves*, p. 132.

⁶⁷⁸ K. H. Connell, ‘The Population of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century’, in *The Economic History Review*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1946), pp. 111-124, available at www.jstor.org, 12 July 2013; K. H. Connell, ‘Land and Population in Ireland’, in *The Economic History Review*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1950), pp. 278-289, available at www.jstor.org, 12 July 2013; K. H. Connell, ‘The Colonisation of Waste Land in Ireland’, in *The Economic History Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1950), pp. 44-71, available at www.jstor.org, 12 July 2013.

⁶⁷⁹ Macafee, ‘The Pre-Famine Population of Ireland; A Reconsideration’, p. 82.

Furthermore, Macafee states that the expansion of the wool and linen industries provided more disposable income and cushioned families against temporary harvest crises.⁶⁸⁰ Even outside of the textile-producing areas, farmers provided food for those involved in spinning or weaving, so that farming itself became a commercial rather than a subsistence occupation.

Michael Drake concurs with the importance of the potato in improving the general health of the population, concluding that as the potato moved from a modest to a major role around the middle of the eighteenth century, it checked the ‘twin scourges of famine and bad health’.⁶⁸¹

Agriculturist Arthur Young believed that there were five causes of the increase in population. The English poor were restricted from moving from their home parish.⁶⁸² In Ireland, however, ‘whole families of that country will move from place to place, fixing according to the demand for their labour.’⁶⁸³ Secondly, in England a couple must acquire a house prior to marriage, but in Ireland, married life ‘begins with a hovel, that is erected with two days’ labour, and the young couple pass not their youth in celibacy, for want of a nest to produce their young in’.⁶⁸⁴ In addition, he observed that marriage was the general state among the Irish working classes, almost all cottiers and servants were married, and that, ‘I found their happiness and ease generally relative to the number of their children, and nothing considered as great a misfortune as having none’.⁶⁸⁵ Lastly, he too noted that a diet of potatoes and milk generally produced healthier children.⁶⁸⁶

Although the reasons for Ireland’s rapid population growth have yet to be conclusively established, it is clear that it happened hand in hand with major changes

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 72.

⁶⁸¹ Michael Drake, ‘Marriage and Population Growth in Ireland’, in *The Economic History Review*, vol. 16, no. 2 (1963), p. 312, available at www.jstor.org, 15 July 2013.

⁶⁸² Under the English Poor Relief Act (14 Car. 2, c. 12), which established the parish to which a person belonged and which would then be responsible for them should they become in need of Poor Relief.

⁶⁸³ Arthur Young’s *Tour of Ireland; with general observations on the present state of that kingdom; made in the years 1776, 1777, and 1778*, Fourth edition, ed. A. W. Hutton, (London, 1892, reprinted Shannon, 1970), p. 199.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 200.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

in local, national and international economy and that population growth rates varied between provinces and even baronies.

The population of Tulla in 1765 was estimated by Thomas Stamer at 13,245 compared to 10,232 in 1703 and 11,685 in 1736.⁶⁸⁷ The impression of steady growth is illusory: the 1740s had wiped out the gains of preceding decades and the 1765 estimate captures the beginnings of rapid population growth. Ó Dálaigh estimates the total population of county Clare in 1766 as 60,888, one third more than Stamer, stating that the returns for Catholics were likely to have been understated. However, his methodology is unclear.⁶⁸⁸

In 1792, Beaufort estimated the population of county Clare at 96,000 but, based upon the fact that large areas of mountain had since been reclaimed, Dutton reckoned the population figure by 1808 to be closer to 120,000.⁶⁸⁹ Beaufort's figures were taken from Bushe's 1777 household tables, a source also used by Connell. Bushe estimated that a household consisted of 5.5 persons, but according to Dutton, the Catholic clergymen believed that there were at least 6 or 7 people per household.⁶⁹⁰ Comparing Bushe's 1777 estimate to Stamer's Returns of 1765 would indicate that – unbelievably – Clare's population increased by twelve per cent per year between 1765 and 1777.⁶⁹¹ William Shaw Mason's *Statistical Account* of 1814 claims that the Clare population at the time was increasing so rapidly that a 'vast quantity' upland was reclaimed every year.⁶⁹² Furthermore, Dutton believed that since the use of the potato as a staple meant that a family of six could exist on an acre of land, young couples had 'no apprehension of poverty', and early marriages were common.⁶⁹³ It should be noted, however, that this opinion was not necessarily based upon his own fieldwork. His use of other writers' estimates and the opinions of the clergy suggests that he was stating a commonly held opinion.

⁶⁸⁷ See Appendix G.

⁶⁸⁸ Ó Dálaigh, 'Poet of a Single Poem', p. 120.

⁶⁸⁹ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 168.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁶⁹¹ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 168; Religious returns to the House of Commons, 1766, Twigge MSS, vol. 6, available on microfilm at Clare Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

⁶⁹² William Shaw Mason, *A Statistical Account or, Parochial Survey of Ireland* (Dublin: J. Cumming and N. Mahon, 1814), p. 499.

⁶⁹³ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 168.

Fig. 56, based upon the religious census of 1766, Dutton's 1808 estimate, Shaw Mason's *Statistical Survey* of 1813, and the national censuses of 1821, 1831 and 1841, shows the comparative rise in county Clare and Tulla.

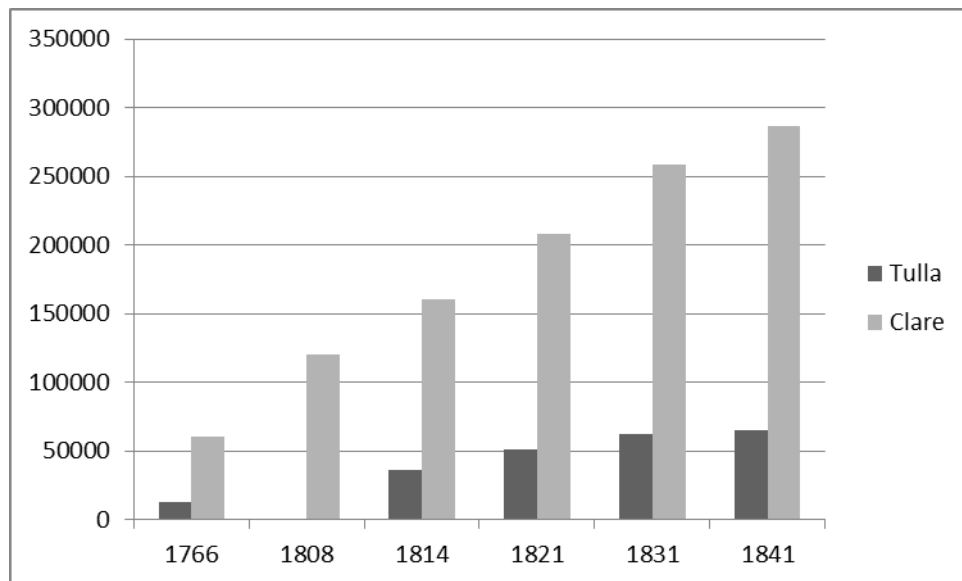


Figure 56: Population growth, Clare and Tulla, 1766-1841

The accuracy of the 1766 religious returns was impaired firstly by the short time span that was allowed to compile the parish figures, a problem which was undoubtedly exacerbated by the difficulties of travel in Tulla. Secondly, Gurrin points out that accurate statistics depended on the Protestant minister, who was responsible for collating the returns, and his knowledge of both the Protestant and Catholic sections of his community.⁶⁹⁴ This was likely to have been a serious problem in Tulla, where, as Sir Lucius O'Brien remarked, clergy were scant and the bishops less than dedicated to pastoral duties.⁶⁹⁵ As regards the State statistics, the census of 1813 was compiled by inexperienced enumerators, and the censuses of 1821 and 1831 were incomplete.⁶⁹⁶ These provisos observed, the figures nevertheless enable us to draw some conclusions regarding the rate of population growth and distribution. Daultrey, Dickson and Ó Gráda show that in Connacht, the population

⁶⁹⁴ Brian Gurrin, *Pre-Census Sources for Irish Demography* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), p. 52.

⁶⁹⁵ Falvey, 'Killaloe's Eighteenth Century Anglican Bishops', pp. 34-38. See p. 126 for the full quotation.

⁶⁹⁶ Dutton (1808), Shaw Mason (1813) *Census of Ireland*, 1821, 1831 & 1841.

increased at a greater rate from 1791-1821 than in the other provinces (Fig. 57).⁶⁹⁷ The previous graph suggests that county Clare's overall population growth may have been as high as 2.07 per cent, exceeding that of Connacht in the decades preceeding the Great Famine. Moreover, not until the 1830s did the rate of growth begin to slow down.

Year	Leinster	Munster	Ulster	Connacht
1791-1821	+1.3%	+1.6%	+1.1%	+2.0%

Figure 57: Annual percentage of Irish population growth, 1791-1821⁶⁹⁸

It is important to note that population growth manifested in two ways: it was intimately linked to the reclamation of areas of upland, where people expanded into marginal areas, but it also occurred in townlands where the acreage of land under cultivation remained the same, but farms were subdivided into smaller and smaller plots so that the population was more densely clustered. In some upland areas of Tulla, both phenomena happened simultaneously.

Fig. 58 shows the density of population per square kilometre by 1841, and examining each parish not just by the growth in the number of people but where the population was most thickly clustered, gives us an interesting picture. Nationwide, between 1770-1840, the rural population expanded much more quickly on poor marginal lands than in lush lowland areas: up to five times faster, in fact. Population pressure was heaviest on poor and marginal land and it was small farms which were sub-divided, not the larger holdings.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁷ Stuart Daultrey, David Dickson and Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Eighteenth-Century Irish Population: New Perspectives from Old Sources', in *The Economic History Review*, vol. 41, no. 3 (September 1981), p. 625, available at www.jstor.org, 15 July 2013. See also E. Margaret Crawford, 'Diet and the Labouring Classes in the Nineteenth Century' in *Saothar* (1990), pp. 87-95.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁹ Aalen, Whelan and Stout, *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, p. 86.

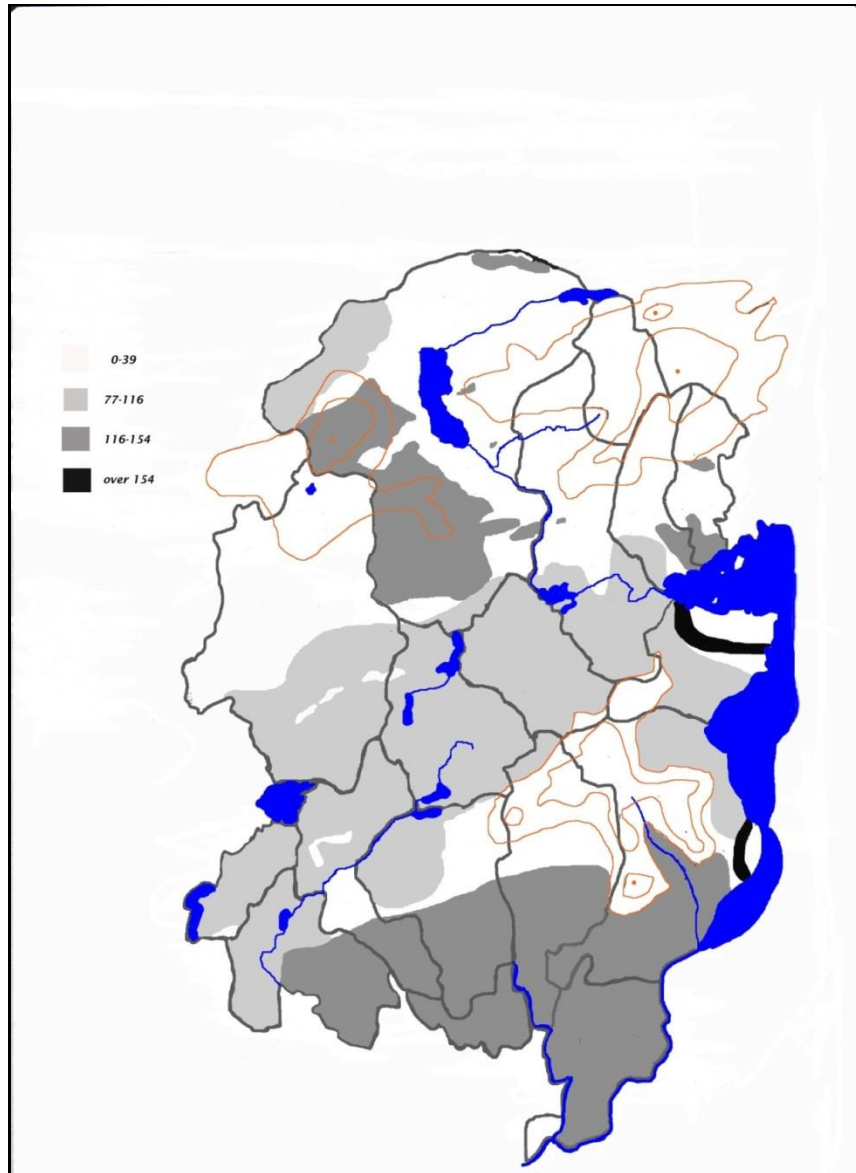


Figure 58: Population density per square kilometre in Tulla, 1841,

If Tulla fits the Connacht pattern, we would expect to see the most rapid population growth in the upland areas of Sliabh Aughty and Sliabh Bearnagh, and indeed, the sharpest rise in numbers occurred in the parishes where there were uplands which were being reclaimed. In central lowland parishes such as Kilnoe, growth in numbers was more likely to be associated with subdivision than reclamation.

The most rapid growth was in Feakle parish, also an area of high density, where both subdivision and reclamation of marginal land had taken place. In Feakle, and in neighbouring Tulla, a correlation can be fairly accurately seen between the lands held by the MacNamaras, the Molonys and their kin-groups, high rates of population

growth and densely clustered settlement. As we saw in the previous chapter, these once-powerful landowners had lost much of their land, and the MacNamaras experienced long-term financial pressure. Although the Molonys had acquired extensive lands under James Molony the first, his great-grandson James suffered financial straits and the fifth James Molony (1785-1874) spent his working life in the Far East so that between 1800 and his return to Kiltannon in 1830, the land was administered by his agent.⁷⁰⁰ Subdivision of the Sliabh Aughty uplands between under-tenants increased, then, because a larger tenant base meant an increased income, desirable to both the MacNamaras and the Molonys' agent.

John Patrick Molony of Feakle's response to the Devon Commissioners on the eve of the Famine stated that landlords themselves would have preferred to restrict or prevent subdivision, but 'it is generally done without being brought under the eye of the landlord, and sometimes in consequence of a man having a large farm – as his children marry off he gives them a portion of it.'⁷⁰¹ But James Shannon, a farmer from Cork, claimed that, 'Subletting was carried on to a vast extent, in order to obtain more rent than the land would otherwise produce, and for the purpose of making freeholders', which implies collusion on the part of landlords for political purposes.⁷⁰²

A larger area of high population density per square kilometre can be seen in the southern part of the parishes of Kiltenanlea, Killokennedy, Kilfinaghta and Kilseily, across a lowland region of relatively fertile land. Fig. 59 shows that although these parishes were densely populated, rates of growth were slower than in Feakle and Tulla. These parishes correspond to areas where populations had always been highest, through riverine valleys where land was of higher quality and the majority of tower houses were located. By 1841 the town of Sixmilebridge was in decline, but farmland was being subdivided so the population density remained high.

⁷⁰⁰ Molony, *The Molony Family*, p. 90.

⁷⁰¹ John Patrick Molony, esq., land proprietor, *H. M. Commissioners of Enquiry into the State of Law and Practice in respect of the Occupation of Land in Ireland*, (hereafter Devon Commission) Vol. 1, (Dublin, 1847) , p. 433. There are two John P. Molonys in Feakle parish in Griffith's Valuation, John Patrick of Killanena and John Patt of Corbehagh.

⁷⁰² James Shannon, Farmer, in *Ibid.*, p. 433.

Subdivision in such areas occurred where land was divided between heirs upon the marriage of each, with a farm being gradually broken up into smaller and smaller units to form a loose ‘village’ structure of cultivated infield and grazing in the outfield, forming a clachan settlement.⁷⁰³ Dutton asserted that because of population pressure, the practice of subdivision upon marriage had become frequent by the early nineteenth century.⁷⁰⁴ Subdivision had several advantages as a means of acquiring land. It was an extension of an existing way of life for the rural poor which required little capital, and there were few legal hindrances to it – indeed, landlords approved of it since it increased the tenant base, and although leases tended to be short it did at least give a young couple a means to start their own holding.⁷⁰⁵

In considering the economic base of Irish settlements, Whelan has proposed four general regional archetypes: pastoral in Leinster, eastern Connacht and parts of the midlands; tillage in the southern counties from Kilkenny to Limerick and north Kerry; small farming in western Connacht, west Munster and west Donegal; and proto-industrial in textile-producing Ulster, north Connacht and Louth.⁷⁰⁶ It would appear reasonable to fit Tulla into the third zone, that of small farmers which often corresponded to the clachan and rundale system described by Estyn Evans, and elaborated by, among others, McCourt, O’Sullivan, Downey and Cawley.⁷⁰⁷

I would argue that this is an over-simplification. As the previous chapter has shown, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Tulla did have an important proto-industrial element and, although still principally a farming region, where a proto-industry existed (in Scariff, for example) families probably ‘alternated between farm and industrial work according to the season and relative prices’.⁷⁰⁸ Only gradually, as industries declined and populations expanded, did the small farm model

⁷⁰³ See Chapter 2, pp. 58-60.

⁷⁰⁴ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 296.

⁷⁰⁵ Connell, ‘The Colonisation of Waste Land in Ireland’, p. 49.

⁷⁰⁶ Kevin Whelan, ‘Settlement and Society in Eighteenth-Century Ireland’, in G. Dawe and J. W. Foster, eds., *The Poet’s Place: Ulster Literature and Society* (Belfast, 1991), pp. 45-62.

⁷⁰⁷ E. Estyn Evans, *Irish Folkways* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1957); Desmond McCourt, ‘The Dynamic Quality of Irish Rural Settlement’, in R. H. Buchanan, Emrys Jones and Desmond McCourt, eds., *Man and his Habitat: Essays Presented to Emyr Estyn Evans*, (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1971); Muiris O’Sullivan and Liam Downey, ‘Post-Medieval Landscapes, Part 1: Clachans’, in *Archaeology Ireland*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2008), pp. 36-38; Mary Cawley, ‘Aspects of Continuity and Change in Rural Settlement Patterns’, in *Studia Hibernica*, nos. 22 & 23 (1982). I am grateful to Dr. Cawley for sending me a copy of this article.

⁷⁰⁸ Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History*, p. 34.

predominate. This model has been described as characteristic of regions of marginal land, where close-knit communities made their living out of subsistence tillage combined with whatever other wage-earning activities were available.⁷⁰⁹ These two models do not sound very different, in fact, but the emphasis on external wage-earning was probably significant in some areas where, when mining or local manufactures collapsed, families became increasingly dependent on potatoes and labouring, with women utilising skills such as spinning or laundering to supplement the family income.

It is important at this point to explain exactly what is meant by the term 'clachan'. The simplest definition is, 'a nucleated agricultural settlement consisting of a minimum of three occupied dwellings'.⁷¹⁰ The important feature that distinguished a clachan was that it was a settlement with no church, inn, shop or other nucleating feature. Clachans were associated with an infield-outfield farming style, and with the practice of rundale, where land was cultivated in strips of varying quality, which were shared on a rotating basis among the members of the farming partnership.⁷¹¹ Although its residents may have engaged in supplementary economic activity such as spinning or weaving, tailoring, carpentry et cetera, their principal occupation was subsistence farming.⁷¹²

Aalen suggests that clachans were 'a nucleated group of farmhouses, where landholding was organised communally, frequently on a townland basis, and often with considerable ties of kinship between the families involved'.⁷¹³ McCourt agrees that subdivision had its roots in 'groups that were in partnership, or held jointly, before the population boom, with commingling of the arable and meadow portions of holdings'.⁷¹⁴ Further, such subdivisions 'took place only within the confines of each

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁷¹⁰ Cawley, 'Aspects of Continuity and Change in Rural Settlement Patterns', p. 106.

⁷¹¹ Ibid., p. 109; Desmond McCourt, 'Infield and Outfield in Ireland', in *The Economic History Review*, No. 7 (1954-5), pp. 369-76.

⁷¹² O'Sullivan and Downey, 'Post-Medieval Fieldscapes, Part 1', p. 37.

⁷¹³ Aalen, *Man and the Landscape*, p. 183.

⁷¹⁴ Desmond McCourt, 'The Dynamic Quality of Irish Rural Settlement', in R. H. Buchanan, Emrys Jones and Desmond McCourt, eds., *Man and his Habitat: Essays Presented to Emyr Estyn Evans* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1971), p. 131.

ancestral holding and among the kindred descended from each of the original holders'.⁷¹⁵

Tulla's settlements prior to the seventeenth century confiscations consisted of clustered dwellings set around a tower house, inhabited by the kin and servants of the ruling clan member. As extended families had in many cases remained as tenants on their ancestral lands, ties of kinship probably occurred in most villages in Tulla. The system of rundale farming was based upon an acreage of land being held under a shared lease between a group of partnership tenants, and as we saw earlier, leases for three lives were a feature of the O'Brien estates.⁷¹⁶ This would explain anomalies in which a cluster of clachans occurred where population density was low, as happened around the vicinity of Tyredagh/ Kiltannon in the southwest corner of Tulla parish. It is likely that in a region where land quality and terrain did not lend themselves to large-scale changes in agriculture, long-held patterns of social organisation were retained. Cawley believes that poverty also encouraged co-operative farm practice and was more easily regulated in settlements where the nucleus was the extended family and common farming practice rather than the school, the fair green or the church.⁷¹⁷

⁷¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 131-2.

⁷¹⁶ Tom Yager, 'What was Rundale and Where Did It Come From?', in *Béaloideas*, vol. 70, (An Cumann Le Béaloideas Éireann/The Folklore of Ireland Society, 2002), pp. 153-186, available at www.jstor.org (17 October 2013).

⁷¹⁷ Cawley, 'Aspects of Continuity and Change', p. 108.

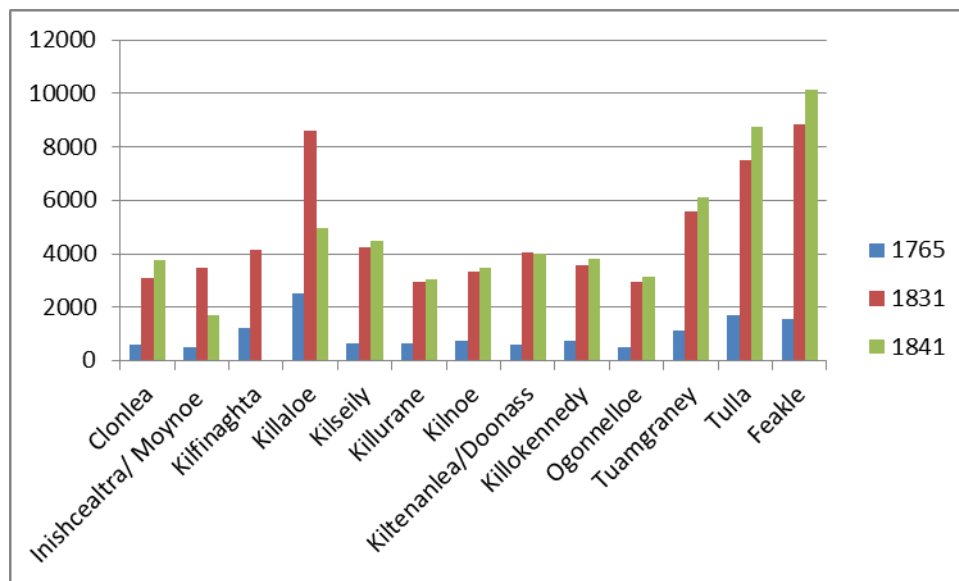


Figure 59: Population growth by parish, 1659-1841⁷¹⁸

It is also important to consider the landowners in Kiltinanlea, Killokennedy, Kilfinaghta and Kilseily. Landlords were essential to the creation of clachan and rundale villages, because partnership tenancies absorbed the surplus population into the rent-paying tenantry and minimised the managerial problems of land division by passing the organisation of land over to the head tenant.⁷¹⁹ Much of the south of these lowland parishes had been owned by Lord Clare and the Earl of Thomond, who was an absentee.⁷²⁰ Lord Clare's land was confiscated and given to Joost Van Keppel, Lord Albemarle, who sold it to Nicholas Westby, Francis Burton and James MacDonnell. Westby's main Clare estate was at Killballyowen, barony of Moyarta, and they also had lands in the barony of Islands. Francis Burton's son was Francis Pierrepont Burton, Lord Conyngham, and their Clare estates were centred upon Buncraggy and Carrigaholt in west Clare. The MacDonnell home was at Kilbreacan in the barony of Bunratty, but when the house was destroyed by fire in 1762 they moved to New Hall, in Killone parish, barony of Islands. Westby's descendant Louisa married Marcus Keane, who was agent for the Westby and Conyngham

⁷¹⁸ 1766 religious survey; Census of Ireland, 1831 & 1841.

⁷¹⁹ Whelan, 'Settlement Patterns in the West of Ireland', p. 69.

⁷²⁰ In 1741, Henry O'Brien, 8th Earl of Thomond, died without issue and the Thomond estates passed to his nephew, Percy Wyndham, who took the name O'Brien. He was a British MP and spent most of his time in England. He died without issue in 1774 and the title again passed to a nephew, George Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont, of Petworth House. He died in 1837.

estates, carrying on the agency from his father Robert.⁷²¹ The land, then, was in the hands of middlemen, who were eager to maximise their rents by subdivision as populations grew.

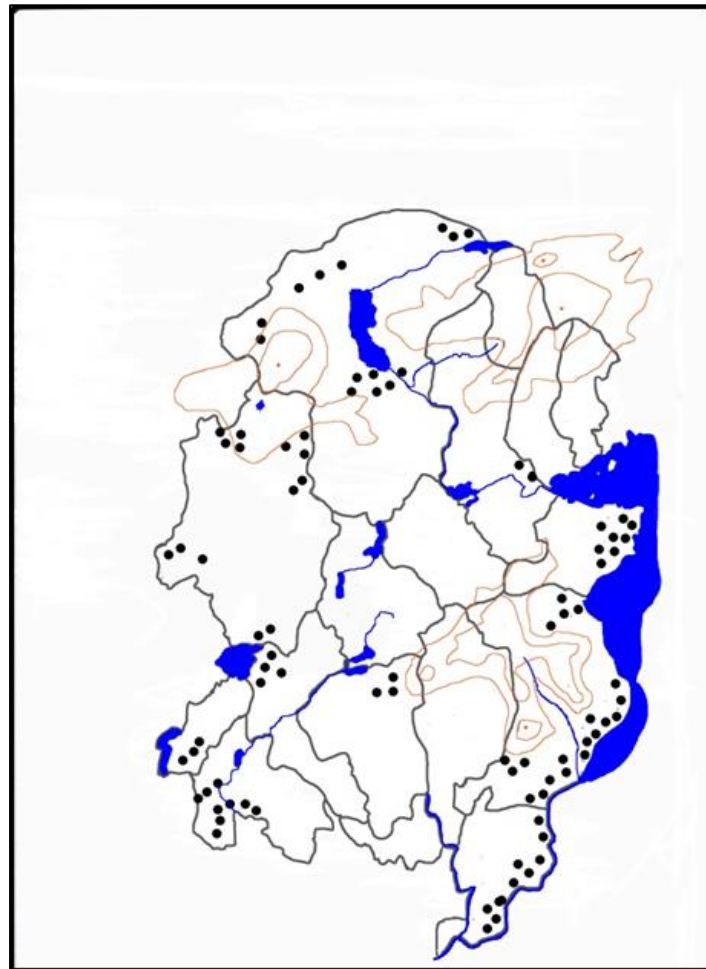


Figure 60: Clachan distribution in Tulla, 1847⁷²²

We could expect to see clachan settlements in regions of high population density and rapid population increase due to colonisation of marginal land and/or subdivision. Comparison of McCourt's map of clachan settlements (Fig. 60) with the population density map (Fig. 58) indicates that in upland Feakle and Tulla, around Sixmilebridge-Kilmurry, in Ogonnelloe and along the Lough Derg/Shannon shore, this is the case. The latter region was an area of relatively good farming land and

⁷²¹ Landed Estates Database, www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie.

⁷²² McCourt, 'The Dynamic Quality of Irish Rural Settlement', p. 131

proto-industrial development, so the presence of clachans suggests that as industries declined, the existing population subdivided the land and spread further up the hillsides. O'Sullivan and Downey found a concentration of clachan settlements along the western bank of the Shannon and on the edge of Sliabh Bearnagh, indicating the expansion of land into marginal areas.⁷²³ But the rise in numbers may not have been simply due to an increase in the indigenous population alone, because the land confiscations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have led to a 'westerly dislocation of native people, especially the landowning freeholders', which would have increased the numbers of resident native freeholders and led to the rapid fragmentation of the existing small properties.'⁷²⁴ A further influx of dispossessed freeholders could have occurred as farms in east Galway were consolidated into grazing ranches from 1710 - 1730. The Tithe Applotment Books show surnames from Galway and Tipperary such as Burke, Hynes and Hayes in Feakle, Tulla, Killurane and Kilseily, O'Meara on the eastern shore of Lough Graney, and Kennedy in Killaloe and Feakle. Kellys are scattered across Killaloe, Tuamgraney, Feakle, Tulla, Killurane, Kilseily, Clonlea, Killokenedy and Kilfinaghta.

Clachan settlements often occurred in close proximity to rivers and lakes where seasonal flooding of callows 'encouraged the communal use of land even after the infield patches had been rearranged and enclosed'.⁷²⁵ Such marginal terrain describes much of the territory alongside the Shannon and around the rivers and lakes of these parishes. If Tulla's population had been swollen by dispossessed tenants from Galway in the previous century, and by further migrants from the grazing farms of Tipperary and Galway, it would go some way to explain the high number of clachans along the Lough Derg shore. John Featherston's response to the Devon Commission points out the fact that such land was very fertile. In the region of Mountshannon, beside Lough Derg on the Clare/Galway border, he stated that: 'When the great waters are let off from those flats, they immediately give a crop without any calcareous matter being brought. They are what we call alluvial lands, and the oat

⁷²³ Muiris O'Sullivan and Liam Downey, 'Post-Medieval Fieldsapes', in *Archaeology Ireland*, vol. 22, no. 1 (Spring, 2008), p. 37, available at www.jstor.org, 11 July 2013.

⁷²⁴ McCourt, 'The Dynamic Quality of Irish Rural Settlement', p. 140.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-2.

they grow is so very fine, and of a rich gold colour, that if we could possibly get it down to the lowlands we sell it freely for seed oats'.⁷²⁶

Comparing townlands and their settlements in Tulla nevertheless requires caution because not all of the barony's upland settlements are typical. In the case of Dromandoora, on the northern border of Feakle parish, (Fig. 61) a clachan settlement seems to have developed where populations expanded into upland areas and an infield-outfield pattern can clearly be discerned, with small fields around the houses for tillage and larger grazing fields, some of which appear to be in strips, at a distance. No statistics on joint tenancies are available for Dromandoora townland, but in neighbouring Killanena where the percentage of joint tenancies was high, the majority of the population was clustered in the vicinity of the church and fair ground. Killanena cannot then be classified as a clachan settlement, although some of the adjacent clusters of buildings appear to have infield-outfield characteristics.

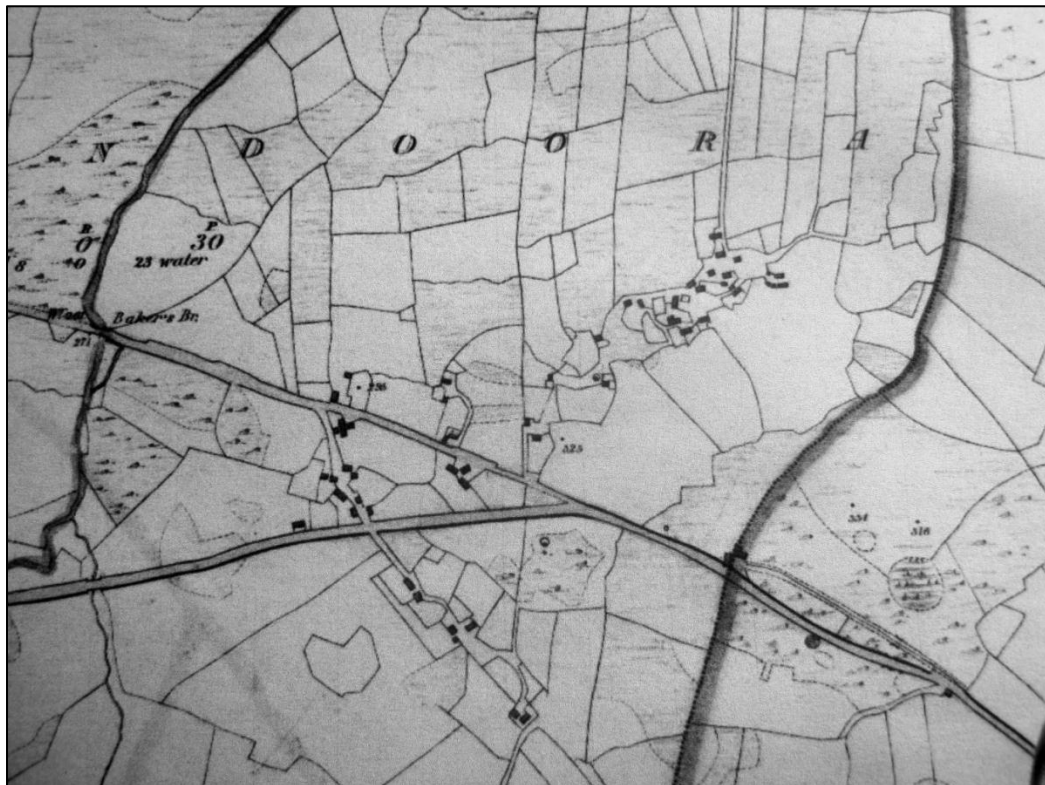


Figure 61: Clachan settlement, Dromandoora, Feakle parish, 1842⁷²⁷

⁷²⁶ Devon Commission, Vol. II, p. 673.

⁷²⁷ Ordnance Survey 1842 6-inch map.

Where farms had become too small to be further subdivided, high rents on cultivated land drove tenants to reclaim marginal land where the rents were cheap – at least until the land became productive and was taken into the rental base.⁷²⁸ In Clare, a ‘vast quantity’ of mountain land was reclaimed ‘that was heretofore waste... the tenants do it themselves’.⁷²⁹ The ‘massive reclamation, intense subdivision and expansion into previously unsettled areas’, was possible because the potato thrived on the poor, damp soils of marginal areas.⁷³⁰ It was also an excellent crop for the cultivation of new tillage land because the roots and tubers broke up the ground, and the fertiliser – either manure or burning of the old grass thatch – improved the soil.

McCourt’s map of clachan distribution (Fig. 60) is small-scale, but the 1842 OS maps provide a good idea of clachan distribution, although the map does not differentiate between a dwelling house or a farm building, so that a small cluster of buildings may be a large farm or a small hamlet. Cawley notes that a clachan is designated by a minimum of six buildings, and the usual practice is to allow for the presence of at least one farm building or outhouse with each dwelling.⁷³¹

Leases and tenancies

To explore the issues associated with population density, farming and clachan formation further, we will firstly examine the economic problems faced by the farming community, and then look at the size of farms and whether they were leased by a single tenant or a group of partners. The ownership of townlands, the absence or residence of the landowner, and the leasehold preferences of the landowner or his agent, are crucial factors and throughout this section I will reflect on the policies of land ownership and their effect on the tenancy. It will be seen that farm size alone is not an indicator of poverty, because in many cases, land was leased by partnership tenants so that each tenant and his family had a proportionately smaller share of land.

⁷²⁸ Connell, ‘The Colonisation of Waste Land in Ireland’, p. 50.

⁷²⁹ Shaw Mason, *Statistical Account of Ireland*, p. 1,499; Report of the Devon Commission (1845), cited in Connell, ‘The Colonisation of Waste Land in Ireland’, pp. 46 & 51.

⁷³⁰ Whelan, ‘Settlement Patterns in the West of Ireland’, p. 60.

⁷³¹ Cawley, ‘Aspects of Continuity and Change’, p. 113.

From 1793 onwards, wartime inflation led to higher rents and many labourers found their wages dropping in comparison. For many, women's work in spinning and weaving made the difference between poverty and comfort.⁷³² In some areas, O Gráda notes, farmers must have done well between 1780 and 1814, as grain prices rose by 9 per cent and meat and butter prices by 127 per cent.⁷³³ Chapter Two described how, in Tulla, and Clare in general, very little livestock and butter went to supply the overseas provisions market, with most beef and butter being sold at local markets or to Ennis and Limerick butchers. Evidence for the processing of meat is shown by the existence of a slaughterhouse in Ennis in 1787, although a Shambles Lane had existed since 1752 in the town.⁷³⁴

Estimated rents per acre rose during the same period by 60 per cent, though where a lease agreement did not control rents, they sometimes rose much higher.⁷³⁵ Although some rentals do exist from the period, there are none available for Tulla and the O'Brien rentals for Bunratty and Inchiquin are in very poor condition so it has not been possible to establish rent levels in the adjacent baronies.⁷³⁶ This rise principally benefitted landlords, but tenant-farmers, who were subject to higher rents themselves and high fines on renewal of leases, could recoup their costs through subletting and minimising their labour costs.⁷³⁷ Some sub-tenants paid their rents in labour and from the sale of their potato crop, and in good years they made enough for the rent and could keep a pig, which could be sold in years of poor harvests, when the pig was known as 'the gentleman who paid the rent'. Labourers with no lease rented a small plot under the conacre system, where they were provided with a manured plot for one season to grow sufficient potatoes for their own use, but they had to find cash work to pay their rents. If the crop failed, they lost their food supply.

Rents of conacre land were frequently inflated above the average.⁷³⁸ In 1808, Dutton noted that wages for regular employment in Clare were 8d. to 10d. a day, but wages for harvest were from 10d. to 1s. 1d., though regular wages could be as low as 6½d.

⁷³² Cullen, 'Economic Development, 1750-1800', in *A New History of Ireland*, pp. 170-1.

⁷³³ Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History*, p. 35.

⁷³⁴ Brían Ó Dálaigh, *Historic Towns Atlas: Ennis* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2012), pp. 12-19.

⁷³⁵ Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History*, pp. 28-29.

⁷³⁶ N.L.I. MSS 14, 800, available on microfilm at Clare Local Studies Library, Ennis.

⁷³⁷ Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the Famine*, p. 114 & 119.

⁷³⁸ McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, p. 119-20.

In comparison, wages for artisans, carpenters or thatchers for example, ranged from 3s. 3d. to 4s. 4d. per day, and expert ploughmen 3s. 3d. per day. In some cases, labourers could get a plot of potato ground with a cabin for as little as 6d., though 'Mr Singleton of Quinville pays his cottiers only 5d., through the year, but they have bargains of ground, that make their wages at least equal to 10d. ... Frequently those, who have the highest nominal wages, are charged enormously high rents for their potatoe ground, and perhaps a wretched cabin, that they build themselves.'⁷³⁹

To put this into perspective, the 'grass of a cow' could cost from three to five guineas per year and a cabin and an acre of potato-ground from four pounds upwards.⁷⁴⁰ A cabin and an acre of potato garden at £4 per year would therefore mean that a labourer would have to work approximately three days a week to cover the rent, though not the cost of grazing for a cow.

By 1845, conacre land was 'so scarce as not to meet the demand', and James Molony of Kiltannon gave the opinion that agrarian outrages stemmed from the lack of conacre land. He went on the state that the price of conacre varied from £3. 10s to £8 per Irish acre, depending on whether the land was manured or not, and that stubble ground which 'used to be given rent free and ready ploughed, to persons who had dung to put upon it', now cost £2. 10s per acre.⁷⁴¹ Yet even in a year of good harvests, the conacre system meant a desperately poor living. Eiriksson calculates that in the six years prior to the Great Famine, a labourer paying £6 per year conacre rent for three quarters of an acre could expect approximately 1,400 stone of potatoes, valued at £17. 6s.⁷⁴² He would have to pay £2 rent for a cottage and garden, plus about £1 for fuel. The average wage for a male labourer between 1839-45 was £8 per year, based upon 240 days of work, plus around £2 per year from his wife's and children's labour raising poultry or young stock and other waged work. So the family's total income exceeded their outgoings by £1 a year, and that excess income had to pay for clothes and 'luxuries' such as salt, tobacco, tea and alcohol.⁷⁴³

⁷³⁹ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 182.

⁷⁴⁰ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, pp. 185-6. A pound was 20s., a guinea 21s.

⁷⁴¹ Devon Commission, Vol. II, p. 532.

⁷⁴² Eiriksson valued the crop at 3d. per stone, the average market price between 1839-45. Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, p. 127.

⁷⁴³ Ibid.

There were other taxes, the principal one of which was the tithe, a payment made to the established Church for the upkeep of the churches and clergy. An Act of 1823 (4 George IV, cap. 99) substituted the payment of a set rate of tithe in place of the former system of payment in kind, and the Tithe Applotment Books were the result of a valuation of titheable land in each parish in order to implement the Act.⁷⁴⁴ Prior to the Act, tithes varied widely between parishes and indeed neighbouring farms. Both the crops and the manner of payment had been subject to ‘local custom’ and where a detailed record of such customs is no longer available ‘it would be unwise to make any assessment of the relationship between production and tithe’.⁷⁴⁵ Indeed, Dr. James Warren Doyle, who had been appointed Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin in 1819, gave evidence to the Select Committee on Tithes in 1832 to the effect that tithes could be set at more than a tenth of the produce of an acreage, but elsewhere ‘it was not half as much’.⁷⁴⁶ Prior to 1825, pasture had been exempt from tithes and it was only payable on tillage.⁷⁴⁷

The Tithe Applotment Books (1825-7) do not state whether tithed land was laid to cereals, flax or potatoes, but tithes varied widely across and within districts. Dutton does not provide figures for all parishes, but in the ‘mountains of Killaloe’ it was 6s. or 7s. for oats, barley and flax, but flax was not commonly tithed in other parishes.⁷⁴⁸ In the parish of Feakle, tithes varied from as little as 2d. for under one acre in Lackarunoe (Laccaroe) to 3s. 1d. in Ranahane (Reanahumana) for the same sized plot. Land classified as ‘mountain land’ was titheable, but bog was not.⁷⁴⁹ The higher value of land in Ranahane, an upland townland in northern Sliabh Aughty, is somewhat surprising, because it seems unlikely that uplands would be more fertile or crops more valuable than in lowland townlands such as Lackarunoe.

Tithes in Ogonnelloe parish were overall considerably higher than in Feakle and were generally set rates regardless of the size of a holding. Commonage in

⁷⁴⁴ R. C. Simington, ‘The Tithe Composition Applotment Books’, in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 10 (July, 1941), available at www.jstor.org, 30 January 2014, p. 295

⁷⁴⁵ Roger Kain, ‘Tithe as an Index of Pre-Industrial Agricultural Production’, in *The Agricultural History Review*, vol. 27, no. 2 (1979), available at www.jstor.org, 30 January 2014, p. 78.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁷ Sean O’Brien, ‘The Tithe War, 1831-38’, in *Carloviana* (Old Carlow Society, 1993-4 issue), pp. 4-10.

⁷⁴⁸ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 187.

⁷⁴⁹ Tithe Applotment Books, Parish of Feakle, 1827.

Rahinebeg, for example, was set at 5s. per plot, although plots varied from half an acre to three and a half acres. Land other than mountain or commonage in Rahinebeg for tenants with a second plot of mountain or commons was 18s. regardless of acreage. Tenants owning a single plot in Ballyheefy paid between £1 5s. and £1 8s., although the smallest plot was half an acre and the largest thirteen. One tenant leasing two plots of an acre each paid tithes on both, £1 8s. for one plot and £1 10s. for the second which was listed as 'near the road'.⁷⁵⁰

From the mid eighteenth century onwards, clergy avoided disputes with their parishioners by 'farming out' tithes to a proctor who collected them on the church's behalf, and as the parishioners were often the proctor's under-tenants he was more successful in extracting the payments. Abuses were common, with the proctor frequently passing on much less than he collected to the clergy.⁷⁵¹ Additionally, tithes leases were subject to a 'new spirit of business and calculation' where they were bought and sold to the highest bidder, causing prices to rise.⁷⁵²

Inconsistencies between parishes, and even within the same townlands, illustrate the arbitrary and unfair nature of tithe assessment, which was one of the chief grievances of the Rightboys in 1785-8.⁷⁵³ It is sufficient to say that where tithes and local cesses were high, a labouring family would have been very hard pressed to pay rent and grazing as well, so few families could have afforded to run a cow. Having to pay tithes on potato ground meant that the cottier lived very close to the edge of destitution and the system only worked all the time the potato harvest was good.

Mokyr, writing on standards of living in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, states that the 'critical farm threshold' for an income above subsistence level was twenty acres, and that in regions where cottage industries declined and a rising population led to increased subdivision of small farms and an increase in potato tillage, living standards declined sharply.⁷⁵⁴ Evidence given to the Devon

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., Ballyheefy townland.

⁷⁵¹ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 188.

⁷⁵² Maurice J. Bric, 'The Tithe System in Eighteenth Century Ireland', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C: Archaeology, History, Linguistics, Literature, vol. 860 (1986), pp. 272-3; Maurice J. Bric, 'Priests, Parsons and Politics: The Rightboy Protest in County Cork, 1785-1788', in *Past and Present*, vol. 100 (August 1983), p. 106.

⁷⁵³ Bric, 'Priests, Parsons and Politics'.

⁷⁵⁴ Joel Mokyr, 'Poor and Getting Poorer', p. 215.

Commission stated that between 6.5 and 10.5 Irish acres were required to support a family of five.⁷⁵⁵ The Irish acre, the measurement which was given for all of county Clare, was 1.62 statute acres, so the Devon Commission figures equate to 10 and 17 statute acres, rather less than Mokyr's critical farm size.⁷⁵⁶ The difference in these two acreages is significant. In a good year, a family could undoubtedly produce sufficient potatoes and milk to feed themselves and their pigs on ten statute acres of improved land, and in fact they could survive on as little as an acre of good potato land. But if the potato crop failed or the pigs died then the family lapsed immediately into dire poverty or were unable to pay their rent, whereas a farmer with twenty acres had other crops and livestock for food and for sale at market if one crop failed. In the far west and north-west of Ireland, 'subdivision was general, the land generally poor, and dire poverty widespread,' leading to highly congested regions.⁷⁵⁷

Fig. 62 shows how Clare compares to neighbouring counties in its proportion of large and small landholders on the eve of the Famine. In Galway there was a bigger proportion of very small cottiers than in the other counties, and in Tipperary, where there was the greatest acreage of good grazing land, the number of big farms was higher, though larger farmers and graziers were still outnumbered by smallholders and cottiers.

⁷⁵⁵ Devon Commission, Vol. 1, pp. v-702.

⁷⁵⁶ P. M. Austin Bourke, 'Notes on Some Agricultural Units of Measurement in Use in Pre-Famine Ireland', in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 14, no. 55 (Mar., 1965), pp. 236-240.

⁷⁵⁷ Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the Famine*, p. 116.

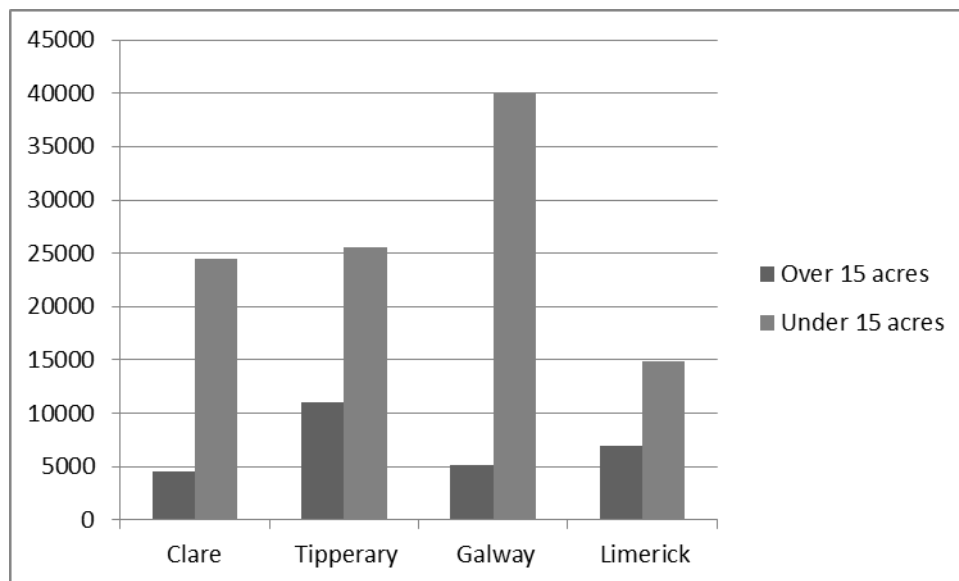


Figure 62: Farm acreages in 1841⁷⁵⁸

On the face of it, Clare appears to correspond to the Munster rather than Connacht pattern, but when we examine the data on a barony and parish level, we see a very different picture.

To examine each townland in the Tithe Applotment Books for Tulla would be too large a project for this thesis, but comparison of townlands in two different parishes reveals much about the differences between farm size and tenancy styles. Feakle is a large upland parish where only two-fifths of the land was good arable and pastureland, the rest being ‘coarse mountain pasture, waste and bog’.⁷⁵⁹ Ogonnelloe is a much smaller parish beside Lough Derg where land quality was considerably better, being partly pastureland but mostly tillage, with no bog.⁷⁶⁰ Entries in the Tithe Applotment Books vary between parishes, with some showing a breakdown of land quality and others simply dividing the land into mountain, bog, commonage and tillage. Feakle and Ogonnelloe fall into the latter category.

Figure 63 shows the percentage of large and small holdings in each parish.

⁷⁵⁸ Adapted from Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the Famine*, p. 117.

⁷⁵⁹ Lewis, *County Clare: A History and Topography*, p. 48.

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

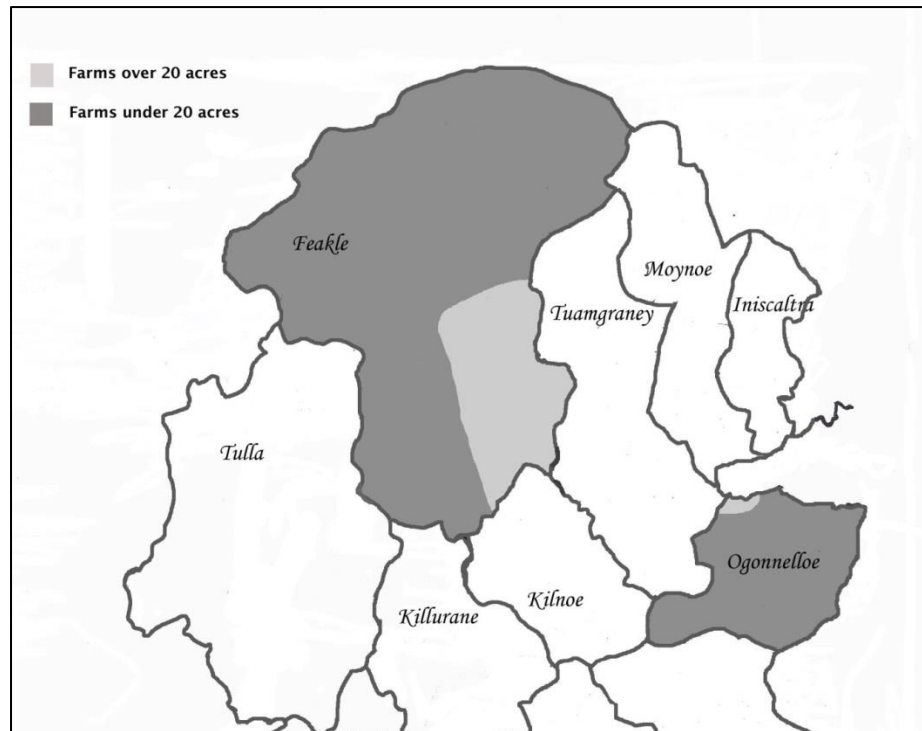


Figure 63: Proportion of viable farms, Feakle and Ogonnelloe, 1825-7⁷⁶¹

In Ogonnelloe, 95 per cent of holdings were below Mokyr's 'critical threshold' of 20 acres. Feakle appears to have a greater proportion of viable farms, with approximately 31 per cent of holdings over 20 acres, but this is misleading because the larger farms in Feakle included very marginal mountain. Moreover, when we consider the breakdown of tenancies on larger farms, it is clear that large acreages usually corresponded to joint or partnership tenancies so that the acreage per tenant remained small.

Fig. 64 demonstrates that although Feakle had a far larger number of farms of over twenty acres, the majority of these were shared between two or more tenants. Of the very large acreages, only eleven farms of over fifty acres were held by a single tenant, but these were in townlands such as Knockbeha where the land was extremely poor.

⁷⁶¹ Tithe Applotment Books, Feakle and Ogonnelloe parishes.

	Feakle	Ogonnelloe
<i>Total farms per parish</i>	509	429
Total farms over 20 acres	159	19
2 tenants	23	5
3 tenants	25	3
4 tenants	19	
5 tenants	5	
6 tenants	7	
7 tenants	2	
8 tenants	3	
9 tenants	1	
11 tenants	1	
12 tenants	1	
15 tenants	1	
	88	8

Figure 64: Partnership tenancies in Feakle and Ogonnelloe, 1825-27⁷⁶²

Examination of the townlands in which partnership tenancies occur shows that multiple tenants were common in only some townlands or part of townlands. Lackaroongarry had the highest rate of joint tenancies, with seven out of the ten holdings being leased by 3-11 tenants. It does not appear on the OS 1842 map, but according to the Tithe Applotment books it comprised the two townlands of Gortavrulla and Kildavin. No landlord is listed in the 1821 Freeholders list, but Griffith's Valuation gives the landlord as Major E. H. Pocklington in 1855.⁷⁶³ Pocklington was from a Nottinghamshire family, but how he came by the land is unknown and Weir does not show him as being connected to any of the gentry houses in Tulla, so he was certainly an absentee. In other townlands, such as Ayle, none of the holdings were under joint tenancy. One other factor should be mentioned, that in a number of cases, several tenants sharing the same family name held separate acreages, so that although an individual might have a small plot of

⁷⁶² Tithe Applotment Books, Feakle parish.

⁷⁶³ Richard Griffith, *Griffith's Valuation* (1855), available at Clare Local Studies centre, Ennis.

land, an extended family might lease a reasonable amount of good and bad land between them.

Comparison of the numbers of partnership tenancies with the location of clachan settlements, using both McCourt's map (Fig. 60) and the OS 6-inch map (1842), indicates that there was a general correlation between the incidence of partnership tenancies and the distribution of clachan settlements, confirming Cawley's and Aalen's observations that clachan development was related to a familial and communal farming regime.⁷⁶⁴ This appeared to be the case in the small townland of Annagh, in the south of Feakle parish, where of the twelve holdings, eight were held by groups of two to four tenants. Five of these holdings listed two plots leased to the same tenants, one of which was bog, commonage or 'bottom land', that is, lying beside a watercourse, in this case a small lough to the north of the townland. The 1842 Ordnance Survey map shows farmhouses with outhouses built in non-nucleated clusters. In the neighbouring townland of Derrynahielia, where the majority of holdings are of less than ten acres, the townland consists of a considerable central area of marginal rising land, and beside the Cloghaun River the land was described as 'liable to flood'.⁷⁶⁵ It may be then that Annagh held the core area and the population expanded into the more marginal land to the southwest.⁷⁶⁶ Both townlands show evidence of small clachan settlements, conforming to Whelan's description of such settlements as 'viable, functional adaptations to a specific set of ecological and demographic circumstances'.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁴ Cawley, 'Aspects of Continuity and Change', p. 109; Aalen, *Man and the Landscape in Ireland*, p. 183.

⁷⁶⁵ Ordnance Survey 6 inch maps, available at Clare Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁷ Kevin Whelan, 'Settlement Patterns in the West of Ireland in the Pre-Famine Period', in Timothy Collins, ed., *Decoding the Landscape*, 2nd revised edition (NUIG: Centre for Landscape Studies, 1997), p.65.

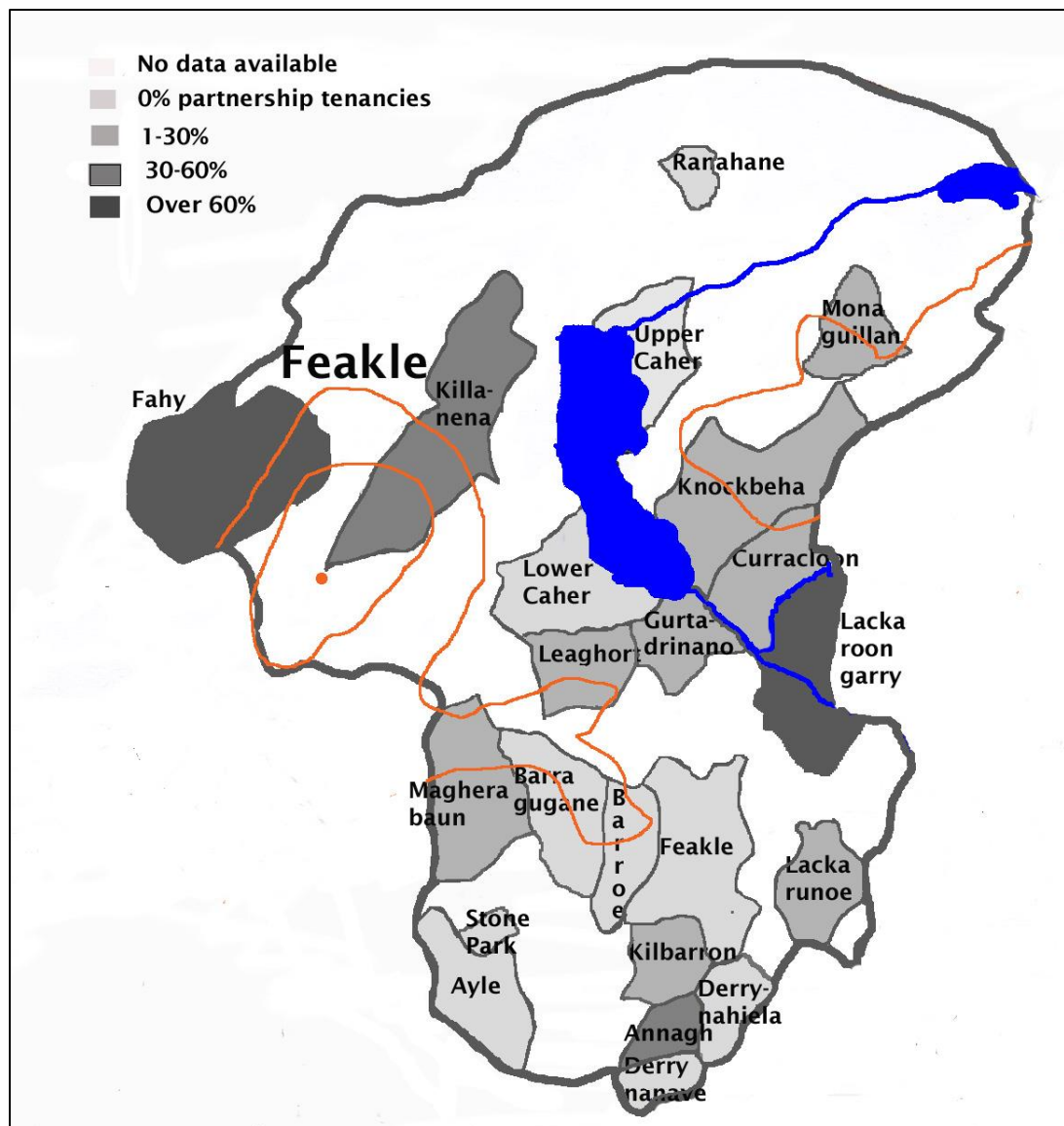


Figure 65: Percentage of partnership tenancies in Feakle parish, 1827⁷⁶⁸

The list of Freeholders for Tulla barony in 1821 lists the landlord for most of the townlands in the Tithe Applotment records, so it is possible to correlate absentee landowners with townlands where there was a high number of partnership tenancies.⁷⁶⁹ Each of the townlands where more than sixty per cent of the tenancies were held in partnership was controlled by an absentee landlord. In Killanena, an upland townland where over sixty per cent of holdings were held jointly, the landlord was George Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont, an absentee, and as we saw earlier the

⁷⁶⁸ Tithe Applotment Books, Feakle parish.

⁷⁶⁹ 1821 List of Freeholders, Co. Clare, available at www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/genealogy, 15 July 2013.

landlord in Lackaroongarry was also an absentee.⁷⁷⁰ By 1803 most of Wyndham's leases were for 31 years, and clauses restricting sublettings were 'mostly ignored'. His lands were leased to middlemen, whereupon 'short-term sub-letting and subdivision proliferated'.⁷⁷¹

In the next category, townlands with 30-60 per cent partnership tenancies, it was frequently the case that although the landlords were resident in Tulla barony, they were not resident in Feakle parish. For example, Thomas Arthur, who controlled the townlands of Faha and Curracloon, lived at Glanomera in Killokenedy; James Molony of Tulla parish controlled Knockbeha, John O'Callaghan of Kilgory in Kilnoe controlled Magherabane, and the landlord of Annagh was Henry Bouchier of Elm Hill, Kiltenanlea. This suggests that the landlords' agents were subleasing to middlemen.

In some cases, it is clear that single tenancies were the preference of the landlord. For example, the MacNamaras owned 596 acres in Ayle, comprising most if not all of the townland, and all thirteen holdings were single tenancies.⁷⁷² Some 100 acres in Lower Caher (Caher Rice) were owned by the O'Haras, Frances and her son Robert, who had recently built Caher House and planted an extensive landscaped park.⁷⁷³ Three of the nine holdings were held by two tenants and the remainder by single tenants, including Barry O'Hara, the family's agent.

In Ogonnelloe, the pattern was overwhelmingly of small plots held by a single tenant. Only six tenants held farms of over fifty acres. Two of these were unspecified as to land quality. Of the others, Major Purdon held two separate leases on woodland of sixty acres each. The two remaining farms were on marginal land, one farm of eighty-eight acres, of which eighty acres were classified as unprofitable, and the other farm comprising two hundred and eight acres, of which only eight

⁷⁷⁰ P.H.A. MSS 3413-345, maps of the estates of the Earl of Egremont, 1842, available at West Sussex County Record Office, Chichester.

⁷⁷¹ Matthew Lynch, 'Colonel George Wyndham, 1st Baron Leconfield (1787-1869) and his estate in Clare', in Matthew Lynch and Patrick Nugent, eds., *Clare: History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008), p. 296.

⁷⁷² Ó Dálaigh, 'Poet of a Single Poem', p. 122; Tithe Applotment Books, Parish of Feakle.

⁷⁷³ Landed Estates Database, available at www.landedestates.nuigalway.ie; Dutton, *Statistical Survey of Co. Clare*, pp. 272-277.

were classified as profitable.⁷⁷⁴ The fact that the entire parish was owned by one landlord, and the relative uniformity of tenancies, strongly suggests that the controlling factor when considering farms and types of lease was the landlord himself. The Purdon family had close ties to Limerick but were resident at Tinerana, where Lewis writes that they owned the entire parish apart from 97 acres and supported three schools and a Sunday school.⁷⁷⁵ Major Purdon's place of abode is listed as Tinerana House on the 1821 list of Clare freeholders and he appears in local records such as the Tithe Applotment Books and Griffiths Valuation.⁷⁷⁶ Either William C. Purdon or Major Purdon are listed as landlords for each parish in Ogonnelloe in the 1821 Freeholders' List.⁷⁷⁷ Any conclusions regarding their rental practice is based upon the available evidence, as no records of the Purdons' estates have survived.

In contrast to Ogonnelloe, where the Purdons retained ownership of the entire parish throughout this period, Feakle's landlords varied between townlands and they were frequently absentees. Where landlords were absent, and ownership changed from townland to townland, as in Feakle, then lease types varied, most probably according to the preferences of the chief tenant or agent. Ogonnelloe had a consistent pattern of landholding and farm size which was almost certainly due to the policies of its landholding family. But this does not indicate that tenants under a resident landlord were better off. The following map shows the proportion of very small holdings in each parish, and we can see that almost half of the holdings in Ogonnelloe were below 5 acres, a much higher proportion than in Feakle.

⁷⁷⁴ Tithe Applotment Books, Parish of Ogonnelloe.

⁷⁷⁵ Lewis, *County Clare; A History and Topography*, p. 113.

⁷⁷⁶ Tithe Applotment Books, 1827; Griffith's Valuation, 1855; List of Freeholders for the year 1829, all available at the Clare Local Studies Centre, Ennis.

⁷⁷⁷ *1821 List of Freeholders, Co. Clare*, available at clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/genealogy, 15 July 2013.

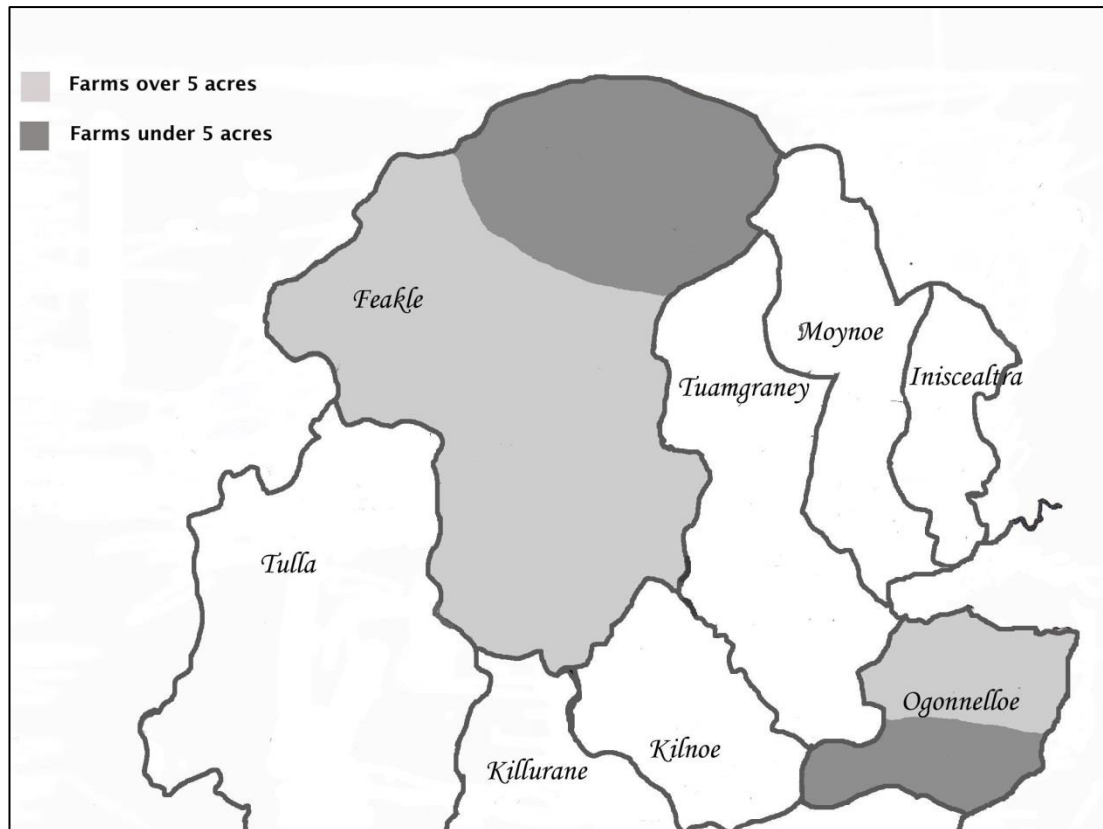


Figure 66: Proportion of farms under 5 acres in Feakle and Ogonnelloe, 1825-7

In Feakle, where partnership tenancies were much more common, farms over the ‘critical threshold’ of twenty acres were also more common, so it is likely that families pooled their resources. Tulla Lower, which consisted of the parishes of Clonlea, Killaloe, Killokenedy, Killurane, Kilseily, Kiltenanlea, O’Briensbridge, and Ogonnelloe, had a mortality rate of 39 per cent during the Great Famine, higher than the Tulla Upper parishes of Iniscealtra, Feakle, Kilnoe, Moynoe, Tuamgraney, and Tulla at 24 per cent.⁷⁷⁸ It appears, then, that families on estates where the landlord was an absentee but where a group of tenants could rent a higher acreage in partnership, were better off than on an estate where land was subdivided into single tenancies of extremely small holdings.

We will now look in more detail at the location and developments of settlements in Ogonnelloe, where McCourt locates the majority of clachans. Fig. 67 shows a mixture of settlement patterns in Ogonnelloe. In Ballyhurly, on the left of the map,

⁷⁷⁸ In 1823, Tulla and Bunratty were both divided into Upper and Lower baronies. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. xxxvi.

there was a small settlement with a similar pattern of small infield areas and larger outfields, with another in the centre of Ballinagleragh. There were also scattered individual dwellings, often located beside a road, suggesting new settlement forms. Buchanan points out that in the early 1830s different methods were being brought into use in order to reform rundale farming: one method involved the dissolution of clachan settlements and the creation of new individual farms, and the other involved farms being created from the bottom of valleys to the margins of the hills, with ‘houses forming a loosely woven ribbon of settlement on a road which ran along the valley’, such as we see in Fig. 67.⁷⁷⁹ The townlands of Ballyhurly and Ballinagleragh are situated beside the shore of Lough Derg, but their southern edges rise towards the central heights of Caher Mountain and its smaller outliers. Lewis mentions that an ‘excellent new road’ running beside Lough Derg, avoiding the old hill-road through the centre of the parish, had recently been constructed, but whether this was a presentment road or funded by Major Purdon, is not stated.⁷⁸⁰ Since Ballinagleragh and Ballyhurly are linked to the ‘new’ road, it is likely that the settlements grew up in that location, as Buchanan suggests, as a result of better transport links.

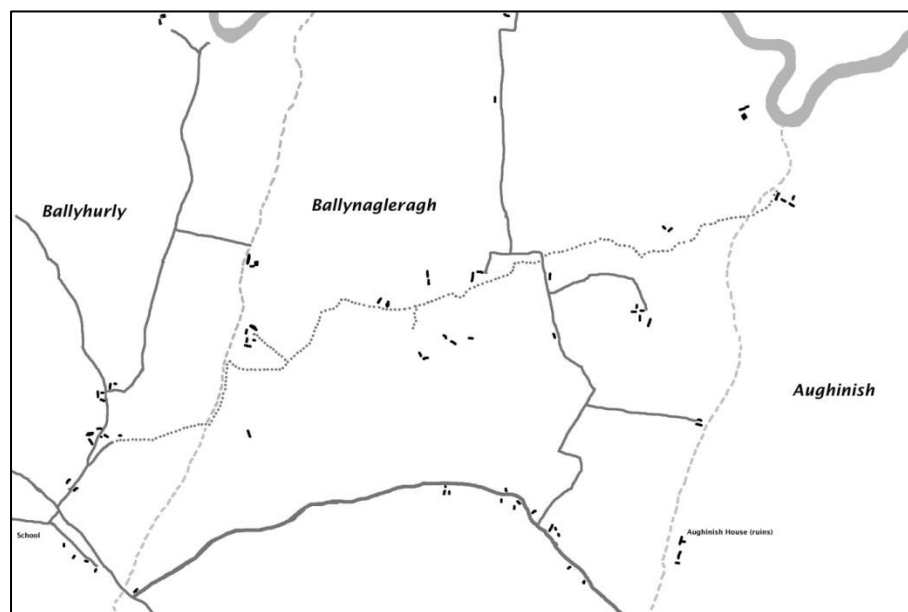


Figure 67: Settlements in Ogonnelloe, 1842⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁹ Buchanan, ‘Rural Settlement in Ireland’, in Stephens and Glasscock, *Irish Geographical Studies in Honour of E. Estyn Evans*, p. 153.

⁷⁸⁰ Lewis, *County Clare: A History and Topography*, p. 113.

⁷⁸¹ Taken from the 1842 OS Six-Inch map.

Hely Dutton states that the Sliabh Bearnagh mountains between Killaloe and Broadford, to the south of Ogonnelloe, were,

The great scene of improvement... (land) is usually let in bulk to tenants, who have improved ground adjoining; they generally divide them into small farms, and let them at an advanced rate after they have improved them; for which purpose they commonly burn the surface ... and lime or marle, and plant potatoes; then a crop of barley for the private stills, after that a crop of oats; by this time they have accumulated manure, and begin to plant their potatoes in drills.⁷⁸²

It is difficult to reconcile Dutton's 'great scene of improvement' with the division of land into smaller and smaller farms. Dutton seems to be implying that a single tenant leased a large acreage, improved it and then sublet it. The Tithe Applotment Books certainly verify the prevalence of small holdings in the Ogonnelloe region, and as noted, to a far greater extent than in Feakle, these holdings were individual tenancies. Landlords were praised by the writers of the Statistical Surveys for their efforts in terminating partnership leases and rundale farms. Moreover, land previously rented to partnership tenants was being divided into individual farms of ten to twelve Irish acres.⁷⁸³ This more or less corresponds to the 10-17 statute acres given to the Devon Commission as necessary to support a family of five, somewhat less than Mokyr's 'critical threshold' of twenty statute acres.⁷⁸⁴

I suggest therefore that, using an expanding network of roads, the Purdons encouraged the expansion of small individual farms rather than larger farms under partnership leases. There is no evidence of adherence to the Devon Commission's recommendations on farm size because, as we saw, Ogonnelloe had a high proportion of farms under five acres. Clearly, despite the Purdons' provision of schools on their estate, and their adherence to the abolition of partnership tenancies,

⁷⁸² Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 296.

⁷⁸³ Isaac Weld, *Statistical Survey of County Roscommon* (1832), and *Commission of Enquiry into the ... Occupation of Land in Ireland*, Vol. II, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XX (Dublin, 1845), in Cawley, 'Aspects of Continuity and Change', p. 117.

⁷⁸⁴ Devon Commission, Vol. II, pp. v-702.

any commitment they had towards 'improvement' was irrelevant to better living standards on their estate while the holdings were so small as to be unviable.

Reclamation was fervently advocated by Arthur Young and later Dutton, but there were problems in carrying it out. Landlords generally were reluctant to expend their profits on the digging and production of marl and lime and where roads were poor there would have been difficulties with transport.⁷⁸⁵ Poorer rural dwellers, too, found that where they did reclaim and improve land, they may not have become any better off. Rising rents drove cottiers to turn their potato fields over to a rent-paying crop like cereals and to plant potatoes higher up the mountains or on bogland. But as this land became more productive, it too was added to the farm rental, and potato ground spread even further uphill or across bogland.⁷⁸⁶ Dutton commented that, 'Many advances towards improvement have been made by small farmers [but] there is no improvement carried on by any person of property'.⁷⁸⁷ The Earl of Egremont, for instance, who owned a considerable amount of land in upper Feakle, gave 'no encouragement to resident improving tenants', though this was to change somewhat when the earl died in 1837 and was succeeded by his illegitimate son.⁷⁸⁸

There are several reasons why some of Tulla's landlords were reluctant to promote improvements. Firstly, the land was poor overall, which meant that almost all of a landlord's acreage required investment and commitment. The experiences of those such as Robert French of Monivea, who had become disillusioned by the late eighteenth century despite his efforts to establish linen manufacture and provide improved land and accommodation for his tenants, undoubtedly discouraged others.⁷⁸⁹ Ó Tuathaigh states that following the end of the war in 1812, a rising population and falling prices meant that many landlords 'closed their ears and eyes' and did not concern themselves with their estates once their rents had been paid.⁷⁹⁰ Those landlords who were resident found that there were difficulties overcoming the

⁷⁸⁵ Marl is a silt which is rich in nutrients and was much praised by Young and Dutton for its beneficial effect on soil fertility. It was commonly found in Tulla's rivers and lakes. Limestone was commonly burned, or slaked, in lime-kilns and spread on the land to neutralise excess acidity.

⁷⁸⁶ K. H. Connell, 'The Colonisation of Waste Land in Ireland, 1780-1845', in *The Economic History Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1950), p. 53.

⁷⁸⁷ Dutton, *Statistical Survey*, p. 288.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁷⁸⁹ Barnard, *Improving Ireland?*, pp. 167-8.

⁷⁹⁰ Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine*, p. 130.

cultural and religious differences between themselves and their tenants. Beyond the needs of subsistence, few small farmers and cottiers had the means or the incentive to improve and the cultural differences between themselves and their landlords led to a lack of trust.⁷⁹¹

Although the Poor Law Report of 1836 generally agreed that conditions for the poor had somewhat improved, their report nevertheless indicates that many of the labouring class lived in extreme poverty. The respondents to the Commissioners reported that in the parish of Feakle, one hundred families occupied fifty cabins, the second family usually being a married son, his wife and children. Father McKenny, PP of Feakle, asserted that the cabins of the local people were 'of the worst description; they are of mud, or stones heaped together without mortar. Bedding miserable; no furniture'.⁷⁹² His Protestant counterpart, Revd. John Kinahan, generally concurred, adding that although the furniture in labourers' cabins was very poor, they usually had reasonably comfortable beds with mattresses stuffed with their own chicken feathers and blankets woven by the women of the house.⁷⁹³ In Clonlea, Revd. John Carroll described the cottages as 'about seven feet to the eaves, and thatched, containing a kitchen and two small rooms, with miserable beds of straw'.⁷⁹⁴ But in Iniscealtra, Philip Reade, esquire, observed that although housing was of a very low standard, this was from 'habit rather than necessity', as one small farmer of his acquaintance gave each of his children £100 upon their marriages despite the fact that his house had no chimney until recent times.⁷⁹⁵ In fact, farmers tended to live modestly and unpretentiously, in a manner which belied their wealth.

In the southern parishes of Killaloe and Ogonnelloe, housing conditions were reported to be very bad, but in the central parishes of Kilseily, Killurane and Kilnoe the cabins were 'rather better' than in other parts of the barony, with most dwellings having a feather bed which formed part of the marriage portion. In Killaloe, the Shannon Navigation had provided employment to a number of labourers, but in Ogonnelloe, although people were 'improved in manners and customs', they were

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., p. 131.

⁷⁹² Rev. F. McKenny, *Reports from the Commissioners*, p. 160.

⁷⁹³ Revd. John Kinahan, *Reports from the Commissioners*, p. 160.

⁷⁹⁴ Revd. John Carroll, *Reports from the Commissioners*, p. 160

⁷⁹⁵ Philip Reade, Esq., *Reports from the Commissioners*, p. 160

not in any way materially better off.⁷⁹⁶ In Tuamgraney cabins were reportedly more comfortable than in Tulla, where the very poor often had neither bed nor bedclothes according to Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, and in both parishes the sharing of cabins between more than one family happened ‘in many instances’.⁷⁹⁷

Overall, the number of houses in the county had risen from 29,000 in 1813 to 44,870 in 1841, and of these houses, the majority consisted of very poor accommodation.⁷⁹⁸ The 1841 Census of Ireland shows housing standards both by barony and parish, and the graph below (Fig. 68) shows the percentages of third and fourth class houses across Clare. Third class houses had two to four rooms, but fourth class houses were one-room thatched dwellings, the ‘bothán scóir’ described by Danachair.⁷⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that Revd. Carroll’s description of housing in Clonlea, quoted above, referred to third class housing, not fourth class.

	Total no. inhabited houses	Percentage of third class houses	Percentage of fourth class houses
Ibrickan	3912	24%	63%
Moyarta	5942	26%	56%
Tulla Upper	4865	33%	53%
Bunratty Lower	3605	34%	53%
Inchiquin	3393	39%	50%
Corcomroe	4157	36%	48%
Burren	2056	22%	46%
Bunratty Upper	2916	41%	46%
Islands	4426	39%	43%
Tulla Lower	5032	43%	38%
Clonderlaw	4566	34%	31%

Figure 68: Percentage of third and fourth class houses by barony, 1841

At a barony level, housing conditions on the Atlantic coastal baronies of Ibrickan and Moyarta appear to have been very poor, closely followed by the mountainous uplands of Tulla. In Clonderlaw, however, where the corcass land was of much higher quality, poverty was not quite so extreme, and that is also the case in the

⁷⁹⁶ Captain Martin, J. P., Revd. William Butler, John Browne, Esq., J. P., and Rev. M. Clune, P. P., *Reports from the Commissioners*, p. 161.

⁷⁹⁷ Revd. T. B. Brady and Lieut. Col. Browne, J. P., in *Reports from the Commissioners*, p. 161.

⁷⁹⁸ Census of Ireland, 1813 and 1841.

⁷⁹⁹ C. Ó Danachair, ‘The Bothán Scóir’, in E. Rynne, ed., *North Munster Studies* (Limerick, 1967), pp. 489-94.

riverine lowlands of Tulla where, despite the high density of population, housing standards appear to have been higher. To obtain a clearer picture of conditions in Tulla, we must look at variations between parishes.

Parish	Total no. inhabited houses	Percentage of third class houses	Percentage of fourth class houses
<i>Tulla Lower</i>			
Clonlea	579	30%	58%
Killaloe	722	38%	58%
Kilseily	717	47%	42%
Killokennedy	596	43%	42%
Kiltenanlea	629	43%	41%
Killurane	478	50%	40%
Ogonnelloe	497	41%	35%
O'Brien's Bridge	814	51%	34%
Total		43%	38%
<i>Tulla Upper</i>			
Kilnoe	574	22%	70%
Tomgraney	1022	24%	63%
Moynoe	237	35%	56%
Feakle	1742	34%	46%
Tulla	1361	38%	44%
Inishcealtra	29	41%	38%
Total		33%	53%

Figure 69: Percentage of third and fourth class houses by parish, 1841

The parish figures for Clonlea indicate that despite Revd. Carroll's description of two-room cabins, in fact the majority of people lived in even more basic one-room dwellings. In Ogonnelloe, although population growth had been less, the Tithe Applotment books showed that a very high proportion of the population lived on very small and unviable farms and housing conditions were reported to be very bad, but the proportion of third and fourth class houses were lower than in the central parishes.

No Tithe Applotment statistics are available for Kilnoe, but in the parishes of Kilseily and Killurane, although population density was relatively high, land quality was generally better, and as the following table indicates, the proportion of people

subsisting on unviable farms in these parishes was smaller, reflecting the fact that more people lived in third class houses than fourth. It should be pointed out that partnership tenancies with three or more partners in Kilseily and Killurane were also rather high at approx. 20 per cent in each parish. Inishcealtra appears to have had a lower proportion of very poor houses, but it is important to put that into perspective: of the twenty-nine houses in the parish, twenty-three were third and fourth class. It is safe to say that the ‘rather better’ conditions in some parishes were relative and did not indicate much of an improvement.

Acres	Ogonnelloe	Killurane	Kilseily
Under 20	95%	71%	68%
Over 20	5%	29%	32%

Figure 70: Percentage of small farms, 1825

Respondents all agreed that the population continued to increase rapidly. James Molony published a pamphlet in 1831 in which he estimated that 80,000 families in Clare held an average of four acres, and the Census of 1841 found that 88 per cent of Clare farms were between one and fifteen acres.⁸⁰² James Molony’s comments are worth quoting in full because they neatly sum up the problems besetting Tulla barony on the eve of the Famine:

The result of the subdivision of farms has been to diminish the number of respectable farmers, and to reduce the value, or rather the amount, of farming capital; the diet of the poorer class is of a lower description, but their clothing is better and they are thought to have more furniture in their houses than formerly: if all those who want work could earn 8d. a day, and that some moral check could be devised to the rapid increase in population, I think there would be but little real misery; if government would assist in the formation of roads through the mountainous parts of the parish, and if wealthy landlords, such as Lord Egremont, would lay out a portion of their rent in improvement of the soil, I have no doubt of a most beneficial result; first by an ample return to the landlord for the capital thus employed; secondly, by the increased comfort of the lower orders; and thirdly, by the

⁸⁰² James Molony, *Considerations addressed to the landed proprietors of the county of Clare* (Limerick, 1831), p. 44; Census of Ireland, 1841.

peace of the country; but as matters are proceeding at present, I see an increasing demand for potato land, and of means of paying for what can be obtained. This *must* lead to disturbance.⁸⁰³

As Molony points out, the displacement of ‘respectable farmers’ by subdivision of farms into ‘potato land’ for an increasing number of very poor families, was the crucial problem. His recommendations for mountain roads and bog reclamation, and his swipes at the absentee Wyndham, were peripheral to the real issue of overpopulation and subdivision.

In 1837, six years after Molony’s indictment of the Wyndhams, Lord Egremont died and his illegitimate son Colonel George Wyndham inherited his Irish estates. Following a visit to Ireland to inspect his lands, the colonel planned to create a class of ‘respectable yeomanry’ by increasing the size of holdings, clearing cottiers and inept tenants and removing middlemen.⁸⁰⁴ A major aspect of this plan was the provision of compensation or assistance to tenants on small holdings who were willing to emigrate.⁸⁰⁵ According to Andrés Eiriksson, he was regarded by his contemporaries as ‘the most benevolent and far-sighted landowner in the county’.⁸⁰⁶ He offered grants for drainage, road-building and other improvements, and his account books list model farms, one of which was in Kildeema, or Kildeemon, in west Clare, which included a mill and tilery, or tile kiln, though these date from 1841-1850.⁸⁰⁷ Wyndham’s agent, Thomas Crowe, stated in his evidence to the Devon Commission that the aim was for every tenant to have a farm of twenty acres, but admitted that some farms which were re-let were as small as seven acres.⁸⁰⁸ Crowe claimed that over two hundred tenants ‘accepted the compensation’ – in other words, were evicted - and left their farms, mostly from the 1,700 acre estate at Lissofin, but he did not know how many actually emigrated. But the parish priest of Tulla, Fr. O’Shea, claimed that less than thirty families went to Canada under the scheme, the rest moving to Tulla village or squatting on the land.⁸⁰⁹ Wyndham and

⁸⁰³ James Molony, in *Reports from the Commissioners*, p. 163.

⁸⁰⁴ Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, pp. 122-4.

⁸⁰⁵ Flannan Enright, ‘Pre-Famine Reform and Emigration on the Wyndham Estate in Clare’, in *The Other Clare*, vol. 8, 1984, p. 33.

⁸⁰⁶ Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, pp. 122-4.

⁸⁰⁷ P.H.A. MSS 11,37-245; 11,296-928;11,940.

⁸⁰⁸ Devon Commission, Vol. I, pp. 459-461.

⁸⁰⁹ Enright, ‘Pre-Famine Reform and Emigration’, p. 34.

Crowe had evicted 150 tenants and their families by 1844, mostly from Lissofin but with some from the Colonel's other lands in Tulla.⁸¹⁰ Had the scheme worked, it could have provided viable farms of a reasonable acreage for the tenants remaining behind. But because so many tenants accepted compensation and then did not emigrate, and farms remained small, it was of limited success and poverty levels on the Wyndham lands remained high. Eventually, Wyndham's assisted emigration scheme saw 1,500 tenants emigrating to Canada from his Clare estates, but most left during the Great Famine.⁸¹¹

In Clonlea, despite its overall mountainous and boggy land quality, improvements had been begun by Mr. David Wilson of Belvoir and Mr. Studdert of Sion Ville. Sixty limekilns produced lime to improve acid land, and Wilson had part-funded a schoolhouse at Belvoir with a model farm attached, as well as 'planting', presumably with trees, an area of fifty acres.⁸¹² Wilson's model farm had three and a half acres of shallow poor land attached, and he claimed that by subsoiling and drainage good crops were being grown although the farm was in its infancy.⁸¹³ Kilfinaghta, in the Owengarney valley, was also described as being mostly mountain pasture and bog, but the remainder 'is in good quality, and chiefly under tillage'. Kilseily was described as having '7,600 acres of good arable land under an improving system of tillage'. Around Scariff agriculture had been 'much improved' and in Tulla 'the only waste land is mountain, which, in consequence of the improved lines of road now in progress, and the abundance of limestone, will be speedily reclaimed and brought into progress'.⁸¹⁴ But despite these efforts, county Clare remained one of the poorest counties in the country.

The markers of poverty in Tulla, then, included subdivision of farms, the development of clachans, and increasing growth and density of population. As the gulf between an 'improved' landscape of roads, Big Houses and demesnes and infrastructure such as police barracks, and the 'disimproved' landscape of small

⁸¹⁰ Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, pp. 122-4.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁸¹² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸¹³ Devon Commission, evidence of David J. Wilson, pp. 35 & 48.

⁸¹⁴ Lewis, *County Clare, a History and Topography.*, pp. 68, 100, 122-3.

farms and struggling smallholders, the 'improved' landscape became a target for the frustrations of the disenfranchised.

Agrarian unrest in Tulla from 1798- to 1845

Foster states that 'networks of resistance' which arose as a result of agrarian dissatisfaction were connected to the political crises which mobilized the United Irishmen.⁸¹⁵ However, George Lysaght of Ennistymon, whose house was attacked by the United Irishmen in January 1799, had been told by rebels that they were not interested in Republican ideals or the 'common name of Irishmen', but in the relief of poverty, oppression by landlords and a fear of eviction.⁸¹⁶ The Clare rebels seem to have espoused the Whiteboy typology of concern with concrete grievances and a notion of a 'moral economy' rather than that of the Ribbonmen, who were more anti-State and anti-Protestant as well as being concerned with tithes, rents and conacre.

In early 1798, 'outrages' and incidents of houghing (maiming and mutilation of livestock) had broken out across the barony of Tulla.⁸¹⁷ In February, the Tuamgraney cavalry searched the district after instances of unspecified troubles in Iniscealtra, finding pikes and other arms. Ten suspects were arrested, convicted and transported. At the same time, the Kiltannon cavalry in a sweep of Feakle parish uncovered thirty more caches of arms.⁸¹⁸ On 22 February, the Limerick Chronicle claimed that 'a number of sheep, the property of Mr. Lahiff and Mr. Stewart, have been houghed, as have also several sheep belonging to Mr. Peacock on the lands of Glandree' in the north of Tulla parish.⁸¹⁹ This was the same Sir Joseph Peacock, whose grant-aided tree plantation had been damaged by cattle (p. 157). Of the sixteen instances of houghing which were brought to the Spring Assizes in Ennis in 1799, five took place in Tulla barony: three in the parish of Tulla involving the mutilation of a total of fifty-nine sheep, four bullocks and four heifers; one in Feakle parish involving the stabbing and houghing of thirty-five sheep, and one in

⁸¹⁵ Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 225.

⁸¹⁶ Tony Downes, *The 1798 Rebellion in County Clare*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie, 11 March 2014.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁸ Keiran Sheedy, *The United Irishmen of County Clare* (Ennis: Clare Education Centre, 1998), p. 20.

⁸¹⁹ *Limerick Chronicle*, 22 February 1798.

Tuamgraney parish involving the houghing of thirteen sheep.⁸²⁰ The other Tulla notable affected was James Molony, whose cattle were ‘cut, stabbed and maimed’.⁸²¹ Altogether, across county Clare, 254 sheep and 40 cattle were mutilated during 1798-9.⁸²²

The choice of target suggests that some landowners were turning from tillage to cattle and this was causing local resentment. Disturbances in Clare did not end with the 1799 convictions. Agrarian conflict continued, escalating between 1815 and 1831, when the ‘Terry Alts’, or ‘Terrys’, were active in the county. The origin of the name is unclear, but local historian Michael MacMahon asserts that Terry Alt was a Protestant ex-soldier living near Corofin, and the use of his name for subversive acts was a perverse slur on the police and the establishment.⁸²³ The Terry Alts were the Clare manifestation of the Rockites, an agrarian organisation which was characterised by ‘the frequency of their resort to sensational violence’.⁸²⁴ Originally an organisation which protested against the imposition of tithes and increases in rents, the actions of the Rockites, and the Terry Alts, were greatly exacerbated by the economic crisis of 1819-24, ‘one of the worst in modern Irish history’.⁸²⁵

At the end of the Napoleonic War, grain prices slumped, with oats plummeting by 42 per cent and wheat by 58 per cent. Prices for livestock fell too between 1813 and 1816 and though a partial recovery took place, severe weather following the Tamboura volcanic eruption caused fodder shortages from 1817-19 which forced many farmers to slaughter their livestock.⁸²⁶ Famine and typhus were already affecting many parts of the west, and in 1821 heavy rain severely damaged the potato crop, leading to a subsistence crisis in Connacht and west Munster. Potatoes, which had been 4 ¼ pence per stone in January 1822 were 5 ¼ pence in April and 9

⁸²⁰ *County of Clare Presentments, 1799*, pp. 26-7.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸²² *Ibid.*

⁸²³ Michael MacMahon, *Agrarian Conflict in Clare, 1815-1831*, available at www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas, 20 February 2014.

⁸²⁴ James S. Donnelly, ‘Captain Rock: The Origins of the Irish Agrarian Rebellion of 1821-24’, in *New Hibernia Review/ Iris Éireannach Nua*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Winter, 2007), p. 47, available at www.jstor.org, 13 January 2013. p. 47.

⁸²⁵ Donnelly, ‘Captain Rock’, p. 66.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¾ pence in June.⁸²⁷ By then up to a million people nationwide depended on government relief works, including the repairs to the canal in Killaloe promoted by John Stokes (p. 180).⁸²⁸ In Clare, 160,000 people were obtaining some famine relief, that is, approximately 75 per cent of the population.⁸²⁹

Catholics now had a ‘framework for political protest’ in the Catholic Association. Rural people held to the belief that ‘they were entitled to a plot of land, however small [and] a variety of longstanding customs and traditions, the infringement of which constituted a moral transgression of such magnitude as to warrant direct and sometimes violent action’.⁸³⁰ Burdened by low prices for such produce as they managed to grow, high rents, low wages and the burden of tithes, the Ejectment Act of 1816 (56 Geo III, c. 88), which enabled landlords to evict tenants cheaply and quickly as well as claiming their growing crops in payment of rent arrears, was the final aggravation for the poor and starving people.⁸³¹

The harvest failures of 1821 led to widespread disturbances in Clare in 1822, leading to the baronies of Tulla and Bunratty being put under proclamation in early 1823 under the terms of the 1814 Insurrection Act. The proclamation was to stay in place for two years.⁸³² Among the disturbances were attacks on boats carrying potatoes and corn in Killaloe and Clarecastle, and on June 24th Caher House, the home of James O’Hara, was attacked and robbed of oats, barley and potatoes.⁸³³ There were further food riots in 1830 when scarcity caused a rise in the price of potatoes. Burke’s corn store in Killaloe was surrounded by people from Tipperary and Clare, and they threatened to raid the store unless the owner gave credit to the poor. But the disturbances chiefly affected north-west Clare and that was the only incident to touch Tulla.⁸³⁴

⁸²⁷ Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, p. 69.

⁸²⁸ Nigel Johnston, *Historical Commentary for 1822*, available at www.csorp.nationalarchives.ie/context/1822.html, 25 October 2013.

⁸²⁹ Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, p. 70.

⁸³⁰ J. W. O’Neill, ‘A Look at Captain Rock: Agrarian Rebellion in Ireland, 1815-1831’, in *Éire-Ireland*, Vol. XVII, no. 3 (1982), p. 23, available at www.jstor.org, 13 January 2013.

⁸³¹ Donnelly, ‘Captain Rock’, p. 72.

⁸³² Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, p. 70.

⁸³³ *Clare Journal and Ennis Advertiser*, 24 June 1822.

⁸³⁴ Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, p. 78.

Trouble had been brewing prior to Blood's murder, however, because on 13th January the local paper wrote that the pound at Doonass was besieged by a 'riotous crowd' who beat the pound-keeper and released nineteen cattle which had been distrained for non-payment of rents.⁸³⁷ On February 3rd the *Journal* reported that the local magistrates had applied to the government for military detachments to be stationed in the small towns in the county.⁸³⁸ On February 21st, a meeting of magistrates was called to 'take into consideration the alarming state of the County, and to adopt such measures as may be effectual to suppress the increasing atrocities that surround us'.⁸³⁹ March 1831 saw the worst of the violence against livestock and men, not just of the gentry and police but those employed by them or seen to be less than supportive of the Rockite movement. On March 3rd the *Clare Journal and Ennis Advertiser* had reported that an elderly man was beaten in his home near Feakle, but his son shot at his assailants and convinced them the police were on the way, and they left, after which incident thirty members of the 74th Regiment were stationed at Tulla to prevent further disturbances.⁸⁴⁰ Of Tulla parish, the Poor Law Commissioners claimed that the 'recollection of the hardships they laboured under from starvation &c, maddened them, and drove them on to the commission of other outrages, at which human nature should shudder'.⁸⁴¹ However, Eiriksson agrees with James Molony that the main causes of the Terry Alt rebellion were not food shortages but conacre and land use. Although conacre rent was much higher than tillage rent at £3-£8 per acre, whereas tillage land was only £1-£2, it was the scarcity of conacre land that was the problem, not the rent, because demand for conacre land and agricultural employment was far outstripping supply.⁸⁴²

By March 14th, the Grand Jury and Magistrates had sent a second and 'most urgent' application to the government to extend the Insurrection Act to cover county Clare, and threatened to resign their commissions en masse if their demand was not met.⁸⁴³ On March 21st the county was said to present a 'melancholy picture indeed': the

⁸³⁷ *Clare Journal*, 13 January 1831.

⁸³⁸ *Clare Journal*, 3 February 1831.

⁸³⁹ *Clare Journal*, 21 February 1831.

⁸⁴⁰ *Clare Journal*, 3 March 1831.

⁸⁴¹ *Reports from the Commissioners of the Poor Laws, Ireland*, House of Commons Papers, vol. 32, February-August 1836, pp. 160-163.

⁸⁴² Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, pp. 81-2.

⁸⁴³ *Clare Journal*, 14 March 1831.

peasantry were believed to be in a confederacy against law and order during which a 'system of terror' meant that cattle were straying because farmers were afraid to repair walls and sheep were dying during lambing because herdsmen feared to attend them.⁸⁴⁴ It may well have been the case. On March 28th, two herdsmen named John and Peter Enright, employed by Thomas Keane of Affog, near Tulla, were beaten by armed men and ordered to abandon their homes, and as a further incentive their windows and doors were broken in.⁸⁴⁵

At the end of March, seventeen instances of violence across Clare and the Galway border were reported in the same issue of the *Journal*. In Feakle, the police barracks was attacked by a 'desperate mob' armed with spades and stones.⁸⁴⁶ The three officers injured some of the assailants, who withdrew to wait for reinforcements, and in the lull the police consigned their wives and children to the care of the local priest, Father McInerny, before fleeing to the police barracks at Caher, two miles away. At this point the crowd 'rushed in a large body against the barrack, burst in the doors, and made a mere wreck of the building.'⁸⁴⁷ One could speculate that one reason for the prevalence of incidents in Tulla Upper was because of the high incidence of partnership tenancies which could have facilitated communal resistance.

'Turning up ground', or digging up pastureland, was cited by the *Clare Journal* as an outrage, and the Report of the Commissioners five years later commented that during the period of Terry Alt activity, 'the impossibility of getting land at any rent to grow potatoes on compelled the poor to go out at night and turn up the pasture land', and their success at this drove them to greater outrages.⁸⁴⁸ On 14th March, 'some hundreds of fellows' arrived to turn up the land of Mr. John Halloran of Cooleready, and when the police and military arrived they fired upon the protesters, injuring one and arresting two others; a week earlier, ash trees had been uprooted and either broken or stolen from the estate of Sir John Reade, at Moynoe House near Scariff.⁸⁴⁹ In the same issue of the *Journal* as the Feakle barrack attack, it was reported that 'a

⁸⁴⁴ *Clare Journal*, 21 March 1831.

⁸⁴⁵ *Clare Journal*, 28 March 1831.

⁸⁴⁶ *Clare Journal*, 31 March 1831.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁸ *Reports from the Commissioners*, p. 163.

⁸⁴⁹ *Clare Journal*, 14 March 1831

vast crowd' attempted to turn up the ground at Tobernagath, near Scariff, and when the local magistrates arrived accompanied by police and military, the mob carried on although staying out of firing range. Four people were arrested but when they were taken to Scariff the 'whole population of that village' attacked the escort, severely wounding several of them.⁸⁵⁰

By April 1831, Clare was once more put under proclamation and the Insurrection Act was invoked to deal with a situation of 'near anarchy'.⁸⁵¹ Up to 2,500 military and police were brought in and a special sitting of magistrates heard cases of Terry Alts awaiting trial. Despite the presence of Daniel O'Connell speaking for the defence, a total of fourteen men were hanged, fifty were transported and twenty-two were imprisoned. The massive presence of police and soldiers quelled the outrages and by then, many people had grown disenchanted by the excesses of the Terry Alts.⁸⁵²

The disturbances did not end in 1831. Between 1836-45, the southern half of Clare, including Tulla Lower, continued to experience unrest, though Tulla Upper was among the least troubled areas. Action against 'landgrabbers' – that is, tenants who took the land of evicted cottiers – saw the home of John Molony of Formoyle, in Killokenedy parish, attacked by fifteen armed men who assaulted the inhabitants and ordered Molony to give up the farm he had taken over two years earlier.⁸⁵³

The incidences of violence towards landowners, livestock and the land itself, are indices of poverty and desperation. The political ideologies of 1798 and the Catholic Association provided a vehicle for the expression of frustration and dissatisfaction felt by people who suffered from insufficient land to feed their families, the depredations of middlemen and tithe farmers, evictions and subsistence crises. However, Eiriksson concludes that there is no evidence in the decade prior to the Famine of an organised campaign against landlords, and only limited Whiteboy organisation against incoming tenants. Instead, the 1836-45 land struggle was enacted by tenants and under-tenants and although it was directed against landlords,

⁸⁵⁰ *Clare Journal*, 31 March 1831.

⁸⁵¹ MacMahon, *Agrarian Conflict in Clare*.

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*

⁸⁵³ Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, p. 180.

middlemen and ‘landgrabbers’ it was on the basis of self-interest with little evidence of tenant solidarity.⁸⁵⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that for many of Tulla’s inhabitants, improvements in infrastructure had not equated to prosperity. As the population recovered after the crises of the 1740s, more and more of its farming population eked out an increasingly precarious living on farms that were well below Mokyr’s ‘critical farm size’. Crucially, their subdivided holdings did not enable them to live above a bare subsistence level. Therefore, during periods of economic fluctuation or bad harvest, they had little or no reserve put by. As Eiriksson points out, land values and means of living were still low in Clare, where its population was rural, Catholic and backward in terms of industrialisation, education and anglicisation. By Mokyr’s definition of poverty – that is, based upon the probability of severe subsistence crises – Clare was one of the poorest counties in Ireland.⁸⁵⁵

In one sense, Tulla was a microcosm of the western region of Ireland, where population growth, rundale, clachan settlements, subdivision and partnership tenancies were all aspects of the same phenomenon of backwardness and poverty. But close examination of individual parishes has shown that Tulla was not a single peripheral area but a complex network. Poverty was rife in townlands where land was rich or poor, and where landlords were good, bad or absentee, but the reasons why its effects were more or less drastic varied across parishes and within townlands. Incentives to improve the moral and material lives of the cottiers and labourers failed in the face of unrestricted subdivision. There is even evidence that, contrary to the beliefs of contemporary commentators, partnership tenancies may have given farmers an advantage over the single tenant with a tiny acreage, not just in enabling them to better utilise common resources, but to mobilise protest against the exploitation of landlords, middlemen and tithe farmers.

⁸⁵⁴ Eiriksson, *Crime and Protest in Co. Clare*, p. 186.

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Conclusion

The first two chapters of this thesis have described how the wars of the seventeenth century, and the resultant confiscations of Catholic land, transformed the regional gentry. Tulla had an exceptionally high proportion of Catholic landowners up to the first decade of the eighteenth century, and one would expect to see the persistence of deference and benevolent patronage – in other words, mutual trust – stemming from the apparent cultural continuity between old and new landowners. If such continuity existed, it should have facilitated the ‘top-down’ economic and cultural changes epitomised by the rubric of ‘improvement’. However, although most landowners were co-religionists, not all had their roots in the region, and eventually almost all were constrained to conform to the established church. They did, in fact, conform to a belief in the reshaping of landscape and the imposition of ‘top-down’ economic, social and cultural change.

The final three chapters explored the influence of this ideology of ‘improvement’. Theoretically, improving Tulla should have increased the material and moral wellbeing of the whole community. But the thesis related the key reasons why this did not happen. Firstly, ‘improvements’ through proto-industry failed as forests dwindled and imports from abroad led to the collapse of the ironworks, and competition from Ulster and the mills of England ended attempts to commercialise local textile production. Even the much-vaunted road system, which should have led to access to wider markets for locally-produced goods, also meant easier access to more competitive markets in the larger towns of Ennis and Limerick.

We have seen how, instead of ‘improving’ across all levels of society, Tulla gradually became stratified into an ‘improved’ landscape of landed estates and demesnes, where neo-Classical houses were set amongst elegant parks and gardens, and an ‘unimproved’ landscape of rising population who were subdividing farms and reclaiming marginal land. This exponential population growth was the second key reason why Tulla’s underclass was driven deeper into poverty. Pre-1750 the population of Tulla was light and most densely clustered in the river valleys. After 1750, although population density remained relatively high in the riverine lowlands, population pressure forced people to reclaim large areas of marginal hillsides and

bogs. I showed that very many of the farms of Feakle and Ogonnelloe were below the ‘critical farm threshold’ of twenty acres, leaving families with no resources to meet subsistence crises. Although farm size was a critical factor in the ability of a community to withstand the effects of poverty, areas characterised by holdings with larger acreages such as Feakle do not necessarily show a correlation between farm size and resilience. Even though mortality during the Great Famine was lower in the northern parishes than the southern part of the barony, losses were still very high. Partnership tenancies may have enabled some tenants to pool resources, but where land was poor it could not support the demands of multiple families.

The third factor in the failure of ‘improvement’ was the influence of landowners, middlemen and agents. Absenteeism and the desire to increase the tenant base in order to maximise rents encouraged the subdivision of farms into unviable holdings, and contemporary commentators condemned the landlord – especially the absentee – who neglected his estates. Conventionally, this can be read as a failure of ‘improvement’. Analysis of the parishes of Feakle and Ogonnelloe suggests that a little improvement was probably worse than no improvement at all. Tenants were worse-off under a landlord who eliminated rundale or partnership tenancies but allowed, or could not stop, subdivision into small individual holdings.

In tracing the development of urban centres, settlements, road and water transport, and the creation and decline of markets and fairs, I suggested that the building of ‘markers of modernity’ such as schools, constabulary barracks and courthouses did not lead to an overall improvement in well-being for most of Tulla’s inhabitants, as many of the lower classes fell further into destitution. That said, there were farmers whose modest lifestyle belied their wealth, and craftsmen and women who did reasonably well. Cultural wealth existed too, exemplified by the poetry of Brian Merriman, who was materially poor but well-educated.

One would have to conclude that ‘improvement’ was a failure in this remote and mountainous part of county Clare. It was not only a failure in that its prescriptions were not met, but that those very prescriptions may have been an irrelevance.

Appendices

Appendix A: Comparative spellings of townlands

	BSD/1659 Census	Ordnance Survey 1842
Clonlea	Clonley	Clonlea
	Ballanveere/Ballyvoyre	Belvoir
	Ballaworgell/Ballyverigane	Ballyvorgal South & North
	Gortadrummah	Gortadroma
	Gortnagleragh	Gortnaglearagh
	Mountallion/ Montallone	Mountallon
	Terene/ Tyronea	Teeronea
Feakle	Feakle/ Teakil	Feakle
	Ballycroon	Ballycroum
	Belrogh	Baurroe
	Caghir/ Cahirr	Caher
	Corbeagh	Corbehagh
	Crossdaree	Crossderry
	Corcloane/ Carocloane	Corracloon
	Derrenagittagh	Derranagitta
	Derryvinnie	Derryvinna
	Dromandoore	Drummandoora
	Dromines	Drummin
	Faghy/ Fahi	Fahy
	Glenbanuffe	Glenbonniv
	Gortilassa	Gortalassa
	Killenenagh	Killanena
	Knockanenagh	Knockanena
	Knockbeagh	Knockbeha
	Lecaringarry	Lecarrow Upper
	Magherybaune	Magherabaun
Inishcealtra	Inishkalto	Inish Caltra
	Cooledarragha	Cooldorragha
Kilfinaghta	Kilfenaughta/ Kilfenaghta	Kilfinaghta
	Ardneglanche	Ardmaclancy
	Balleisheene	Ballysheenmore
	Ballemulcashel/ Ballymulchassil	Ballymulcashel

	Balleroe/ Ballyarilla	Ballyroe
	Cloonenasse/ Cloneasshy	Cloonanass
	Killnacraogh/ Kilnacreggy	Kilnacraegh
	Moygall/ Meohgally	Moygalla
Killaloe	Killalow	Killaloe
	Ardtegle/ Ardteigle	Ardataggle
	Aylemore	Aillemore
	Ballichoggeran/ Ballycuggerane	Ballicuggaran
	Ballivohie/ Ballyvollha	Ballyvally
	Ballygirrin/ Ballygerrane	Ballygarreen
	Coppa Keigh	Cappakea
	Carrowbane	Carrowbaun
	Carrowgarr and Carrowkilly	Carrownakilly
	Carrownegonie	Carrownegowan
	Clanfada/ Clone Fada	Cloonfadda
	Cragleagh/ Cragleigh	Craglea
	Garraunboy & Ballyduff	Garraunboy
	Glanlon/ Glanloyne	Glenlon N & S
	Gortmaggie/ Gortmagee	Gortmagy
	Gortahellroe & Lackamore	Gortcallyroe
	Killester	Killestry
	Killoreedan/ Killcridane	Kilcredaun
	Knockediryn	Knockaderreen
	Lackareaghmore/ Laccarrowreaghmore	Lackareaghmore
	Lackareahbeg/ Laccaregh-beg	Lackaraghbeg
	Licknebane	Lackenbaun
	Lockaunranera	Lackabanner
	Magheriareagh	Magherareagh
	Moigh	Moys
	Ruigh	Roo E & W
	Castlequarter als. Truigh	Trough
Killokennedy	Killikeneda/ Killekenidie	Killokennedy
	Arinaghbeg/ Agheranabeg	Aharinabeg
	Arskeagh & Barbane	Barbane
	Ballemulloune	Ballymoloney
	Ballequin & Killmore	Ballyquinmore & Ballyquinbeg
	Cloneconremore/ Cloneconerymore	Cloonaconrymore

	Clonegeehine/ Cloneyrehine	Cloongaheen East & West
	Formoyle/ Farmoyle	Fermoylebeg & Fermoylemore
	Killbane	Kilbane
	Killekenidie	Killokennedy
	Killegeeshaneknock/ Hilleggy	Killeagy Doonan/ Stritch/ Ryan
Killmurry	Killmurry	Killmurry
	Clonmunnagh	Cloonmunnia
	Drumnulhan	Drumullan
	Kilkishin/ Kilkisheene	Kilkishen
	Killcornan	Kilcornan
	Crucknaloppa/Knocknelappa	Knocknelappa
	Shandangan/ Shandangene	Shandangen E & W
Kilnoe	Killno	Kilnoe
	Balladonnaghan/ Ballydonoghane	Ballydonaghan
	Ballinahince/ Ballynahenchy	Ballynahinch
	Caherhurley/ Cahirhurly	Caherhurly
	Clogheroughter	Clogher
	Cloonmougher/ Clonemogher	Clonmoher
	Coolerethmore	Colereaghmore
	Coolreathbegg	Colereaghbeg
	Coolredagh	Coolready
	Drummard/ Dromudd	Drummod
	Insenloughoge	Inchalughoge
	Killgoore	Kilgory
	Lisbarreene/ Lisbarreny	Lissbarreen
	Loughbreedy	Lough Bridget
Killurane	Killuran/ Killurane	Killurane
	Clonecowle	Cloncool
	Downe/ Duine	Doon + Doon Lough
	Dowras	Doorus
	Dromon	Drimmeen
	Oughterush	Iragh
	Kilvoy	Killavoy
	Tyrovanine	Teerovannan
Kilseily	Kilseely/ Kilseyly	Kilseily
	Cloontra/ Clonetrea	Cloonsheerea
	Coylagh/ Calluragh	Coolagh
	Drumsilla	Drumsillagh (Sallybank)
	Ensnaitey/ Snatty	Snaty

	Killukilly/ Killucully	Kilmoculla
Kiltenanlea	Kiltanlea/ Kiltenanleigh	Kiltenanlea
	Coolisteag/ Coolishteig	Coollisteige
	Galloghe	Gilloge
	Sraghvickin	Srawickeen
Moinoe	Moynoe/ Moinoe	Moinoe
	Carramore	Carrowmore
	Mynerosse/ Minress	Meenross
Tuamgraney	Tomgreany/ Tomgraney	Tuamgraney
	Ballavannoge/ Ballyvenoge	Ballyminogue
	Callaugh	Callahy
	Cappacanan	Cappacannaun
	Capparoe	Capparoe
	Carrowkeele/ Corroqueile	Corrakyle
	Coologore	Coologory
	Pollogore/ Poligowre	Poulagower
	Rahin/ Raheeney	Raheen
	Skerriff	Scariff
	Terenere	Terroneer
Ogonnelloe	Iwogonela/ Tuoguinla	Ogonnelloe
	Aghenish	Aughinish
	Ballehiffe/ Bellyheiffy	Ballyheefy
	Ballenegleragh	Ballynagleragh
	Ballibrin/ Ballyvrane	Ballybran
	Balliurelly	Ballyhurly
	Ballyloghnane	Ballylaghnan
	Ballymullroony/ Cahir Ballymulrona	Caher
	Ballyvrogheran	Ballybroghan
	Bellkellow	Bealkelly Eyre/ B.Purdon
	Caroweneny	Carrowena
	Carrowgard	Carrowgar
	Ilaunchoskery	Islandcosgry
Tulla	Tullogh/ Tulla	Tulla
	Affick/ Affugg	Affick
	Ballislatteragh/ Ballyslattery	Ballyslattery (Newgrove)
	Ballyvlud	Ballyblood
	Bonivorie/ Bunatory	Bunavory
	Clondanagh/ Clondinagh	Cloondanagh

	Cottinbegg	Cutteenbeg
	Cottinmoore	Cutteenmore
	Drummcarteene	Drummaghmartin
	Drumsarlagh	Drumcharley
	Fartanmoore	Fortanemore
	Fomerly	Fomerla
	Forhy	Furhee
	Garruragh/ Garrowragh	Garruragh
	Glandree	Glendree
	Killbuggoone/ Kilbeagon	Kilboggoon
	Kiltanan/ Kilteneane	Kiltannon/ Kiltannan
	Lehardane	Lahardaun
		Leccarow North & South
	Liscullane/ Liscollane	Liscullaun
	Lismeghan/ Lismeeaghane	Lismeehan
	Lissafin/ Lissoline	Lissoline
	Loghane	Loghaun
	Munmoore	Moymore
	Roslaragh/ Roslary	Roslara
	Teredagh/ Tyredagh	Tyredagh Upper & Lower

Appendix B: Full list of transplantees to Tulla

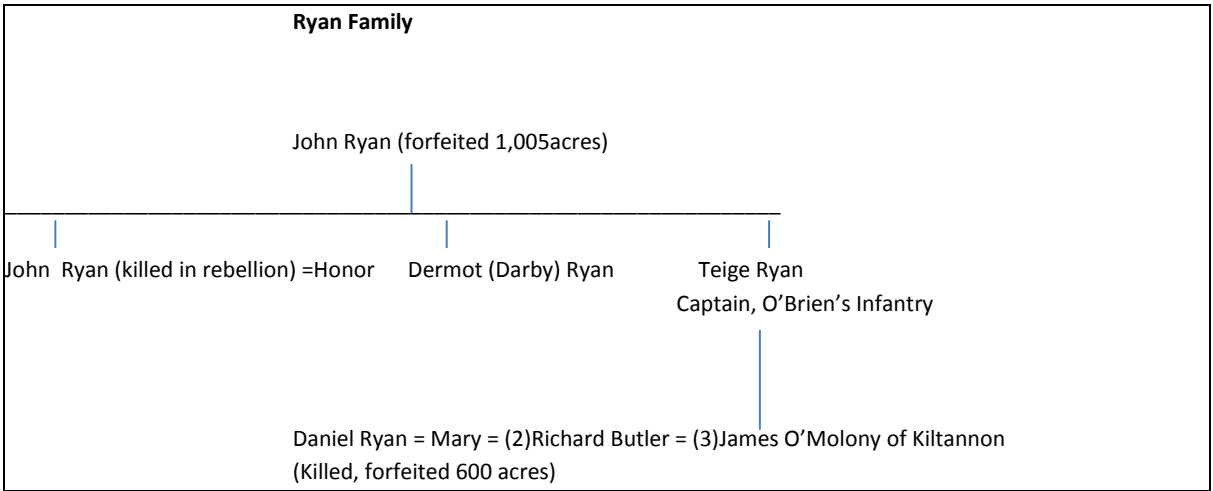
Name	Origin	Parishes	Acres decreed
Arthur, Katherine + children	Limerick	Kilseily (also Bunratty)	600 (H528)
Arthur, Pierce	Limerick	Feakle	269
Bermingham, William	Westmeath	Killaloe	800
Betagh, Gerald	Cavan	Ogonnelloe	131 (H323)
Birharra (Birhacra), Murtagh	Tipperary	Killaloe	49
Bourke, Herbert McUlick	Galway	Killokennedy	22
Bourke, Mary; William (son)	Galway	Killaloe	50
Bourke, Nicholas	Limerick	Kilnoe	667 (H596)
Bourke, Richard	Limerick	Killaloe	50
Bryan(McBryan), Mary oge	Tipperary	Tomgraney	55
Bryan, Mary	Tipperary	Tomgraney	120
Bryan, Thady; Walter Taylor	Tipperary	Feakle, Kilnoe	300
Bulger, Peter	Kilkenny	Clonlea	212
Butler, Edward (Edmund)	Tipperary	Feakle, Kilnoe	46
Butler, Theobald (more than one)	Tipperary	Feakle, Ogonnelloe, Tulla	800
Butler, Thomas	Tipperary	Killaloe	100
Butler, Thomas	Tipperary	Ogonnelloe	100
Callaghan, Col. Donogh & Ellen	Cork	Clonlea, Killaloe, Kilnoe, Killuran, Tulla	2,500 (+2458 in Bunratty)
Carroll, John; Margaret	King's Co.	Tulla	300
Cheevers, Ellen, als. Butler; Philip Hore;	Wexford	Tulla	800 (H563)
Corr, John	Tipperary	Feakle	200
Corr, Thomas; Ellis, his wife	Tipperary	Feakle	129
Crainsborough, Marcus	Waterford	Clonlea, Kilfenaghta	1,593 (H 1,134)
Cransbrough, Marcus	Waterford		200
Denn, Thomas	Kilkenny	Kilseily	773
Dwyer, Edmond McPhilip	Tipperary	Ogonnelloe	50
Dwyer, Edward McJohn	Tipperary	Ogonnelloe	20
Dwyer, John	Tipperary	Killaloe, Kilseily	266 (+27H)
Dwyer, Philip	Tipperary	Ogonnelloe	100
Egan, Carbry	Galway	Killaloe	43
English, William	Tipperary	Killaloe	250
Fahy, Swiny (Seely); Honor Fahy	Galway	Killokennedy	9
Fanning, Nicholas	Limerick	Feakle	951
FitzGerald, Honora	Limerick	Killaloe	226 (H184)
FitzMorris, Thomas	Cork	Tulla	130
FitzMorris, Thomas: Ellen Roch	Cork	Tulla	1,000 (H250)
Fleming, Thomas	Meath	Feakle	(H178), no other decree
Grace, Oliver	Tipperary	Kilseily	300
Heffernan (Hifernan), Miles	Co. Tipperary	Tomgraney	220 (223H)
Hogan, Edmund	Tipperary	Killaloe	150
Hovenden, Alexander; Ellen (wife)	Limerick	Killaloe, Killokennedy	206
Hurley (Hurles), Morris, a minor	Tipperary	Tulla	195
Katherine, Elizabeth and Ellen Cheevers	Incl. with above		
Kearney, Bryan	Tipperary	Ogonnelloe	64
Kennedy, Iriel McJames	Tipperary	Killokennedy	498

Kennedy, Iriel, Margaret and Mary	Tipperary	Not given	374 (H433 & 383)
Keogh, Mary Margaret & John	Tipperary	Killaloe	100
Lysaght, Patrick	Limerick	Feakle, Tulla, Kilmurry, Kilfenaghta	1,230 (H604)
Magrath, Redmond	Tipperary	Feakle, Kilnoe, Tulla	3,899
McBryan, Teige	Limerick	Killaloe	330
McCarthy, Donnel (Daniel)	Cork	Killaloe	250
McFinny-McFinneen, Elizabeth, als. Stephenson	Kerry	Tulla	372
Nangle, Matthew	Kildare	Clonlea, Tulla	600
Nangle, Philip	Kildare	Kilseily	114
O Callaghan (Callahan), Connor	Co. Cork	Killaloe	400
O Meara, Philip	Tipperary	Feakle	290
O Mullrean (O Mulbryan), Teige	Tipperary	Killokennedy	100
O'Brien, Dermot	Tipperary	Killuran, Kilseily, Ogonnelloe	547
Plunkett, Alexander	Meath	Tulla	400 (H229)
Power, Thomas	Limerick	Feakle	255
Roch, Stephen	Limerick	Ogonnelloe, Tomgraney	740 (H380)
Ryan, Charles	Tipperary	Feakle	50
Ryan, Conor McMahon	Tipperary	Feakle, Killaloe	50 (H 7+20)
Ryan, Dermot	Tipperary	Killaloe	200
Ryan, Donogh	Tipperary	Feakle	50
Ryan, Edmund McTeige	Tipperary	Killaloe	150
Ryan, Henry	Tipperary	Feakle, Killaloe	100 (H116)
Ryan, John	Tipperary	Feakle, Killaloe	35
Ryan, John	Tipperary	Killaloe, Killuran	1,440
Ryan, John	Tipperary	Kilseily	239
Ryan, John	Tipperary	Ogonnelloe	25
Ryan, Laughlin (Melaghlin) McConnor	Tipperary	Tulla	35 (H7+28+119)
Ryan, Philip McMahon	Tipperary	Feakle	50
Ryan, Teige	Tipperary	Ogonnelloe	24
Ryan, William (more than one)	Co. Tipperary	Feakle	2
Stacpoole, Bartholomew	Limerick	Clonlea, Kilmurry, Kilfenaghta	1,277 (H1,482)
Stapleton, Katherine, als. Callaghan	Cork	Killaloe	50
Stritch, Thmas Fitz James; Ellen & Ellis, daughters	Limerick	Killaloe	524 (H711)
Tobin, James	Tipperary	Kilseily	115
Wall (Wale), James	Waterford	Killaloe, Kilseily	600
White, Laurence (Burgess)	Limerick	Kilnoe	648 (H123)

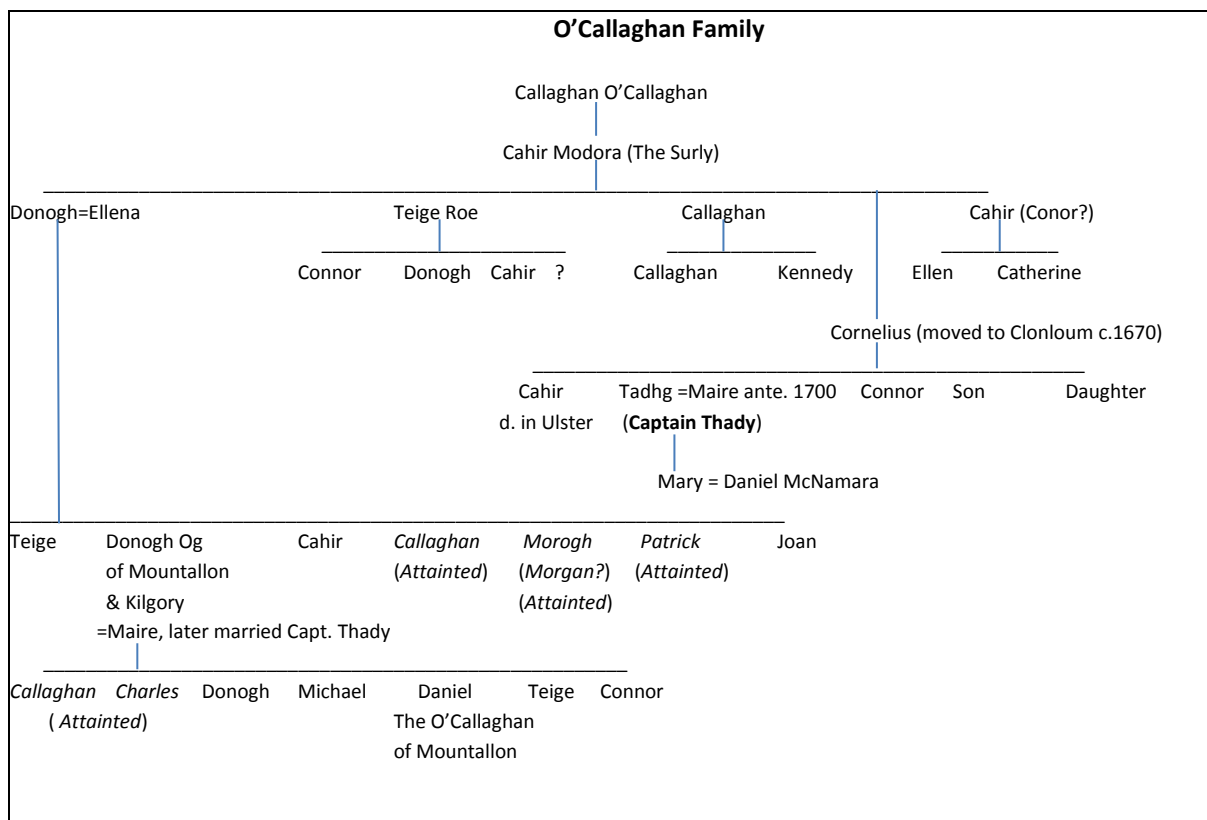
Appendix C: Population of Tulla Barony in 1659 with multiplier (2.5) added.

Feakle	898
Kilmurry	260
Kilnoe	415
Killurane	510
Tulla	1,550
Moynoe	320
Inishcealtra	75
Ogonnelloe	513
Tuamgraney	838
Kilfenaghta	1,230
Kilseily	645
Clonlea	650
Killokennedy	568
Kiltenanlea	468
Killaloe	1,085
Total	10,025

Appendix D: Ryan Genealogy



Appendix E: O'Callaghan genealogy



Appendix F: Political hierarchy, Co. Clare, 1760-90

Name	Freeman	High Sheriff	Grand Jury	MP	JP
Armstrong William					1761
Arthur Edmond			1784		
Arthur John			1784		
Arthur Thomas	1773		1799		1766
Arthur Thomas		1768			
Barclay Thomas					1761
Bentley John					1772

Bindon Samuel	1770				
Blackquiere Col. James					1771
Blake Richard	1766				
Blood Matthew					1789
Blood Michael			1799		
Blood Neptune	1765				
Blood William Jun.		1774	1784		
Brady Arthur					1775
Brady Henry		1793	1799		
Brady Hugh					1769
Brigdale Hugh	1769				
Brown(e) Thomas		1773			1770
Browne Edmund			1799		
Bullen Robert					1767
Bourke Richard					1768
Burke James,		1765			
Burton E W		1780			
Burton Francis Pierrepont				1762, 1765, 1768	
Burton Hon. Francis Nathaniel			1799	1790	1761, 1769
Butler Henry					
Butler James			1784		
Casey, Anthony		1767			
Casey Francis			1784		
Colpoys George		1771			1768
Columbine Rev Charles	1775				
Comyn David					1769
Comyn Ed.	1764				
Comyn George					1790
Comyn Laurence		1792	1799		
Cramer John	1766				
Creagh James			1784, 1799		
Creagh John					1766
Creagh Pierce		1776			
Crowe Thomas	1764		1784		
Daxon William	1762				1761
Daxon William Jun	1770	1790?	1799		
Dalton Michael					1772
Drew Francis		1778, 1788			

Drew Ringrose					1768
England David	1769				
Finucane Matthias	1765				
Fitzgerald, Augustus			1799		
Fitzgerald Charles			1799		1789
FitzGerald Edward,	1770	1761	1784	1777, 1779, 1784	
Fitzgerald William					1788
Fitzgibbon, Gibbon					1768
Gregg Jonathan					1788
Harrison John	1765				
Harrison Robert					1770
Henn William	1766	1766			
Hickman Poole		1782			1768
Hickman Richard	1769				1769
Hogan Hugh					1760
Ievers John Augustine					1769
Ivers John			1784		
Lucas Charles	1766				
Lucas Joseph	1762				
Lysaght Andrew					1762
Massey Godfrey					1761
Massy Hugh Dillon		1769	1784, 1799	1777, 1784	1767
Massey Hugh Ingoldsby					1770
McDonnell Chas,		1760		1765	
McMahon James					1773
McMahon Murtagh					1768
McNamara Francis		1789	1784	1790	
McNamara Francis			1784		
McNamara James					1774
Miller William					1761
Molony James	1762				
Molony Lambert					1768
Monsell Richard					1769
Moroney Edward					1762
Morony Thomas			1784, 1799		1788
O'Brien Donogh	1766	1786	1784		
O'Brien Edward	1775				
O'Brien Edward		1787			

O'Brien Edward, Hon		1783		1762?	
O'Brien Edward	1773				
O'Brien Edward					1766
O'Brien Francis					1769
O'Brien James	1762	1777			
O'Brien Lucius	1761			1768, 1779	1762
O'Brien Murrough					1761
O'Callaghan John			1799		
Palliser Richard			1799		
Paterson Marcus			1784		
Peacock George					1764
Peacock Joseph		1781	1799		1769
Purdon William Causubon			1799		
Quinn George		1770			1762
Rosslewin Thomas			1784		
Scott Bindon			1799		
Scott John,	1762				
Spaight William		1791	1799		
Stacpoole Bailie					1767
Stacpoole George,	1765	1763			
Stacpoole George William			1799		
Stacpoole John	1765				
Stacpoole Massey	1765				
Stacpoole Philip			1784		1761
Stacpoole William	1765	1784			
Stamer William	1773	1779	1784		
Steele Thomas					1788
Stephenson Robert					1770
Studdert George		1799	1784		
Studdert Jonas			1799		
Studdert Richard					1764
Studdert Thomas		1785	1784, 1799		
Thomond, Earl of	1770				
Tunadine George					1762
Tymmons John					1791
Vandeleur Crofton	1766	1764	1784		1761
Vandeleur John Ormsby			1799		
Vandeleur Ormsby	1766				
Vandeleur Richard	1766				

Wall Richard	1769				
Westropp Poole		1775	1784, 1799		1770
Westropp Ralph	1770	1772			1762
Woods Alexander					1766

Appendix G: Tulla's Population in 1765

Parish	Protestants	Catholics
Kilfinaghta	175	902
Kilmurry	7	130
Clonlea	30	581
Kilnoe	52	698
Killurane	47	592
Kilseily	36	616
Killokennedy	7	718
Kiltenanlea	38	570
Killaloe	330	2,178
Ogonnelloe	92	436
Tuamgraney	158	992
Moinoe	14	351
Inishcealtra	12	142
Feakle	28	1,536
Tulla	63	1,664
Total	1,089	12,156

Appendix H: Schools in Tulla, 1835

Townland	Type of School	Funding	Boys	Girls	Total	Attendance level
Clonlea	Hedge School	By parents	20	12	32	Stationary
“	National School	£10 annual grant	48	32	80	Increasing
“	School	By parents	85	62	147	Increasing
“	Protestant Parochial school		24	12	36	Stationary
“	School	By parents	70	45	115	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	39	33	72	Decreasing
Iniscealtra	Free School	£10 annual grant	28	74	102	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	16	6	22	Decreasing
Iniscealtra/Cloonrush	Hedge School	By parents	60	20	40	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	20	30	50	Stationary
“	Hedge School	By parents	70	50	120	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	45	48	93	Stationary
Kilfinaghta	Hedge School	By parents	72	32	104	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	40	16	56	Stationary
“	Hedge School	By parents	32	18	50	Increasing
Killaloe	National School	£50 annual grant	60	50	110	Increasing
“	Catholic School	By parents	69	31	100	Increasing
“	Classical School (x 2, with different teachers)	By parents	-	-	-	-
“	School	By parents	-	20	20	-
“	Catholic School	By parents	75	40	115	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	60	20	80	Stationary
“	School	By parents	35	45	80	Increasing
Kilseily	Hedge School	By parents	50	18	68	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	60	20	80	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	50	30	80	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	100	30	130	Increasing
Killurane	Hedge School	By parents	27	21	48	Increasing

“	Catholic School	By parents	91	60	151	Stationary
Kilnoe	School	By parents	64	60	124	Stationary
“	School	By parents	161	57	218	Increasing
Kiltenanlea/Doonass	Hedge School	By parents	89	52	141	Increasing
“	Free School	Annual grant from Mrs Massy	7	19	26	Stationary
“	Hedge School	By parents	40	20	60	Stationary
“	Hedge School	By parents	40	20	60	Stationary
Killokennedy	Hedge School	By parents	85	30	115	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	70	40	110	Stationary
Ogonnelloe	Catholic School	By parents	40	25	65	Increasing
“	Hedge School	-	30	15	45	Decreasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	60	35	95	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	60	30	90	Decreasing
“	Sunday School		8	30	38	Stationary
Tomgraney	Classical School	By parents	25	-	25	Stationary
“	Hedge School	By parents	60	20	80	Increasing
Tulla	Classical School	By parents	18	0	18	
“	Girls' School	By parents	0	20	20	
“	Hedge School	By parents	103	47	150	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	34	17	51	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	66	40	106	Increasing
Feakle	Catholic School	By parents	60	25	85	Increasing
“	Hedge School	By parents	60	30	90	Stationary
“	Hedge School	By parents	40	25	65	Increasing
“	School	By parents	50	25	75	Increasing
“	School	By parents	20	25	45	Increasing
Total schools : 53	Total pupil nos		2636	1582	4218	

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