

**The establishment and evolution of
an Irish village: the case of Dunlavin,
county Wicklow 1600 –1910.**

Vol. 2 of 2

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CHAPTER FIVE.

DISASTER AND READJUSTMENT: DUNLAVIN, 1845-1901.

Introduction.

The Great Famine killed off all attempts to restore paternalistic landlordism, with its associated levels of deference from the tenantry, which the Tynte family tried to restore in the early nineteenth century. There is a perception that county Wicklow was not badly affected by the Famine.¹ However, this chapter demonstrates that the Dunlavin region experienced acute levels of distress. Population losses in the area were significant, with a quarter of the village population, and a third of the population of the region no longer resident in the aftermath of the disaster. Post-Famine Dunlavin emerged scarred and demographically frail. The lack of employment opportunities and the effects of impartible inheritance of land meant that emigration remained the only option for many young people in the Dunlavin region. Long-term demographic decline attested to economic stagnation, but strong farming families consolidated their landholding position and provided the local economy with the means to stage a gradual recovery in the post-Famine era. Despite this, Dunlavin failed to grow in any respect during this time; no improvements were made to village furniture, and no new houses were erected. The Catholic middle class became dominant in local trade and agriculture. Improved levels of education and literacy among the Catholic middle class aided their rise to social prominence. A challenge to the power of the elite, including the Tyntes of Dunlavin, was underway, and by the beginning of the twentieth century it was evident that it would succeed.

¹ In 1847 Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin requested Thomas Synott to compile a list of nationwide Famine deaths. Synott's reply, dated 21 Oct 1847, provided statistics for nineteen counties. Counties Wicklow and Kildare, both adjacent to Dublin, were not among their number. Thomas Synott to Archbishop Murray, 25 Sep 1847 (Dublin Diocesan Archive [D.D.A.], Murray Papers, 32/6/13). Synott's total figures up to 25 Sep 1847 were deaths from starvation: 22,241; deaths from diseases consequent on starvation: 51,884.

This chapter contains four sections. Section one explores the Famine experience and contextualises events in Dunlavin by locating them within the wider Wicklow-Kildare region. Dunlavin data is examined wherever possible, in particular utilising Catholic parish registers to analyse changes in marriage rates and birth rates. The second section focuses on demographic change in the Dunlavin region between 1881 and 1901. The Catholic baptismal registers and the census reports are used to provide a diachronic analysis of a shrinking population. Section three focuses on Dunlavin's social and agricultural situation, using the agricultural statistics and *Slater's Directory* in conjunction with census material to uncover social developments during these decades. The functions of the village are placed in the context of trends within its agricultural hinterland, which it continued to serve as a market town. The social strata within the village and their interaction with each other come in for scrutiny, and commerce and education in the village are also considered. The final section provides a synchronic snapshot of the area in the early years of the twentieth century, using the detailed census returns of 1901 and local newspaper reports to reveal the state of the village and its environs at the dawn of the twentieth century. Dunlavin entered that century in a much-altered state from the pre-Famine village of 1845. By 1901 population had stabilised, though it was never again to reach pre-Famine levels.

1. Famine.

The year 1845 ran its normal course in west Wicklow until October, when the first signs of potato blight appeared in the region. On 20 October, Bartholomew Warburton, a Baltinglass R.M., reporting on the state of the potato crop in his area, observed that it was affected by disease.² This was followed by a further report on 25 October, in which Warburton described the worsening blight, and advised that more detailed information could be obtained through the poor law guardians.³ The following day, Elizabeth Smith⁴ of Baltiboys, near Blessington, recorded the presence of potato blight in the area. Smith wrote:

Just in Baltiboys there seems as yet to be no damage done but very near at hand this widespread disease has already attacked some large con-acre fields where the poor man's supply for the next nine months may, without active measures being speedily taken, fail him entirely. The potato once attacked is quite unfit for food, it rots away, infecting all its companions.⁵

These reports suggest that the blight struck in the Dunlavin region about the week of 20-26 October 1845. A week later, on 4 November, the disease was reported on the Smith's estate at Baltiboys,⁶ suggesting that all of west Wicklow was blight-stricken by the first week of November 1845.

The potato blight was a fungus, *phytophthora infestans*, which spread in humid conditions, and was rapidly diffused through mist or wind. Whole fields could be destroyed in hours and, crucially for the longevity of the Great Famine, the disease could lie dormant through the winter and reappear during the following growing

² Bartholomew Warburton to Chief Secretary, 20 Oct 1845 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Distress Reports, CSORP, Z series, RLFC2/Z14016)

³ Warburton to Chief Secretary's office, 25 Oct 1845 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Distress Reports, CSORP, Z series, RLFC2/Z14442)

⁴ Formerly Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus in Scotland: Andrew Tod (ed), *Memoirs of a highland lady* (Edinburgh, 3rd ed, 1993), p. vii.

⁵ Dermot James and Seamas Ó Maitiu (eds), *The Wicklow world of Elizabeth Smith* (Dublin, 1996), pp 47-9.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 49.

season.⁷ It had disseminated from mainland Europe, through the Isle of Wight into mainland Britain.⁸ It was reported in England in August that:

A fearful malady has broken out among the potato crop. On all sides we hear of the destruction. In Belgium the fields are said to be completely desolated. There is hardly a sound sample in Covent Garden market... as for cure for this distemper, there is none.⁹

However, the occurrence of blight in countries such as Belgium or Britain was not as serious as its arrival in Ireland, where the potato was a staple food. In 1836 the rector of Dunlavin, Rev W. Moore Morgan, highlighted the importance of the potato in the daily diet of many in the region in his response to a query by the poor law inquiry commissioners regarding the food of the poor: 'Potatoes! Potatoes! Potatoes! The ordinary diet, sometimes with stirabout and milk'.¹⁰ This dependence on the potato crop made prevention of the blight vital, but the best scientific brains in Europe were at a loss to know how to deal with the disease.¹¹ From west Wicklow came a suggestion that the inclusion of ventilating channels in potato pits might help as an aid to preservation, but this was not to be.¹² The disease continued to mystify both farmers and the elite in west Wicklow, who were powerless to prevent it, to treat it or to store

⁷ Mary E. Daly, *The Famine in Ireland* (Dundalk, 1986), p. 53.

⁸ Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger* (New York, 1962), pp 38-40.

⁹ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 23 Aug 1845.

¹⁰ *Poor Inquiry, Appendix D and supplement*, [37], H.C. 1836, xxxi, p. 153. Epitomising the over dependence on the potato crop among the poor, Moore Morgan's reply is cited in Wicklow County Council, *The Famine in County Wicklow* (Wicklow, 1996), section 4, p. 3 and in Ken Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', Hannigan and Nolan (eds.), *Wicklow: History and Society* (Dublin, 1994), p. 819.

¹¹ Kevin Whelan speaking on *Famine*, RTE video documentary (1996).

¹² Warburton to Chief Secretary's office, 29 Oct 1845 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Distress Reports, CSORP, Z series, RLFC2/Z14572)

the potatoes.¹³ By late 1845, with no solution in sight, the blight affected 'a large proportion' of the crop.¹⁴

Since blight of 1845 did not affect the whole potato crop, it was generally expected that the crisis could be negotiated without serious hardship. In west Wicklow, Elizabeth Smith expected that 'the partial failure [of the potato crop] will be the less felt, particularly as the corn harvest was excellent'.¹⁵ However, the situation was serious enough to prompt Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin to write to the priests in his diocese to gather information regarding the state of the country. Replies from counties Wicklow and Kildare provide a revealing perspective on conditions in the wider region in late 1845. According to Fr. McKenna of Rathdrum, on 30 November 1845, the blight was widespread in the region, but much of it was 'both light and partial'. He calculated that 'about one eighth of the crop has been damaged, and one twentieth utterly destroyed'. McKenna was concerned that the people were unwilling to try new methods of storing the crop. He noted that the crop was 'stored in old-fashioned pits' and he feared that the potatoes would 'heat up and be lost'. He was correctly alarmed that people 'will have no seed potatoes for the spring'.¹⁶

McKenna's endorsement of new methods of storing the potatoes indicates that the authorities, represented at local level by members of the landed elite, responded to the crisis brought about by the potato blight with commendable alacrity. Robert Peel's

¹³ Warburton to Chief Secretary's office, 29 Nov 1845 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Distress Reports, CSORP, Z series, RLFC2/Z16784). This document includes a return of questions and answers regarding the potato crop in west Wicklow, which confirm that Warburton had no idea what to do about the blight. See also Warburton to Chief Secretary's office, 5 Dec 1845 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Distress Reports, CSORP, Z series, RLFC2/Z17160). This document encloses the response of Mr. A. Nickson to a list of queries about the potato crop. Nickson was equally clueless about the disease.

¹⁴ Warburton to Chief Secretary's office, 2 Dec 1845 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Distress Reports, CSORP, Z series, RLFC2/Z16926). Warburton enclosed a letter to him from Robert Saunders of Stratford-on-Slaney, outlining the worsening situation in his area, with this document.

¹⁵ James and O Maitiu (eds), *The Wicklow world of Elizabeth Smith*, p. 51.

¹⁶ Fr. McKenna to Archbishop Murray, 30 Nov 1845 (D.D.A. Murray papers, 32/2/26)

administration established a scientific commission to investigate the causes and treatment of blight in the Irish potato crop. This commission advocated mixing starch from the unaffected part of the potatoes with wheaten flour to make potato bread to alleviate the worst effects of the disease.¹⁷ This practice was adopted in west Wicklow by the end of October 1845.¹⁸

Areas of county Kildare adjacent to west Wicklow also experienced serious potato loss. On 1 December 1845, Murray was informed of the situation in Castledermot, where 'the affected potatoes become quickly decomposed' and 'the infected portion will be quickly exhausted, only two thirds, apparently sound, remain for food and for seed'. The parish priest, Fr. Dunne feared the onset of a 'calamity on the poor', because 'good seed potatoes will be beyond their reach'. Dunne was in no doubt about the gravity of the situation and hoped 'that here, as elsewhere, efforts will not be wanting... in the impending calamity, to meet the necessities of our fellow-creatures, not only for the current, but for the succeeding year'.¹⁹

While it was a cause of justifiable concern, the partial failure of the potato crop in west Wicklow in 1845 was no reason for alarm, though it certainly caused some distress. Elizabeth Smith noted that some poorer Baltiboys tenants, such as George Kearns and his family, suffered considerably due to the onset of the blight in 1845.²⁰ Despite the undeniable impact of the loss of access to food among the poorest tenants, the principal effect of the crisis of late 1845 and early 1846 was to drive up food prices and to open a gap between the prices charged for basic provisions and the amount that the labourers

¹⁷ Christine Kinealy, *This great calamity* (Dublin, 1994), p. 35.

¹⁸ Seamas O Maitiu, 'Responses to Famine in west Wicklow', Kildare County Council, *Lest we forget: Kildare and the Great Famine* (Naas, 1995), p. 100.

¹⁹ Fr. Dunne to Murray, 1 Dec 1845 (D.D.A., Murray papers, 32/2/27)

²⁰ James and O Maitiu (eds), *The Wicklow world of Elizabeth Smith*, p. 50.

could pay for such provisions.²¹ The price of potatoes in the market towns was a good indicator of the inflation caused by the crisis. In Dunlavin potatoes, which sold at 2.5*d.* per stone in January 1844, rose to 3*d.* per stone in January 1845 and reached 4.5*d.* per stone in January 1846.²² These figures represent an 80 per cent rise in the price of basic food in two years in Dunlavin, where the market price for potatoes was the second highest in county Wicklow by January 1846, only 1*d.* per stone lower than the major urban centre of Bray (5.5*d.* per stone), and a full 1*d.* per stone higher than the price at Baltinglass, the principal market town in the west of the county. This price inflation caused a ‘run on the savings banks’ in west Wicklow, and a sharp increase in indebtedness, and because ‘the relief don’t reach down to the very lower classes it was intended principally to succour’, many people including ‘most of the labourers are in debt to the hucksters, as deep as those hucksters would let them go’. Hoarding of potatoes ‘in the expectation of prices rising continually’ exacerbated the problems of the poor.²³ However, because the potato had previously produced poor crops for a variety of reasons, such as inclement weather, many west Wicklow inhabitants were optimistic that life would soon return to normal in 1846.²⁴ The crisis in 1845 and early 1846 was grave, but not hopeless, in west Wicklow.

The sudden return of the blight in July 1846, and its complete annihilation of the potato crop elevated the crisis of 1845-46 into the disaster of 1846-47 in county Wicklow.²⁵

The most vivid manifestation of this in Dunlavin and its hinterland was the onset of significant famine-related mortality. Elizabeth Smith recorded the deaths of two local

²¹ Hannigan, ‘Wicklow before and after the Famine’, pp 800-1.

²² Return of the price of potatoes in market towns in Ireland, Jan 1840-46 [110] H.C. 1846, xxxvii, p. 7.

²³ James and O Maitiu (eds), *The Wicklow world of Elizabeth Smith*, pp 51-4 and 63.

²⁴ For example, west Wicklow experienced partial failure of its potato crop in 1816-17, 1822-23 and 1830-31. Kathy Trant, *The Blessington estate 1667-1908* (Dublin, 2004), p. 147.

²⁵ Hannigan, ‘Wicklow before and after the Famine’, pp 801-2.

children, Peggy Fitzpatrick and Andy Ryan in Baltiboy in January 1846.²⁶ The conditions of the poor in county Kildare also gave cause for concern,²⁷ and local gentry and clergy were called upon to help to alleviate the plight of the labourers.²⁸ On 25 March a meeting was held in Naas to decide what public works should be proposed to lessen the effects of the twin food and financial crises in the union.²⁹ Part of Dunlavin's county Kildare hinterland, including nearby townlands such as Grangebeg, Gilbinstown and Usk, were in Naas poor law union. The remaining rural townlands immediately adjacent and surrounding Dunlavin were in Baltinglass poor law union.

At the instigation of Peel's government, imported Indian meal (maize) began to arrive in Ireland in February 1846.³⁰ The Irish poor were unused to this new comestible, but leaflets on how to use it were available in west Wicklow by 23 March.³¹ On 23 March, local rector and secretary of the Dunlavin relief committee, Moore Morgan, wrote to the Relief Commission outlining the horrendous distress in Dunlavin and requesting 'the immediate introduction of Indian corn'.³² Despite the provision of maize, the situation in Dunlavin remained critical into the summer of 1846, and Moore Morgan again contacted the Relief Commission in July, requesting a monetary donation 'to replenish their exhausted funds'.³³ On 25 July a donation of £100 was approved for Dunlavin.³⁴ Payment of this sum was authorised on the same day,³⁵ and Joseph Pratt Tynte, treasurer of the Dunlavin relief committee, promptly thanked the relief

²⁶ James and O Maitiu (eds), *The Wicklow world of Elizabeth Smith*, p. 59.

²⁷ Karel Kiely, 'Poverty and Famine in County Kildare, 1820 to 1850', in William Nolan and Thomas McGrath (eds), *Kildare history and society* (Dublin, 2006), p. 503.

²⁸ *Leinster Express*, 28 Feb 1846.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 28 Mar 1846.

³⁰ Daly, *The Famine in Ireland*, p. 71.

³¹ O Maitiu, 'Responses to Famine in west Wicklow', p. 101.

³² Moore Morgan to Relief Commission, 21 Mar 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Incoming letters, numerical sub-series RLFC3/1/878)

³³ Moore Morgan to Relief Commission, 22 Jul 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Incoming letters, numerical sub-series RLFC3/1/4643)

³⁴ *Correspondence explanatory of the measures adopted for the relief of distress arising from the failure of the potato crop* [735] H.C. 1846, xxxvii, p. 242. This sum was bolstered to £125 by local subscriptions, but much of this had already been expended

³⁵ Authorisation letter signed by Thomas Redington, Under Secretary, 25 Jul 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Incoming letters, numerical sub-series RLFC3/1/4730)

commissioners for the recommended grant of £100. He also advised the commissioners that the relief works proposed by the Office of Public Works in the region would be of little use in alleviating distress in the village, as they were in areas 'too remote to be of any service to the labouring poor of Dunlavin'.³⁶ Possibly as a result of this, work was later carried on at the Carrigower river at Whitestown, three miles from Dunlavin, where a drainage scheme costing £3096 0s. 8d. was pursued.³⁷

Food aid, monetary aid and relief works were all urgently needed by late July 1846, as the potato blight took a devastating toll. When he saw 'the afflicting appearance of the potato fields' in his diocese, Archbishop Murray wrote despondently 'I do not know how the poor will get through the winter'.³⁸ The infestation was complete throughout county Wicklow, as by early August it was present in every district electoral division in the county.³⁹ As the autumn months progressed, west Wicklow was gripped by increasing distress and widespread starvation. On 25 September, Elizabeth Smith noted gloomily in her diary:

Here comes the famine... the rain has spoiled the few miserable potatoes left, the markets are higher than they were ever known to be since the war... so here we are, the peasantry starving.⁴⁰

Starvation provoked a remarkable incident in Dunlavin on 23 September 1846. The event began in Hollywood, when about fourteen labourers from the townlands of Luglass Upper, Luglass Lower and Toor, went to the police station there and told Constable Harper, that they were 'in a starving state from want of food and employment'. They made him aware of their intention to 'go to Archdeacon Eager [of

³⁶ Joseph P. Tynte to Relief Commission, 25 Jul 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Incoming letters, numerical sub-series RLFC3/1/4785)

³⁷ *Commissioners of public works (Ireland): seventeenth report with appendices* [1098] H.C. 1849, xxiii, p. 214.

³⁸ Murray is cited in Donal Kerr, *The Catholic Church and the Famine* (Dublin, 1996), pp 10-1.

³⁹ Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', p. 802.

⁴⁰ Patricia Pelly and Andrew Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland* (Edinburgh, 3rd ed, 1991), p. 261. Also James and O Maitiu (eds), *The Wicklow world of Elizabeth Smith*, pp 64-5.

Blessington] and to Mr. Lynch's and ask for employment'. They were orderly, and posed no threat to the constable, but informed him quietly that 'they would do nothing to disgrace themselves and that they would go to Dunlavin petty sessions this day and repeat the state they were in to the magistrates there sitting'.⁴¹ With that, they left the police station *en route* for Dunlavin.

This pathetic procession of the poor proceeded to make a peaceful protest at the petty sessions of Dunlavin. As they passed through Hollywood *en route* to Dunlavin, their numbers swelled considerably, and they assembled in a large crowd at Dunlavin courthouse. Bartholomew Warburton described what happened:

Just as the petty sessions business was over, a vast number of labouring poor came into the court demanding work, money or provisions, declaring that they were in a state of starvation. I pointed out to them that everything was doing that could be; that there was a large meeting in Baltinglass yesterday for the upper half of the barony of Talbotstown, and that I would proceed immediately to Blessington to see Mr. Owen and the other magistrates of the lower half of the barony of Talbotstown to represent to them what had occurred and to point out the propriety of having a meeting to address His Excellency the lord lieutenant on the state of destitution in this barony. I believe a meeting will be called tomorrow for Saturday, on which day I shall attend.⁴²

This invasion of the courthouse by the poor was a well-behaved affair. Cradwell stated that the people were 'very quiet'. They were deferential to Warburton and the clerk of the petty sessions, Jonas Woodman.⁴³ Their peaceful protest indicates that they sought only to communicate their critical situation to the authorities. It was as formal a plea to the authorities, represented in this instance by the local magistrates, as the labouring

⁴¹ James Cradwell to Bartholomew Warburton, 23 Sep 1846 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/25813/2)

⁴² Bartholomew Warburton to [?], 23 Sep 1846 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/25813/1). Cradwell's report to Warburton was enclosed with this letter. The meeting 'of the gentry etc. in Blessington to consider the state of the starving poor' was held on 26 Sep. Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, p. 261. However, the meeting had little effect as the crisis worsened over the winter months of 1846-47 all over west Wicklow.

⁴³ *Correspondence explanatory of the measures adopted for the relief of distress arising from the failure of the potato crop* [735] H.C. 1846, xxxvii, p. 242. *Abstract return from clerks of the petty sessions in Ireland for amount of fees received, 1842-1844* [233] H.C. 1845, xlv, p. 12.

poor, who usually did not operate in a formal manner, ever made to their masters. The march on Dunlavin courthouse was an act of despairing supplication, indicating the hopes placed by the poor in a paternalist world, such as had obtained in the eighteenth century. This was not a unique event. Similar protests took place elsewhere, one of the most notable occurring on 4 May 1847 at Enniskillen workhouse, where 351 paupers arrived and remained until all were admitted *en masse*.⁴⁴

It was unsurprising that this form of quiet form of mass protest surfaced in the Dunlavin-Hollywood region. Elizabeth Smith identified both villages in her diary as suffering the worst of the widespread distress in west Wicklow. The principal landlords in these areas were the Tyntes in Dunlavin and the Beresfords in Hollywood, and Smith referred critically to the misery of the poorer classes under 'thoughtless' landlords in the villages, both of which 'presented scenes of abject misery'.⁴⁵ She was indignant on 2 April 1847 when she learned that 'our half barony of Lower Talbotstown was amongst the most wretched of all the distressed districts'. She concluded that 'the fact is that Holywood [Hollywood] must be meant' and observed that 'neglect pauperises the whole Dunlavin division'.⁴⁶ Lower Talbotstown received the highest level of expenditure on public works in county Wicklow (between £4 and £5 per labouring family) between August 1846 and January 1847.⁴⁷ However, these works had little positive effect on Dunlavin, which remained in the grip of abject poverty and distress.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Joan Vincent, 'A political orchestration of the Irish Famine', Marilyn Silverman and P. H. Gulliver (eds), *Approaching the past: historical anthropology through Irish case studies* (New York, 1992), pp 79 and 92. Though the mute appeal was to the Board of Guardians of the workhouse rather than to the local magistrates in the Fermanagh case, there are parallels with the Dunlavin event, particularly in the attitudes and behaviour of desperate people, who perceived their appeal as a last-ditch effort to improve their situation.

⁴⁵ James and O Maitiu (eds), *The Wicklow world of Elizabeth Smith*, pp 88 and 128.

⁴⁶ Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, p. 312.

⁴⁷ Daly, *The Famine in Ireland*, p. 83.

⁴⁸ Joseph P. Tynte to Relief Commission, 25 Jul 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Incoming letters, numerical sub-series RLFC31/4785)

Smith's anxiety regarding Dunlavin was justified as alarming reports towards the end of 1846 made it clear that the Dunlavin region experienced the severest distress in all of west Wicklow. James Boyle, superintendent engineer for the Board of Works Relief department in the county, identified Dunlavin on 16 December 1846 as the most distressed settlement in the west of the county, stating 'On Tuesday 10th instant there was not one cwt of meal in the town of Dunlaine [Dunlavin], where there is much poverty, and where nearly 200 men are employed on relief works'. Boyle also reported that at Baltinglass 'matters are but a little better'. He described the town as 'a nucleus of misery', and 'without a resident landlord or agent, and where there are 280 labourers having relief tickets'.⁴⁹

The district administered by the Dunlavin relief committee was divided into four subdivisions to facilitate the collection of subscriptions and the distribution of relief. Moore Morgan, the secretary, requested permission for this administrative alteration, and emphasised the severe shortage of food in the area.⁵⁰ Three months later, Moore Morgan advised the relief commissioners that the subdivision of Dunlavin district had been completed.⁵¹

Despite these administrative changes, the new year brought no respite. On 17 January 1847 Boyle again singled out Dunlavin as hugely distressed, reporting that 'in Dunlaine, population 990, a comparatively good market town, the capital of a great

⁴⁹ James Boyle to J. C. Walker (secretary of the Office of Public Works), 16 Dec 1846, *Correspondence relating to the measures adopted for the relief of distress in Ireland Jul 1846-Jan 1847*, British Parliamentary papers, Famine: Ireland series, vi (Shannon, 1970), p. 401.

⁵⁰ Moore Morgan to Relief Commission, 14 Dec 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Incoming letters, baronial sub-series RLFC3/2/32/37/1). Countersigned by Joseph Pratt Tynte as treasurer of the committee.

⁵¹ Moore Morgan to Relief Commission, 13 Mar 1847 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Incoming letters, baronial sub-series RLFC3/2/32/37/2). The subdivisions were Dunlavin, Hollywood, Donard and Crehelp. Countersigned by Joseph Pratt Tynte as treasurer of the committee.

district... I found but three days provisions, yet on this town more than four hundred relief labourers depend for their supplies'.⁵² Boyle indicated that the amount of people dependant on relief works in Dunlavin had more than doubled in a month. Elizabeth Smith observed on 17 December 1846 that 'the poorhouses are full... the people are starving',⁵³ adding on 20 December:

The Famine has come [to] every neglected property... the poorhouse is full, 1,100 where there never was 200, and sheds erecting for hundreds more; the price of provisions is so enormous, three times the wages would not give sufficient food to a family.⁵⁴

Dunlavin was served by Baltinglass poorhouse, which opened its doors on 28 October 1841 with a supposed capacity of 500 people.⁵⁵ Some townlands near Dunlavin were in Naas poor law union, where the poorhouse, designed for 550 people, began its operations on 4 August 1841.⁵⁶ Both workhouses could not cope with the demand for their services now that famine stalked the land.⁵⁷ The scale of the task facing the workhouses may be gauged by the fact that, during the first half of 1847, as many as 6,450 people (15.9 per cent of the population) were supplied with food in Baltinglass Union, and 12,931 (24.8 per cent of the population) in Naas Union.⁵⁸ Worsening conditions and increasing desperation led on occasion to a breakdown of discipline among poorhouse inmates. One such case occurred in 1847 when Lawrence Murphy, a fourteen-year-old boy from Dunlavin, was charged with 'disorderly conduct in

⁵² James Boyle to Mr. Walker, 17 Jan 1847, *Measures adopted for the relief of distress in Ireland: correspondence: Commissariat series ii* [796] H.C. 1847, liii, p. 20. Also *Correspondence relating to the measures adopted for the relief of distress in Ireland Jul 1846-Jan 1847*, British Parliamentary papers, Famine: Ireland series, vii (Shannon, 1970), p. 19.

⁵³ Baltinglass was the first workhouse in County Wicklow to be declared full on 14 Nov 1846. Naas was declared full on 10 Jan 1847: Eva O Cathaoir, 'The poor law in County Wicklow', Hannigan and Nolan (eds.), *Wicklow: History and Society* (Dublin, 1994), p. 535.

⁵⁴ Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, pp 276-7.

⁵⁵ Paul Gorry, *Baltinglass chronicles 1851-2001* (Dublin, 2006), p. 15.

⁵⁶ Karel Kiely, 'Naas workhouse during the Famine', Kildare County Council, *Lest we forget: Kildare and the Great Famine* (Naas, 1995), p. 37. A daily caravan, leaving at 5.20 p.m. connected Naas to Dunlavin, strengthening links between the two settlements. *Slater's Directory* (Dublin, 1846) ii, p. 77.

⁵⁷ Ó Cathaoir, 'The poor law in County Wicklow', p. 536.

⁵⁸ Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', p. 808. In Ballymore-Eustace, 34 per cent of the population received relief.

Baltinglass workhouse' and sentenced to one month in Wicklow gaol.⁵⁹ Murphy's plight was symbolic of the deepening crisis.

Crisis turned to catastrophe in the winter of 1846-1847. The severely inclement weather experienced in December 1846 acted as a catalyst for the rising levels of distress and famine in the Dunlavin region.⁶⁰ In January 1847 J. C. Walker, the secretary of the Office of Public Works, wrote to the Relief Commission, informing them that the public works in county Wicklow were overcrowded. In the west of the county, Dunlavin and Baltinglass were identified once more as the worst affected areas, with very rapid increases in food prices exacerbating the situation.⁶¹ Inflation was a feature of 1846, and on 9 January 1847, Lieut. Anderson, the Board of Works inspecting officer for county Wicklow, confirmed that the trend showed no signs of abating:

The prices of provisions are, I regret to say, increasing. One poor object came to me on the works yesterday and said 'I got 5s last week, but all I could get for it at Dunlavin was a stone and a half of meal, and how, Sir, will that support a small but helpless family of four besides myself?'⁶²

Donations and subscriptions for Dunlavin had little effect in these circumstances, as conditions in the village and its hinterland continued to disimprove.⁶³

⁵⁹ Wicklow County Council, *The Famine in County Wicklow* (Wicklow, 1996), section 10, pp 2-3. Murphy was 4 foot 8½ inches tall, had blue eyes, fair hair, fresh complexion, was Roman Catholic, single, and could read and write. Oral tradition in west Wicklow and Kildare suggests that some people may have committed crimes in the workhouses because prisoners in the jail were slightly better fed than workhouse inmates. I am indebted to Mr. Ger Kinchella of Naas for this information.

⁶⁰ Snow fell throughout Dec 1846 in west Wicklow: Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, pp 272-9 passim.

⁶¹ J. C. Walker to Relief Commission, 17 Jan 1847 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Incoming letters, baronial sub-series RLFC3/2/32/15/1)

⁶² *Correspondence relating to the measures adopted for the relief of distress in Ireland Jan-Mar 1847* [797] H.C. 1847, lii, p. 116.

⁶³ On 5 Feb 1847 donations of £96, increased to £96 10s with subscriptions, were recorded for Dunlavin. *Measures adopted for the relief of distress in Ireland: correspondence: Commissariat series ii* [796] H.C. 1847, liii, p. 113.

As a result of inflation, and a loss of confidence in the wisdom of cultivating a potato crop, another problem now manifested itself. Farmers in west Wicklow had 'neither seed for planting nor money to pay labourers'.⁶⁴ The electoral division of Dunlavin comprised 11,264 acres, but in 1847 a mere 100 acres of potatoes were sown in the area. Within the wider Baltinglass poor law union of 149,523 acres, home to 40,687 people in 1841, there were only 2,153 acres under potatoes in 1847.⁶⁵ The significance of this is best understood by the fact that, 30 years later in 1877, there were 3,647 acres under potatoes in the union.⁶⁶ In other words, nearly 15 per cent less land was used to grow potatoes in 1847 than in 1877, though nearly twice as many people depended on it for survival.

The year 1847 is remembered in oral tradition and folk history as 'Black '47', but ironically the potato crop was virtually undiseased that year, as the potato blight was much less serious than in the previous two years.⁶⁷ There simply were not enough potatoes sown. Moreover, there was a severe shortage of money in the economy at a time of rising prices for basic provisions, and many people were considerably weakened by privations already suffered. As a result, health problems multiplied, with dysentery and dropsy becoming prevalent early in 1847.⁶⁸ In March 1847, a temporary fever hospital began operating at Baltinglass, serving the whole poor law union, including Dunlavin, where typhus was rife among the malnourished and weakened population later in the year. In addition to typhus, cases of scurvy, dropsy and dysentery were common.⁶⁹ Ballitore in county Kildare also experienced many cases of

⁶⁴ J. C. Walker to Relief Commission, 23 Jan 1847 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission Papers, Incoming letters, baronial sub-series RLFC3/2/32/15/2)

⁶⁵ *Return of agricultural produce in Ireland 1847* [1923] H.C. 1848, lvii, pp 14-5.

⁶⁶ *The agricultural statistics for Ireland 1877* [1938], H.C. 1878, lxxviii, p. 30

⁶⁷ Christine Kinealy, *A death dealing famine: the Great Hunger in Ireland* (London, 1997), p. 118.

⁶⁸ Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', p. 805.

⁶⁹ Gorry, *Baltinglass chronicles*, p. 17.

dysentery in the spring and early summer of 1847.⁷⁰ In neighbouring Kilcullen, stables were converted into a fever hospital by July.⁷¹ Both settlements were within five miles of Dunlavin, where the misery and severe poverty ensured that the poor law rate in Dunlavin electoral division in 1847, which had the second-highest valuation of the eight divisions in Baltinglass poor law union, was less than that in the Baltinglass, Stratford, Kiltegan, Rathdangan and Hollywood divisions, with only the mountainous (and less populous) divisions of Donard and Donoughmore returning lower figures.⁷² The rate paid in the pound was actually the lowest in the union.⁷³ The paucity of the poor rate in the Dunlavin district indicates that the local economy had broken down, a fact confirmed by the lack of sales at fairs and markets. In September 1847 there was 'nothing offered for anything' at Rathsallagh fair,⁷⁴ a trend repeated there two years later when all Henry Smith's stock 'came back from Rathsallagh without an offer being made for a single beast'.⁷⁵ Other fairs in the region, such as Blessington and Naas, also disappointed, with 'plenty of sellers but no buyers' during this period.⁷⁶ This situation is indicative of the collapse of west Wicklow's monetary economy, which began in earnest in 1847.

A grimmer indicator of distress than the monetary figures are the mortality figures for 1847, which rose from 1,630 in county Wicklow in 1846 to 2,777 in 1847. These were the highest figures registered during the Famine (figure 18).⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Kiely, 'Poverty and Famine in County Kildare', p. 510.

⁷¹ *Leinster Express*, 10 Jul 1847.

⁷² *Abstract return of poor rates and expenditure of poor law unions in Ireland 1847-48* [707] H.C. 1848, liii, p. 6. The amounts for each district electoral division were Baltinglass £1,414, Stratford £530, Kiltegan £573, Rathdangan £403, Hollywood £447, Donoughmore £316, Donard £164 and Dunlavin £385.

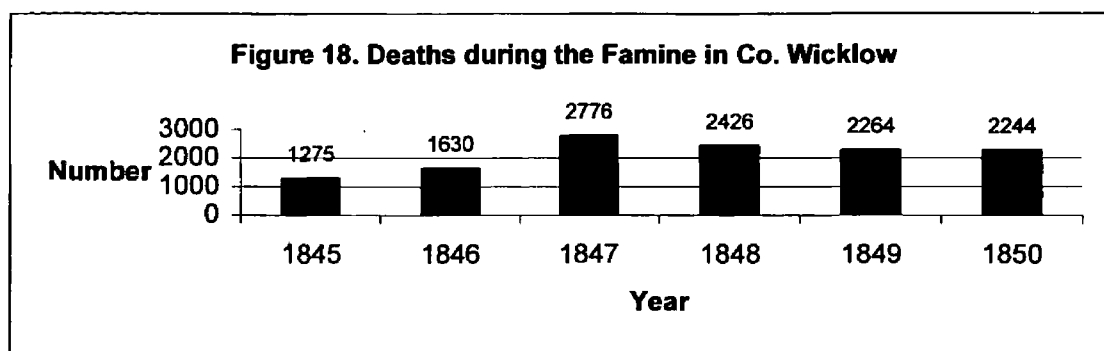
⁷³ *Return of valuation of each electoral division in Ireland 1847* [311] H.C. 1848, lvii, p. 3. The rates in the pound for each district electoral division were Baltinglass 3s, Stratford no rate returned, Kiltegan 1s 10d, Rathdangan 2s, Hollywood 1s 4d, Donoughmore 10d, Donard 1s and Dunlavin 9d.

⁷⁴ Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, p. 348.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

⁷⁶ James and O Maitiu (eds), *The Wicklow world of Elizabeth Smith*, pp 95 and 112.

⁷⁷ Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', p. 810.



Source: Ken Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society*.

The crisis ensured that the workhouses were full, and well over the official limits. The number of inmates in Naas workhouse, which could officially hold 550 people, reached 700 September 1847 and rose above 800 in December.⁷⁸ The sharp rise in this number in 1847 was due to a large influx from west Wicklow.⁷⁹

When the Famine was at its zenith in 1847, many people, driven by desperation, turned to crime. There was an increase in criminality throughout county Wicklow in 1847,⁸⁰ and this persisted during the later years of the Famine.⁸¹ Sheep stealing was common throughout west Wicklow,⁸² and continued in the region until 1850.⁸³ In July 1847, cattle were stolen at Stratford-on-Slaney.⁸⁴ At the June quarter sessions in Baltinglass, seventy prisoners were tried and sixty-eight convicted, many for famine-induced crimes.⁸⁵ The problem of lawlessness was particularly acute in Dunlavin. A gang who operated 'in the neighbourhood', contrived by 'picking locks and breaking into farmers' barns etc.', to carry on 'a system of plunder to a very large amount... which

⁷⁸ Kiely, 'Naas workhouse during the Famine', p. 37.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 33.

⁸⁰ Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', p. 809.

⁸¹ Ó Maitiú, 'Responses to Famine in west Wicklow', p. 105.

⁸² *Correspondence relating to the measures adopted for the relief of distress in Ireland Jan-Mar 1847* [797] H.C.1847, lii, p. 116.

⁸³ Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, p. 500.

⁸⁴ Stephen Nolan to Thomas Redington, 15 Jul 1847 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/192)

⁸⁵ Bartholomew Warburton to ?, 24 Jun 1847 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/179)

for some time evaded the vigilance of the constabulary'. Eventually, in June 1848, one of the gang gave information to the authorities, and owing to the diligent work of 'Sub Constable Correll of the Dunlavin station [who] gave much satisfaction in the manner in which he followed out the information... produced such convictions as will completely break up [the gang]'. At the June quarter sessions in Baltinglass, twenty people were sentenced to imprisonment and eight transported for seven years. Members of the latter group were involved in multiple crimes, including 'no less than seven serious robberies'. The informer in this case was to have his money paid to him 'out of the country' as 'he would not be allowed to live in it'.⁸⁶

The lawlessness evident in Dunlavin prompted Joseph Pratt Tynte in 1848 to order the detention of a suspicious character found in the village in April of that year. The man gave his name as John Ryan from Tipperary town, and was wearing branded clothes from Clonmel gaol, so Tynte had him detained in Baltinglass, pending further investigation.⁸⁷ However, Tynte learned that Ryan had been discharged from prison and was a free man.⁸⁸ Having spent ten days in prison, Ryan was released without charge on 3 May 1848.⁸⁹ The incident demonstrates that strangers were regarded with suspicion in the lawless atmosphere pervading Dunlavin. On the same day that Ryan was released, Tynte had another stranger detained in Dunlavin, and 'committed until the pleasure of His Excellency, the lord lieutenant, shall be known'.⁹⁰ The man, James Sullivan, answered the description of a criminal from Cork named Darby Whelan, but

⁸⁶ Bartholomew Warburton to Thomas Redington, 22 Jun 1848 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/129)

⁸⁷ Joseph Tynte to Bartholomew Warburton, 23 Apr 1848 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/95/1)

⁸⁸ J. Shanahan (governor of Clonmel gaol) to Joseph Tynte, 25 Apr 1848 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/95/2)

⁸⁹ Prisoner report signed by Tynte and Warburton, 3 May 1848 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/100/1)

⁹⁰ Committal order signed by Tynte and Warburton, 3 May 1848 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/100/2)

Sullivan was not the wanted man. However, he was still incarcerated on 20 May, nearly three weeks after his arrest.⁹¹

One reason for the rise in vagrancy in Dunlavin was the increased number of evictions from early 1847 onwards. Tenants who fell into arrears with their rent were ejected from the Downshire estate at Blessington in 1847.⁹² Many evictions also occurred in west Wicklow in 1848 and 1849. Most of the electoral divisions in Baltinglass poor law union experienced evictions, including Rathdangan, Rathvilly and Kiltegan. In Dunlavin Tynte carried out three evictions, and there were evictions also in Stratford, Donard, Donaghmore, Stratford, Hollywood and Crehelp.⁹³ Those evicted now had neither land nor food, having lost the means to grow potatoes.

The acreage under potatoes in Baltinglass poor law union in 1848 was nearly double that of the previous year, with 4,716 acres sown,⁹⁴ but the potato blight returned to west Wicklow that summer. The reappearance of the blight discouraged potato growing somewhat in 1849, when the extent under potatoes fell to 3,489 acres in the poor law union.⁹⁵ The disease presented itself yet again in August 1849. As a result, vagrants stole food and starvation persisted, evident 'on every line of the haggard countenance' of a woman met by Elizabeth Smith on the ninth of that month.⁹⁶ The

⁹¹ Prisoner report on James Sullivan, 20 May 1848 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/100/3). Assuming that Sullivan was released, no record of the date of his release is extant.

⁹² Trant, *The Blessington estate*, p. 147. Also Kathy Trant, 'The eviction of the Ballylow tenants on the Blessington estate in 1852', *Journal of the West Wicklow Historical Society*, iv (Naas, 2007), pp 45-7.

⁹³ *Abstract return of notices served on relieving officers of poor law districts in Ireland, by land-owners under the Act for the Protection and Relief of Destitute Poor evicted from their dwellings* [517] H.C. 1849, xlix, p. 6. This parliamentary paper is dated 19 Feb 1849, and the 11 and 12 Vic. c. 47, entitled *A Bill for the Protection and Relief of Destitute Poor evicted from their dwellings (with amendments by the Lords)* [443] H.C. 1848, ii was dated 29 Jun 1848, so the eviction notices covered in the abstract span a period of approximately Jul 1848 to Jan 1849. Basically, the law provided a means of evicting tenants, but subjected the landlords to the necessity of giving notice to poor-law guardians, and to a monetary share of the common burden.

⁹⁴ *Returns of agricultural produce in Ireland, 1848* [1116] H.C. 1849, xlix, p. 21. The 1847 figure in the union was 2,153 acres.

⁹⁵ *Returns of agricultural produce in Ireland, 1849* [1245] H.C. 1850, li, p. 21.

⁹⁶ Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, p. 464.

plight of such women was indirectly responsible for one of the most surprising results of the Famine in Dunlavin – the establishment of a new industry in the area.

With little or no employment for men in the region, providing work for women in industries traditionally suited to female workers, such as the textile industry, seemed a logical option, and Mrs. W. C. Roberts of Thornton House, in Grangebeg townland, instigated a Famine relief project, from which the Thornton lace industry originated.⁹⁷ This commenced in 1847, when Mrs. Roberts introduced crochet to the Dunlavin region as a means of creating some employment for the malnourished poor of the district.⁹⁸ Encouraged by the success of the crochet industry in Cork, which gave employment to many girls whom the mayor described as being ‘in a state of the most helpless and hopeless idleness, a burden upon their humble parents, and of little use to the community’,⁹⁹ Mrs. Roberts inaugurated crochet classes at Thornton, which started when polka [wool] knitting done in the district could no longer be marketed. Finding a piece of crochet that her sister-in-law had brought from Dover, she set five women to copy it. The piece was ‘poorly designed, not unlike crabs and spiders in succession’, but she lent the women ‘bits of handsome old lace to study as well’ and this combined with ‘their own ingenuity’ ensured ‘they brought it [crochet] to its present perfection’.

⁹⁷ Ada K. Longfield, *Guide to the collection of lace, Ard mhusaem na hEireann* (Dublin, undated), unpaginated. Also www.local.ie/dagda/Fermanagh/Roslea/story/crochet/historyofcrochet.html visited on 5/8/1998. The website also states that the story actually began much earlier and on the continent. In the late 1820s Mademoiselle Riego de la Blanchardaire discovered that a certain type of Spanish needlepoint could very effectively be adapted to Irish materials. In 1836 she published a book of patterns, a magnum opus that had taken her five years to compile. This book led to the establishment of many crochet centres in Ireland, the first one being at the Ursuline Convent in Blackrock, County Cork. Irish crochet was often referred to as ‘Nuns’ Work’ and that was the case until the Famine struck the country in 1845. Crochet is often regarded as allied to, rather than as ‘real’, lace. It reputedly originated in the East and spread westwards through Europe. It was certainly popular in convents in France long before the 1789 revolution. Its introduction to the Ursulines of Blackrock probably was through French affiliations but the real expansion of the craft in Ireland occurred during the Famine and immediate post-Famine period.

⁹⁸ I am indebted to Mr. Simon MacDermott of Thornton who first informed me of the Thornton Lace industry.

⁹⁹ Elizabeth Boyle, *The Irish Flowerers* (Belfast, 1971), p. 52.

The knitting carried out in the other polka enterprise must, she observed, have given the workers some training in accuracy and speed.¹⁰⁰

The Thornton Lace industry flourished and at its height in the early 1850s it employed about 700 workers.¹⁰¹ Although Thornton was in county Kildare, Dunlavin was the nearest village and a large proportion of the females employed by Mrs. Roberts came from the village and its hinterland. Indeed, the industry was so successful that it generated payments of between £100 and £300 during every month between the years of 1852-1859 inclusive.¹⁰² As the workforce expanded, the level of skill improved and during the 1850s specialised pieces of Thornton Lace became prized possessions in many upper-class homes.

By the 1850s the human cost of the Famine on the Dunlavin area was apparent. In addition to deaths, county Wicklow experienced high levels of emigration during the period 1845-1850.¹⁰³ No record of the number of deaths exists, and there are similar difficulties encountered in estimating levels of emigration. Many cases of emigration are unrecorded, but one group of emigrants of whom something is known are the fifteen female orphans sent to Australia from Baltinglass poor law union, who arrived in Sydney on board the *Lady Peel* on 3 July 1849.¹⁰⁴ The guardians of Baltinglass

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 52. So began a cottage industry that was to thrive over the next decade or so. In the middle of the nineteenth century simple crochet was not only saleable, but also easy to make and launder as well as being cheap to produce. It needed no equipment except thread and a home made hook and the rise of the middle classes in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century prior to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 created a demand for a cheap form of lace. Ibid, pp 52-5 passim.

¹⁰¹ www.local.ie/dagda/Fermanagh/Roslea/story/crochet/historyofcrochet.html visited on 5/8/1998.

¹⁰² Boyle, *The Irish Flowerers*, p. 52.

¹⁰³ Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', p. 811.

¹⁰⁴ Trevor McLaughlin, *Barefoot and pregnant? Irish Famine orphans in Australia* (Melbourne, 1991), pp 49-60 passim. The fifteen girls, aged between fourteen and twenty, were Mary A. Dempsy, Mary Dowling, Bridget Doyle, Sara Fegan, Eliza Icombe, Margaret Keys, Elizabeth and Judith Nolan, Ann and Celia Moran, Mary Duff, Ann and Ellen Hanbidge, Mary Lalor and Eliza Wilden, who was from Coolamadra in the upland part of Dunlavin parish. Three of these girls are remembered on the Irish Famine memorial at Hyde Park barracks in Sydney. The names of Mary Dooling [Dowling], Elizabeth Nolan and Eliza Icombe appear on the monument. Personal observation, 22 Jul 2006.

poorhouse also applied to send more than 300 people to Canada, but 120 of these, principally widows and orphans, were rejected by an inspector who felt that they would be unable to provide for themselves in their new home.¹⁰⁵

Elizabeth Smith also recorded high levels of emigration in west Wicklow. On 7 April 1850 she wrote despondently: 'There are very few boys left on our side of the country; there will be few men soon, for they are pouring in shoals to America. Crowds upon crowds swarm along the roads, the bye roads, following carts with their trunks and other property'.¹⁰⁶ Dunlavin emigrants travelled on the by-road to Hollywood and through Blessington to Dublin, their point of embarkation. Later that year she observed: 'The numbers gone [through emigration] are quite countless, and the countless numbers going are beyond all calculation, yet the wretchedness left is dreadful'.¹⁰⁷ Smith's testimony indicates the outflow of emigrants demographically decimated the area, and it established a trend that would continue throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Emigration was a major factor in the population decline in Dunlavin and its vicinity between 1841 and 1851. The immediate hinterland of the village, represented by the nineteen townlands in the newly reconstituted Dunlavin district electoral division of Baltinglass poor law union (map 18), experienced a large demographic decline during this period as is clear from figure 19.¹⁰⁸

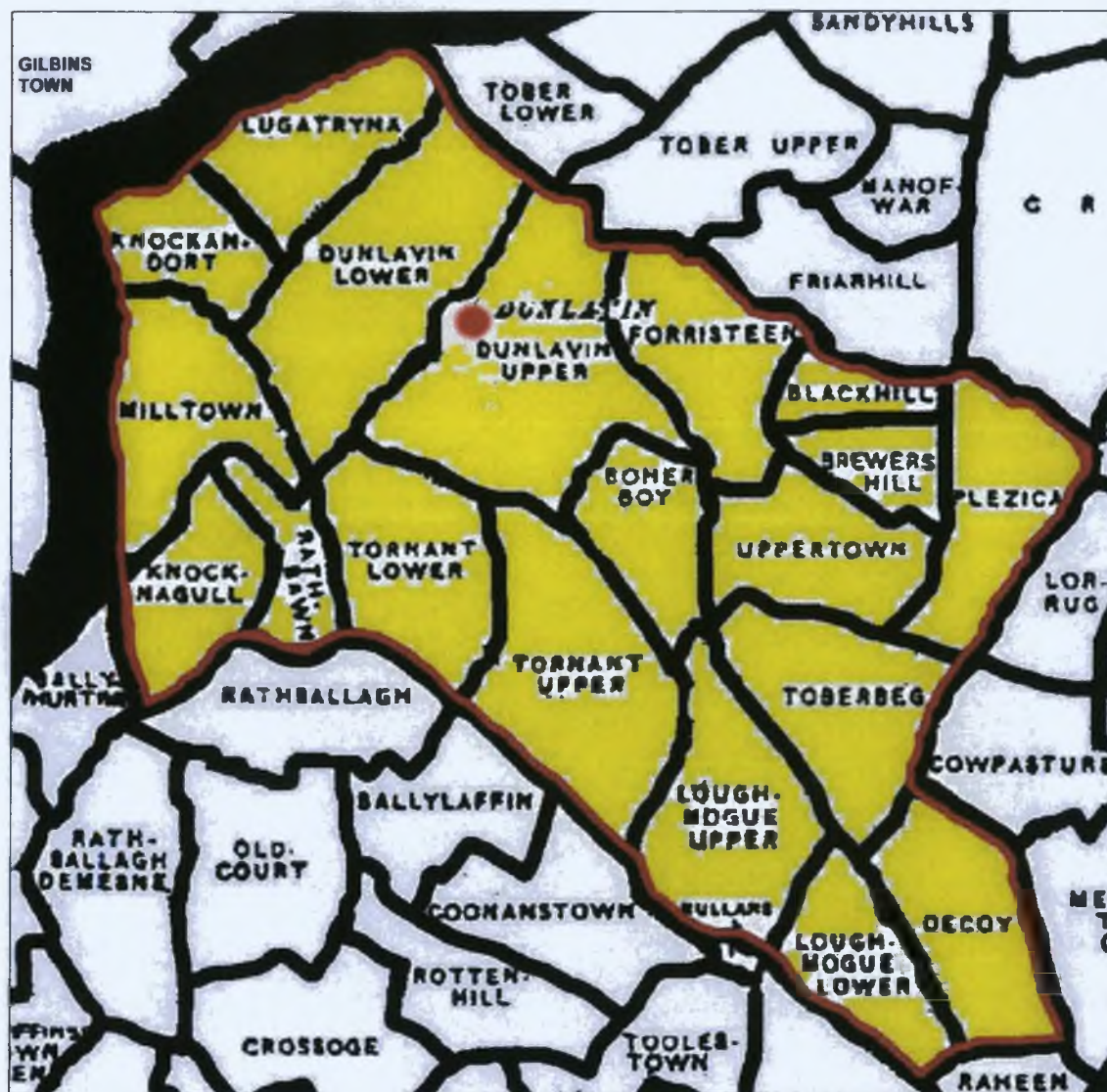
¹⁰⁵ Report on orphan emigrants, (N.A.I., CSORP papers, 1850, MS O.2471, 13527/50). For a concise account of Famine-related Irish emigration to Canada, see Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A study in rural history* (2nd ed., Montreal, 1999), pp 28-47.

¹⁰⁶ Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, p. 507.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 526. The entry is dated Wednesday, 2 Oct 1850.

¹⁰⁸ These electoral divisions were introduced within poor law unions in the mid-nineteenth century. The idea was first mooted in the late 1830s, and *A bill for the more effectual relief of destitute poor in Ireland* [38], H.C. 1837, iii, p. 6 stated 'the commissioners may divide any union into electoral divisions for the election of guardians'. These electoral divisions were finalised before the 1851 census and *A return of valuation for each electoral division in Ireland 1849* [254] H.C. 1850, li, p. 3 included Dunlavin district electoral division as one of eleven in Baltinglass poor law union. The nineteen

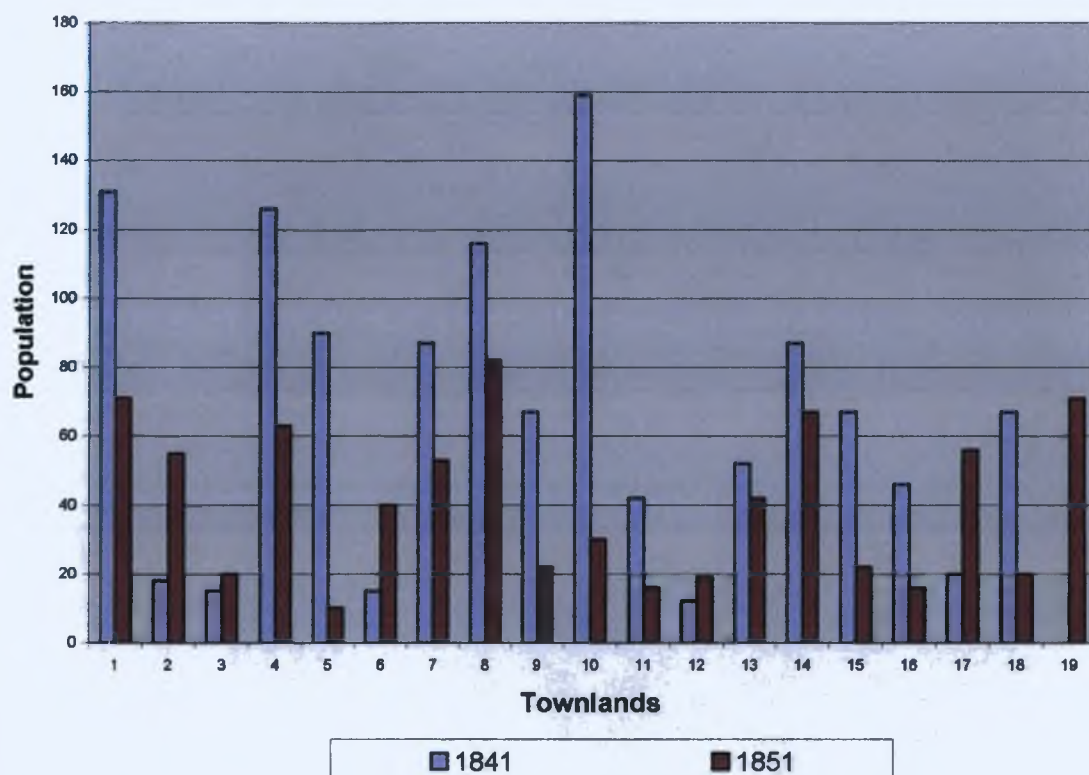
Map 18. Dunlavin DED, comprising nineteen townlands around Dunlavin village.



Source: Townlands index.

townlands in the division were identified in *Commission inquiring into the number and boundaries of poor law unions and electoral divisions, 1849, twelfth report* [1266] H.C. 1850, xxvi, p. 23. These electoral divisions were used as basic units in *A comparative view of the census of Ireland 1841-51* [373] H.C. 1852, xli and Dunlavin appears on p. 7. They were also used in the 1851 and subsequent censuses; hence they represent the most appropriate units to study when calculating post-Famine demographic change in particular localities. Long-term demographic trends in the division are considered in the next section.

**Figure 19. Population change in rural Dunlavin townlands
1841-1851**



Source: Census of 1851.

Key to townlands

1	Loughmogue Upper
2	Knockandort
3	Loughmogue Lower
4	Knocknagull
5	Blackhill
6	Plezica
7	Rathbawn
8	Toberbeg
9	Boherboy
10	Milltown
11	Logatrina
12	Tournant Lower
13	Tournant Upper
14	Uppertown
15	Brewershill
16	Decoy
17	Forristeen
18	Dunlavin Lower
19	Dunlavin Upper

Thirteen of the nineteen rural townlands in Dunlavin D.E.D. experienced demographic decline between 1841 and 1851.¹⁰⁹ The population decline in Dunlavin village was of the order of 24 per cent from 990 to 757 between 1841 and 1851. The decline was even greater, from 2,207 in 1841 to 1,532 in 1851, in the entire electoral division, representing a population decrease of 32 per cent in the region. Effectively, the village lost one person in every four and its rural hinterland lost one person in every three during the Famine. Some townlands, severely overpopulated in 1841, suffered huge losses. These included Decoy, with losses of 65 per cent; Boherboy, where 68 per cent of the population vanished; Dunlavin Lower, which lost 71 per cent; Milltown, where 81 per cent of the population were no longer in residence in 1851 and Blackhill, which lost 89 per cent – or nine out of every ten – of its people.

The scale and severity of the disaster manifested itself in many aspects of life. The distress had a direct effect on marriage rates and birth rates. In October 1845 Elizabeth Smith observed: 'A man should not marry on 4*d.* a day... A farmer should keep no married man whom he cannot give a house to; a girl should marry no man till they have saved enough to buy their furniture'. Yet in November she described the marriage of a young couple near Baltiboys who 'were not content to wait a few years' and 'who have saved nothing'. They were 'without a house, without employment and they are going together trusting in the Lord'.¹¹⁰ However, this was an exceptional occurrence. Early marriage halted in west Wicklow during the Famine, with fewer and later marriages recorded, particularly post-1847. Marriage figures from seven Roman Catholic registers in county Kildare parishes show a marked decline in the numbers of

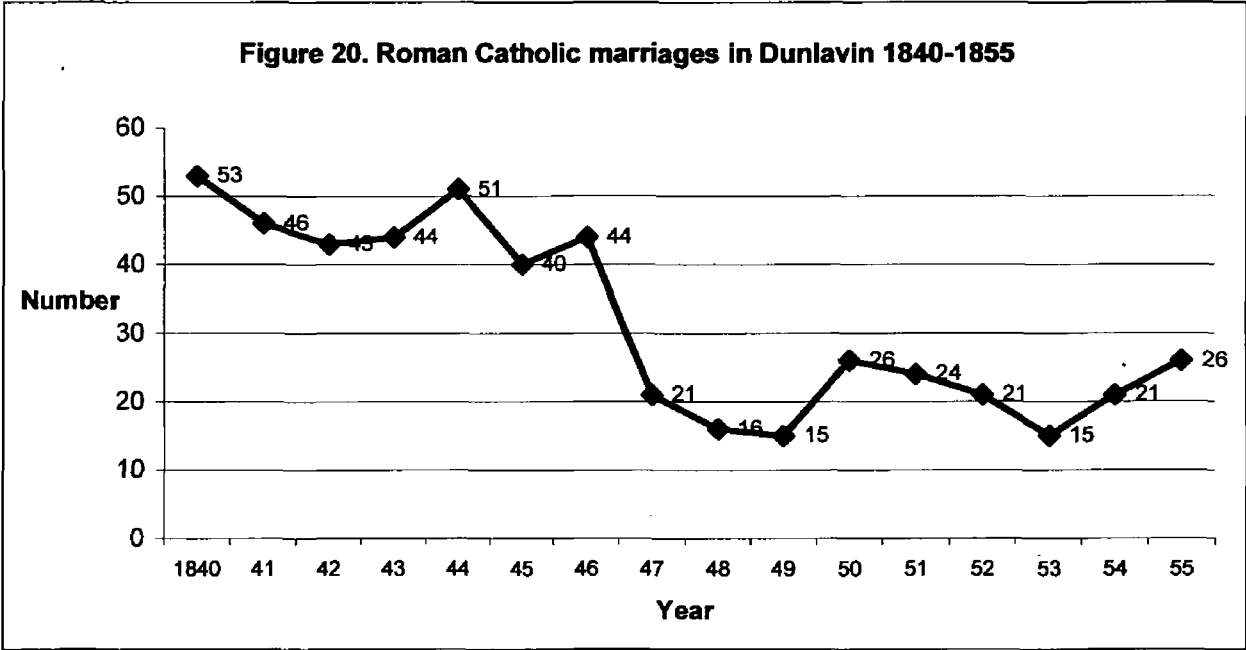
¹⁰⁹ The population of the other six actually increased, but this was determined by their proximity either to the urban space of Dunlavin, or to places of potential employment. This possibility is considered in more detail in the next section of this study, in the context of the continuity of demographic change in the region in the late nineteenth century. However, despite post-Famine population increases in some locations, the overall trend in Dunlavin's rural hinterland was one of decline.

¹¹⁰ Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, pp 195, 204-5.

marriages during the Famine period. At Naas, where the marriage rate in 1847 was 23, the number of marriages fell to 17 in 1848, 13 in 1849 and 12 in 1850.¹¹¹ The Roman Catholic marriage register in Dunlavin reveals a similar trend, with the sharpest decline in the number of marriages and the lowest trough in the figures occurring from 1847 to 1849. Figure 20 shows marriages in Dunlavin Catholic church between 1840 and 1855, inclusive of the Famine and a five-year period either side of it to establish pre and post-Famine trends, in addition to charting the effect of the catastrophe itself on marriage rates. The period from 1840 to 1846 was characterised by a high fluctuating marriage rate, usually in the forties, peaking at 53 in 1840 and never falling below 40, the number of marriages in 1845. The second period of the graph, from 1847 to 1855, depicts a sharp decline at the outset, followed by a low fluctuating trend, reaching 26 in 1850 and 1855, but dipping to 15 in both 1849 and 1853. In the short term, this fall in the marriage rate probably reflected the depletion of the young adult population due to the surge in outmigration. However, the trend towards fewer marriages may also reflect another factor – the prudential postponement of marriages. Post-Famine marriages tended to happen at an older age, ensuring that the bride's dowry played a significant role in the partnership.¹¹² Effectively, the marriage rate in Dunlavin halved due to the Famine, and, crucially for population trends in subsequent decades, the decline in marriage numbers was never reversed, ensuring that permanent major social and demographic changes occurred in the Dunlavin region in the decades following the calamity.

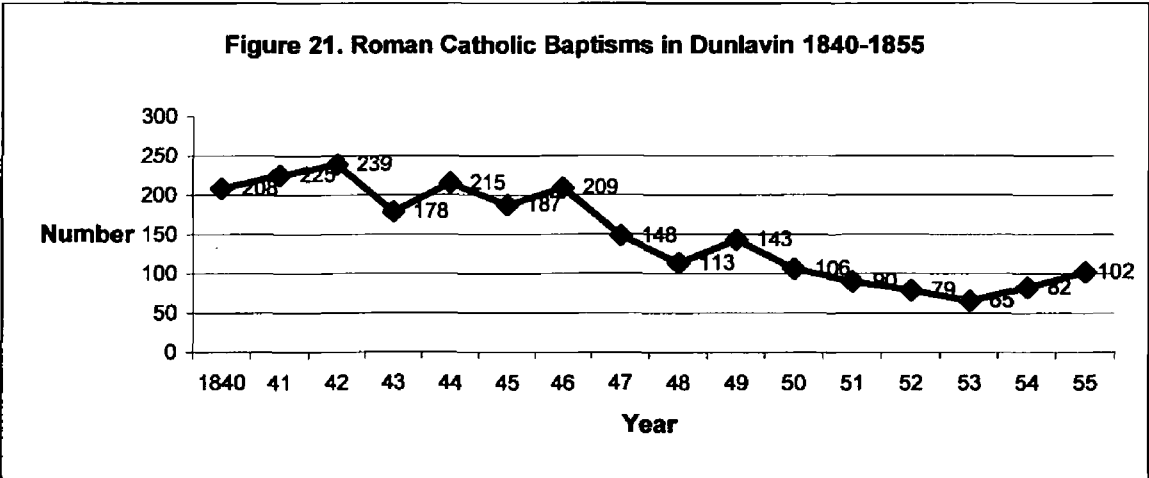
¹¹¹ R. V. Comerford, 'County Kildare and the Famine, *Lest we forget: Kildare and the Great Famine* (Naas, 1995), pp 14-5.

¹¹² Kinealy, *A death dealing famine*, p. 153. Kinealy states 'The importance of a dowry permeated Irish sayings and literature, even into the twentieth century'. See also R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London 1988), pp 340-1 and F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (London, 1971), p. 45.



Source: Dunlavin Roman Catholic parish register.

Fewer and later marriages resulted in a lower birth rate, and Roman Catholic baptismal registers from Dunlavin testify to this trend. Moreover, the trend of the baptismal figures in Dunlavin broadly mirrors that of the marriage figures shown above. The chart depicting baptisms in Dunlavin from 1840 to 1855 (figure 21) may also be divided into two distinct periods.

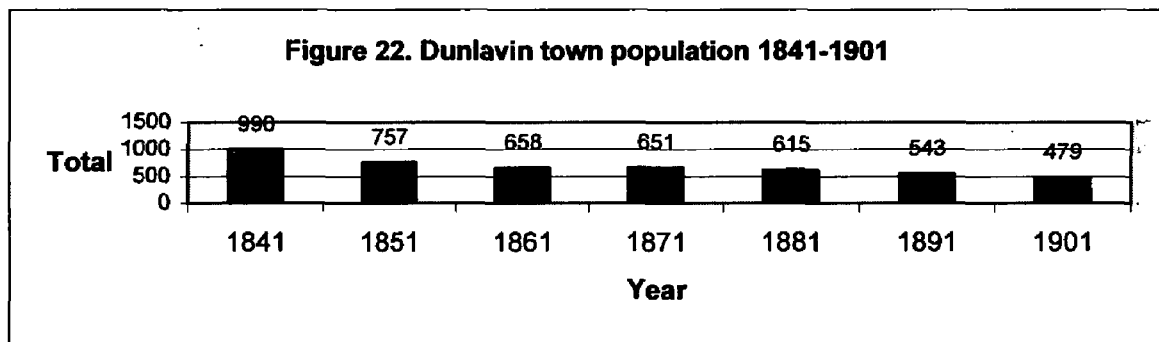


Source: Dunlavin Roman Catholic parish register.

The pre-1847 period reveals a high fluctuating baptism rate, usually at or near the 200 level, and falling below 150 for the first time in 1847. After 1847 the decline continues, creating a low fluctuating trend, reaching its lowest level at 65 in 1853, before recovering somewhat to above 100 in 1855. However, as this was less than half the average number of baptisms in the 1840 to 1846 period, it indicates that the baptism rate, and therefore the birth rate, was effectively half its pre-Famine level, just as the marriage rate had been.

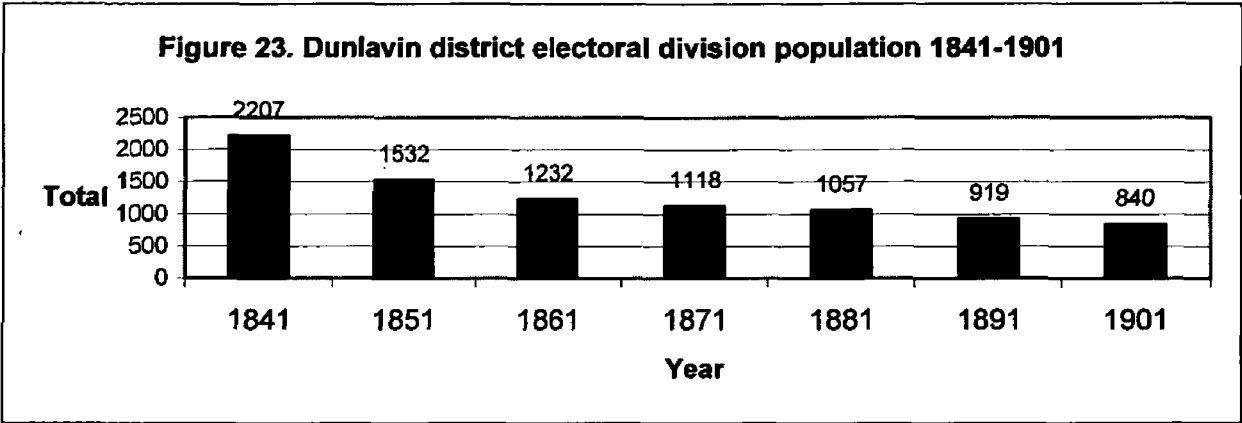
2. Demographic change in Dunlavin, 1851-1901.

Dunlavin's dramatic demographic decrease during the Famine was followed by a further half century of continuous population decline. By 1901 the population of the village had fallen to 479, less than half its 1841 figure of 990 (figure 22).



Sources for this and all similar graphs below: Census of Ireland 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901.

The immediate hinterland of the village, represented by the townlands in Dunlavin district electoral division, also experienced a continuous fall in population during this period, testifying to the reality of long-term emigration, later marriages, smaller family and household numbers, and the consequences of impartible inheritance determining the inheritance of tenancies and farms, forcing younger sons to seek new lives elsewhere (figure23).



However, the overall decline in population experienced by both the village and the wider district electoral division masks some significant local townland variations. The populations of the townlands in the D.E.D. from 1841 to 1901 are graphed below, and, though most of them show a continuous decline during this period, some townlands demonstrate different patterns of population change.

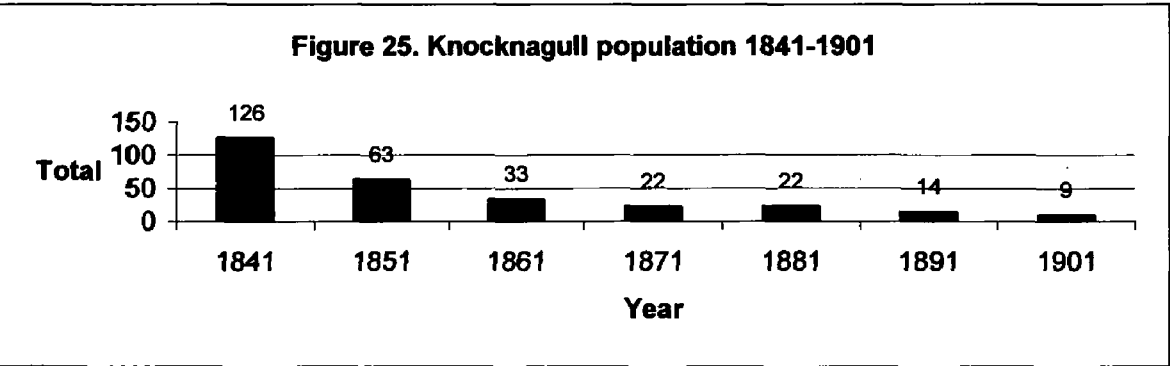
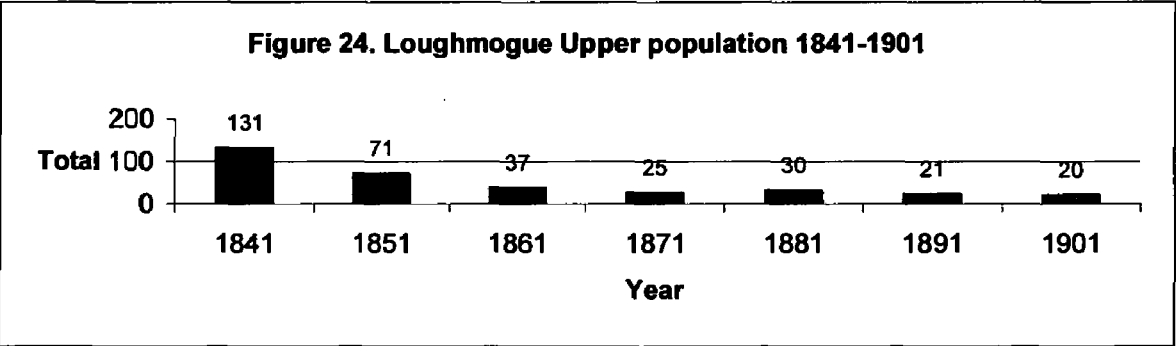


Figure 26. Blackhill population 1841-1901

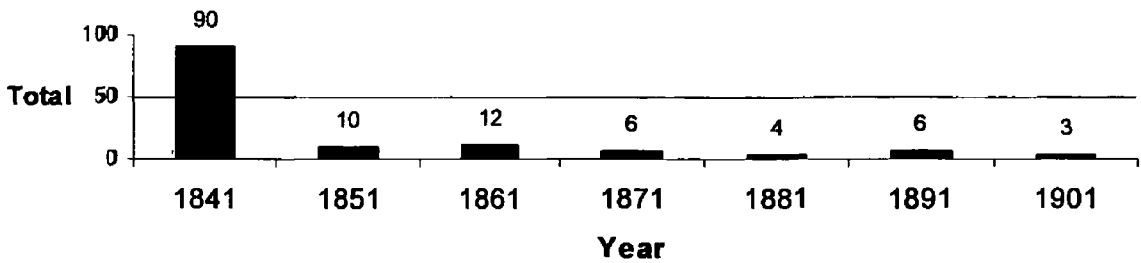


Figure 27. Rathbawn population 1841-1901

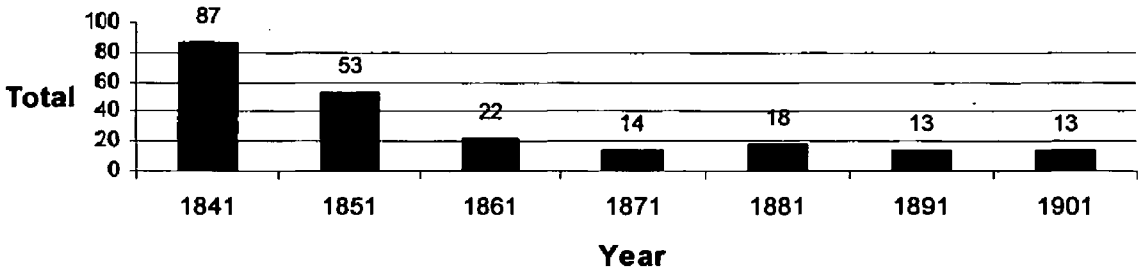


Figure 28. Toberbeg population 1841-1901

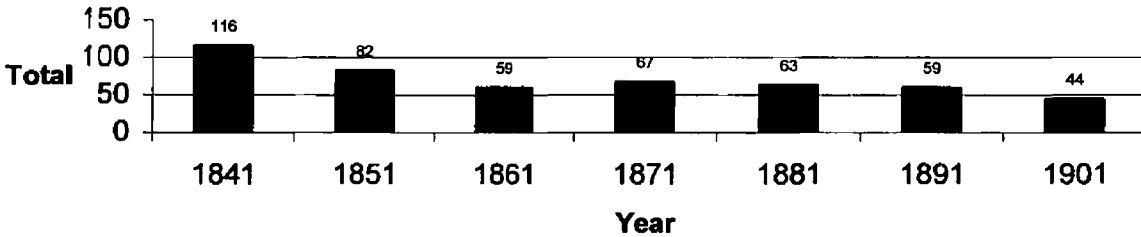
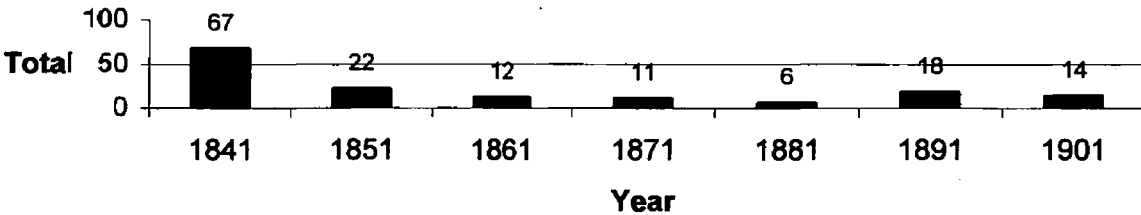
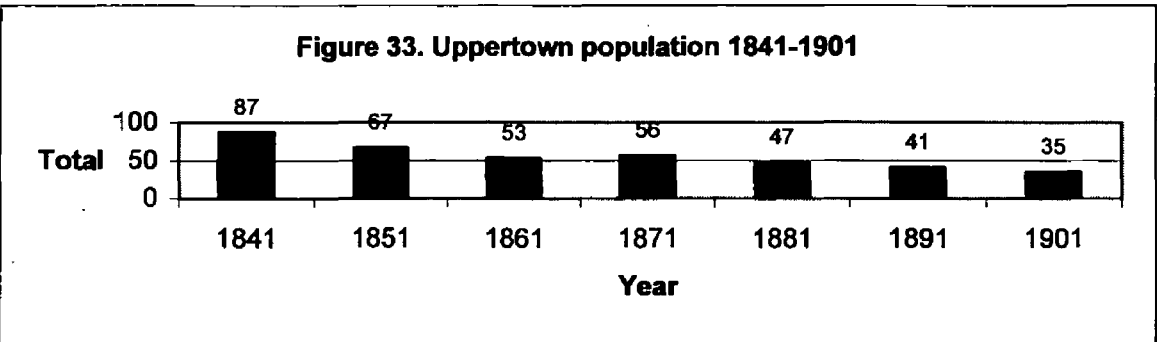
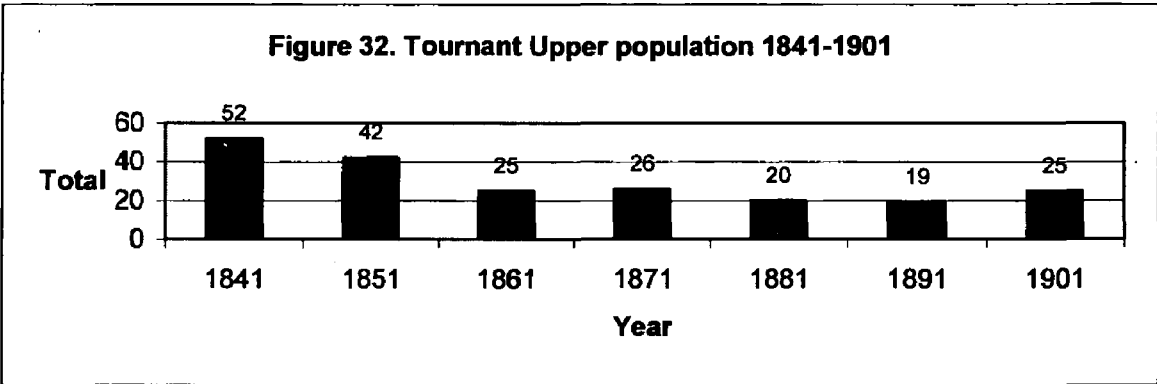
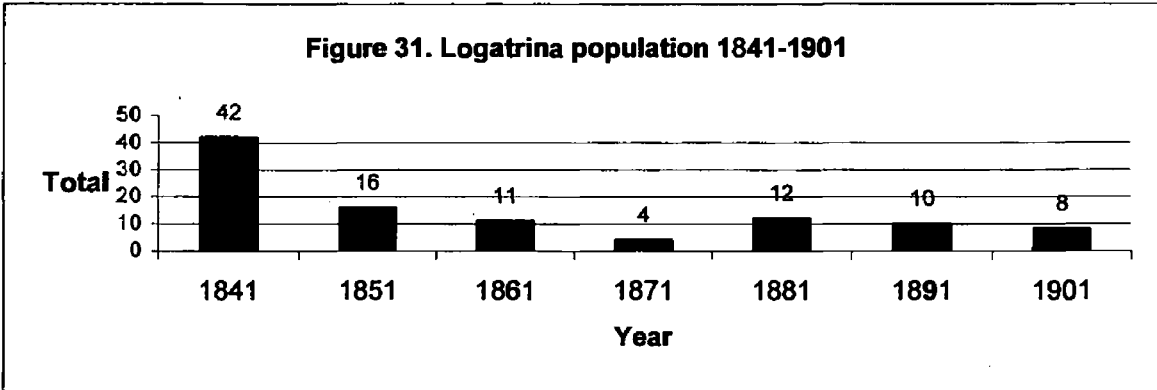
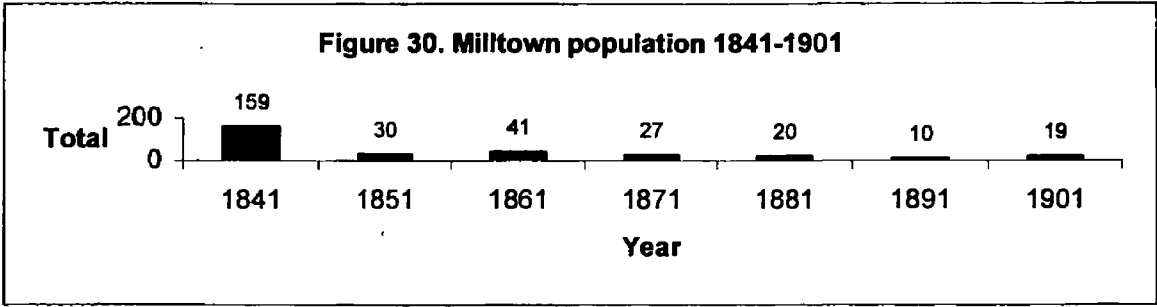
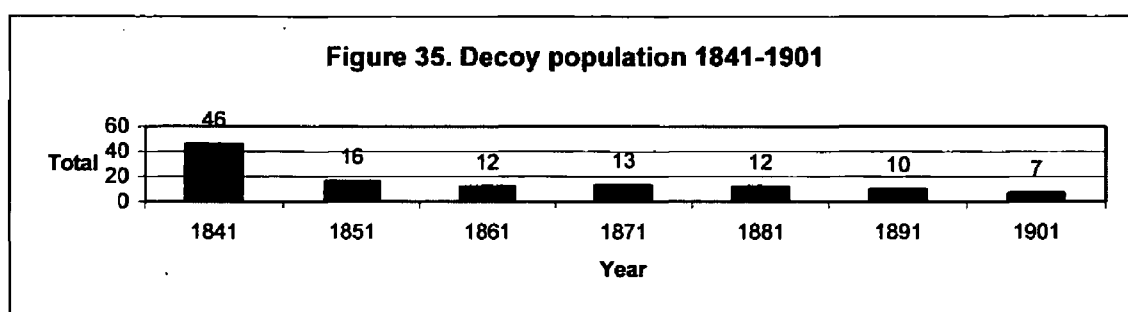
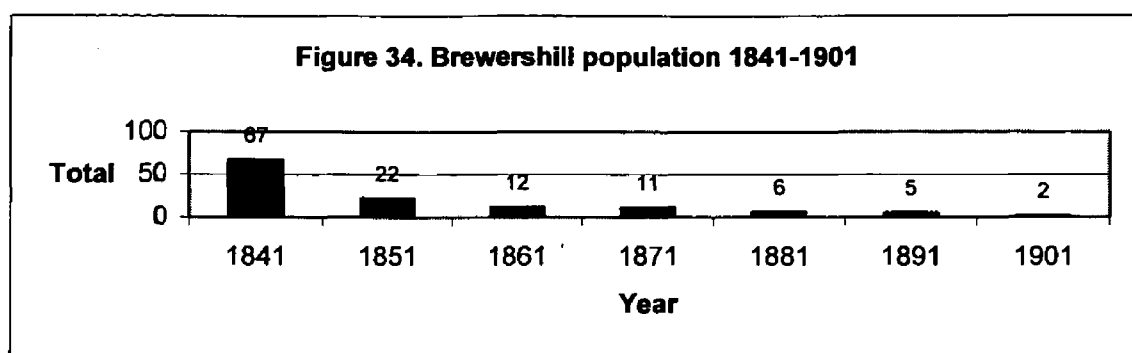


Figure 29. Boherboy population 1841-1901



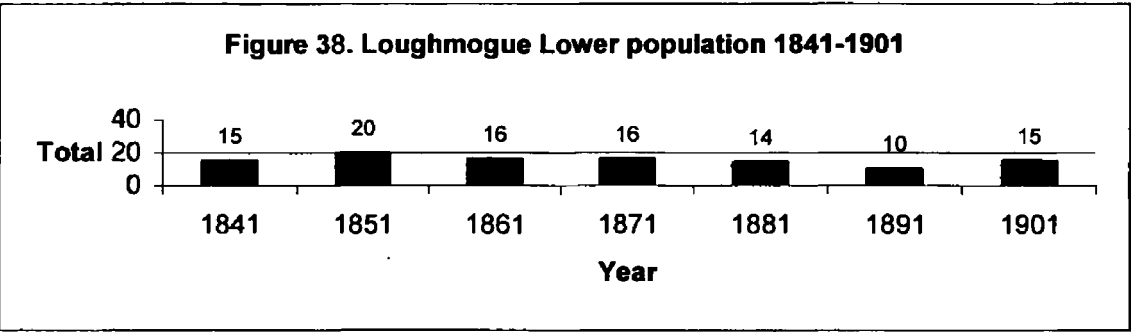
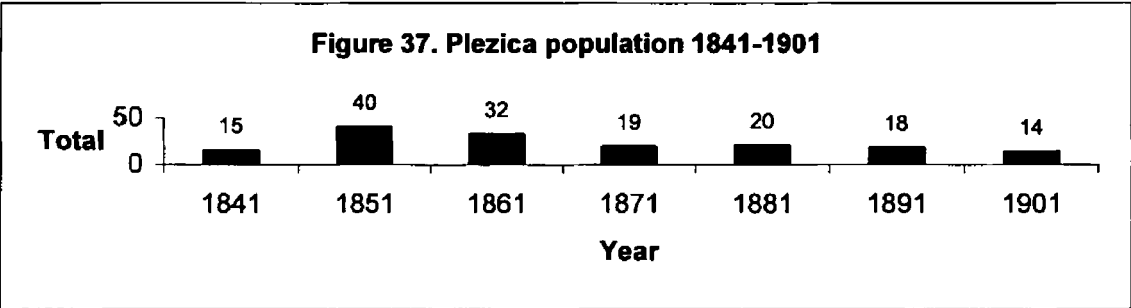
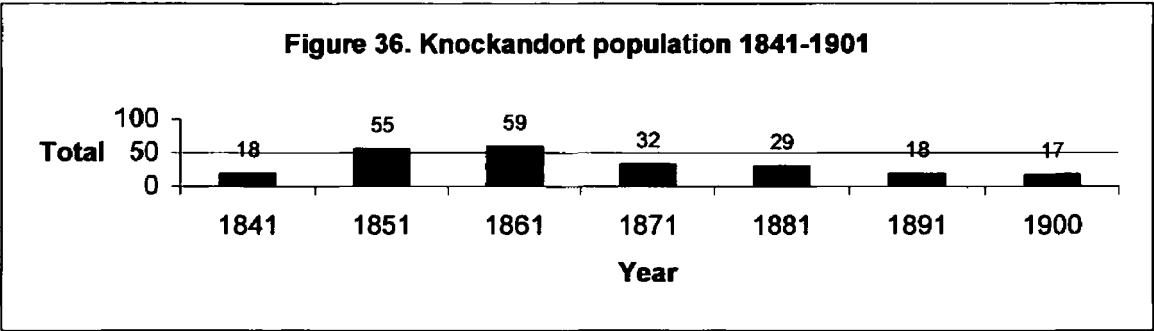


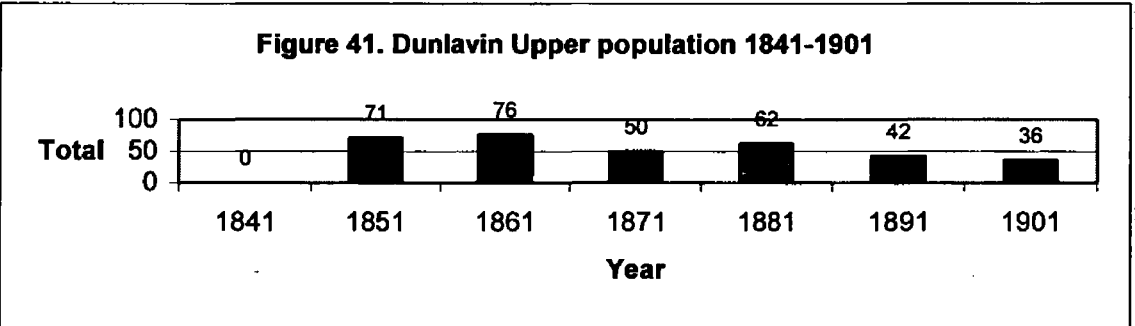
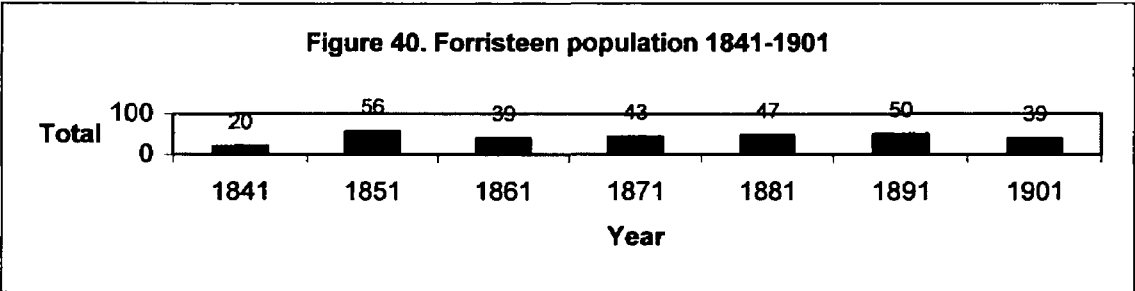
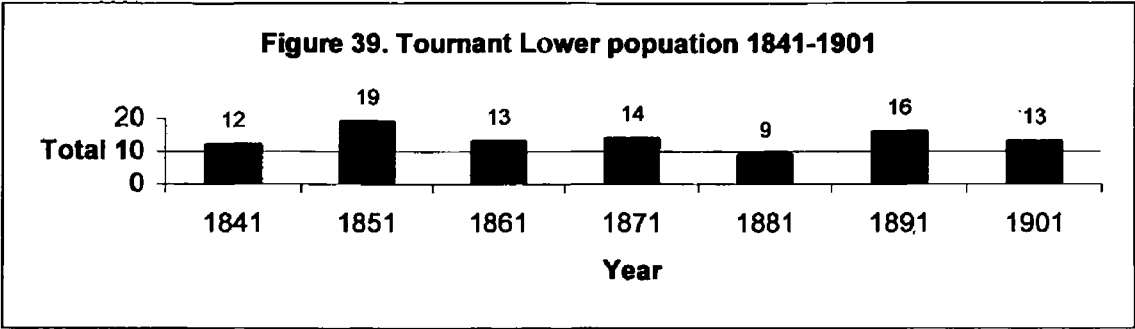


The twelve townlands featuring in graphic form above all demonstrate a similar pattern of severe population decline in the immediate aftermath of the famine, followed by decelerated but persistent losses in the following decades. Despite minimal reverses in this trend, such as those experienced in Logatrina in 1881 and Boherboy in 1891, the overall pattern is that of townlands failing to show any significant post-Famine recovery as the population ebbed slowly from these places during the second half of the nineteenth century. This reflects the patterns of population change in Dunlavin village and in the overall district electoral division, where consistent decreases in population were recorded.

However, six townlands in Dunlavin district electoral division exhibited signs of growth in the immediate post-Famine era, but then declined in terms of population as the nineteenth century progressed. They were Knockandort, Plezica, Loughmogue Lower, Tournant Lower, Forristeen, and, most markedly, Dunlavin Upper. Significantly, Dunlavin Upper, Forristeen and, to a slightly lesser extent, Knockandort

are all located close to the village, so the growth in these areas probably reflected population movement toward the village from the countryside. Plezica's quarries may have provided employment, thus shielding its inhabitants from the worst effects of the Famine, and the presence of Tynte Park demesne beside Loughmogue Lower may have had a similar effect. The pattern in Tournant Lower is more difficult to explain, but the townland borders Pennefathers' Rathsallagh estate, which may have also presented employment opportunities, similar to Tynte Park in Loughmogue.

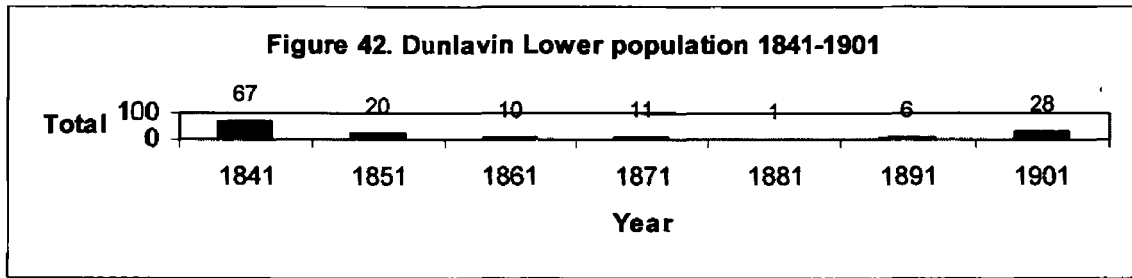




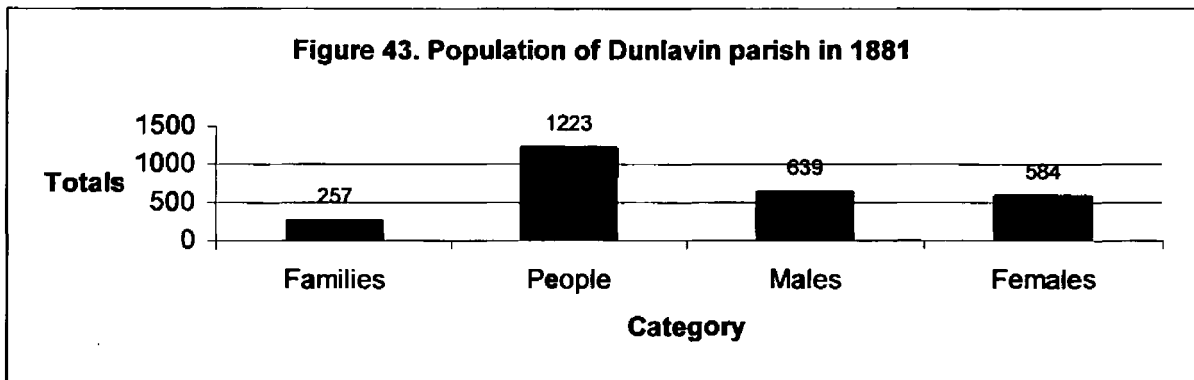
Despite initial growth in the aftermath of the Famine, these six areas also contributed to the overall decline in population evident by 1901. In four of the six, the 1901 population figure was approximately equal to or less than the pre-Famine total.

Only one townland in Dunlavin D.E.D. experienced significant growth in population during the period 1881 to 1901. This was Dunlavin Lower, a townland immediately adjacent to the village, where the railway station was built. The erection of the stationmaster's house, ticket officer's house and other residential railway buildings in this townland during this period ensured that the 1881 population of only one person had risen to twenty-eight by 1901, which, though significant in local terms, was too

small to impact on the general pattern of population decline throughout the wider region.



Dunlavin's Roman Catholic baptismal parish register provides further evidence of demographic change. The period from 1881 to 1901 merits particular study, as it best exemplifies the long-term results of demographic collapse wrought by the Famine. According to the 1881 census the total population of Dunlavin parish of 1,223 comprised 639 males and 584 females (figure 43). The gender balance favoured the males in the parish. There were 8.6 per cent more males than females. The 1,223 persons were divided among 257 families, giving a mean (average) family size of 4.76 in Dunlavin parish in 1881.¹¹³

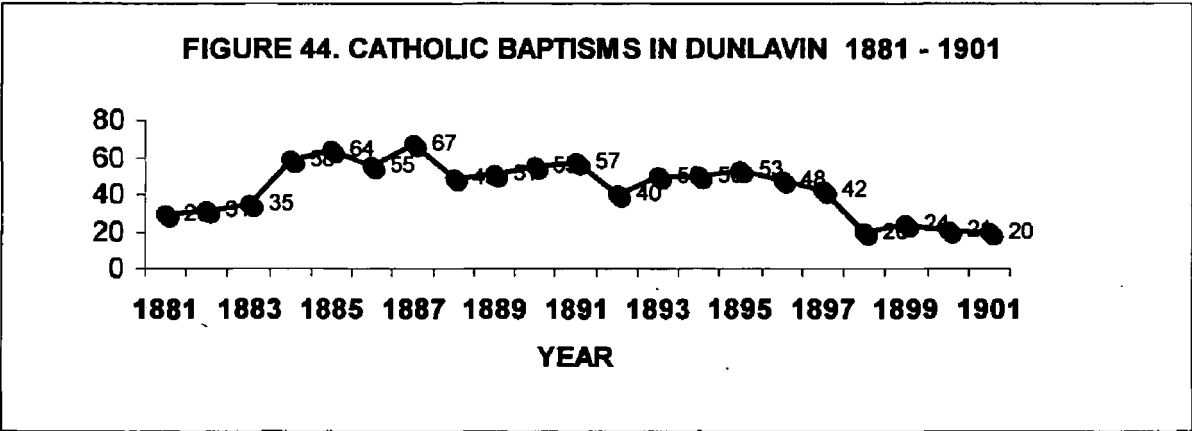


Source: Census of 1881.

Figure 44 shows the number of Catholic baptisms in Dunlavin parish on an annual basis from 1881 to 1901. There were 29 baptisms in the church in 1881. This figure is

¹¹³ However, a standard deviation test here (had one the data to do such a test) would show very significant deviations indeed! Despite this, the census shows that family size in Dunlavin parish in 1881 was large. However, the 1881 family size indicator of 4.76 makes as much (or as little) sense as modern indicator figures such as 2.1 or 1.9 children per family.

quite low. The economic depression of the late 1870s, culminating in the Land War, which was at its zenith in 1881, was probably a factor in the low baptism rate, due to rural poverty and uncertainty regarding landholding, which may have driven down the birth rate. From 1881 to 1883, the figure gradually increased to 35, and leaped to 58 baptisms in 1884. The total remained high and peaked at 67 baptisms in 1887 before dropping to a figure in either the forties or fifties throughout the next decade. The baptism rate was stabilised during the years 1888-1897. Finally number of baptisms decreased to 20 in 1898 and remained in the low twenties until 1901.



Source: Dunlavin Roman Catholic parish register.

The mean number of Roman Catholic baptisms per year for this period was 44. However, as the annual figures are highly divergent, a geometric mean would be a more appropriate indication of the situation.¹¹⁴ This works out at 41 baptisms per year, a smaller figure than the ordinary mean. Indeed, given the nature and shape of the trend graph, a median provides an alternative method of finding an average figure. Ranked ordinally, these figures give us a median (middle number) of 49. Further analysis of the graph suggests that it might be logical to divide the 21-year time span into three unequal periods. This would identify separate trends within the graph and

¹¹⁴ This is calculated $\sqrt[n]{(x_1)(x_2) \dots (x_{21})}$ where n is the number of years (21) and x_1 is the baptism total for 1881, x_2 the baptism total for 1882 and x_{21} the baptism total for 1901.

better explain the changes that were occurring in the baptismal rate during this time. A separation of the periods 1881-1887, 1888-1897 and 1898-1901 might be appropriate.

The first period, 1881-1887, was 'highly fluctuating'. The baptism numbers range from a low of 28 (1881) to a high of 67 (1887). The general trend is an increasing one during these years, the sole exception being a decline from 64 to 55 in 1886. The mean figure per annum in this first period is 48.43. However, a standard deviation of 15.04 reveals that the mean is hardly a true reflection, as the graph fluctuates wildly during these years.¹¹⁵ This period saw high rates of baptism, as rural birth rates recovered after the distress of the late 1870s and early 1880s, with farmers facing a brighter future in the wake of the 1881 land act.

The mean figure for the second period (1888-1897) is similar to the first period and stands at 49.5 baptisms per annum. However, a standard deviation test shows us that the similarity ends here. There was a standard deviation of 5.00 for the baptismal figures in this second period. Thus, the mean of 49.5 approximately is three times a better reflection of the situation than the previous mean of 48.43. Certainly the number of baptisms remained within the forties and fifties right throughout the decade 1888-1897, indicative of a more stable situation was the case during the period from 1881 to 1887. Rural birth rates decreased, reflecting the fact that later marriage and smaller families had long-term effects on the population.

The final period on the graph, 1898-1901, is both the shortest and the most stable.

Baptism figures have decreased significantly to a mean of 21.25. This dramatic

¹¹⁵ Standard deviation is calculated $\sqrt{\sum d^2/n}$, where d is the difference between the annual totals and the mean and n is the number of years. Using this formula, the standard deviation for the figures during this first period is 15.04, obviously very high, so the mean is not a good reflection of the trend in this highly fluctuating period as a whole.

baptismal decline indicated a similar decline in births, probably due to out migration. The standard deviation test for this period works out as 1.64.¹¹⁶ The three unequal periods of the trend graph are random, but reflect three distinct trends within the overall graph. The first period is characterised by a generally upward fluctuation, the second is a transitional period stabilising at a lower level and the third is a much lower and more stable period. Smaller family size was now a long-term reality, and the low rate of baptisms was to continue into the twentieth century.

The Roman Catholic parish register indicates that the years 1881-1887 saw some renewed optimism after the economic and agricultural depression of the late 1870s, while the period from 1888-1897 was characterised by a more prudent approach to births as the Dunlavin's economy slowly improved. The third period 1898-1901 witnessed a much lower baptismal rate, and the decrease from 42 to 20 baptisms between 1897 and 1898 is so large (a 52.4 per cent decline) that one must look for a reason behind it. Major renovation and rebuilding was carried out on St. Nicholas of Myra Church, Dunlavin in 1898 (as part of the programme to commemorate the 1798 rebellion) and if the church was closed for any length of time in 1898 when work was in progress, it might account for the massive drop between 1897 and 1898. However, the continuing low figures in the years after 1898 show that the 20 baptisms recorded in 1898 was the start of a much lower trend in its own right, so perhaps the possible church closure had nothing to do with the huge decline recorded for 1898. Whatever the reason behind the three separate trends identified on the graph, breaking the overall

¹¹⁶ As the 1898-1901 period is the shortest and least complex, this is the period chosen to show the actual working out of standard deviation. The formula (see above) was $\sqrt{\sum d^2/n}$. The mean is 21.25 and the figures for each year are 21.25-20 (d_1), 21.25-24 (d_2), 21.25-21 (d_3) and 21.25-20 (d_4). Thus we apply the formula and get

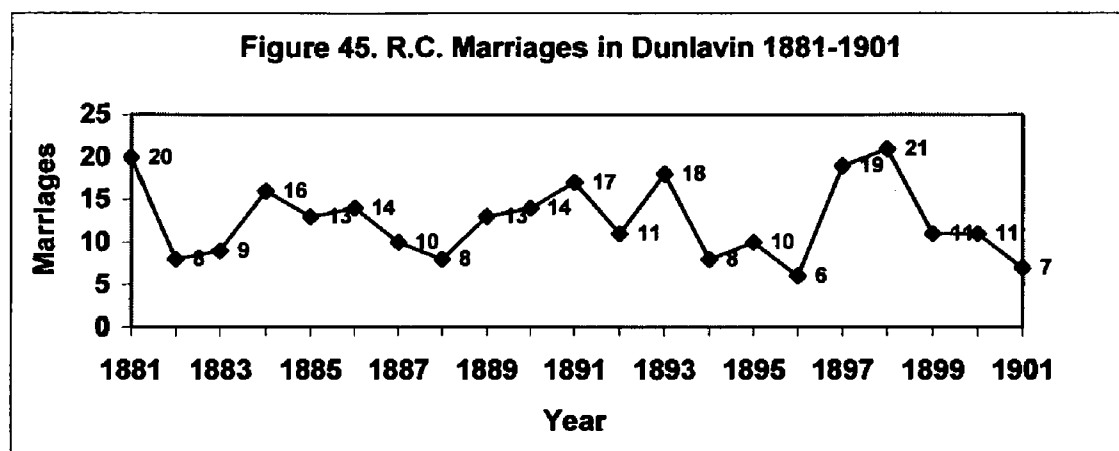
$$\sqrt{1.5625 + 7.5625 + 0.0625 + 1.5625}$$

4

This gives us $\sqrt{\frac{10.75}{4}}$ which equals $\sqrt{2.6875}$ which equals 1.64.

4

trend graph into the three time-periods enables a better analysis than simply making the statement that the mean figure for the whole graph was 44 baptisms per annum with a standard deviation of 14.75 (inclusive of all twenty one frequencies).



Source: Dunlavin Roman Catholic parish register.

Figure 45 shows the numbers of Roman Catholic marriages in the parish church of Dunlavin between 1881 and 1901. The mean figure is 12.57 and the geometric mean (perhaps not as applicable here as the figures are less divergent than the baptismal ones) is 11.82. The median for this chart is 11, and these figures are much lower than their pre-Famine equivalents (see section one).

The Famine also had long-term effects on the population structure of the area.

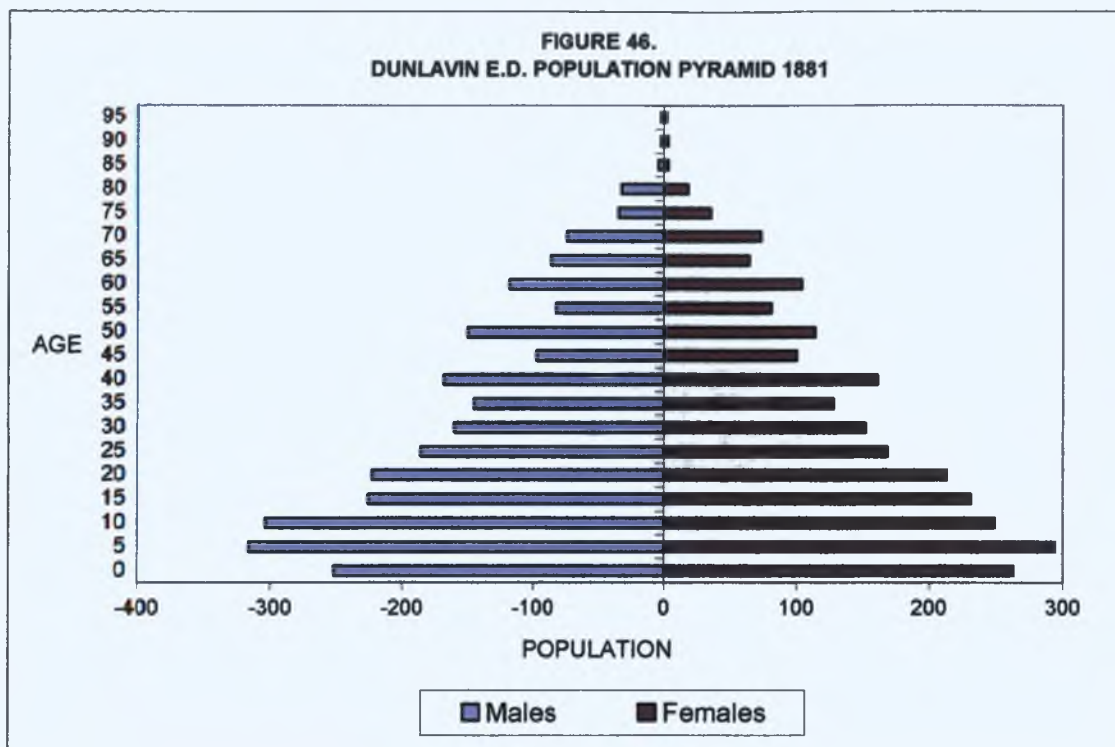
Censuses taken in 1881, 1891 and 1901 facilitate the construction of population pyramids for Dunlavin Electoral Division (E.D.).¹¹⁷ Population pyramids reveal a

¹¹⁷ Though a useful aid to the local historian, population pyramids are not without their problems. Firstly, the three pyramids in this study only pertain to the three census years. Each pyramid represents a snapshot of Dunlavin E.D.'s population at a particular time. Each pyramid represents a synchronic situation and using them to build a diachronic picture could be misleading. For example, compensating falls and rises within age-heappings that occurred in mid-decade would not be evident. However, the pyramids certainly reveal trends during the twenty-year period from 1881 to 1901. Secondly, despite the best efforts of the authorities, no census is ever totally accurate. Even in the very comprehensive census of 1901, the number of females at school in Dunlavin is given as ninety and ninety-one in two different tables [*Census of Ireland 1901*, County of Wicklow, tables xxx and xxxviii, pp 89 and 113]. Thirdly, the use of five-year age heaping in population pyramids does not permit one to construct a detailed picture

significant amount of information. The 1881 population pyramid (figure 46) shows that the total population of the E.D. was 5,114. This was made up of 2,661 males and 2,453 females. The surplus of males over females remains a feature of all three population pyramids, indicating either different migrational patterns between the sexes, or poorer female health and health care (or a combination of both). The continuing impact of the Famine is still evident in the 1881 pyramid and some age groups are unnaturally small. The first of these is the 35-40 age group. Thirty-five years before 1881, the year was 1846. The numbers in the 30-35 age heaping on the pyramid are not much bigger indicating that the low birth rate continued through the Famine years to 1851. Another small distortion on the 1881 pyramid occurs in the 45-50 group. Again, this could be a throwback to the Famine, as these people would have been children or young teenagers when the Famine struck. The young were particularly susceptible to death from disease or starvation. In addition, many children emigrated with their families. Thus death and emigration are possible causes of the small numbers in this age grouping. The 55-60 age group is also very small. These people would have been in their early twenties during the Famine, and many Famine emigrants were in this age bracket when they left the country. Young couples especially tended to emigrate.¹¹⁸ Perhaps the ties to land and native place were not as strong in this group as they were in older couples during the Famine years. The age groups above 65 years show a constantly diminishing trend as one moves upwards in age, but it is difficult to draw conclusions about the effects of the great Famine on these older strata of the population as ageing would naturally account for such a diminishing trend.

of the population. An economic boom followed suddenly by a crash and economic slump, for example, could reduce the birth rate very quickly. If this were so, the number of four-year-olds could be a lot larger than the number of one-year-olds in the 0-5 age heaping but we cannot see this from the population pyramid.

¹¹⁸ Wicklow County Council, *The Famine in County Wicklow* (Wicklow, 1996), section 11, pp 1-2.



Source: Census of 1881.

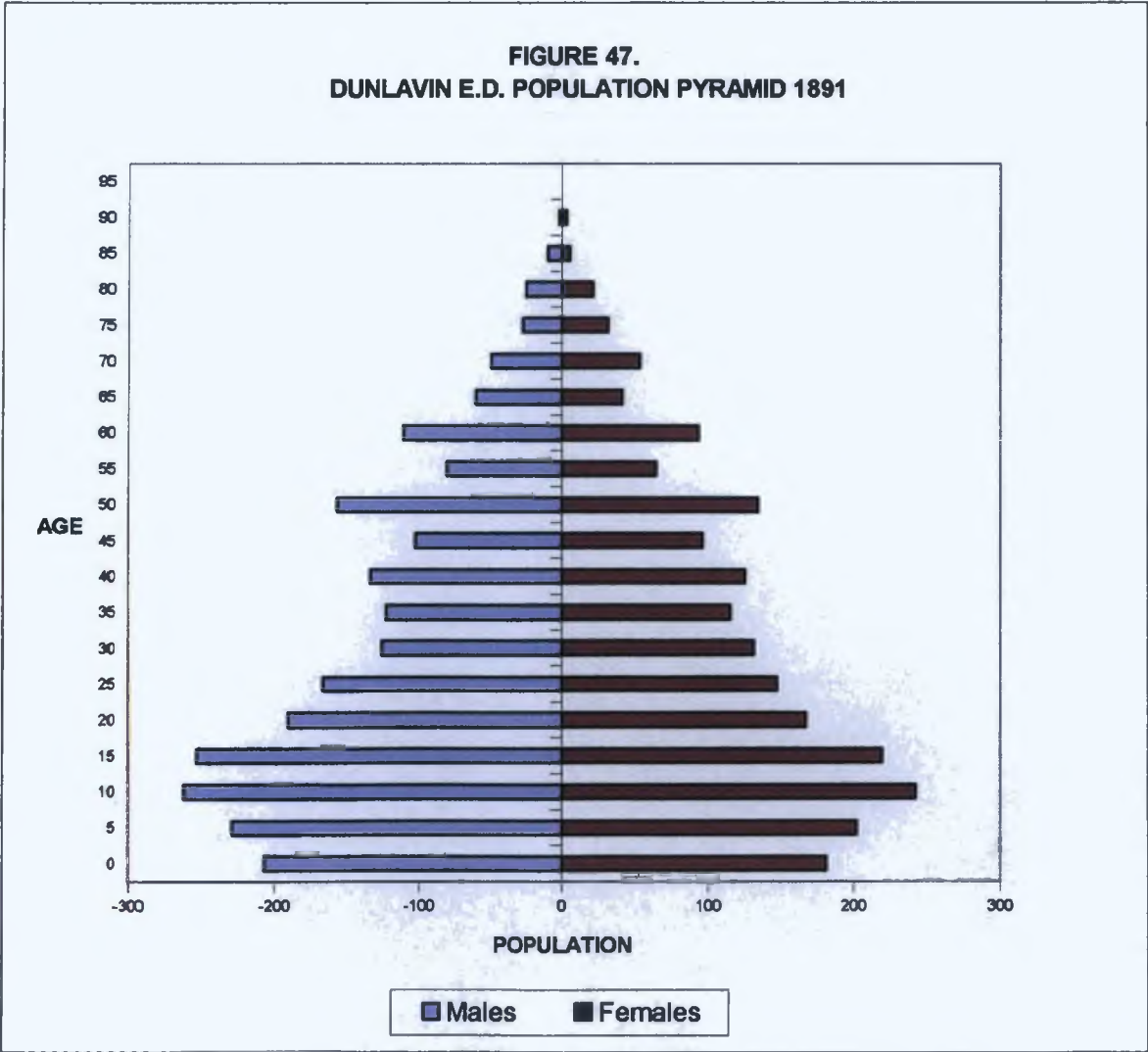
Youth rather than age dominates the 1881 pyramid, however, as 42 per cent of the total population was 20 years of age or less. The non-productive sector of the population (under 15s and over 65s) actually accounted for 41 per cent of the total. This high dependency ratio exerted considerable economic strain on the community. Dunlavin was in Baltinglass poor law union, and the master and matron of Baltinglass workhouse, Thomas and Susan Allen, continued to receive many inmates from Dunlavin.¹¹⁹ The high proportion of children in Dunlavin E.D. in 1881 also ensured that John Lynch of Baltinglass, who had the medical contract for Dunlavin district, was kept busy attending to childhood ailments.¹²⁰ Another feature associated with such a youthful population was continued emigration. The population pyramid shows a large decline in the number of males between the 10-15 and 15-20 age groups. Almost all children had left school by the age of fifteen,¹²¹ so the 25 per cent discrepancy between these male age groupings indicates that many male teenagers left the area in

¹¹⁹ *Slater's Directory* (London and Manchester, 1881) p. 351.

¹²⁰ *Leinster Leader*, 15 Mar 1890.

¹²¹ *Census of Ireland 1901*, County of Wicklow, Table xxxviii p. 113.

search of work. The largest percentage decline in the population of young females on the other hand occurred between the 5-10 and the 10-15 age groups. This 15 per cent discrepancy shows that females left the area at a younger age than males. There was an exodus of teenagers of both sexes from Dunlavin at this time, but this is not the most striking feature of the 1881 population pyramid. This distinction surely applies to the sudden, sharp and very recent decline in the birth rate. This decrease is accentuated by the fact that the 5-10 year age grouping is the largest single group of both males and females in the whole 1881 pyramid. Thus the 15.6 per cent drop in birth rate evident from the discrepancy between the 0-5 and 5-10 year age groups occurred in the economically-challenging late 1870s.



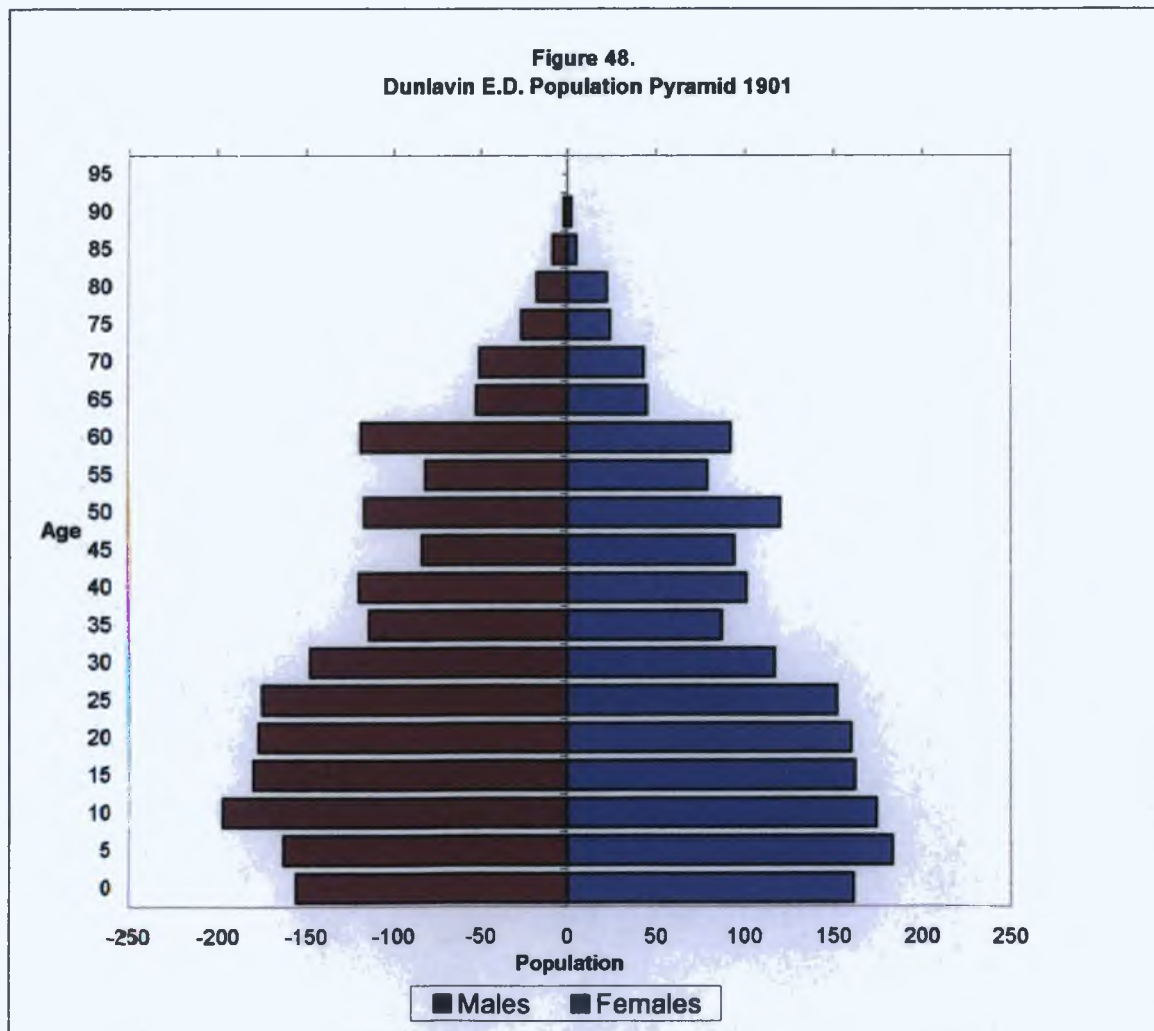
Source: Census of 1891.

The 1891 population pyramid shows that total population of Dunlavin E.D. dropped from 5,114 in 1881 to 4,394, a decrease of 14 per cent (figure 47). This represents a mean population decline of 1.4 per cent per annum, perhaps not uniform throughout the decade, although the trend towards lower birth rates, begun in the late 1870s, continued into the 1880s. The 1891 population pyramid provides evidence of this, as it is a classic example of a demographically 'regressive age structure'. It shows low birth rates, indicated by its narrow base and low death rates, indicated by its steep sides, below the 65-70 age group. This type of beehive-shaped population pyramid is common in modern developed areas and indicates a stable economic situation.¹²² Thus, although the population of Dunlavin electoral division fell between 1881 to 1891, the available wealth was distributed among fewer people, so economic conditions were improving. In 1891 the productive sector of the population rose to 62 per cent, while the non-productive sector fell to 38 per cent from 41 per cent in 1881. Despite this decline, 41 per cent of the total population was still in the twenty or less age group in 1891. The 10-20 age groups contained many more people than the 0-10 age groups, so it would take some more years before the lower birth rates had a significant impact on the proportion of under-twenties in the population.

By 1901, however, this proportion had decreased to 36 per cent, and the total population of the E.D. had dropped to 3,815, a 13 per cent decline on the 1891 total (figure 48). Though still striking, the rate of population decline was beginning to stabilise. The rate of decline was 1.3 per cent per annum between 1891 and 1901; a slight improvement on the decline of 1.4 per cent per annum recorded between 1881 and 1891. The 1901 pyramid is also regressive, with continuing low birth rates in evidence. The fact that the 20-30 groupings do not significantly outnumber those in the

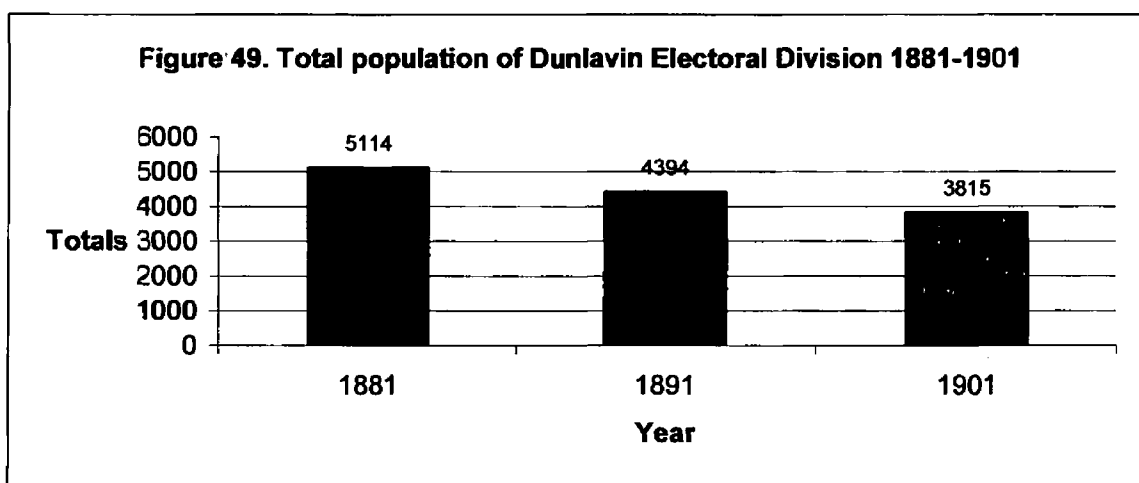
¹²² Peter Haggett, *Geography: a modern synthesis*, (2nd ed., New York, 1975) p. 473.

10-20 age bracket (unlike a decade previously) is indicative of continued large-scale out migration of both sexes in search of work. However, the average age of the migrants increased, as it is the over-20s who now best demonstrate this trend –unlike in 1881. This may be an indication of better educational levels, with both sexes staying in school longer, but it is more likely that the continuing low birth rates were now affecting the lower strata of the pyramid. The net effect, though, is that by 1901 there was no large percentage drop in the teenage age heapings, unlike in 1881.



Source: Census of 1901.

The 1901 population pyramid is the most stable of the three, as the percentage of people under 20 years of age dropped to 36 per cent. This figure represents a 5 per cent decrease on the 1891 percentage, so the continued lowering of the birth rate affected the age structure of the population. The 1901 pyramid shows an improved economic situation, with a 65 per cent productive sector now supporting a 35 per cent non-productive sector. The non-productive sector decreased from both the 1881 and 1891 levels of 41 per cent and 38 per cent respectively. The shape of the 1901 pyramid (more rectangular in the lower age heapings especially) indicates a healthier economic situation, as the rate of demographic and economic decline stabilised. Evidently, however, the price of demographic and economic stability in Dunlavin was continued out-migration.¹²³



Source: Censuses of 1881, 1891 and 1901.

The period 1881 to 1901 witnessed great social and economic change to the population structure of the Dunlavin region. These changes were both causes and consequences of population decline, and Dunlavin village lay at the core of all these developments.

Despite the population decline in the village during the late nineteenth century, Dunlavin was still a leading regional market town in the 1880s. In 1881 Dunlavin

¹²³ Population pyramids and E.D. graph compiled from census data: *Census of Ireland 1881*, County Wicklow, Table xiii, p. 1152; *Census of Ireland 1891*, County Wicklow, Table xii, p. 1127; *Census of Ireland 1901* County Wicklow, Table xv, p. 47.

parish had a population of 4,386, and 615, or 14 per cent, of these people lived in Dunlavin village. In 1841 there had been 9,599 in the parish and 990 in the village.¹²⁴ Despite the sharp decline in inhabitants during and following the Famine, the village contained a larger proportion of the parish population in 1881 and was increasing in significance within its hinterland. The censuses of 1851 to 1901 and the Roman Catholic parish register reveal that, despite the demographic decline, the village remained a significant settlement in west Wicklow, and was an integral part of the region's demographic, social, economic and political fabric throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

3. Social developments in Dunlavin 1851-1901.

There were eleven uninhabited houses in Dunlavin village in 1851. This was almost double the number of uninhabited dwellings of 1841. In Dunlavin D.E.D., the number of uninhabited houses also doubled during this decade, but the figures involved were miniscule and the increase was from two to four uninhabited dwellings. The population declined in most townlands in the D.E.D. during this period, so one would expect large numbers of uninhabited houses all over Dunlavin's rural hinterland. This was not the case, principally because many houses in the area were no more than one-roomed mud cabins (fourth class houses) and, as the cottiers who inhabited them died, were evicted or left the area, these were simply demolished to clear the land for other uses.¹²⁵

Dunlavin village did not have many one-roomed mud cabins, so the physical fabric of the urban space was virtually unchanged by the Famine. This is confirmed by *Griffith's*

¹²⁴ Canon Donovan's Diary, undated, 1884.

¹²⁵ In the 1950s, when land was being reclaimed in Logatrina bog, in a secluded area far from any public road, there were several small mounds of earth, which old residents of the district stated were the remains of cabins whose occupants had all died during the Famine. Humphrey Thompson, 'Background to the Famine', *Dunlavin Festival of Arts Brochure* (1995), pp 145-6. Thompson continues 'In some extreme cases all that could be done was to tumble the mud walls of the cottages in on top of them [corpses]'. However, no human remains were found at the Logatrina bog site.

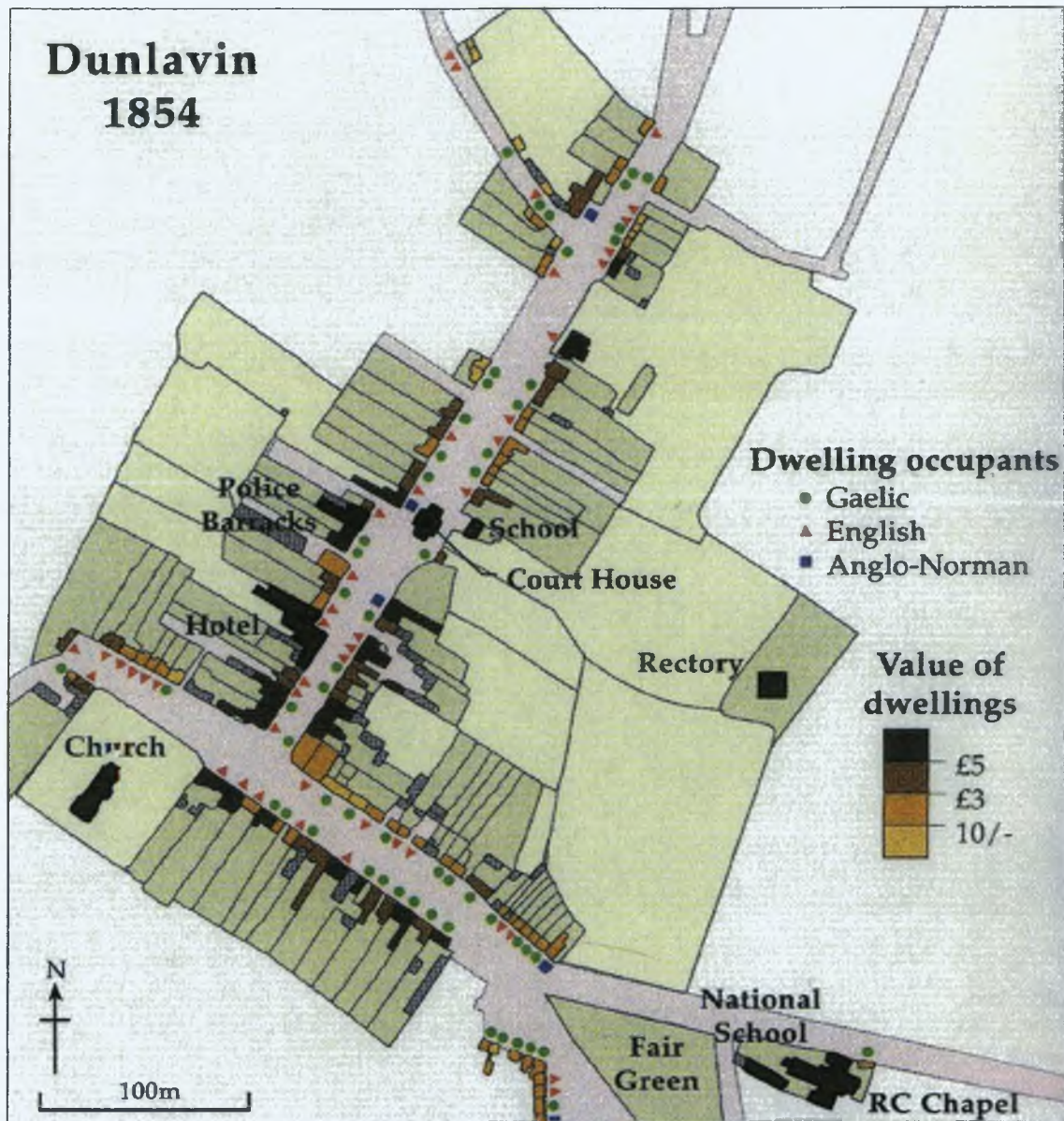
Valuation of 1854.¹²⁶ The *Valuation* provides much detail regarding land tenure, usage and value, which will be addressed in chapter six. However, the *Valuation* refers to the location of properties on the six-inch Ordnance Survey map that accompanied the written record. This map provides a cartographic representation of Dunlavin village in the immediate aftermath of the Famine. Using this source, Paul Ferguson has charted the valuation of houses and the surnames of their occupants in Dunlavin village c.1854 (map 19).¹²⁷ Apart from the Anglican church now occupying its post-1815 site in the southwest of the village, the urban space of Dunlavin was virtually unchanged from the situation portrayed in the 1838 Valuation Office map (map 16, chapter four). The greatest concentration of the most valuable houses in both maps occurs in the old heart of the village, between the market square and the T-junction. By the mid-nineteenth century, Ferguson states that highly valued two-storeyed houses lined this area. He also suggests that the later fair green, with its Catholic chapel and national school, attracted one-storeyed thatched cabins.¹²⁸ This included the cabin suburb (commented upon in the 1838 map) at the western side of the fairgreen, and the cabins depicted on the northern side of the street adjacent to and below the fairgreen are very small, as are their gardens.

¹²⁶ Richard Griffith, *General valuation of rateable property in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1854). The Valuation Office carried out the Primary Valuation during the period 1846–65. The results of the valuation were printed in books known as the Primary Valuation Books. The valuation is also known as Griffith's Valuation (after Richard Griffith, the Commissioner of Valuation). The Primary Valuation was carried out according to strict principles of uniformity throughout the country, and is a partial substitute for the returns of the 1851 census that were destroyed in 1922. Hereafter cited as Griffith, *Valuation*.

¹²⁷ F. H. A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape* (Cork, 1997), p. 190.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 190. However, the fairgreen is considerably older than either the chapel or the school.

Map 19. Dunlavin c.1854. Six-inch O.S. map adapted by Paul Ferguson, showing valuation of buildings and surname origins of occupants.



Source: F. H. A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape*.

Ferguson noted that the higher-valued houses between the market square and the T-junction had a strong representation of English surnames (red triangles on the map). In fact, ten of the twenty families in this area had English surnames and one was Anglo-Norman, but nine had Irish surnames. Ferguson also pointed out that the cabins near the fairgreen were occupied disproportionately by those with Gaelic surnames (green

discs on the map). However, there were two cabins on either side of the street occupied by those with English surnames and one family in each row of cabins with Anglo-Norman surnames. In other words, people with Gaelic surnames did not occupy six out of sixteen cabins.

While surname analysis is not a reliable indicator of religion, most of the entries in the village Church of Ireland registers are of English surnames (appendix one). If one accepts this relationship between surname and religion, no area within mid-nineteenth century Dunlavin was exclusively Protestant or exclusively Catholic, though only two Catholics occupied holdings in the southwest of the village, where the new Protestant church was erected. The distribution of surnames is complex, testifying to the failure of Sir Richard Bulkeley's original plan of establishing an exclusively Protestant settlement, and bearing witness to the survival and success of Catholic families, seven of whom occupied dwellings in the highest valuation class (over £5) in the 1850s. Ferguson concluded that 'the complex social, ethnic and religious stratification reflects both [Dunlavin's] historical and geographical situation', as 'Dunlavin occupied a transitional position between the Wicklow Mountains and the plains of Kildare. It had been heavily planted in the seventeenth century'.¹²⁹ The former fact was responsible for the existence of Gaelic and Anglo-Norman surnames in the region; the latter for the introduction of Protestant English surnames. The 1854 map shows the two religious communities of Dunlavin lived largely harmoniously side-by-side in a confined urban space. Both communities occupied business premises in the village and, while many Catholics remained in small cabins, some occupied very valuable two-storeyed slated dwellings at the very core of the village's central business district. The map provides evidence that the emergence of a Catholic middle class, such a pronounced feature of

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 190.

life (locally and nationally) in the late nineteenth century, was well underway in Dunlavin in the 1850s.

In 1862, a new parish priest, Fr James Whittle, and a new curate, Fr John Francis Shearman, arrived in Dunlavin Catholic parish.¹³⁰ Shearman was born in 1831 in Kilkenny, ordained at Maynooth in 1862 and took up his first curacy at Dunlavin, where he kept journals during his tenure.¹³¹ He noted in 1862 ‘on the whole in the Dunlavin part [of the parish] the Catholics are holding their own and even advancing apace’.¹³² Shearman stated that there were about 95 Catholic families in Dunlavin village and about 25 Protestant families occupying the urban space in 1862.

Shearman’s figures are approximations, and comprise 15 more families than the 105 shown on the 1854 map, which recorded 55 Gaelic, 45 English and 5 families with Anglo-Norman surnames occupying dwellings in the village. Shearman’s data suggest that linking the surnames and religion of the occupants is not necessarily accurate. His journals point to the incidence of Catholics with English surnames being a lot higher than Protestants with Gaelic surnames, suggesting that conversions from Protestantism to Catholicism were probably more common than those from Catholicism to Protestantism.

Though outwardly tolerant of each other, the two principal religious communities in the Dunlavin region remained polarised in the 1860s. In the Glen of Imaal, Protestants

¹³⁰ Patrick Finn, ‘Parish clergy down the years’, *Dunlavin-Donard-Davidstown Parish Link*, iii, no. 2, (1997) p. 2.

¹³¹ N.U.I., Maynooth, ‘Calendar for the Shearman papers’, p. 1. Shearman remained in Dunlavin for five years (1862-1867) before moving to Howth. He became parish priest of Moone in 1883, where he died two years later in 1885. He is buried under the floor of the chapel in Moone. Shearman’s magnum opus *Loca Patriciana* was published in 1879 but much of his earlier work was never published. However Fr. John O’Hanlon meticulously pasted Shearman’s handwritten manuscripts into volumes that were then bound. Volume seven deals exclusively with Dunlavin, and much of volume seventeen also relates to Dunlavin.

¹³² A statistical memoir of Dunlavin parish (N.U.I., Maynooth, Shearman papers, xvii, f. 168).

and Catholics led separate lives.¹³³ Imaal witnessed much Catholic depopulation during and after the Famine, and a Protestant school and an Orange lodge were established at Knockanarrigan, a townland in the heart of the glen.¹³⁴ In 1865 ‘many tenants’ in Imaal were ‘quite substantial Protestant farmers’, who attended the Orange lodge and wanted a separate school for their children.¹³⁵ The educational system remained polarised along religious lines in the 1860s, and some Protestant schools in the Dunlavin area received landlord support. These included a school subsidised by Pennefathers of Rathsallagh, Tynte Park school, supported by Joseph Pratt Tynte for the children of his workers, and a school at Cryhelpe, which ‘was built by the late Baron De Röbeck, partly at his own expense, but principally with the free labour of his tenants’. The mistress was a Protestant and the children were ‘remarkable for their negligence and apathy in the attention to their religious duties’.¹³⁶

Free tenant labour was also used in the building and enclosing of Tynte Park House and demesne. Tynte Park was a ‘smiling paradise, its picturesque plantations and well-cultivated fields contrasting strongly with the nakedness of the adjacent country’.¹³⁷ Shearman’s pointed contrast confirmed that the chasm between landlord and tenant remained huge in post-Famine Dunlavin. It also reflects badly on Tynte, as there was no evidence of improvement or agricultural advancement in the farmland surrounding the demesne. This description was written in 1862, a full twelve years after the end of

¹³³ Hanbidge and Hanbidge, *Memories of West Wicklow 1813-1939* (Dublin, 2005), p. 78. William Hanbidge wrote: ‘The Protestants of Donough[more] had but little intercourse with their Romanist neighbours’.

¹³⁴ Statistical memoir (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, xvii, f. 170v). These evictions in Imaal will be addressed in more detail in chapter six.

¹³⁵ Deirdre Heaney, ‘Land and Life in the Glen of Imaal 1830-1901’, (B.A. Thesis, N.U.I. Maynooth, 1983), p. 23.

¹³⁶ Statistical memoir (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, xvii, ff 169-70). Shearman infers that the religion of the teacher was the cause of the students’ apathy.

¹³⁷ Loughmogue Upper (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, vii, f. 13)

the Great Famine,¹³⁸ so the lack of agricultural improvement associated with the Tynte estate in the pre-Famine years evidently continued into the post-Famine era. This was accentuated by a dearth of industry in the locality of Dunlavin. One of the very few local industries was endangered in the 1860s, as the slate quarries in the townland of Plezica which 'were extensively worked... and in great demand in the neighbouring counties', were 'superseded by the Welsh Slate, being more durable and cheaper'.¹³⁹ This would account for the initial demographic growth in Plezica during the Famine, followed by demographic decline, reflecting the decline of quarrying in the townland. The demise of the local quarries hampered Dunlavin's growth and its efforts to move beyond its market function.

The Thornton lace industry was also in decline. It has been suggested that the industry died out 'for the want of strictness in compelling the workers to do perfect work'.¹⁴⁰ The poor working conditions and uneducated workforce were factors in the refusal of some of the girls to take instruction from their teachers, and 'they were supported in this independence by people who bought up their uncultivated work'.¹⁴¹ Poverty meant that the girls were more interested in producing quantity than quality as speed of production generated a steady, if small, income from the lower middle-class market. Many workers, most of whom were Catholics, also harboured suspicion of the intentions of their teachers and patrons such as Mrs. Roberts, who belonged to the Church of Ireland.¹⁴² The girls were also ignorant of changing fashions abroad, and the difficulty of getting workers, who wanted to produce the work independently, to

¹³⁸ While it is impossible to accurately date the end of the Great Famine, the year 1850 marked a watershed after which the situation gradually improved.

¹³⁹ Plezica (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, vii, f. 20)

¹⁴⁰ www.local.ie/dagda/Fermanagh/Roslea/story/crochet/historyofcrochet.html visited on 5/8/1998.

¹⁴¹ Boyle, *The Irish Flowerers*, p. xviii.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p. xix.

comply with new design ideas finally killed off the industry.¹⁴³ By the 1860s the total earnings of Thornton lace were reduced to £2 10s. per month.¹⁴⁴ There was also competition, notably from the new Clones Lace industry. In 1847, Mrs. Cassandra Hand, wife of Rev. Thomas Hand, of Clones, county Monaghan, asked Mrs. Roberts to send a teacher of crochet making to Clones in an effort to provide famine relief similar to the Thornton model.¹⁴⁵ Cassandra Hand threw herself into the new venture with great energy and considerable business acumen.¹⁴⁶ Soon 1,500 people were employed in making Clones lace.¹⁴⁷ Mrs. Hand and her successors sent teachers into neighbouring counties to teach the Clones crochet.¹⁴⁸ The superior quality of the Clones material ensured its survival in a post-Famine world of increased competition and mass production. By the late 1850s, Clones had outstripped Thornton as a lace-making centre, and the Dunlavin industry became defunct.

Despite the economic and demographic setbacks, Dunlavin retained its position as a leading market town in west Wicklow, and it continued to provide the population of its extensive hinterland with goods and services. This can be illustrated by reference to the case of Martin Kelly, a businessman operating in Dunlavin between the 1850s and 1880s. In 1854, Kelly was leasing a house, offices (sheds) and yard valued at £8 in the

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. xix.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 55.

¹⁴⁵ www.local.ie/dagda/Fermanagh/Roslea/story/crochet/IrishLace.html visited on 5/8/1998. Cassandra Hand had been in contact with Mrs. J. Maclean from Tynan in County Armagh, who, in turn, had visited Colonel and Mrs. Tottenham of New Ross in County Wexford. Both the Tottenhams and the Macleans had received crochet teachers from Mrs. Roberts in Thornton. The diffusion of crochet teachers from Thornton to Clones thus went via Wexford and Armagh. Boyle, *The Irish Flowerers*, pp 52-3.

¹⁴⁶ www.local.ie/dagda/Fermanagh/Roslea/story/crochet/IrishLace.html visited on 5/8/1998.

¹⁴⁷ www.local.ie/dagda/Fermanagh/Roslea/story/crochet/historyofcrochet.html visited on 5/8/1998.

¹⁴⁸ Boyle, *The Irish Flowerers*, pp 53-5 passim. Lace from these Northern counties became famous in its own right, none more so than the original Clones lace, and formed a specialised part of a wider Northern textile industry, which became best-known for the production of linen. However, the seed that spawned this Northern lace industry originated in Thornton. In yet another twist to the tale, Thornton lace became very collectable as the years rolled on. The short duration of the Thornton industry meant that surviving samples of Thornton lace work are quite rare and they now command a high price at sales and auctions. The name 'Thornton' is well known and widely respected in the world of lace collectors, and much of the earlier work in particular is among the best examples of its kind anywhere. Oral interview with the lace curators, Powerhouse Museum Sydney, 25 Jul 2006.

centre of Dunlavin village from Joseph Pratt Tynte.¹⁴⁹ In 1881 Kelly was a 'grocer, draper, seedsman and tallow chandler'.¹⁵⁰ Kelly's business epitomises the emergence of shopkeepers as key figures in Dunlavin. P. H. Gulliver found that, in the late nineteenth century, 'at the purely local level, shopkeepers organised themselves to promote their common interests, and to a lesser extent, urban interests generally'.¹⁵¹ It is possible to construct a partial picture of Kelly's drapery business from some extant business documents.¹⁵² These reveal what Dunlavin people were buying, selling, and wearing.¹⁵³ The business carried on by Kelly and others demonstrates that the local, principally agrarian, economy was strong enough to ensure that a wide range of consumer goods was available and purchased. The region, dominated by strong farmers, was sufficiently vibrant to sustain the economy of Dunlavin. Surprisingly, in Dunlavin's pre-railroad era, the majority of Kelly's goods came from Dublin. There are none from regional centres, such as Baltinglass or Naas, indicating that Dunlavin merchants utilised suppliers in the capital directly to eliminate middlemen. Kelly traded with many Dublin firms including Thomas Crotty, 57 William Street; Keating and Moorehead, 17 Andrew Street¹⁵⁴ and James Crotty, Hibernia Buildings, Victoria Quay.

The earliest extant invoice, dated 9 September 1869, reveals that Kelly purchased goods worth £5 1s. 8d. from James Crotty, but the invoice is one of a minority in the

¹⁴⁹ Griffith, *Valuation*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁰ *Slater's Directory* 1881, p. 351.

¹⁵¹ P. H. Gulliver, 'Shopkeepers and farmers in south Kilkenny' in M. Silverman and P. H. Gulliver (eds) *Approaching the past*, (Columbia, 1992) pp 200-1. Gulliver's findings relate to Thomastown, county Kilkenny.

¹⁵² I wish to place on record my thanks to the late Mr. Tommy Swaine of Dunlavin, who gave me these documents.

¹⁵³ Such issues may seem trivial, a real example of 'history from below', but in the spirit of new cultural history they must be addressed. More significantly, the arrival of new fashions into Dunlavin provides evidence of links by which new socio-political ideas could also enter the village, locating the village within a wider network of places, people and ideologies, with local merchants acting as brokers between the village and the outside world. The diffusion of such ideas accompanied the diffusion of goods and services.

¹⁵⁴ Keating and Moorehead were located at 6 and 7 William Street, but moved to Andrew Street in 1871.

collection which is not itemised. On 25 August 1870, one dozen brat jeans and a half-dozen grey patents were purchased by Kelly from Thomas Crotty and Co.¹⁵⁵ Brat jeans were work overalls and patents were patent leather shoes.¹⁵⁶ Kelly also purchased a large amount of fashionable shoes called bals.¹⁵⁷ Kelly bought bals, for example from Keating and Moorehead on 11 November 1870. They were part of a consignment delivered to him 'per Kennedy Carrier, 28 James Street'.¹⁵⁸ Carpet slippers remained a popular purchase, but by the mid-1870s the popularity of bals was threatened by a new shoe style known as bluchers.¹⁵⁹ The fashion in footwear was changing and by 1876 Martin Kelly was purchasing more bluchers than bals.¹⁶⁰ Dunlavin's seamstresses were also catered for, and Kelly purchased materials by the yard. Popular patterns included Grey Manchester, White Richmond, White Dutchess, Drab Richmond, Grey Mary Stuart, Drab Sackville, and Drab Satteen Lacing.¹⁶¹ Those with a fuller figure could enjoy such patterns too, as Kelly stocked Star, Dublin, Richmond and Manchester corsets!¹⁶² An examination of Kelly's invoices reveals the minute detail of his drapery business, but it also shows that consumer patterns in Dunlavin retained strong sales of fashionable goods, and traces changing fashions in the locality – affected by outside influences. Dunlaviners followed fashionable trends popular in Dublin, London and other major urban centres.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Crotty to Martin Kelly, 25 Aug 1870 (author's collection)

¹⁵⁶ Webster's dictionary defines 'jeans' (singular in construction) as 'a durable twilled cotton cloth usually in solid colours or stripes used especially for sportswear and workclothes'. 'Brat' is defined as 'A work garment, as an apron or smock'.

¹⁵⁷ Webster's dictionary defines 'bals' as: 'a short form of Balmorals – Oxford shoes with quarters meeting and centred over a separate tongue'.

¹⁵⁸ Keating and Moorehead to Kelly, 11 Nov 1870 (author's collection)

¹⁵⁹ Webster's Dictionary defines bluchers as 'shoes having a tongue and vamp cut in one piece and the quarters lapped over the vamp and laced for closing'.

¹⁶⁰ Keating and Moorehead to Kelly, 18 Jul 1876 (author's collection)

¹⁶¹ Thomas Crotty to Kelly, 18 Jul 1871 (author's collection)

¹⁶² Thomas Crotty to Kelly, 2 Nov 1870 (author's collection)

Kelly was also a tallow chandler and in September 1872, the army base on the Curragh ordered 300 candles,¹⁶³ advising Kelly to call to the paymaster's office in Newbridge in November 1872 to be paid the £7 4s due.¹⁶⁴ Dunlavin's military links aided Kelly's trade with the Curragh Camp. The military stopped in Dunlavin as they marched between the Curragh camp and the Glen of Imaal. The soldiers stacked rifles on the fairgreen and made tea, while the officers' horses were watered at the pump and trough at the T-junction of the village. This afforded an opportunity for links to be forged between the army and members of Dunlavin's business community, and Kelly was one beneficiary of these links in a village that maintained a strong services and commercial function throughout the 1870s.

This commercial function was confirmed when Dunlavin was listed as a post town in the 1881 edition of *Thom's Directory*. Dunlavin post office was also a telegraph office, a money order office and a savings bank. The offices in the neighbouring west Wicklow villages of Donard and Stratford-on-Slaney were post offices only, indicating that Dunlavin was a higher order services centre than these adjacent settlements.¹⁶⁵ The village was also a market town and Wednesday was market day,¹⁶⁶ while the six fair days in Dunlavin were on 1 March, 10 May, 16 July, 21 August, 12 October and 30 November.¹⁶⁷ One trader who operated at Dunlavin fairs was Jim 'the lime man' Delaney, who brought a cart of lime and tipped it up before selling smaller measures.

¹⁶³ J. Williams, supply officer, control department, Curragh camp to Kelly, 26 Sep 1872 (author's collection).

¹⁶⁴ Army W.O. Form 1452, C. Ward, Paymaster's Office, Curragh Camp to Kelly, 12 Nov 1872 (author's collection).

¹⁶⁵ *Thom's Official Directory of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1881* (Dublin, 1881), p. 1004. Hereafter cited as *Thom's Directory 1881*.

¹⁶⁶ *Thom's Directory 1881*, p. 35.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 41. The continuing presence of six fairs in the village underlined the success of its market function and ensured that it remained a leading market town in west Wicklow.

Delaney lived near Athy and left home before midnight to arrive at Dunlavin market early in the morning.¹⁶⁸

As a market town, Dunlavin served an extensive hinterland and there was a wide variety of goods and services available in the village in 1881. In addition to basic lower order goods and services such as the post office, R.I.C. station, grocery shops and pubs, Dunlavin had all the hallmarks of a stable developed settlement. There was a resident doctor, George E. Howes M.D., who had studied in Edinburgh.¹⁶⁹ Petty Sessions were held once a fortnight and the magistrates were Edward Pennefather (an Oxford graduate) of Rathsallagh House and Joseph Pratt-Tynte of Tynte Park House. The clerk of the court in Dunlavin was W. R. Douglas.¹⁷⁰ As well as medical and legal services, the village of Dunlavin was also large enough to provide permanent banking facilities. The Munster Bank Ltd. opened a branch in Dunlavin in 1874. The bank was ‘a neat stone building’, and Robert Crilley was manager in 1881.¹⁷¹ The new building was three stories tall and stood beside the Tynte Arms hotel on the site of two cottages, previously occupied by Frances Glennon and Jeremiah Murphy and Auguste Mouillot, on the northern side of the market square.¹⁷² However, the Munster Bank failed and the building was sold to the Ulster Bank in 1886.¹⁷³ By 1890 the village boasted a second bank, with a branch of the Munster and Leinster Bank Ltd. open daily under the managership of A. Warmington.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ Micheal Ó Dubhshlaine, *Are you going home now? Memories of old Kilkea* (Tralee, 2006), pp 36-9. Lime was used as fertiliser in fields and gardens, for whitewash, to mix with sand to make mortar or to put into dry toilets to stem both odours and infection.

¹⁶⁹ *Thom's Directory 1881*, p. 1189

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 1188.

¹⁷¹ *Slater's Directory, Towns of Leinster* (London and Manchester, 1881), p. 350.

¹⁷² Copy opinion of counsel on title of premises agreed to be sold by Munster Bank Ltd to Ulster Bank Ltd. (private possession). The document is not actually dated, but the last date to appear on its pages is 12 Nov 1885.

¹⁷³ Indenture between the Munster Bank, James Murphy of Bellvue, County Cork and Frederick Pim of William Street, Dublin and the Ulster Bank, 20 Dec 1886 (private possession)

¹⁷⁴ *Leinster Leader*, 22 Mar 1890.

The presence of two banks in the village was indicative of the growth of its commercial community. *Slater's Directory* for 1881 lists thirteen grocers and provision dealers, many of whom had other functions, such as draper, ironmonger, tallow chandler and spirit dealer listed in addition to the basic grocery businesses. There were also seven spirit dealers, as well as three public houses in the village. Other businesses included two shoemakers and two saddlers. The presence of an emigration agent reflected the ever-present reality that out-migration was a feature of life in the region at this time. In addition to business people, the directory also listed 21 larger farmers in the Dunlavin division of Baltinglass poor law union. These farmers were the backbone of the Land League and, later, the National League in Dunlavin. Above the farmers on the social ladder, five people were listed as gentry, while there were three clergymen in the area. Atop the social scale were the six magistrates, including Joseph Pratt-Tynte of Tynte Park House, still Dunlavin's dominant landlord.

In 1881 Dunlavin was a multi-functional market town serving a wide hinterland in both county Kildare and county Wicklow. Patrick McDonough, the postmaster in Dunlavin, exchanged mail with both Newbridge and Athy, while other west Wicklow villages exchanged mail with Baltinglass, so the postal service reflected Dunlavin's continuing eastward orientation.¹⁷⁵ Dunlavin supplied its rural hinterland with tradesmen and craftsmen; with goods and services. The rural hinterland concentrated on agriculture and brought its produce to market in the town. This agricultural region was the domain of the strong farmers. Of the 21 farming families listed in *Slater's Directory* for 1881, many had held large farms (50 or more acres) in 1854. These included the Haydens in the townland of Cowpasture, the Allens in Lugatryna, the Molyneauxs in Loughmogue Upper and Loughmogue Lower, the Coopers in

¹⁷⁵ *Slater's Directory* 1881, p. 349.

Knocknagull, the Fishers in Merginstown Glen, the Dixons and Deerings in Milltown, the Nortons in Rathsallagh and Tournant Upper and the Ennises in Tournant Lower.¹⁷⁶

In addition, in 1854, many of them held or sub-let land in other townlands. These strong farmers had contacts throughout Dunlavin's hinterland and through them mainstream political ideas such as land reform and home rule were diffused into the Dunlavin area. One organisation that aspired to both home rule and land reform was the National League, a branch of which was established in Dunlavin in the 1880s. Strong farmers dominated the attendance lists of National League meetings that were published in the local newspaper.¹⁷⁷ They also dominated the lists of speakers at such meetings in the Dunlavin region, where these large farmers 'monopolised control and the expression of opinion'.¹⁷⁸

Agriculture was the bedrock of the economy of Dunlavin parish and its encompassing barony of Lower Talbotstown. Some farm records survive from Rathsallagh estate, which was well managed and progressively farmed. In pre-Famine days an average of nine fulltime workers receiving a permanent wage were employed on the estate, in addition to varying numbers of seasonal workers, including an unspecified number of women, who 'worked at the potatoes'.¹⁷⁹ Progressive farming practices continued on the estate in the post-Famine period, with fertilisers such as guano, Phospho Peruvian and Clibbons Patent applied, in addition to bones and dung, to enrich the land.

Between 7 February and 31 May 1859 some fields were treated with more than one

¹⁷⁶ Griffith, *Valuation*, pp 18-26.

¹⁷⁷ See for example *Leinster Leader*, 28 Jul 1883; *Leinster Leader*, 5 Jul 1884; *Leinster Leader*, 2 Aug 1884; *Leinster Leader*, 25 Aug 1888; *Leinster Leader*, 25 Oct 1890.

¹⁷⁸ This was the situation in Thomastown, County Kilkenny and the Dunlavin scenario was evidently very similar during the 1880s: P. H. Gulliver, 'Shopkeepers and farmers in south Kilkenny', p. 191.

¹⁷⁹ Workmen's' wages books, Feb 1837 to May 1838 and May 1838 to Feb 1840 (Royal Dublin Society [R.D.S.] Library, Rathsallagh papers, not calendared). The nine permanent workers in May 1837 were J. Bolger, ? Moore, T. Owens, J. Owens, J. Byrne, ? Stephens, ? Booth, ? Kinsela and M. Byrne

type of fertiliser.¹⁸⁰ Each individual field had its own name.¹⁸¹ Crops grown included barley, potatoes, vetches, turnips, rape, mangolds and carrots.¹⁸² These were sold at fairs in Dunlavin, Baltinglass and Tullow (both linked to Dunlavin by rail), Naas, Newbridge and Dublin.¹⁸³ Leases were long-term, with tenants Robert Dixon and Thomas Stephenson renewing early in the twentieth century after 14 and 46 years respectively.¹⁸⁴ The evidence suggests an efficient Rathsallagh estate, well-run and producing high yields in the fertile lowland area adjacent to Dunlavin, where Lower Talbotstown borders county Kildare.

Generally, however, Lower Talbotstown is a very mountainous area and 39 per cent of the barony was classified as unproductive land in 1880.¹⁸⁵ Much of the barony lies over the 1,000-foot contour line, and Dunlavin parish extends almost to the summit of Lugnaquilla, 3,017 feet in altitude. The parish may be neatly divided into two halves, upland and lowland. People in the upland Donard-Davidstown- Imaal region had only limited contact with Dunlavin village. Samuel Russell McGee, rector of Dunlavin from 1894 to 1905, once asked a resident of Dunlavin village about some local people who were approaching, only to be told 'They're mountainy men, they're not like us'.¹⁸⁶ Evidently lowland arable farmers and upland sheep farmers moved in different circles. The psychological division of the parish into two regions mirrored the physical reality. Soils in the Donard-centred upland region were acidic and there were many outcrops

¹⁸⁰ Account of artificial manures 1858 to 1863 (R.D.S. Library, Rathsallagh papers).

¹⁸¹ Return of stock and property on the lands of Rathsallagh 28 Feb to 7 Mar 1914 (R.D.S. Library, Rathsallagh papers), unpaginated. Some field names may have changed over time, but in 1914 fields included White Hill, Lodge mead, Home Field, Ballylea, Dowling's Field, Long Field, Old Court Hill, Barley Field, Crossogue, Vinegar, Kennel Field, Clover Field, Coursing Field, Spring Log, Song Field, Cross Field, Whitehall and Horse Park. There was also an orchard, outhouses and yard.

¹⁸² Dung account book 1856 to 1865 (R.D.S. Library, Rathsallagh papers).

¹⁸³ Returns of stock and property and weekly wages and farm expenses for years 1883, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1897 and 1898 (R.D.S. Library, Rathsallagh papers), *passim*.

¹⁸⁴ Charles E. Pennefather to Stephenson 10 Dec 1900 and Dixon to Pennefather, 24 Sep 1904 ((R.D.S. Library, Rathsallagh papers, box 71)

¹⁸⁵ *The agricultural statistics for Ireland for the year 1880* [2932], H.C. 1881, xciii, p. 30.

¹⁸⁶ Samuel Russell McGee, *Dunlavin, Co. Wicklow - A Retrospect* (Dublin, 1935) p. 14.

of granite on the steep slopes. This upland region was unsuitable for most types of agriculture, with the exception of sheep farming, which was an important activity. In 1880 there were 32,423 sheep recorded for the barony of Lower Talbotstown, while neighbouring Upper Talbotstown only recorded 18,413 sheep for that year.¹⁸⁷ Sheep were numerous – and vital – in Lower Talbotstown. Another indication of the poor quality of the land in the mountainous barony of Lower Talbotstown was the valuation figure for the barony. In 1874, the valuation of Lower Talbotstown, which covered 86,858 acres, was £28,080, while neighbouring Upper Talbotstown was valued at £32,398, despite consisting of only 62,310 acres.¹⁸⁸ The Dunlavin area, and much of the wider west Wicklow region, was vulnerable to the nationwide fall in agricultural prices, which began about 1876, exacerbated by several bad harvests, which destroyed millions of pounds worth of crops, causing serious distress for smallholders.¹⁸⁹

If the year 1875 is used as a base of 100 for national agricultural prices, by 1880 practically every category in the table showed a drop in price. Wheat, barley, potatoes, butter, eggs and beef were all below 1875 prices, while mutton was unchanged. The sole category to record an increase in price was store cattle and 8 per cent was not a large increase for a five-year period (table 10).¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ *The agricultural statistics for Ireland for the year 1880* [2932], H.C. 1881, xciii, p. 30.

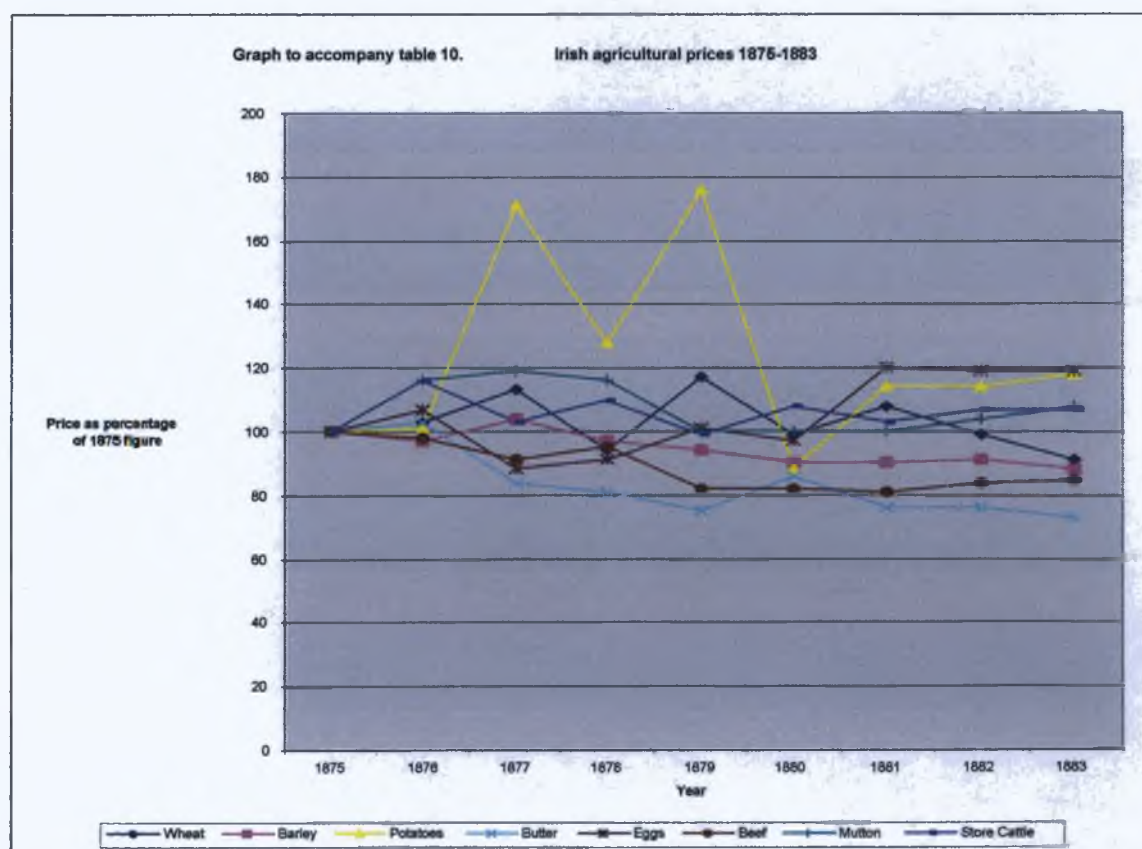
¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁸⁹ M. E. Collins, *The Land Question 1879-1882* (Dublin, 1974) p. 12.

¹⁹⁰ Figures adapted from T. Barrington 'Irish Agricultural Prices', *Journal of the statistical and social enquiry society of Ireland*, xv, pp 251-2.

Table 10. Irish agricultural prices 1875-1883.

Year	Wheat	Barley	Potatoes	Butter	Eggs	Beef	Mutton	Store Cattle
1875	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1876	103	97	101	103	107	98	116	116
1877	113	104	171	84	88	91	119	103
1878	94	97	128	81	91	95	116	110
1879	117	94	176	75	101	82	100	99
1880	99	90	88	86	97	82	100	108
1881	108	90	114	76	120	81	100	103
1882	99	91	114	76	119	84	104	107
1883	91	88	118	73	119	85	108	107



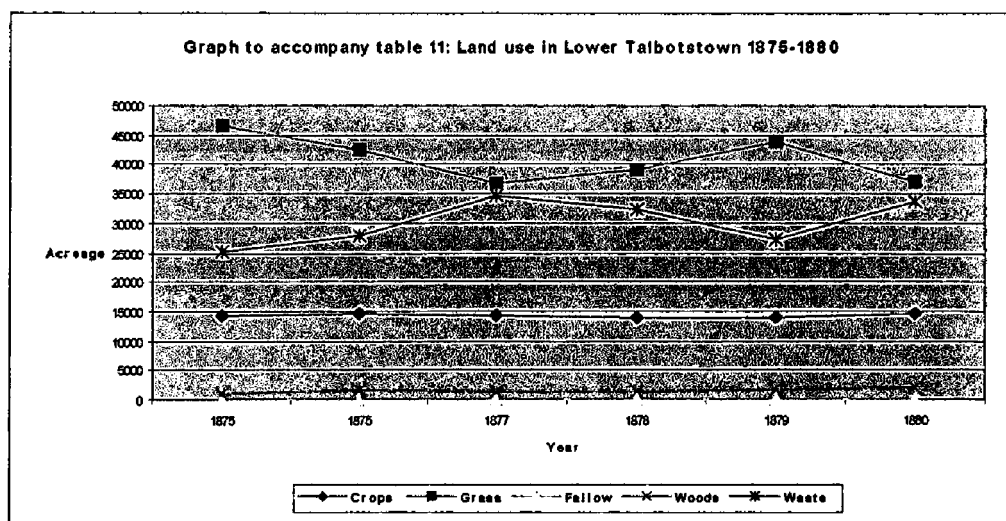
Source: T. Barrington 'Irish Agricultural Prices', *Journal of the statistical and social enquiry society of Ireland*, xv.

Although prices from Dunlavin fairs and markets were not published in the local papers, the principal one of which, the *Leinster Leader*, only dates from October 1880, the agricultural statistics reveal that the national agricultural depression had a direct and tangible impact on the Dunlavin area at this time also. Tables 11 and 12 show land use and livestock numbers in Lower Talbotstown barony during the period 1875-1880. Land under crops increased slightly from 14,196 acres in 1875 to 14,713 acres in 1880, but land under grass decreased significantly from 46,641 acres to 37,095. The real indicator of depression though was the increase of wasteland (mountain, bog and water) from 25,124 acres in 1875 to 33,644 acres in 1880.¹⁹¹

Table 11. Land use by acreage in the barony of Lower Talbotstown 1875-1880

Year	Crops	Grass	Fallow	Woods	Waste
1875	14,196	46,641	2	895	25,124
1876	14,746	42,506	5	1,679	27,922
1877	14,237	36,698	6	1,302	34,615
1878	13,872	39,060	10	1,506	32,410
1879	13,893	43,940	9	1,784	27,232
1880	14,713	37,095	31	1,875	33,644

Sources: *Agricultural Statistics for Ireland 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880.*



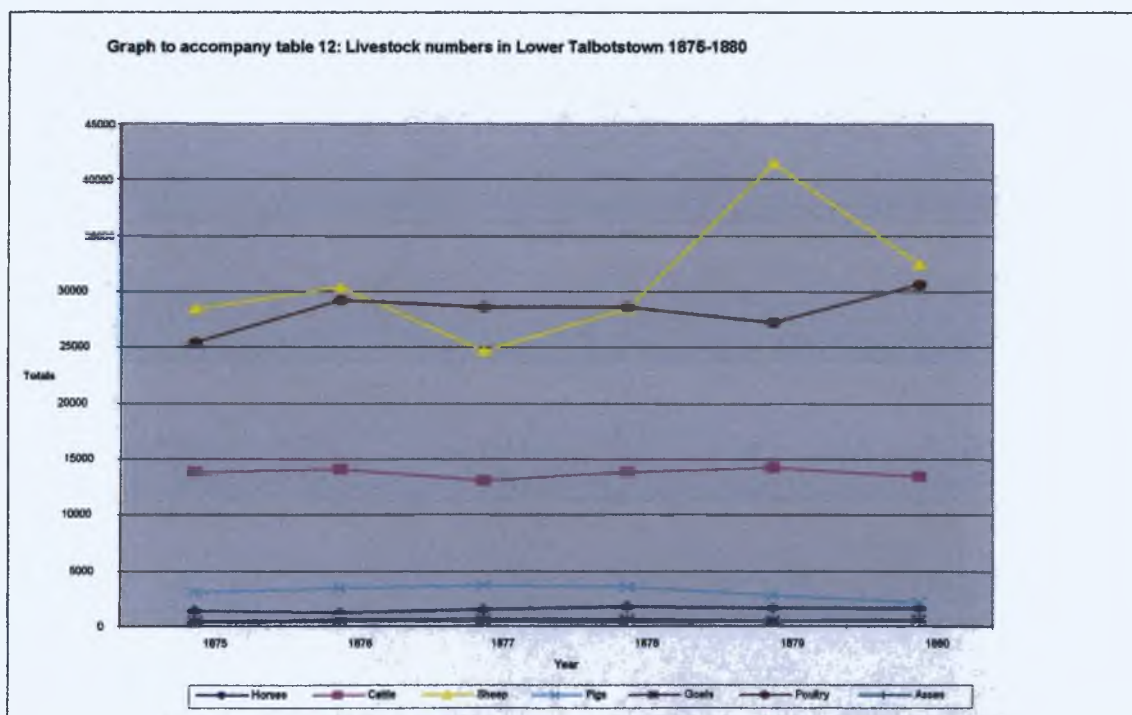
Sources: *Agricultural Statistics for Ireland 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880.*

¹⁹¹ Information gathered from *The agricultural statistics for Ireland* series of parliamentary papers 1875-1880: [1568], H.C. 1876, lxxviii, p. 24; [1749], H.C. 1877, lxxxv, p. 28; [1938], H.C. 1878, lxxviii, p. 30; [2347], H.C. 1878-1879, lxxv, p. 30; [2534], H.C. 1880, lxxvi, p. 32 and [2932], H.C. 1881, xciii, p. 30.

Table 12. Livestock numbers in the barony of Lower Talbotstown 1875-1880

Year	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Goats	Poultry	Asses
1875	1,407	13,862	28,513	3,045	571	25,472	432
1876	1,326	14,094	30,331	3,458	623	29,221	445
1877	1,547	13,033	24,598	3,683	632	28,636	473
1878	1,760	13,909	28,490	3,502	619	28,607	408
1879	1,640	14,235	41,400	2,775	571	27,265	455
1880	1,622	13,454	32,423	2,101	699	30,586	487

Sources: *Agricultural Statistics for Ireland 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880.*



Sources: *Agricultural Statistics for Ireland 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880.*

Coupled with the fall in agricultural prices, this decrease in agricultural production affected farmers in the Dunlavin area profoundly.¹⁹² More detail can be gleaned by examining the agricultural statistics from Baltinglass poor law union. Production of

¹⁹² All figures in the following section are taken from *The agricultural statistics for Ireland* series: [1568], H.C. 1876, lxxviii, pp 34-5 and 49; [2932], H.C. 1881, xciii, pp 40-1 and 58; [3332], H.C. 1882, lxxiv, pp 21 and 45 and [5084], H.C. 1887, lxxxix, pp 21 and 45.

oats, the principal cereal, fell from 133,192 cwts in 1875 to 118,870 cwts in 1880. Potato production dropped from 14,923 tons to 12,215 tons in the same period and hay decreased from 38,893 tons to 34,185 tons. This was hardly surprising, as livestock figures in the poor law union also decreased. Cattle were down from 31,980 in 1875 to 29,512 in 1880, while sheep numbers dropped from 44,560 in 1875 to 42,889 in 1880. Pig numbers also decreased during this period, from 8,520 to 5,737. Money was scarce, and peripheral agricultural activities such as pig keeping suffered heavily. Even the number of goats (a feature of mountainous areas) decreased, from 1,638 in 1875 to 1,552 in 1880.

The years after 1880 saw a gradual improvement in the fortunes of farmers in the area, and 27 per cent of the land in Baltinglass poor law union was under crops by 1886, up from 25 per cent in 1881. The numbers of livestock were also increasing, and in 1886 there were 29,844 cattle in the poor law union (compared with 28,348 in 1881). Sheep numbers declined from 43,190 in 1881 to 39,677 in 1886, but the number of pigs rose from 7,500 in 1881 to 8,352 in 1886. Farmers again had some ready money to finance pig keeping as a peripheral agricultural activity. The number of goats in the poor law union rose from 9,950 in 1881 to 10,950 in 1886 and even the numbers of poultry (another peripheral agricultural occupation) rose from 71,702 to 73,022 during this period.¹⁹³

A further indication of the post-1880 improvement is provided by the numbers of buildings in Dunlavin district electoral division during the period from 1881 to 1901. Such data are a good economic indicator, as large numbers of houses under

¹⁹³ All figures in this section are taken from *The agricultural statistics for Ireland* series: [1568], H.C. 1876, lxxviii, pp 34-5 and 49; [2932], H.C. 1881, xciii, pp 40-1 and 58; [3332], H.C. 1882, lxxiv pp 21 and 45 and [5084], H.C. 1887, lxxxix, pp 21 and 45.

construction indicate economic prosperity, while large numbers of uninhabited houses are an indicator of economic decline and emigration. However, other factors must also be taken into consideration. The number of houses being built in Dunlavin was dependent on landlord policy as well as the actual numbers of people in the area, while uninhabited houses could be quickly tumbled to clear land for agriculture, which staged a recovery after 1881. Figure 50 shows the number of buildings in Dunlavin D.E.D. during the census years of 1881, 1891 and 1901 and figure 51 shows the number of buildings in Dunlavin village in those years.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Bar graphs compiled from census data. *Census of Ireland 1881*, Table vii, p. 1118; *Census of Ireland 1891*, Table vi, p. 1093 and *Census of Ireland 1901*, Table vii, p. 8.

Figure 50.

Buildings in Dunlavin D.E.D. 1881-1901

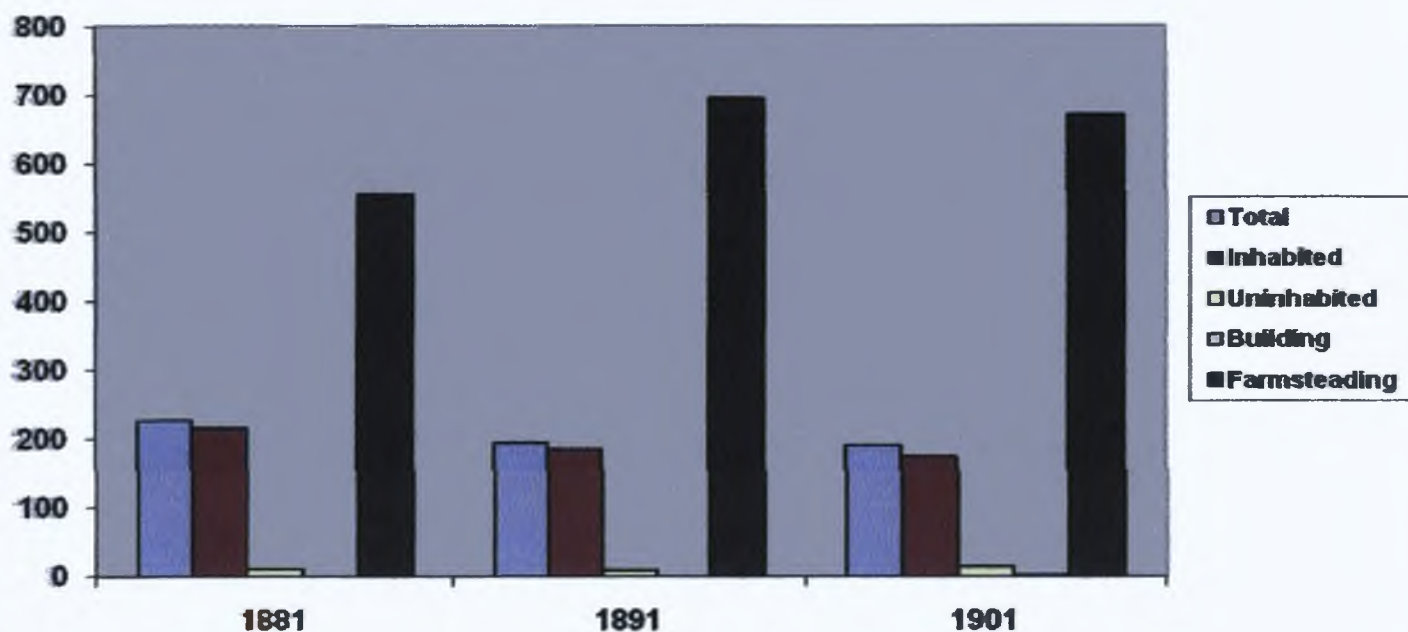
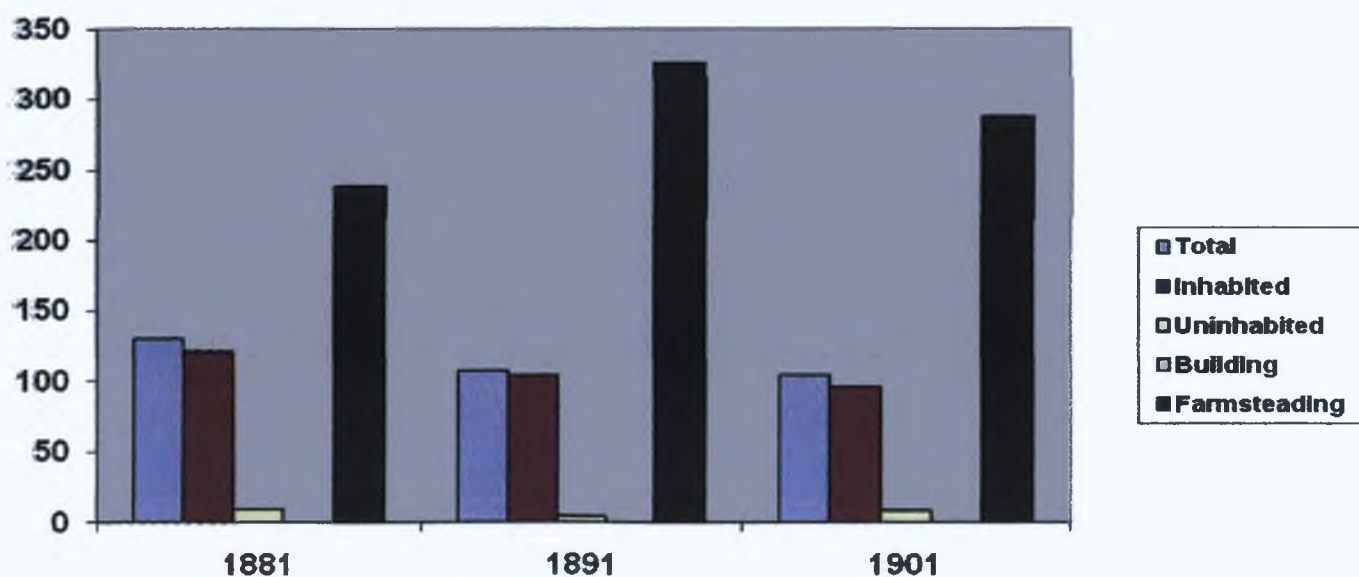


Figure 51.

Buildings in Dunlavin Village 1881-1901



Sources for figures 50 and 51: Censuses of 1881, 1891 and 1901.

Both figures are similar, showing a decline in the number of houses and, more significantly, a decline in the number of inhabited houses. The number of uninhabited houses remains consistently small during all three census years. There are three possible reasons for this consistently small number of uninhabited houses. Firstly, empty houses may have been tumbled quickly to clear land. Secondly, many houses in the area contained more than one family, so out-migration relieved population pressure without emptying some of the houses.¹⁹⁵ Thirdly, empty houses may have been used as sheds by the new breed of larger tenant farmer that was emerging in the Dunlavin area at this time. These strong tenant farmers included the Moores of Tober, the Metcalfes of Crehelp and the Dwyers of Seskin.¹⁹⁶ If these buildings were being used as sheds, they would appear as 'out-offices and farmsteadings' on the graphs, rather than as uninhabited houses.

Despite the overall decline in inhabited houses, a trend indicating continuing out-migration during this period, numerous sheds were built during the decade from 1881 to 1891. This boom in shed building is apparent at both electoral division and village level. There are two possible explanations for this phenomenon. Firstly, tenants may not have been as reluctant to build sheds to make improvements generally during the 1880s, as agriculture recovered, and they felt a greater sense of security after the land acts of 1881 and 1885 (and their later amendments). Secondly, the Tullow branch of the Great Southern and Western railway reached Dunlavin in 1885 (and Tullow in 1886).¹⁹⁷ Improved transportation links to Dublin meant that bulk buying became possible, so sheds were built to store the goods purchased during this time of

¹⁹⁵ Chris Lawlor, 'Dunlavin – foundation, famine and beyond', *Dunlavin Festival of Arts Brochure* (1993), p. 24.

¹⁹⁶ Chris Lawlor, 'Townland ghosts and some reflections', *Dunlavin-Donard-Davidstown Parish Link*, iv, no. 1 (1998) p. 6.

¹⁹⁷ Cora Crampton, 'The Tullow Line', *Journal of the West Wicklow Historical Society*, i (1983-1984), p. 8.

agricultural and economic recovery in the area. By 1901, however, the steadily diminishing population of Dunlavin ensured that the boom in the building of sheds had ended, despite the emergence of a confident Catholic middle class in the area.

Most of the 21 leading farming families in Dunlavin in 1881 were Catholic.

Significantly, this points to the emergence of a wealthy rural Catholic middle class in the district, despite Fr. John Shearman's observation of the situation in the 1860s, when 'in general with a few exceptions they [Catholics] aren't wealthy, being severely tried by the ordeal of the three past inclement seasons.'¹⁹⁸ Shearman himself was a middle-class Catholic; his father, Thomas Shearman, of 19 High Street, Kilkenny was a printer and publisher.¹⁹⁹ Shearman claimed in 1862 that Catholics in Dunlavin were 'a proscribed race'.²⁰⁰ He listed the nine leading Catholic families in the village as Keenan, Cunningham, Dempsy, Fay, Fay, Whittle, Dowling, Kelly and Harrington.²⁰¹ Only two of these names, Dempsy and Whittle, are absent from *Slater's Directory's* list of businesses in Dunlavin in 1881. Despite Shearman's claims, the Catholic middle class in the village was not as weak as he suggested, and it consolidated its position between 1862 and 1881. Yet the Dunlavin area and Baltinglass poor law union remained firmly in Protestant control. The *Leinster Leader*, a nationalist newspaper, referred to the guardians as 'the Tory deadheads who rule the roost at Baltinglass.'²⁰² Unionists controlled Baltinglass poor law union into the 1890s, and Joseph Pratt Tynte, the principal landlord of Dunlavin, was an ex-officio member of the board. While he did not attend many meetings (two in 1889 compared to sixteen meetings attended by Edward Fay, the local Dunlavin Nationalist representative on the board),²⁰³ Tynte's

¹⁹⁸ Shearman papers, xvii, f. 168 (N.U.I., Maynooth).

¹⁹⁹ Calendar for Shearman papers, p. 1 (N.U.I., Maynooth)

²⁰⁰ Shearman papers, xvii, f. 168 (N.U.I., Maynooth).

²⁰¹ Ibid, f. 174.

²⁰² *Leinster Leader*, 17 May 1890.

²⁰³ *Leinster Leader*, 15 Mar 1890.

ex-officio status on the board was never threatened. Tynte had 2,532 acres in county Wicklow with a gross annual valuation of £2,186 in 1883, while other holdings in counties Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny and Leitrim brought his total estate to 5,013 acres with a valuation of £4,677.²⁰⁴

Fay was a member of a prominent Catholic family in Dunlavin. In the 1860s the Fays were among the nine leading Catholic families in Dunlavin village, and one of the stalwarts as the Catholic merchant community strengthened its position by the 1880s. In contrast to Tynte, the leading Catholic family, the Harringtons, had a valuation of £136 10s.²⁰⁵ The gulf between the Protestant landlord class and the Catholic middle class was evidently wide in late nineteenth-century Dunlavin. Edward Fay, a grocer and spirit dealer,²⁰⁶ was elected as poor law guardian in 1888. He was the first Catholic to represent Dunlavin in this position and had the support of the politically-minded strong tenant farmers in the district.²⁰⁷

Strong tenant farmers, in turn, were well below the local landlords on the social ladder. The Tynte estate was the thirty-seventh largest (by acreage) in county Wicklow in 1876,²⁰⁸ and Tynte Park was a far cry from the houses occupied by the tenant farmers, even the strong ones, in a county where 29 per cent of the houses were still listed as third or fourth class as late as 1891.²⁰⁹ Tynte was a magistrate and the landlord presence in Dunlavin was still strong at this date. The Catholic middle class was not yet a threat to the control wielded in the area by Tynte and the landlord class. The

²⁰⁴ John Bateman, *The great landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (4th ed. 1883, reprinted New York 1970), p. 462.

²⁰⁵ Shearman papers, xvii, f. 174 (N.U.I., Maynooth)

²⁰⁶ *Slater's Directory* 1881, p. 351.

²⁰⁷ Canon Donovan's diary, unpaginated, Mar 1888 (St Nicholas of Myra church, Dunlavin).

²⁰⁸ William Nolan, 'Land and landscape in County Wicklow c. 1840' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society* (Dublin, 1994), p. 689.

²⁰⁹ *Census of Ireland 1891: Area, Population and Number of Houses; Occupations, Religion and Education*, vol i, [6515], H.C. 1891, xcv, p. 1125. Hereafter cited as *Census of Ireland 1891*.

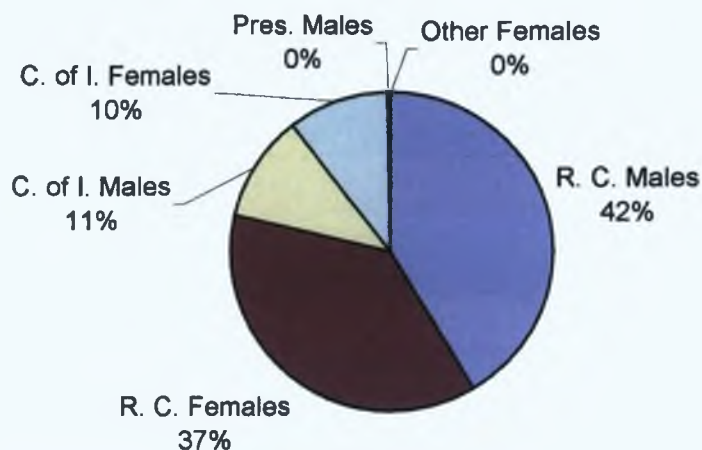
relative positions of the two guardians, Tynte and Fay, demonstrated where power lay within Baltinglass poor law union. This situation was unpalatable to the nationalist *Leinster Leader*, but was nonetheless a fait accompli in late nineteenth-century Dunlavin.

Below the level of the gentry there were further imbalances between the lifestyles and opportunities afforded to Protestants and Catholics in late nineteenth-century Dunlavin. This was evident in the area of education. In 1881 Dunlavin Protestant school was under the care of the master, Charles O'Connor; Catholic children attended separate male and female national schools, with two principals, Master Thomas Grace and Miss Toomey respectively.²¹⁰ There were six schools under Catholic management in Dunlavin parish in the 1880s, the others being co-educational schools in Donard, Merginstown, Davidstown and Seskin.²¹¹ Despite the numerical superiority of Catholic schools, Protestant children were more literate than their Catholic counterparts. In 1881 the Protestant population of Dunlavin comprised 21 per cent of the village total.

²¹⁰ *Slater's Directory* 1881, p. 350.

²¹¹ Canon Donovan's Diary, undated 1884.

Figure 52. Denominational composition of Dunlavin parish in 1881

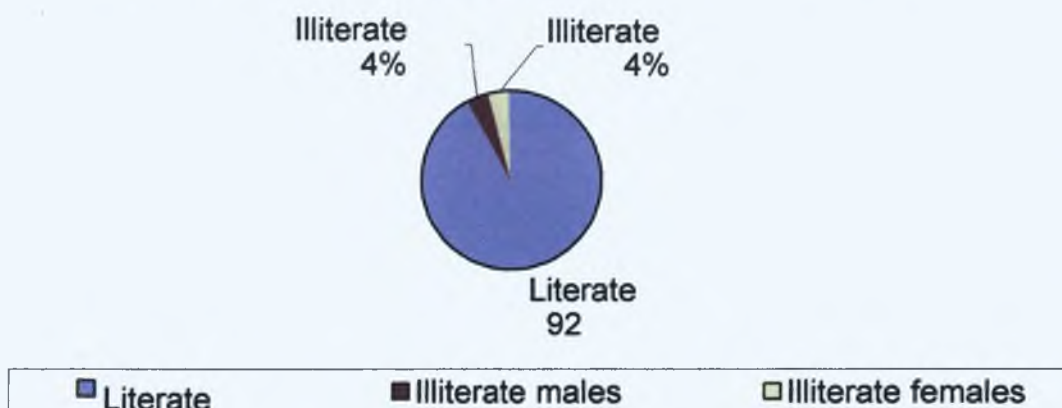


■ R. C. Males ■ R. C. Females □ C. of I. Males □ C. of I. Females ■ Pres. Males ■ Other Females

Source: Census of 1881.

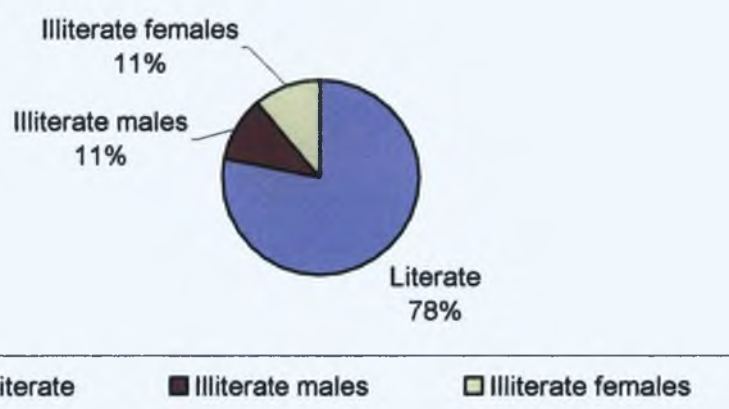
There was a literacy rate of 92 per cent among the Protestant population who were over five years old. Only 4 per cent of the Protestant males and 4 per cent of Protestant females were illiterate in 1881. In contrast, the comparable illiteracy rate for Catholics stood at 22 per cent in 1881. About one Protestant in twelve could not read or write, but almost one Catholic in four could not. There was an even breakdown between the sexes, with 11 per cent of the males and 11 per cent of females being illiterate. Evidently the Catholic schools were not as effective as the Protestant one, but the lower effectiveness of the Catholic schools had its root in the socio-economic conditions of the Catholics in Dunlavin at this time.

Figure 53. Literacy of Protestants over 5 years old in 1881



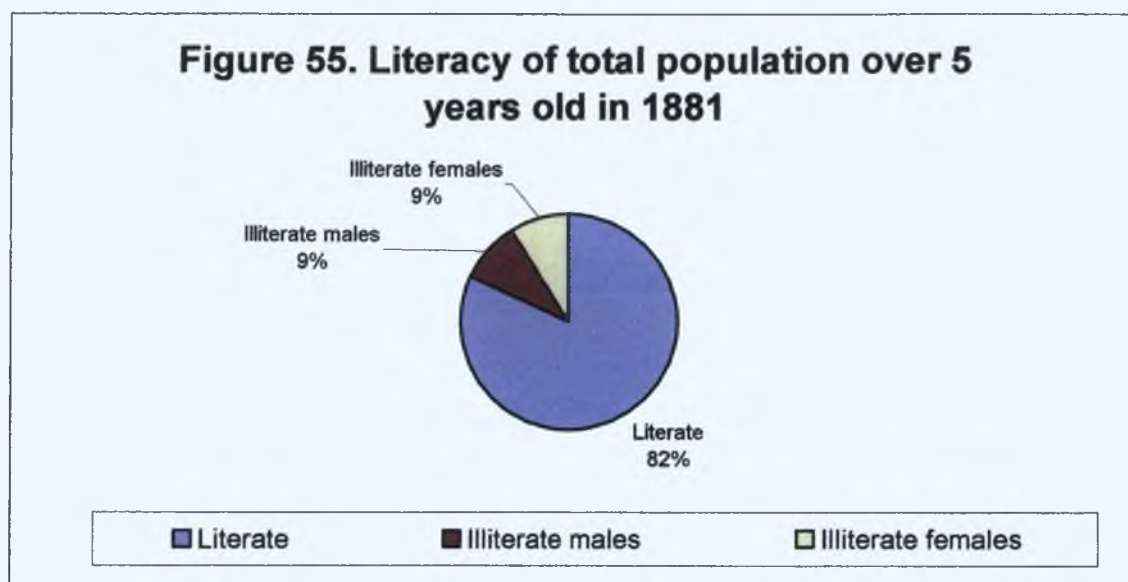
Source: Census of 1881.

Figure 54. Literacy of Catholics over 5 years old in 1881



Source: Census of 1881.

The figures above show that literacy levels were high in Dunlavin in 1881. This was a significant social development and contributed to the success of local newspapers, many of which, particularly nationalist publications, were established in response to improved standards of literacy. One such paper, the *Leinster Leader*, founded in Naas in 1880, covered events in Dunlavin, where it enjoyed a wide circulation among Catholics, particularly those in the middle classes.



Source: Census of 1881.

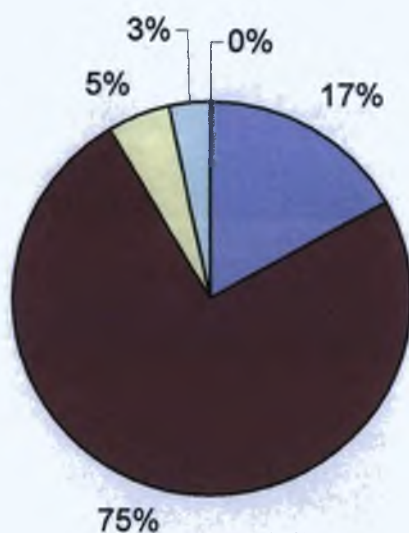
The Catholic middle class became more confident and outward looking in the second half of the nineteenth century, and improved education for their children was one of the social benefits provided by their newly-acquired status. Some students remained in education until they were well into their teens. By 1901, students over fourteen years of age accounted for 9 per cent of those in education in Dunlavin. In addition to the village schools, the Christian Brothers opened a school in Naas on 4 September 1871, and some Catholic boys from Dunlavin attended.²¹² These boys travelled twelve miles to Naas daily, either on the railway line from 1885, or, in many cases, walking (or later, cycling) to and from the school.²¹³ Despite some scholars attaining second-level education, the vast majority of Dunlavin's student population, 91 per cent, was under fourteen years of age in 1901. Most students left school at a young age to take up employment, either locally, or as out-migrants from the region. The age composition of Dunlavin's student population is shown in figure 56. One disadvantage of this chart is the very large age-heaping in the 6-14 category. If students left education at an early age, it is probable that many more seven year olds than thirteen year olds attended

²¹² Chris Lawlor, *From the Norman Moat to the Spanish Field: A history of Naas Christian Brothers' school* (Naas, 2002), p. 10.

²¹³ Ibid, pp 58, 61 and 152.

school, but the available data do not allow one to differentiate within this large age-heaping, which also includes both male and female students.

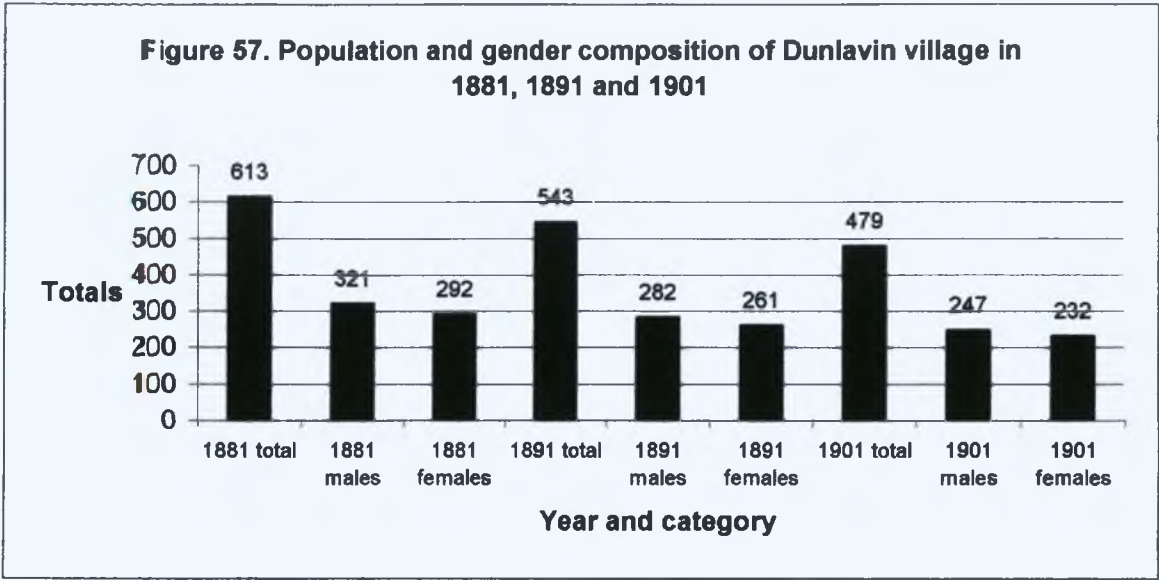
Figure 56. Age composition of students in Dunlavin in 1901



■ Under 6 ■ 6 to 14 ■ 14 to 15 ■ 15 to 18 ■ Over 18

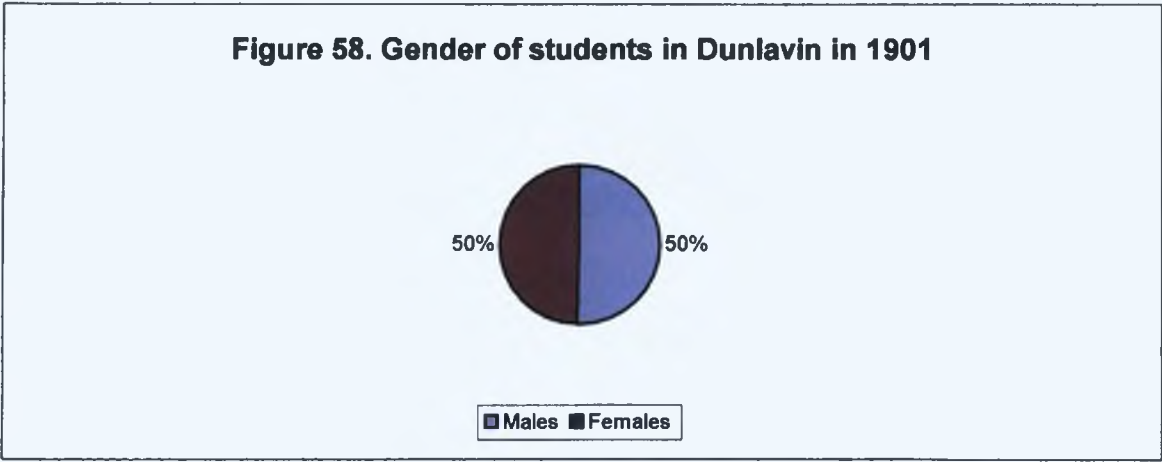
Source: Census of 1901.

The 1901 census figures reveal the composition of Dunlavin's student population by gender and by religion. The student body was divided into two equal halves, male and female. This indicates, at one level, that there was an absence of anti-female discrimination in the educational system in Dunlavin. However, as the female population of Dunlavin outnumbered the males in the period 1881 to 1901, the 50 per cent division actually demonstrates a slight anti-female bias.



Sources: Censuses of 1881, 1891 and 1901

Moreover, one must look beyond attendance figures, as the real gender bias was located in the teaching and curriculum,²¹⁴ which taught more advanced arithmetic to males and included subjects such as needlework for females but not for males.



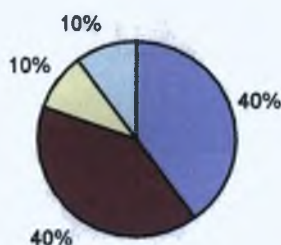
Source: Census of 1901.

In 1901, gender inequity in education in Dunlavin affected both Protestant and Catholic females, as female students comprised half of the total number of students in both denominations, despite females being numerically superior to their male counterparts. Protestant children accounted for 20 per cent of the total student

²¹⁴ Mary Duggan and Carmel Heneghan, 'Gender equity and the Junior Certificate', *Issues in Education*, ii (Dublin, 1997), pp 39-49 passim.

population of the village, which was consistent with the fact that Protestants in Dunlavin accounted for 23 per cent of the population in 1901. The remaining 80 per cent of students in Dunlavin were Catholic, indicative of larger numbers of Catholic children in education as the twentieth century dawned.

Figure 59. Religion and gender of students in Dunlavin in 1901



■ Catholic males ■ Catholic females ■ Protestant males ■ Protestant females

Source: Census of 1901.

Many of these children had Catholic middle-class parents, but below them there was a poorer class of small tenant farmers and manual labourers. These occupied the third and fourth-class houses, and their socio-economic background meant that they were likely to place a low value on education. Their children were at risk of being kept at home from school to help out at home, playing truant and of leaving school at a very early age. These poorer Catholics probably accounted for the bulk of the 22 per cent of illiterates recorded in 1881.²¹⁵ They formed an underclass in the village and its environs during the late nineteenth century.

Dunlavin's population declined during this period, but the rate of decline was stabilised over time. There was some class tension, and as the Catholic middle class strengthened and grew in confidence, they became involved in local politics. The

²¹⁵ Figures in this section taken from *Census of Ireland 1881: Area, Population and Number of Houses; Occupations, Religion and Education*, vol i [3042], xcvi, p. 1161. Hereafter cited as *Census of Ireland 1881*.

larger tenant farmers dominated this arena in Dunlavin, so the Catholic lower class in the district did not gain much from the activities of organisations such as the National League, despite lip service being paid to the plight of the labourers.²¹⁶ In addition to social class, religion was another divisive force in local politics. The avowed aim of the Land League was reform of the landholding system. In practice in Dunlavin, this included an attack on Protestant landlords such as Tynte and his peers. For the Catholic middle class to emerge as stronger players in Dunlavin, social control would have to be wrested from the Protestant landlord class. Religion and politics were important factors in Dunlavin life in the nineteenth century. Often intertwined, these two threads of village life, seen in the later decades of that century through the eyes of Dunlavin's parish priest, Canon Frederick Donovan, form the thematic basis for chapter six.

4. Dunlavin in the early twentieth century.

The returns of the 1901 census provide a detailed snapshot of Dunlavin and its environs in that year.²¹⁷ There were 103 houses in Dunlavin village in 1901.²¹⁸ These included the market house, two churches and two schools, none of which were residential in function. There was also an RIC barracks and a bank, both of which had a residential function in addition to their respective legal and commercial roles. The dominant building type in Dunlavin in 1901 was residential, with 71 buildings (excluding the bank and barracks) listed as private dwellings. However, the description of houses as private dwellings did not preclude businesses being run from these premises, and in many cases the occupants pursued trades such as tailoring (John Thomas), car driving (James Gordon), boot making (Michael Moore) or dress making

²¹⁶ See for example E. P. O'Kelly's speech in *Leinster Leader*, 28 Jul 1883.

²¹⁷ Both sets of census forms, A (individual household returns) and B1 (summarised street and townland returns) are extant.

²¹⁸ Forms B1, House and building return (Dunlavin village), *Census of Ireland, 1901* (copies in private possession. Originals held in N.A.I.) All other information in this section is taken from either forms B1 or forms A (household returns) from the 1901 census unless otherwise stated.

(Patrick Esmonde) from these private dwellings. Home-based businesses such as these blur the distinction between residential and commercial premises, so mapping the functions of houses in the village is of little value.

Dunlavin's function as a lower to middle order services centre for its rural west Wicklow hinterland is confirmed by the census, as there were eight public houses (including two hotels), thirteen shops and four lodging houses in the village. There were only three inns and public houses listed in Dunlavin in *Slater's Directory* in 1881, but again ambiguity of description may be relevant here, as there were also seven spirit dealers listed. If these are included, there were ten public houses in the village in 1881, though the number fell to eight (a 20 per cent decrease) by 1901. There was also a decrease in the number of village businesses listed by 1901, as there were 33 separate enterprises (none of which were lodging houses) mentioned in *Slater*, as opposed to 21 (excluding lodging houses) in 1901. However, *Slater* included businessmen such as nailmaker (John Leeson), shoemaker (Samuel Rawson and Patrick Byrne) and tailor (John Byrne), and the 1901 census shows these tradesmen and craftsmen working out of private dwellings. Hence, though a comparison between the situations in 1881 and 1901 shows a decline from 33 to 21 businesses in Dunlavin, it is difficult to be precise, as the descriptions of businesses and their premises was not constant. However, irrespective of arithmetic difficulties, an overall decline in the number of businesses in the village was probable in 1901, and a steadily diminishing population lay at its root.

Further insight regarding Dunlavin village in the early twentieth century is revealed in a series of letters published in the *Kildare Observer* in 1902. Dunlavin was administered as part of Baltinglass Number One District, and meetings of the local

council were reported in the local newspapers. Two articles appeared in the *Observer*, referring to an episode in the everyday life of the village. Fr. John Maxwell, the parish priest of Dunlavin, wrote to the council expressing concern at the general state of the village. The main theme of Maxwell's letter was the poor and dirty condition of the village and he focussed in on a number of areas to confirm his claims. These areas included the condition of the village slaughterhouses; the disposal of many types of waste in Dunlavin village, notably manure and offal; the keeping of pigs in back yards; the lack of adequate toilet facilities; the scarcity and poor quality of drinking water; the open cesspools; the overcrowding of many houses and the unhealthy conditions caused by all of the above.

Maxwell's letter to the council caused a stir and local doctor, Edward Lyons, was affronted by Maxwell's allegations. In addition to being Dunlavin's doctor, Lyons was also the medical officer for the area and it was within his remit to report to the council regarding the sanitary condition of the village. Lyons refuted some of Maxwell's claims, defended his own record as medical officer, made recommendations for improvements in the village, and pointed out the healthy state of Dunlavin's inhabitants in a subsequent letter, which was also published, with a brief report of the council meeting at which it was read.²¹⁹ The council meeting ended, and the councillors, including John Rochford, who lived in Dunlavin, returned to their various homes, but the matter did not end there. If Maxwell's original letter rankled Lyons, Lyons' letter infuriated Maxwell, who saw it as a personal attack. Moves were evidently made within village circles and, a month later, two further letters were published, one from a severely chastened Dr. Lyons, and one from a triumphant Fr.

²¹⁹ *Kildare Observer*, 12 Jul 1902. The report and Lyons's letter are transcribed in appendix ten.

Maxwell, who perceived himself as vindicated.²²⁰ There was no further mention of the matter in subsequent issues of the *Kildare Observer* and it would appear that the uneasy truce between the medic and the cleric continued to hold. Nonetheless, their clash and the very public way that it was reported in the newspapers provide some insight into life within Dunlavin in 1902. The letters reveal physical and social conditions in the village, and point to the power of the parish priest in local affairs.

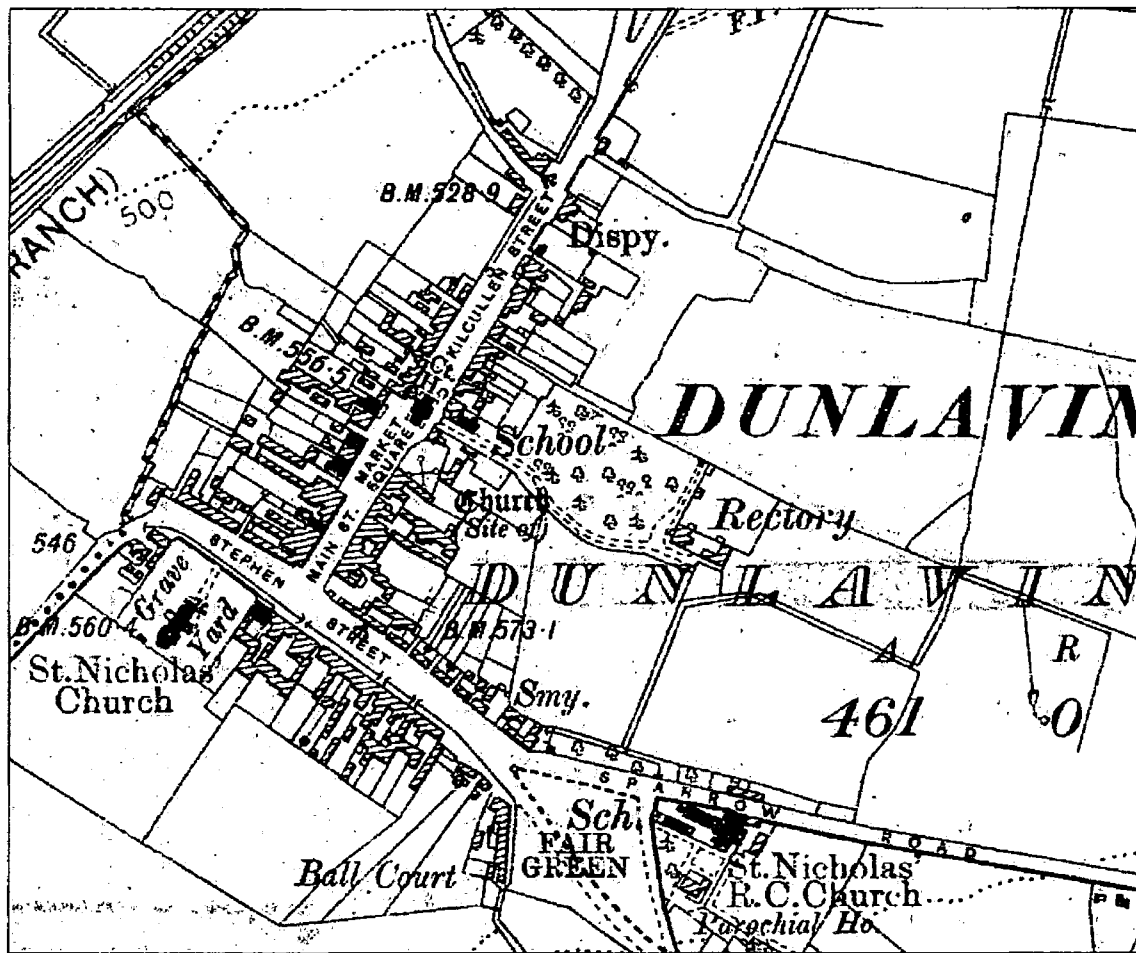
These newspaper reports and letters provide some insight into some of the complex and, at times, nasty issues pertaining to the village at the dawn of the twentieth century. John Rochford may have attempted to paper over the cracks with his address, claiming that 'Dunlavin is the cleanest little town in all Leinster', but the evidence paints a different picture.²²¹ Problems existed within the village, though its physical fabric remained unchanged during the first decade of the twentieth century. The unchanging nature of the form and size of Dunlavin village appeared on the 1:10,560 scale Ordnance Survey map of 1910. This map was the first to include street names in the village, with Stephen Street forming the cross-stroke of the T-shape, and the down-stroke being divided between Main Street and Kilcullen Street, divided by Market Square, adjacent to the market house, which was named as a courthouse on the map. The road to Crehelp was named as Sparrow Road. The dispensary and handball alley (ball court) were also clearly marked, and the presence of a smithy was a testament to

²²⁰ *Kildare Observer*, 9 Aug 1902. The report and Lyons's and Maxwell's letters are transcribed in appendix ten.

²²¹ The list of issues perceived as important, raised (directly or indirectly) by these letters includes the following: concern regarding the disposal of certain types of waste; the keeping of pigs within the village proper; the dirty image of the village gained by tourists and travellers; concern regarding sewerage disposal within the village; overcrowding and possible cases of incest in the village; public feuding between leading citizens of the village; the disproportionate power of the landlord and his agent; the lack of affordable housing in the area; concern regarding the village water supply; inaction by the local council in addressing a wide variety of issues; concern regarding the poor state of the parish school; a two-tiered health system, with the doctor's private practice uppermost; an extremely heavy workload for the doctor, who had many duties; a stench pervading the village, with possible health risks; destitute houses within the village; landlords flouting the laws regarding the entitlements of their tenants; a very large gap between the rich and poor of the area.

the continuing importance of horsepower in the area, even after the arrival of the railway. Despite minor additions to the map, however, the basic T-shape of the village was unchanged from that shown on the Valuation Office map of nearly a century before, and the urban space was not extended in any direction. The unchanging nature of Dunlavin's urban space suggests that, by the first decade of the twentieth century, the village had reached its largest extent, and subsequent decades would see no further growth. The village failed to grow or build on its market function during the nineteenth century, and the Famine proved to be an insurmountable obstacle to growth, especially as the population continued to decline throughout the remaining decades of the nineteenth century, a trend that continued into the early years of the twentieth. The largely-unchanged 1910 map of the village is actually a justification for ending the present study at that juncture.

Map 20. Dunlavin village in 1910.



Source: 1:10,560 scale O. S. map of 1910, sheet 35/655 (author's collection).

Despite the two churches and schools at opposite ends of the village on the map, Dunlavin and its environs faced the new century with hope, as Protestants came to terms with disestablishment and built up their parish and their church, while Catholics identified with the new nationalism abroad in the country. However, the Dunlavin region was in demographic decline, and continuing emigration reflected social and economic stagnation in a village beset by problems, some of which may be glimpsed from the public clash between the village doctor and the village priest in 1902 referred to above. Dunlavin came a long way since its seventeenth-century foundation, but challenges remained.

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on developments in the Dunlavin region during the mid to late nineteenth century. The Famine visited severe distress throughout west Wicklow, and there is evidence to suggest that Dunlavin was one of the areas worst affected. Some historians have challenged the perception that the Famine was a watershed in Irish history in recent decades. For instance, in the case of county Wicklow, Ken Hannigan has pointed out that emigration was already established before the catastrophe, citing the clearance of uneconomic holdings on the Fitzwilliam estate by assisted emigration during the pre-Famine period as an example.²²² The Famine certainly acted as a catalyst, and the wave of emigrants swelled, as Elizabeth Smith's testimony demonstrates. Smith's journal also suggests that landlords in Dunlavin were not pro-active during the Famine years, with the result that distress, dereliction, misery and starvation were particularly acute in the vicinity. Joseph Pratt Tynte occupied a position of leadership on the local relief committee, but there is at least anecdotal evidence that he did not come through the period with his reputation enhanced. Whatever the role of the landlord, suffering was very real and it was the rural lumpenproletariat, the cottier underclass of Dunlavin, who suffered most. They were not completely wiped out, but a picture of sustained demographic decline and a lack of economic progress, despite the arrival of the railway in 1885, emerges during the late nineteenth century, though the safety valve of outmigration ensured that the threat of another Great Famine never materialised. The village continued to serve as a market centre, providing lower order services such as trade, healthcare and education to the

²²² Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', p. 810. Similar arguments to those on emigration have been made regarding other supposed results of the Famine, including, for instance, the devotional revolution. Though this phenomenon certainly accelerated after the Famine, it has been suggested that it had its origins in the pre-Famine years. For example, R. F. Foster points out that 'modernising' tendencies were evident in the Catholic Church before the Famine. R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, p. 339. The question of whether or not the Famine was a watershed in Dunlavin's history is open to interpretation, but what one can say with certainty is that post-Famine Dunlavin was socially, economically, religiously, agriculturally and demographically a very different place to pre-Famine Dunlavin. Whether the Famine acted as a cause or a catalyst to these changes is a moot point in relation to the present study.

populace within the wider hinterland. As Dunlavin entered the twentieth century, the village was largely stagnant, and the area more stable than it had been for some time, but there is no escaping the fact that the village entered the new century as a market centre that had never outgrown its original function.

CHAPTER SIX.

TYNTE TWILIGHT: RELIGION AND POLITICS IN DUNLAVIN, 1850-1910.

Introduction.

Religion and politics intertwined in the life experiences of Dunlavin's community in the second half of the nineteenth century. Nationalism emerged as a predominantly Catholic force, and the elite came under threat from a new, vibrant nationalism and a resurgent Catholic Church, which combined to ensure that the increasingly-confident Catholic middle class pursued a more active role in local and national politics.

Religiously, the Catholic church become more devotional, with formal worship centralised in the chapel. This hastened a decline in folk beliefs, and, though the world of informal belief continued to exist in Dunlavin, it was driven underground. The resurgent, confident Catholic church was in stark contrast to the fortunes of the local Church of Ireland community, who found their church disestablished, and who became more reserved and introspective in the face of Catholic dominance. The contrasting experiences of the two religious communities was reflected in the struggle for landownership. Agrarian unrest permeated the region during the Land War, as competition for local control between the elite and the Catholic middle classes intensified. A significant turning point was reached with the establishment of Wicklow County Council, which hastened the beginning of the end of the social control wielded by members of the elite, personified in Dunlavin by the Tyntes and Pennefathers. They were the losers in the struggle over landownership, and by the early twentieth century an irreversible process of change in landholding, social control and political power was underway in Dunlavin, as the Catholic middle class enjoyed electoral successes and local dominance.

This chapter contains three sections. Section one focuses on belief and religiosity in the Dunlavin region, examining local folk belief and fairy legend, which is contextualised in relation to beliefs and practices in other parts of Ireland. The experience of the Catholic community is also analysed, using Canon Frederick Donovan's diary as the principal source for the Catholic parish. The Protestant parish is also examined, principally from Rector Samuel Russell McGee's booklet *Dunlavin – a retrospect 1894-1905* (Dublin, 1935). McGee's work is largely anecdotal, but it is located within the landowning upper class of the Dunlavin region, making it, in many ways, the perfect foil to Donovan's diary. The second section examines politics, land and landholding in the post-Famine period, up to the arrival of Canon Donovan as Dunlavin's parish priest in 1884. *Griffith's Valuation* is closely analysed to investigate landownership and land occupancy in the aftermath of the Famine. Separatist political movements, such as the Young Irelanders and the Fenians are considered, but these had little impact in the Dunlavin region, which only resumed political activity during the Land War, from 1879 onwards. Section three evaluates Dunlavin political experience from 1884 to 1900. Canon Donovan's diary is the principal source for this section, which analyses political developments in the locality at a time when so much was changing in both national and local politics. The struggle for social control, centred on the ownership of land, which took place against a backdrop of greater cultural awareness, and the rising tide of nationalism prevalent in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, ensured that the nationalist community in the village and its environs entered the twentieth century in a confident mood, expectant of the eclipse of the elite. By the dawn of the twentieth century, that eclipse was evidently imminent.

1. Religiosity and belief in late-nineteenth century Dunlavin.

The Roman Catholic Church emerged from the Famine with strengthened control over its congregation. The post-Famine Catholic Church experienced a 'devotional revolution', a term first used by Emmet Larkin.¹ Whether the Famine was the cause or the catalyst of this phenomenon remains a subject of debate,² but is a moot point in relation to the present study. Canon Frederick Donovan's diary reveals that Dunlavin was a devotional parish in the late nineteenth century, but moves had been made to curb the practice of folk religion in the Dunlavin region before the Famine, as the parish priest, Fr. John Hyland, abolished the pattern to St. Nicholas's holy well in the 1830s.³ Despite this, unofficial patterns were held at the well throughout the nineteenth century, which indicates that popular beliefs, traditions and culture survived side by side with the more formal devotional practice of Catholicism promoted by the post-Famine Church.⁴ It has been observed that 'a plurality of ideologies can always be accommodated within a single lifestyle'.⁵ In nineteenth-century Ireland:

Just out of sight of the solid new Catholic chapels, with their paved yards and stout iron railings, and underneath the orderly grid of print which Victorian officials and administrators were conscientiously laying over every corner of the island, another world continued to exist, whose ways of thinking were based on oral tradition, not on the printed word.⁶

¹ Emmet Larkin, 'The devotional revolution in Ireland 1850-75', *American Historical Review*, lxxvii (1972).

² See, for example, Sean Connolly, *Religion and society in nineteenth century Ireland* (Dundalk, 1985), especially chapter 3, which contains an excellent discussion of this topic.

³ Tornant (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, vii, f. 51).

⁴ Hyland's successor as parish priest of Dunlavin, Canon James Whittle, may have had an ambiguous attitude to the practice of devotion at the holy well. He took over as parish priest in 1862 and penned an undated poem about the well in which he referred to 'the healing waters' power' of the 'sacred ground and well'. 'Lines on St. Nicholas's well, Tournant, Dunlavin', *Dunlavin Festival of Arts Brochure*, (2005), p. 124. Whittle was a native of Dunlavin and grew up among people for whom its powers were very real, and for whom the pattern to the well was a major annual event. This may explain his attitude towards the well and its healing powers, and his benevolent tolerance towards devotion there may at least partly explain why the pattern survived during his tenure as parish priest between 1862 and 1884, in spite of the fact that such devotion had been abolished by Hyland many decades previously.

⁵ Ashis Nandy, *The intimate enemy: Loss and recovery of self under colonialism* (Delhi, 1983), p. 82.

⁶ Angela Bourke, *The burning of Bridget Cleary* (London, 1999), p. 24.

This was the world of fairy legend, and belief in fairies persisted in the Dunlavin region throughout the nineteenth century. Fairies inhabited an 'otherworld', and contact between this and the real world formed the basis of many fairy legends.⁷ Fairies, it was believed, existed under the earth, in air and in water and lived parallel lives to humans. They could steal children away, leaving changelings in their place; they could bring disease on crops, animals, farm produce (such as milk and butter) and humans – but they could also reward kindness.⁸ Fairies were strongly identified with place, and hills and ancient earthen mounds where they abided were perceived as places of sanctity.⁹ Two such places adjacent to Dunlavin were Gormanstown hill and Tournant moat.

Ironically, knowledge of these legends and beliefs in Dunlavin comes principally from the writings of a post-Famine agent of the devotional revolution, Fr. John Francis Shearman. In 1863 Shearman recorded a fairy legend concerning the ford over the River Griese on the Logatrina road, to which some 'persons now living' attested.

According to the legend:

The cows grazing about the mounds of Tournant for some time ceased to give milk and could not be kept on the pastures, but always galloped off, bellowing and making frantic gestures through the town of Dunlavin over the ford to Ratharigid near Gormanstown. Their owners receiving no profit from them and much trouble and distress accruing to their families, were of the opinion that supernatural agency was at work and that the elfin spirits of Ratharigid and Tournant were struggling for the mastery of the flocks, and that the ethereal battles caused much excitement among the flocks. As things did not mend, a fairyman was consulted. He advised the women and children of the town to go in a body to Tournant and there to make an appeal with their starving offspring to the fairy inhabitants of the moat to keep the cattle under their protection, and to defend them from the attempts of their Ratharigid opponents. When milking time came, the cattle as usual fled frantic and excited from their pastures.

⁷ Alan Bruford, 'Gaelic folk-tales and medieval romances', *Bealoideas, the journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society*, xxiv (Dublin, 1966), pp 8-9.

⁸ Bourke, *The burning of Bridget Cleary*, pp 27-8 and 146.

⁹ Padraic Colum (ed), *A treasury of Irish folklore* (New York, 1954), p. xi. Also Sean Ó Suilleabhain, *Irish folk custom and belief* (Dublin, undated), p. 85.

They galloped as usual through the town to the ford. Here they were stopped and could go no further. They bellowed and pawed the ground. A whirlwind raised a cloud of dust around them and enveloped the entire herd. This was looked on as a most extraordinary appearance, and no one doubted that a fierce combat was being waged in the whirlwind above the flock by the rival fairies. When all was calm, and the dust and storm laid, the cattle were driven home from the side of the ford, and the ground where they stood was sprinkled with drops of blood, which was believed to have fallen from the wounds of the ethereal combatants, and a well-earned victory was gained by the fairies of Tournant, and their tutelage of its flocks undisturbed.¹⁰

This narrative is revealing of the nature of folk beliefs in nineteenth-century Dunlavin.

Many high-altitude sites were believed to be fairy forts or fairy raths, and the association of fairies with hills and ancient mounds places beliefs in Dunlavin in line with other parts of Ireland.¹¹ The failure of cows to give milk, the principal source of income for many agricultural families, and a commodity also associated with female fertility and child-bearing, was another common theme of fairy legends in many parts of Ireland.¹² However, the most significant part of Shearman's account concerns the consultation of a fairyman. Nineteenth-century antiquaries noted the existence of 'fairy doctors', whom country people consulted for the relief of illness and injury in humans and animals.¹³ The existence of such a figure in Dunlavin suggests that belief in fairy forces was shared within elements of the local community, rivalling the ever-growing power of the priests. Shearman hardly preached about fairies, but the people believed in them! Despite the devotional revolution and the omniscient presence of

¹⁰ Dunlavin Lower (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, vii, ff 32-5)

¹¹ See for example F. H. A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape* (Cork, 1997), pp 44-9 and 250-3; Matthew Stout, *The Irish ringfort* (Dublin, 1997), passim and Frank Mitchell and Michael Ryan, *Reading the Irish landscape* (Dublin, 1997), pp 254-61.

¹² In addition to milk, malevolent fairy forces also extended to other aspects of dairy produce such as cheese and, most notably, butter. See for example Richard P. Jenkins, 'Witches and fairies: supernatural aggression and deviance among the Irish peasantry', *Ulster folklore*, xxiii (Belfast, 1977), pp 33-56; Eilis Ni Dhuibhne, 'The old woman as hare: structure and meaning in an Irish legend' *Folklore*, 104, i and ii (Dublin, 1993), pp 77-85 and Kevin Danaher, *The year in Ireland* (Cork, 1972), pp 109-19.

¹³ Bourke, *The burning of Bridget Cleary*, p. 31.

the church and its clergy, the gap between the official beliefs and the actual beliefs of many local people ensured that folk-belief flourished in Dunlavin in the 1860s.

Belief in fairy legend also extended to topographical features. Fairy raths, fairy stones and fairy trees abounded in the fields around Dunlavin.¹⁴ Certain places were avoided because of their association with malevolent fairies. Local people avoided 'Byrne's Hollow' in the townland of Cowpasture because it 'had a bad reputation for spirits after dark'.¹⁵ While Byrne's Hollow was associated with fairies, other spirits also figured prominently in the folk beliefs of many nineteenth-century Dunlaviners.

Ghosts formed an almost tangible part of these beliefs. They too rendered certain landscape features and localities areas of high risk. In Dunlavin Upper, a site known as the Red Bush was feared, as it was the location of intermittent ghostly manifestations by an old woman, a hen and a clutch of chickens. The ghost of a nun in a blue habit haunted a house in Stephen Street, and a coach with a headless coachman sometimes came into Dunlavin at the lower end of the same street, before vanishing. A black dog, with fiery eyes and large fangs appeared on dark nights at Milltown crossroads. A dead man reputedly appeared to his son on the Rathbawn road.¹⁶ These hauntings and the superstitions associated with them were part of the everyday life of many Dunlavin people in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most feared supernatural manifestation was the banshee. Literally meaning the 'fairy woman', this female spirit was a harbinger of death. Despite the oddity of this manifestation, people who saw it

¹⁴ Oral tradition. The author encountered this tradition during his childhood. Fairy raths were circular elevations or depressions, usually marking out old ringfort sites. Fairy stones were normally large boulders that had reached the surface of the boulder clay soils. Fairy trees, usually hawthorns, were single trees in fields and were given a wide berth by farmers, who sowed around them rather than cut them down. One field in Dunlavin Upper had a fairy rath, stone and tree all within its boundaries.

¹⁵ Cowpasture (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, vii, f. 9). Such depressions in the landscape were associated with fairy raths.

¹⁶ The old woman and poultry may relate to an eviction on the site; the nun supposedly met a violent end and the black dog was allegedly a manifestation of the devil. The dead father walked with his son and a companion for part of their journey, carrying an axe on his shoulder, before disappearing. Gerard O'Dwyer, 'Do you believe? Strange tales from our locality', *Dunlavin Festival of Arts Brochure* (2002), pp 14-6.

were 'sane and normal'.¹⁷ Described as a wizened old woman combing her hair, this spirit was witnessed by a number of people in and around Dunlavin in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁸

Banshees, fairies and ghosts vied with formal religion for the hearts and minds of many Catholics. At least one local story of the supernatural reflected this struggle and symbolised the increasing power of the Catholic Church over both superstition and its rival Church in Dunlavin. According to this tale, a farming family from Crehelp held a party, and a Catholic priest was invited to the mainly Protestant gathering. The priest blessed and cut the roast that was served, and a piece of fat was given to the family cat. The cat spat on it, before bursting into a ball of fire and disappearing up the chimney. The event convinced the whole family to convert to Catholicism.¹⁹ In addition to the element of supernatural belief, this tale reinforced the power of the Catholic Church.

This symbolism of the Catholic Church triumphant reflected the reality of a resurgent post-Famine Catholicism, that was ever more willing to engage in socio-economic and political issues. The Catholic Church in Dunlavin served a large congregation in the post-Famine years. In 1862, in addition to the parishioners of Dunlavin, Shearman confirmed Dunlavin's trans-county links when he noted that 'a large concourse

¹⁷ Arantxa Gonzalez, 'The persistence of Celtic customs and rituals' (BA thesis, U.T.M.; Toulouse-le-Mirail, 2001), p. 72.

¹⁸ Visitations by the banshee continued to be reported in Dunlavin until well into the twentieth century. O'Dwyer, 'Do you believe? Strange tales from our locality', p. 15. This local description and account of the occasion of the banshee's manifestation agrees with folk beliefs throughout Ireland. See for example Colum (ed), *A treasury of Irish folklore*, pp 396-7; Ó Suilleabhain, *Irish folk custom and belief*, p. 48 and Sheila St. Clair, *Folklore of the Ulster people* (Cork, 1971), pp 17-26.

¹⁹ Transcript of an interview with an elderly female resident of Dunlavin conducted for the Dunlavin Action Group's teamwork project, 1988. The lady heard the story from her grandmother, who would have been born in the early to mid nineteenth century. Published in O'Dwyer, 'Do you believe? Strange tales from our locality', pp 15-6.

attended [masses] from Uske and Gormanstown in county Kildare'.²⁰ In that year also James Whittle arrived in Dunlavin as parish priest, a position he held until his death on 20 March 1884.²¹ He was a native of Dunlavin, born on 8 May 1818, and baptised in the local church on 10 May of that year.²² Whittle succeeded Hyland as parish priest on 8 November 1862, and was inducted at 12 o'clock mass on the following Sunday by Fr. Lawrence Dunne of Castledermot, at the request of Paul Cullen, archbishop of Dublin.²³ Whittle tolerated pattern to St. Nicholas's holy well during his tenure as parish priest, but he also extended and deepened the devotional revolution by formalising worship and centralising it within the church buildings.²⁴ To this end, the parish undertook a number of building projects. In 1873, a new coach house and stables were constructed beside the parochial house at a cost of £142 6s. 7d. In 1880, a new Catholic school was erected within the chapel yard at Dunlavin. However, the largest project undertaken was the construction of a new church at Davidstown in the Glen of Imaal. This church (of our Lady of Dolours and St. Patrick) was officially opened on 16 September 1875. It was expensive and Whittle noted the costs, the largest being £75 to the architect and £1,567 to the builder.²⁵ The devotional revolution stretched into the remote glen, and provided Catholics there with their own centralised place of worship, an important development in a community that contained a disproportionately large number of Protestants. The Glen's population remained almost equally divided between members of the two main churches in the late nineteenth century, the sole exception being Lady Synge Hutcheson, a landowner in Imaal, who 'essayed to establish a new religion and entailed on herself the ire of the parson as well as the priest. She kept a milk-white

²⁰ A statistical memoir of Dunlavin parish (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, xvii, f. 168).

²¹ Patrick Finn, 'Parish clergy down the years', Dunlavin-Donard-Davidstown parish link, iii, 2 (1997), p. 2.

²² Dunlavin R. C. Parish Register, i, 1818 (unpaginated).

²³ Dunlavin R. C. Parish Register, ii, 1862 (unpaginated).

²⁴ Despite this, Whittle also tolerated the continuance of the pattern to St. Nicholas's holy well.

²⁵ Dunlavin R. C. Parish Register, ii, 1873, 1875, 1880 (unpaginated).

stud to carry the Messiah who she still expects to establish the millennium'.²⁶

The Glen of Imaal was a marginal part of the Catholic parish, which had its mother church in Dunlavin village. In 1881, Whittle also held the diaconal prebend of Tassagard, an indication of the status of Dunlavin parish (and village) at the time.²⁷ Dunlavin village was home to two congregations, Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland. They had much in common, but also had different life experiences. Two sources reflect this very well: Catholic parish priest Canon Frederick Augustine Donovan's unpublished diary and Church of Ireland rector Samuel Russell McGee's published *Retrospect*.

Canon James Whittle made many improvements to the Catholic parish architectural furniture following his arrival in 1862, but, despite his extensive building programme, the Church of St. Nicholas of Myra in Dunlavin remained relatively unchanged in 1880.²⁸ Whittle listed a number of interventions to the church fabric – roof repairs, walls plastered, windows repaired – but these were stopgap measures. Apart from the purchasing of a set of stations of the cross for the interior, the building was not substantially altered during Whittle's tenure.

Frederick Donovan succeeded Whittle as parish priest on 17 April 1884.²⁹ Donovan was born in Dublin on 18 May 1830, and was ordained on 6 June 1857 by Archbishop

²⁶ A statistical memoir of Dunlavin parish (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, xvii, f. 169).

²⁷ Chris Lawlor, *Canon Frederick Donovan's Dunlavin 1884-1896: a West Wicklow village in the late nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2000), p. 22.

²⁸ Finn, 'Parish clergy down the years', p. 2.

²⁹ Canon Whittle died on 20 Mar 1884: Canon Donovan's Diary, undated 1884. All other information given in this section is taken from Donovan's diary unless otherwise stated. The diary is unpaginated, but the month and the year are usually indicated and will appear in the text.

Paul Cullen.³⁰ In 1884 the physical fabric of Donovan's new parish and the buildings in particular were in need of urgent attention. Donovan's initial focus was the parochial house and schools. In 1884 the parochial house was repaired at a cost of £109. Also in 1884, Donovan turned his attention to the Dunlavin male and female national schools, 'mere wrecks of buildings' and had substantial repairs implemented. The state of the church and the schools does not reflect well on Whittle, but Donovan's perception of them is also indicative of the rising expectations of the clergy, and of a Catholic Church that was growing in confidence. The buildings were 'dashed, ceiled, whitened, cemented, painted, furnished with eve gutters and downpipes and the out-offices rebuilt as a cost of £48'. Donovan also obtained a grant of £6 for school equipment from the Commissioners of National Education. A new missal and stand were purchased for the church at a cost of £1 16s. By the end of 1884 Donovan had begun to make his mark on the parish. The parochial house and schools had been repaired, but the church building in Dunlavin remained untouched.³¹

Dunlavin Catholic parish now boasted three churches, two parochial houses and six schools, but this involved constant maintenance expenses. Donovan recorded repairs and improvements during his years in Dunlavin, but many of these (as in Whittle's time) were stopgap measures, or were only undertaken because deterioration made them urgent, particularly from 1890 onwards. Donovan's improvements to the interior of the church, as well as his liturgical purchases of chalices, vestments, books and

³⁰ P. J. Hamell, *Maynooth students and ordinations index 1795-1895* (Birr, 1982) pp 21, 57. Donovan's first appointment was as locum tenens in Celbridge, where he remained from 27 Jun to 25 Nov 1857. He then received a curacy in Arklow, under Canon Redmond, where he served until he was appointed to Dunlavin.

³¹ There were also changes to the curacy of the parish at this time. One of Donovan's curates, Rev. Thomas A. Brennan was moved to Balbriggan in Nov 1884 and Rev. Peter Vallely from Delgany replaced him. Donovan's other curate, Rev. Thomas Lynch, had been there in Whittle's tenure and, with Whittle, was responsible for the building of the new church in Davidstown. Lynch remained in Donard, serving the upland section of the parish, his absence from Dunlavin village symbolic of the geographical and psychological division of the parish and the region.

church furniture added a sense of majesty to the mass and other services, thus making Donovan a significant agent in extending the devotional revolution in Dunlavin. Such an agent needed a comfortable residence, and in February 1885 David Rankin of Naas installed a new fireplace in Dunlavin parochial house. His costs, along with bricks, cement, lime, labour and carriage totalled £12 2s. In August 1885 Merginstown national school was repaired. The building was 'plastered and ceiled and a new gate was erected'. Donovan noted thankfully that the £15 outlay meant that the school was entitled to a £3 equipment grant.

In August 1885, however, no expense was spared on the erection of a memorial altar to the memory of Donovan's predecessor, Canon Whittle. Donovan referred to it as 'a handsome structure composed of Caen stone, Italian and French marble and Devonshire spar with a wrought-iron and brass tabernacle'. The architect was William Hague and his fee was £5, while the total cost of the altar was £61 5s. 6d. Donovan hired a new sculptor for this job. Whittle used P. J. Neill and Company of Dublin for work in Davidstown church. Donovan hired the Dublin firm of Pearse and Sharp to erect the memorial altar to Whittle. The principal partner was the father of Patrick Pearse.³² It is possible that the Dublin-born Donovan knew the Pearse family before he moved to Dunlavin. In October 1885, Pearse and Sharp erected 'a mural tablet with the inscription on white marble, framed in Caen stone and black marble, the whole neat and graceful' to Whittle's memory. This cost £19. However, the cost of the memorial to Whittle was comfortably covered by the £116 8s. collected in the Canon Whittle memorial fund. Donovan recorded the names of 109 subscribers.³³

Subscriptions varied from 5 guineas (Donovan himself) to 5 shillings (thirty-one subscribers). After Donovan, the leading local individual Catholic subscriber was

³² I am indebted to Mr. Gerry O'Neill of Blessington for this information.

³³ This list of subscribers is transcribed in appendix eleven.

John Harrington of Cannycourt [Kennycourt] with £5. The average subscription was £1 5s. 2d., and on the list the names of strong farmers (Deering and Norton for example) and local businessmen (Kelly and Fay for example) are in evidence. Some prominent local Protestant names such as Dixon and Pennefather are also present. Tynte's name is absent, but Donovan recorded that 'Protestant gentlemen have been among the foremost in generously testifying their appreciation of his [Whittle's] amiable character and virtues'. Subscribers came from all social strata. Work such as this served to reinforce the dominant position of resurgent Catholicism in the parish, and increased its visibility in the community and awareness of its confident, outward-looking approach among the people of Dunlavin.

While Whittle's memorial altar enhanced the interior of Dunlavin church, the building was still in need of repair. In December 1885, Donovan paid £15 to Waldrons (slaters and plasterers in Dunlavin according to *Slater's Directory* of 1881) for 'dashing, painting of windows and doors and roof slating'. In July 1886 the church windows were repaired again, at a cost of £4 1s., and the church bell was moved 'as the belfry was in a very decayed and dangerous condition. New materials were supplied and the whole frame painted at a cost of £11'. In August 1886 Martin Cooke of Grangecon painted the interior of the church, while Thomas Kirwan of Uppertown partially concreted the floor, which was in bad condition. This work cost £26. As one maintenance job finished, another began. Donard church was repaired by Waldrons of Dunlavin at a cost of £34 in September 1886. The upkeep of three churches was an expensive business, and equipment had to be purchased. In August 1887, Donovan purchased new candlesticks, lamps and vases for Dunlavin church, but in March 1887 he managed to reduce the cost of a ten-guinea chalice to £7 by trading in the old one for £3 10s. Nurturing the devotional revolution was obviously no reason to abandon

the virtue of thrift! Despite this thrift the new high altar in Davidstown church was completed in May 1887. It consisted of 'Caen stone with pillars of coloured marbles and the altar table and candle benches of Sicilian marble, gracefully designed by Mr. William Hague'. P. J. Neill and Company carried out this work at a cost of £107.

The schools also needed further investment. In October 1887 'twelve desks of superior construction in varnished pine with metal standards made by Scott and Co., Dublin' arrived in Dunlavin school at a cost of £19 10s. The floor was also repaired and the walls were whitewashed, bringing the total cost to £21 4s., while in December of that year a new harmonium costing £5 5s. was purchased for the female national school 'to encourage musical taste and help supply singers for the choir'. September 1888 saw £30 3s. paid out for 'large and important repairs' to Seskin national school in Imaal. Donovan noted thankfully that 'men, horses, cars and sand were supplied free', thereby making a considerable saving of expenditure possible. The ceiling and walls of Davidstown national school were also repaired at a cost of £1 at this time. By September 1888 Davidstown church was also in need of repair. The old plaster on the chancel was removed and cemented, and the back of the altar was painted at a cost of £5. Once built, the church at Davidstown also needed maintenance and this was the first of a number of repairs carried out there, placing more strain on parish finances. Two sets of violet vestments for Dunlavin church (£3 10s.) and a new harmonium for Donard church (£8) added to the parochial outlay in 1888. Many stopgap jobs were also undertaken in 1889.³⁴

³⁴ These included painting, whitewashing and glazing the Dunlavin schools once again (£3 6s. 8d.), putting up altar railings in Davidstown (£17 8s.) and repairing the roof of Donard church (£1 7s.) in Jun; roof repairs to Dunlavin sacristy (£24 1s.) in Aug; the building of a coal-house for Seskin school (£16 15s.) in Sep and painting the gutters of Davidstown church (£2) in Dec.

The upkeep of the new church at Davidstown and other parochial buildings could not be sustained at this high level. In December 1890, Donovan recorded that 'parish expenditure was designedly very limited this year'. Davidstown church was painted (£3 4s.), Dunlavin bell frame and seats were repaired (£1 1s.), a new stove (£1 11s. 6d.) and a statue of St. Joseph (£1 12s.) were purchased. No other expenditure is recorded for 1890. In 1891 Donovan's diary records that 'church expenses and parochial outlay were again very limited'. In fact, total expenditure that year came only to some £13 or £14. There is no record of the parochial bank balance at this time, but the lean years of 1890 and 1891 suggest that the balance was meagre. There had been heavy parochial outlay during the 1880s and it is possible that the limited expenditure of 1890 and 1891 was at the behest of A. Warmington, the bank manager in Dunlavin. This trend continued in 1892, when Donovan recorded that 'parochial expenditure on church and school improvements this year were of the most nominal character', the highest cost being £2 8s. 10d. for a new stove. If the parish had overspent during the 1880s it was atoning for that expenditure in the early 1890s!

By 1893 however, the condition of Dunlavin church and schools was a cause of concern. During the summer, a 'large work was executed in Dunlavin'. Church and school walls were cemented and dashed and a sewerage system was installed in both national schools. Pipes were laid across Dunlavin fairgreen and along the yard of the parochial house. These improvements cost £70, and Donovan was grateful for free sand and labour. Local merchant Edward Fay's expenditure on this venture was written off, another indication that times were hard for the parish. Donovan recorded that other expenses that year were very limited – organ tuning (£1 10s. 6d.), drainage at Seskin school (£1 2s. 6d.) and repairing a broken monstrance (12s. 6d.) being the most expensive items. The expensive repairs of the summer of 1893 were not repeated

in 1894, and in December of that year Donovan noted in his diary that ‘there was no parochial outlay during the course of the year’. The new Davidstown school opened in 1894, vested under five trustees,³⁵ but no parochial money was spent on it that year. The parochial accounts remained strained in 1894. In May 1895 the new school was inspected and passed. The £300 cost of the school was met by a grant of £175 12s. 8d. from the National Board, a ‘handsome figure’ from the Imaal loan fund, a ‘very liberal subscription’ from Archbishop Walsh, and local contributions of about £30 due to the ‘very considerable personal exertions of the P.P’.

Illustration 8. St. Nicholas of Myra church, Dunlavin as it was during Canon Donovan’s tenure as parish, before the extensive renovations undertaken by Fr. Maxwell in 1898.



Source: private possession.

Donovan died on 15 December 1896,³⁶ but as there are no entries in his diary for that year, it can be assumed that he was in bad health for some time before his death. He was succeeded by Fr. John Maxwell,³⁷ who, on his arrival, was appalled at the state of Dunlavin church. At a meeting of parishioners held on 8 September 1898, Maxwell

³⁵ These were Dr. Walsh, archbishop of Dublin, Fr. Donovan and the three vicars general, Monsignors Walsh, Fitzpatrick and Plunkett.

³⁶ *Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac* (Dublin, 1897), p. 329.

³⁷ Ibid, unpaginated ‘Changes since going to press’ flyleaf at beginning of book.

stated that 'he was surprised and grieved when he came to Dunlavin and saw such a miserable, poor and dangerous church. It was nothing short of a disgrace to religion and altogether unfit for divine worship. The galleries were in a fearful state, being supported by rotten beams, a portion of the ceiling was also in a most dilapidated condition and the wonder was why some of the parishioners had not been killed or maimed'.³⁸ Maxwell proposed a major renovation and extension of the church and pledged that all labour on the job would come from Dunlavin itself. Michael Roche of Dunlavin undertook to 'thoroughly renovate the church for the sum of £1,300', while Mr. Waldron, 'a Protestant, and a thoroughly good workman into the bargain', would also get a share of the work. Donovan left £1,000 toward a new church in Dunlavin in his will, but the words 'new church' made it difficult to obtain the money for renovating the existing building, although legal moves to procure the money were initiated. Even with Donovan's £1,000, the cost of such a major effort would be considerably more than the amount in the parish coffers at the time, so a fund was opened to collect money for the venture. The extension of the church was carried out and the date 1898 remains over the main door of the extended long aisle, below the new belfry. Ornamental railings replaced the perimeter wall and Dunlavin church was much altered by the dawn of the twentieth century. This renovation of the church was undertaken as part of the centenary commemoration of the events of 1798 in Dunlavin. Stained glass windows commemorating the massacre on Dunlavin green and the rebel leader Michael Dwyer were to be included in the church.³⁹ This extension, particularly the tall, solid belfry, was the most visible physical symbol of the confidence of Dunlavin's Catholic community. The new belfry was of comparable height to the spire on the Protestant church, or even to the market house, the great

³⁸ *Leinster Leader*, 14 Sep 1898.

³⁹ *Ibid.* This was never done. In 1998, however, a wall plaque commemorating the massacre was erected in the porch of the church.

symbol of Tynte dominance. Just as the Protestant elite had claimed the urban space of Dunlavin for themselves and moulded it in their image in the eighteenth century, the Catholic community of Dunlavin reclaimed that same urban space in the late nineteenth century. It demonstrated to the people who saw it every day that the urban space of the village had a new dominant force.

An early entry in Donovan's diary, dated 5 July 1885 stated: 'on 11 February Cardinal McCabe expired. On the following 10 March, the canons and parish priests of Dublin diocese by an overwhelming majority selected Dr. William Walsh, president of Maynooth College, as his successor, and after a period of painful suspense owing to English intrigues at Rome, to the great joy of the Irish nation the selection was ratified by His Holiness'. British objections to Walsh's appointment centred on his nationalistic views.⁴⁰ Donovan, however, was elated at Walsh's appointment and stood foursquare behind the new bishop. On 26 September 1885 Walsh travelled to Kilcullen church to consecrate the new high altar. He was greeted by the Crehelt brass band and the town was bedecked with green flags, laurels, evergreen arches and nationalist banners, some of which read: 'Kilcullen branch of the National league greets you with Cead Mile Failte', 'The Just shall be in Everlasting Remembrance', 'Our God and Our Country', 'Home Rule', 'Tenant Right', 'Faith and Fatherland', and 'Ireland a Nation'.⁴¹ Donovan was one of three parish priests who travelled to Kilcullen to address Walsh. On the following day, 27 September, Donovan's address was the most overtly political, making reference to:

The joy we experienced when we learned of the overthrow of statecraft and intrigue, and the triumph of religious independence in the confirmation by the Holy See of the free choice of our Irish

⁴⁰ I am indebted to Mr. David Sheehy, Dublin Diocesan Archive [D.D.A.], for this information.

⁴¹ *Addresses delivered on various occasions by Most Rev. Dr. Walsh Archbishop of Dublin* (Dublin, 1886), pp 174-5.

Church. We believed you are not alone a true churchman, but a true patriot as well and we were not mistaken.

The address went on to speak of the 'effects of centuries of misrule' and express the hope that the work of 'capable representatives in parliament' will see the return of prosperity and 'evil traditions forgotten'.⁴² Donovan led a deputation of prominent Dunlaviners, John Harrington, Thomas Norton, Anthony Metcalfe P.L.G. and James Cunningham.⁴³ The other addresses, from Kilcullen, Ballymore and Hollywood and Castledermot were less nationalistic in tone. Donovan recorded in his diary that he had delivered a 'congratulatory address' to the new archbishop.

Donovan's overtly nationalistic views were evident when he chaired a 'large and enthusiastic meeting' on Tournant moat on 22 November 1885 in support of Garret Byrne, nationalist candidate in the county Wicklow election of that year. This was 'the first public meeting that he had ever presided at – it was not his ambition to preside at public meetings but he did so as it was gratifying to the people and useful to the cause'. This extract attests to Donovan's acute awareness of the status afforded him by his position. The priest, an educated figure at a time when a high proportion of the population of Dunlavin left school at an early age, was a significant figurehead in a parish experiencing growing Catholic confidence. Even the curates carried considerable authority and status. When Rev. Thomas Lynch, curate of Donard, died (aged 44) on 20 May 1887, Donovan recorded that twenty-six priests assembled for the requiem mass and nineteen for the month's memory. Donovan noted that Lynch was 'very zealous and highly popular with the people owing to his simple, homely and genial nature'.

⁴² Ibid, pp 184-5. Donovan's address to Walsh is transcribed in appendix twelve.

⁴³ Byrne to [Walsh's secretary?], 1 Nov 1886 (D.D.A., Walsh Papers, 402/3-5, Shelf 358)

Rev. Patrick Brennan, newly ordained from Maynooth College, succeeded Lynch in June 1887. Brennan accepted a gift of a horse and car from his parishioners to help with the 'expenses of a priest's first mission', but Donovan informed him that this contravened an existing church statute. Many areas of clerical life were tightened up at the Synod of Maynooth in 1875.⁴⁴ Brennan wrote to Archbishop Walsh, asking whether he could keep the horse and car.⁴⁵ This incident shows another side to Donovan. The meticulous priest knew his church law and was at pains to point it out to his young curate. Brennan left Donard in December 1888, following the death of another curate, this time Fr. Peter Vallyely of Dunlavin. Vallyely died suddenly on 3 March in the parochial house, from 'heart disease' according to the inquest. Donovan's diary lists twenty-eight priests who celebrated the funeral mass before Vallyely was interred in a suite of coffins of shell, lead and oak beside Canon Whittle in the nave of Dunlavin church. Vallyely, who was 'quiet, gentle and unassuming in manner' according to Donovan, was replaced on 14 March 1888 by Rev. Christopher Grimes, and Rev. John Hickey succeeded Brennan in Donard on 1 December of that year.

The ex-curate of Donard, Thomas Lynch, left £50 in his will to the Catholic poor of Donard, but only £28 8s. 9d. was distributed in June 1889, due to insufficient assets. Donovan was also involved in charitable causes. On 27 May 1890 Donovan recorded the entry of four orphans – Patrick, Michael, Joseph and Thomas Kennedy – into Artane industrial school. He undertook to pay each one an extra 6d. per week on top of the Grand Jury county payment. This was at a time when 'parochial expenditure was designedly very limited' and shows a generous side to Donovan's nature, which is unrecorded elsewhere. The meticulous side of Donovan's character again emerged

⁴⁴ I am indebted to Mr. David Sheehy for this information.

⁴⁵ Brennan to Walsh, 3 Aug 1887 (D.D.A., Walsh Papers, 402/6, 403/1-3, Shelf 359)

in 1891 when he painstakingly recorded the census details for Dunlavin parish. He noted a decrease of 638 people since 1881 and the religious breakdown of the parish, 2,809 Catholics (1,422 in Dunlavin and 1,387 in Donard) and 939 Protestants. The almost 70 per cent of people who made up the Catholic population of Dunlavin parish held their parish priest in high esteem. Donovan was appointed vicar forane on 18 June 1890, and elevated to canon on 10 January 1893. On 12 March 1893 Donovan was presented with an address on behalf of his parishioners. The address referred in glowing terms to Donovan's traits and stated that he was 'true to the traditions of the Soggarth Aroon'. It bears witness to a highly devotional parish, in its description of 'crowded confessionals, the flourishing state of the Sacred Heart, Purgatorian and Living Rosary sodalities, the high answering of the school children at both the religious and secular examinations, the whole tone of the community under your charge... all tell of the guiding spirit that directs and controls God's beneficent machinery in this faithful old parish of Dunlavin, Donard and Donaghmore'. In his reply, Donovan stated that the committee of John Harrington, James O'Connor M.P., Francis McEnerny C.C. (who replaced Grimes in December 1889), Henry Copeland, Anthony Metcalfe, John Fallon, John Rochfort, James Cunningham and Thomas Metcalfe 'worthily represent the parish. Here beside me is the cultured churchman. Then we have the prosperous grazier and enterprising mercantile speculator. We also have the local merchant, the farmer and the skilled artisan among you. All classes are here worthily represented'. Catholicism was evidently a unifying force across class divisions.

Before Donovan's arrival in Dunlavin, Canon Whittle noted that the ten-day mission conducted by two Jesuits, Fathers Flynn and Cleary in 1880 was 'admirably

conducted by the fathers and well attended by the people'.⁴⁶ Donovan's diary provides a still clearer picture of devotionality in Dunlavin parish. Another Jesuit mission was held from 11 October to 1 November 1885. The Jesuits, John Gaffney and William Fortescue, spent the first fortnight in Dunlavin and the third week in Donard. Donovan recorded that 2,400 people received communion, 1,500 in Dunlavin and 900 in Donard. There were 3,349 Catholics in the parish in 1881, but almost 1,000 of these were less than ten years of age, so the figure of 2,400 communicants represents virtually a 100 per cent reception of communion. According to Donovan 'the people attended various duties with much quiet fervour and steadiness. The fathers delivered earnest and instructive discourses and were assiduous in their confessional labours and the mission was decidedly a complete success'. However, Donovan saw the mission through the eyes of a parish priest, and his account naturally reflects this. Other studies of nineteenth and early twentieth-century missions in rural areas suggest that the perception of the laity could be different. Laurence J. Taylor wrote of 'locals revealing in their own accounts of missions a different sort of religious experience from that intended by the missionaries'.⁴⁷

The Dunlavin missions attracted large congregations. So too did other major church occasions. In August 1886 the village braced itself to welcome Archbishop Walsh for confirmation. On 23 August, Walsh arrived in Dunlavin railway station on the 11.05 a.m. train to confirm 279 children. He and his chaplain, Fr. Pettit, were:

welcomed by the people in the handsomest and most enthusiastic manner. The Crehelp brass band and the Donard fife and drum band played patriotic music and the children gaily attired walked in procession. The people cheered His Grace as he advanced slowly

⁴⁶ Dunlavin R. C. Parish Register, ii, 1880 (unpaginated).

⁴⁷ Lawrence J. Taylor, 'The language of belief' in M. Silverman and P. H. Gulliver (eds), *Approaching the past* (Columbia, 1992), p. 146. Alice Taylor went further when she wrote 'To me, the missioner on the altar provided a one man entertainment'. Alice Taylor, *Quench the lamp* (Dingle, 1990) p. 51.

seated in Mr. J. Harrington's open carriage under triumphal green arches.

Illustration 9. Archbishop William Walsh



Source: *Addresses delivered on various occasions by Most Rev. Dr. Walsh.*

John Harrington had a large landholding in Cannycourt (Kennycourt), just over the Kildare border from Dunlavin. He was also chairman of the committee who presented Donovan with the address to mark his elevation to the status of canon, and was a leading member of Dunlavin's Catholic community, and deeply involved in the National League (see next section). Harrington's coach bore Dr. Walsh through the streets, 'banners... floated in the breeze, and flags in great profusion waved from the windows'. Having reached the church, Walsh confirmed the children. Walsh's sermon was addressed to 'My dear children', but it is evident from its content that this term included the whole congregation, not just those about to be confirmed. The fire and brimstone tone of the sermon also made it clear that Walsh was a figure of authority.

He urged the candidates for confirmation to:

Excite every feeling of piety within your hearts, for upon the fervour of devotion with which you receive it now may depend whether you

are to be admitted for all eternity to a place among the angels around the throne of God in heaven, or to be cast out forever from his sight and from the company of his holy angels to spend an eternity of pain and sorrow among the devils in hell.⁴⁸

After the confirmation Donovan recorded that 'the little town was brilliantly illuminated and tar barrels blazed upon the green'.

The arrival of missionaries and the bishop were special events in the parish. Yet they were indicative; Donovan noted how, during that Jubilee year of 1886, the confessionals and altar rails were full and the people acted as 'docile children of the Catholic Church'. Moreover, a number of more mundane religious events added to the devotional nature of worship in the parish. On 22 July 1888 a forty hours adoration and retreat for the members of the Sacred Heart Association was 'well conducted by Rev. J. B. Leybourn O.C.C., and well attended'. In May 1890 the parish Total Abstinence Association was established and 296 juveniles took the pledge until they were twenty-one years old, while 327 adults also joined the organisation. On 29 July that year a further 297 confirmation candidates were added to the number of juveniles. Confirmation numbers remained high until August 1894, when only 203 children were confirmed, reflecting the fall in the birth rate that occurred in the 1880s. Despite diminishing numbers, in 1891 Donovan noted with satisfaction that 'quiet and order reigned through the peaceful parish as usual during the year. The sacraments were frequented and the sodality meetings largely attended'. A further mission whipped devotional practice into another fervour, this time held by three Vincentians, from 24 July to 15 August 1892. Fathers Daniel O'Sullivan, Louis Bean and Daniel McCarthy spent the first half of the mission in Dunlavin and the second in Donard. 'The mission was eminently successful, the various exercises were admirably attended by the

⁴⁸ Sermon notes for Dunlavin confirmations (D.D.A., Walsh Papers, 1886, 402/3-5, Shelf 358)

faithful and the sermons were forceful and fruitful of result. The people came in large numbers from all the neighbouring parishes. The mission was entirely free and not one penny was charged. 2,710 communions were the distributed, 1,460 in Dunlavin and 1,250 in Donard'. Again these figures represented practically the whole Catholic parish community.

When Donovan received the canonical address from his parishioners on 12 March 1893, the passage relating to the 'crowded confessionals, flourishing sodalities and God's beneficent machinery in this faithful old parish' reflected a parish with a high degree of devotional practice. Yet, beneath this surface of conformity there was a different picture. There were twenty-six illegitimate births recorded in the parish register between 1881 and 1901. The mean figure of 1.3 per cent per annum is very low, but was an enduring phenomenon. The social stigma of illegitimacy was enormous. Some mothers moved to other areas to have their children. In 1886 Donovan recorded: 'This child's mother is a stranger from the neighbourhood of Kilcullen town and only lived in Crehelp for about one week before the birth'.⁴⁹

Despite the high level of devotional practice, the message of the fire and brimstone sermons was obviously not getting through to everyone, nor did the Church control all areas of Catholic life. Another sort of religiosity in the parish that was less controlled by the resurgent Catholic Church was the widespread practice of folk-religion. The major area of folk religion in Dunlavin centred on St. Nicholas's holy well at Tournant. Though the pattern was officially abolished, crutches, walking sticks and pieces of cloth were left at the well in the 1880s.⁵⁰ Following the opening of the

⁴⁹ Dunlavin R. C. Parish Register, iii, 29 Mar 1886 (unpaginated).

⁵⁰ Geraldine Lynch, 'The holy wells of County Wicklow: traditions and legends' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow, history and society* (Dublin, 1994), p. 629.

railway in 1885, people arrived by train for the pattern in late June, a practice that continued well into the twentieth century, when 'lots of people streamed across local fields to pray at our well'.⁵¹ The survival of the pattern, despite the efforts of the Catholic clergy to suppress it, is indicative of their failure entirely to control popular belief in the parish.

Of course Catholic clergy had no control over Dunlavin's Protestant congregation either. According to Donovan's figures, nearly one third of the population of Dunlavin parish was Protestant in 1891. These Dunlavin Protestants had a different religious experience to their Catholic counterparts. A new rector, Samuel Russell McGee, took charge of the parish on Easter Sunday 1894. McGee was born into a well-to-do family in 1856.⁵² He became curate of Clontarf in 1888 and was asked to become rector of Dunlavin in 1894. He accepted, but found that his new rectory was uninhabitable. He stated that 'the rectory was an impossible proposition without the expenditure of a large sum of money; it was the worst glebe house but one [in the diocese]. The lawn was a forest of large trees'.⁵³ McGee faced similar problems to Donovan on his arrival in Dunlavin, with both his house and his church in bad repair. Fortunately the parish had a trust fund, created by landowning parishioners, who had levied themselves on the basis of their rental income. This fund, proposed by Andrew Dixon and seconded by Joseph Molyneaux, was established in 1871, and it was agreed that 'Protestant proprietors of the parish pay 1s. in the pound on lands in their own occupation and 6d. in the pound on lands and premises occupied by Roman Catholic tenants and that Protestant tenants pay 6d. in the pound on lands and

⁵¹ Mary Norton, 'Dunlavin', *Dunlavin Festival of Arts Brochure*, (1990) p. 9.

⁵² Samuel Russell McGee, *Dunlavin, Co. Wicklow - A Retrospect* (Dublin, 1935), p. 18.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 3.

premises occupied by them for the maintenance of the future minister of Dunlavin'.⁵⁴ As the rector at the time, Archdeacon J. O'Regan, was a pre-disestablishment cleric, the fund could not be touched till after his death, which occurred in 1880. Thus there was money to renovate the rectory and the trustees agreed to use the money for that purpose.⁵⁵ The work took longer than expected as rain caused all the ceilings to collapse during re-slating, but the rectory was ready for use and free of debt by August 1894.⁵⁶

Like the Catholic community, the Church of Ireland community of Dunlavin found that maintaining buildings was a constant struggle. In 1895 the church was in need of repair and local tradesmen were employed. Joseph Waldron, a Protestant, and Michael Roche, a Catholic, carried out the repair work. They would effect a major renovation of the Catholic church in Dunlavin three years later. Religion was not a barrier as men of both faiths repaired both churches and in each case the local clergy seemed happy to take on local labour. Maxwell commented on this in 1898 and McGee recorded that in a town of only 400 people it was possible to find men to do nearly all the work on both the rectory and the church, stating that Waldron and Roche both did excellent work.⁵⁷

The church was closed for three months to facilitate the renovations, but was re-opened by the archbishop of Dublin, Lord Plunket on 20 August 1895. There was a very large congregation that day, and the new seating in the church (donated by Tynte) was thronged. The jewels in the crown of the renovation work were the new

⁵⁴ Dunlavin Select Vestry Minutes, i, 15 Feb 1871 (R.C.B., P251/51)

⁵⁵ The trustees were Col. Joseph Tynte C.B., Edward Pennefather Q.C., Thomas Molyneux J.P. and Robert Dixon J.P.

⁵⁶ McGee, *Retrospect*, pp 2, 3 and 17.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 8.

pitch pine ceiling and new choir stalls.⁵⁸ The archbishop's address alluded to the increased effort by members of the Church of Ireland since disestablishment in 1869. Gladstone's Disestablishment Act resulted in loss of income at grass roots level and Plunket congratulated the Dunlavin congregation on their support for the renovation and beautification of their church. This beauty, he said, 'did not indicate in any sense a craving after ritualistic display, nor betoken a return towards those dangerous innovations which at the Reformation their church disowned and rejected'. In Dunlavin Plunket said that he found 'order, decency, beauty and dignity'.⁵⁹ He then confirmed about thirty young people (a significantly lower number than were presented annually for confirmation in the Catholic church). The religious service was followed by an 'at home' at the rectory, which hosted a 'very large gathering of parishioners and their friends'.⁶⁰ The rectory was evidently fit to house such an event, unlike in 1894 when it was 'looked upon as anything but a prize'.⁶¹ The trust fund more than justified its foundation, and by 1895 Dunlavin could boast a fine rectory and church.

Dr. Peacocke, who succeeded Plunket as archbishop of Dublin, referred to Dunlavin as 'one of the nicest country churches in the diocese' in 1899.⁶² By then more work had been carried out on the church, chiefly to commemorate three of its main benefactors, all of whom died between 1895 and 1899. In 1895 Edward Pennefather Q.C. of Rathsallagh House, in McGee's words 'one of our ablest lawyers and a churchman of intense loyalty', died. His death was followed in 1896 by the death of Joseph Pratt-Tynte of Tynte Park House, 'who for fifty-six years, to a great extent,

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 5.

⁵⁹ Address by Lord Plunkett, 20 Aug 1895. I am indebted to Mr. George Coleborn of Dunlavin Select Vestry for access to framed copies of this and other Church of Ireland addresses which are housed in Dunlavin church. This address is transcribed in appendix thirteen.

⁶⁰ McGee, *Retrospect*, p. 8.

⁶¹ *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 30 Nov 1894.

⁶² Address by Dr. Peacocke, 22 Dec 1899 (framed copy in Dunlavin church).

presided over the destinies of Dunlavin parish and district'.⁶³ McGee correctly identified the major instrument of local power in Dunlavin. Tynte, the village landlord, did control its destiny, but that control was increasingly strained by the final decade of the nineteenth century. The parishioners decided that both Pennefather and Tynte, who were diocesan synodsmen,⁶⁴ should be commemorated in the church. Both families were consulted and a memorial chancel was commissioned. Peacocke consecrated the chancel on 22 December 1897. McGee listed ten clergy present in their robes at the service, which was followed by a reception in Tynte Park House, given by the new owner, Tynte's son and heir, Colonel Fortescue J. Tynte.⁶⁵ Fortescue Tynte's wife died in 1899. McGee mentioned her good works on behalf of the poor and noted that her death was a great blow to the parish. Her death prompted more memorial work in the church, which was closed for some weeks in 1899 to allow three stained glass windows to be inserted to the memory of Lady Tynte. The windows were made by Heaton, Butler and Bayne of London and placed in the chancel by Tynte himself. The parishioners also wished to have a memorial to Lady Tynte from themselves, so the nave was tiled in her memory, as 'she had endeared herself to every one of them, rich and poor alike, by her kindly interest in everything that in any way could tend towards their happiness and welfare'.⁶⁶

Like Donovan's diary, McGee's *Retrospect* is written from a particular viewpoint. Caution must be advised when the rector makes a sweeping statement claiming to speak for both rich and poor. McGee's own background was wealthy, and he was certainly well used to moving in landlord circles, as his description of one event in 1897 reveals:

⁶³ McGee, *Retrospect*, p. 8.

⁶⁴ R. A. Warke, *St. Nicholas's Church and parish, Dunlavin* (Naas?, 1967), p. 13.

⁶⁵ McGee, *Retrospect*, p. 11.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 13.

In the afternoon Colonel and Mrs. Tynte held a reception at Tynte Park, at which a large number of the surrounding gentry as well as the immediate parishioners were present. Tea was provided in a marquee in front of the house. During the afternoon a military band discoursed sweet music, and Tynte Park looked its gayest, the natural beauty of itself and the magnificent view of the Wicklow Mountains being enhanced by the presence of a fashionable gathering.⁶⁷

Despite such interludes, however, the period 1894-1899 was one of intense activity in the parish. Significant improvements were made to the rectory and the church was transformed during those years. It has been suggested that:

It would be impossible to over estimate the debt owed by the present generation to Rev. S. R. McGee and the parishioners of his day. The church as we know it today is largely a monument to their industry... symbolic of a religious tradition stretching back through the centuries.⁶⁸

That religious tradition was not neglected in the late nineteenth century. While the Church of Ireland did not experience the devotional revolution enjoyed by the Catholic Church, worship was still an important element of church life. In 1894 there were three services in the church every Sunday and Holy Communion was administered twice every month. The vestry secretary, R. G. Dixon of Milltown, and the churchwardens H. F. Lawrenson M.D. and Thomas Molyneaux J.P. were engaged in the work of the parish and the average Sunday morning congregation was 140.⁶⁹ This figure represented only 13 per cent of the Protestant population of the parish in 1891, a much lower proportion than the Catholic attendance. The Mutual Improvement Association further enhanced religious practice in the Protestant parish. It provides an interesting perspective on the middle-class Protestant world in the locality. The society was open to both men and women 'on terms of equality'. Meetings of the association opened with a prayer, after which there was a bible study

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 11.

⁶⁸ Warke, *St. Nicholas's Church*, p. 12.

⁶⁹ *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 30 Nov 1894.

session. Once the religious aspect of the evening was over, one of the members would read a paper to the meeting. These papers were very varied with 'Domestic Animals', 'Foretelling the Weather' and 'Ladies Dress' being among the topics discussed.⁷⁰ The Mutual Improvement Association was a striking organisational illustration of the sense of 'order, decency, beauty and dignity' referred to by Plunket on the occasion of his visit to Dunlavin in 1895.

In February 1901 Archbishop Peacocke visited Dunlavin to dedicate a new church organ. Peacocke impressed the necessity of devotional worship on his congregation. He also said that sacred music was helpful to worship and noted that the new organ completed work that had been in execution at intervals over the past seven years.⁷¹

McGee was the guiding spirit behind the work, but he was at pains to point to the role of others in his *Retrospect*. Tynte, Pennefather and Dixon of Milltown were obvious candidates for McGee's gratitude, but he also mentioned William Couse, 'a real old soldier, an Indian mutiny man, loved and respected by everyone'. Two teachers also merited special mention, Mr. Giltrap of Tynte Park school, 'one of the old church education teachers' and J. A. Douglas of Dunlavin School, before he went to Balbriggan. 'Such men' McGee suggested 'in their various ways did much to develop an atmosphere of quiet dignity, which was an outstanding feature of the people of the district reaching from Dunlavin right into the Glen of Imaal'.⁷² This quiet dignity, or reserve, among the Protestant population of the locality occurred at a time when Catholicism was forging ahead as a resurgent, dominant force in Dunlavin. While the Catholic Church was confident and outward looking, the Protestant Church in the area became increasingly inward looking. This introspection was the beginning of a

⁷⁰ McGee, *Retrospect*, p. 12.

⁷¹ Address by Dr. Peacocke, 20 Feb 1901 (framed copy in Dunlavin church).

⁷² McGee, *Retrospect*, p. 14.

process that anticipated new religious and political realities, and foreshadowed the post-1921 situation, when Protestantism would take a back seat in the Catholic-dominated Free State. This decline in the Protestant interest in Dunlavin was not reflected in congregational numbers however. Religious affiliation was tabulated in censuses from 1861 onwards,⁷³ and the Protestant population held firm at just over 20 per cent of the total in both the village and the wider region (table 13).⁷⁴ The decline was in the power and influence of the Protestant population, and it mirrored the decline in the fortunes of Tynte and other landlords, whose support base was located more within Dunlavin's Protestant community in than the emerging middle-class Catholic interest.

Table 13: Religions and percentage of Protestants in Dunlavin 1861-1911

Year and survey unit	Roman Catholics	Church of Ireland	Other denominations	Protestant percentage
1831 Union of parishes	4,110	748	0	16
1861 Civil parish	1,075	286	3	21
1871 Civil parish	1,040	256	10	20
1881 Civil parish	963	258	2	21
1891 Civil parish	817	214	3	21
1901 Village	369	110	2	23
1911 Village	355	95	1	21

Sources: *Second report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction 1835* and *Censuses of Ireland 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911*.

⁷³ William Nolan and Anngret Simms (eds.), *Irish towns, a guide to sources* (Dublin, 1998), p. 100.

⁷⁴ The figures in this table are drawn from the *Second report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction 1835*, p. 104b; *Census of Ireland 1861*, p. 197; *Census of Ireland 1871*, p. 1161, *Census of Ireland 1881*, p. 1158; *Census of Ireland 1891*, p. 1158; *Census of Ireland 1901*, Forms B1, House and building return (Dunlavin village) and *Census of Ireland 1911*, Forms B1, House and building return (Dunlavin village). The Protestant population figure of 16 per cent published in the *Second report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction* may reflect higher pre-Famine Catholic birth rates or some Protestant outmigration during the Tithe War. The post-Famine census figures from 1861-1911 reveal that the ratio of Protestants remained remarkably stable in both Dunlavin village and civil parish.

McGee remained in Dunlavin until 1905. His *Retrospect* was published in 1935 as a 'record of a period in the parochial life of Dunlavin'.⁷⁵ It was, but most of the anecdotes in the booklet concern the unionist upper class in Dunlavin. McGee was a staunch unionist and three of his abiding memories of his time in Dunlavin reflect his strong loyalism; these were the visit of his Royal Highness the duke of Connaught; the visits paid by Princess Margaret and Princess Patricia to the town, which led him to comment on the charming characteristics of each member of the royal family; and bringing forty young people from Dunlavin to see Queen Victoria when she visited Dublin in April 1900, after which the children had tea, buns and oranges in the R.I.C. depot in the Phoenix Park before returning to Dunlavin by train.⁷⁶ In fact, the booklet written by the unionist McGee is in many ways the perfect foil to the diary kept by the nationalist Donovan. Both record aspects of parish life in Dunlavin during the late nineteenth century. They deal with different religious traditions, but more fundamentally, they work at different levels. The experiences of the two pastors and their communities were different during this period. The question of socio-political control was central to these differences. Gladstone's Disestablishment Act was the commencement of a new reality for the Protestant establishment in Dunlavin, and this began a power struggle, sometimes with sectarian undertones, in local politics during this period.

2. Land and politics in post-Famine Dunlavin.

While it is difficult precisely to date the end of the Great Famine, the crisis was effectively over by the early 1850s. One lesson of the Famine was that landholding was essential to survival, and the ending of subdivision by the introduction of impartible inheritance was one of the most significant changes to occur in the wake of

⁷⁵ McGee, *Retrospect*, p. 19.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp 8-9.

the catastrophe. *Griffith's Valuation* provides a detailed picture of landholding in and around Dunlavin in the early 1850s. Each individual property in the area was recorded, listing its townland, occupier, lessor, area and valuation. A brief description of the properties was also provided (appendix fourteen).⁷⁷ The work was published in 1854, and it listed 360 properties in the civil parish of Dunlavin, 135 of which were within the urban space of Dunlavin village.⁷⁸ This allows one to examine post-Famine landholding in the locality of Dunlavin.

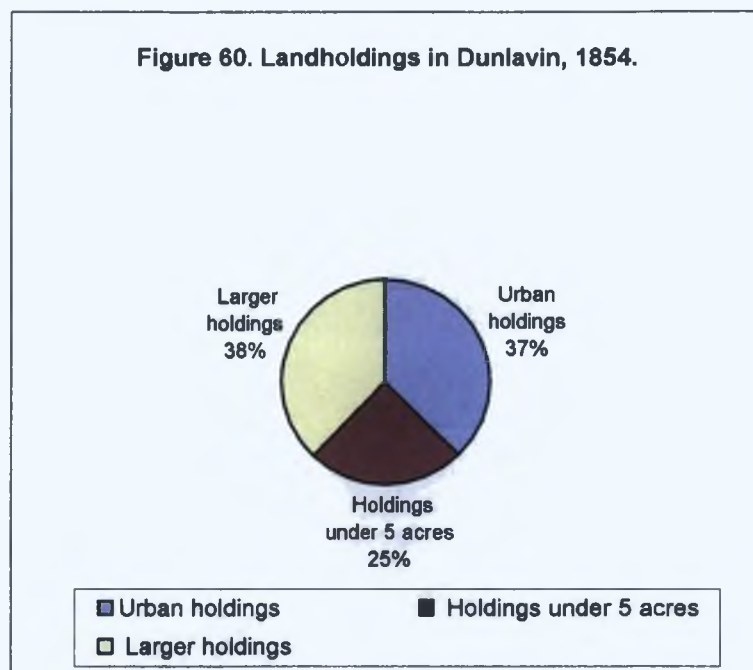
It is evident from the *Valuation* that the famine did not totally wipe out the cottier class in the Dunlavin area. When one excludes the 135 properties in Dunlavin village (most of which were under one acre), there were in 1854 still 89 units less than five acres in extent from a total of 225 holdings. This figure represents a substantial 39.5 per cent of the total number of rural properties in the civil parish (figure 60). This indicates that the decline of the cottiers was gradual. The Famine acted as a catalyst to this decline, but many cottiers survived the event and it would be many years – decades even – before the cottiers disappeared. Some smallholders certainly survived into the 1860s, as John Carroll and James Cleary were described as ‘cottiers’, and Charles Doyle was described as a ‘workman’ with no valuation on his home, while John Doyle had a ‘cabin’, also with no valuation attached to it in 1863.⁷⁹ In the late 1870s, the poor living conditions of labourers around Dunlavin were addressed in a pamphlet, which outlined the misery and squalor in the area before ending ‘when they

⁷⁷ These descriptions were usually confined to general terms such as ‘land’, house and garden’, ‘house and land’ etc.

⁷⁸ Richard Griffith, *General valuation of rateable property in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1854). Hereafter cited as Griffith, *Valuation*. The listings for Dunlavin civil parish are found in the section entitled ‘County of Wicklow, Union of Baltinglass’, pp 18-26 inclusive. They are transcribed in appendix fourteen.

⁷⁹ A statistical memoir of Dunlavin (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, xvii, ff 175-7). These examples are all taken from the civil parish of Tober, adjacent to Dunlavin, as they lived in the townlands of Sandyhills, Man of War and Wards of Tober respectively.

have slated houses, moderate firing and a rood of land for vegetables ... loyalty shall accrue ... repeal become extinct'.⁸⁰ Some cottiers survived in post-Famine Dunlavin.



Source: Griffith's Valuation, 1854.

Further examination of the number of rural holdings of less than five acres reveals that there were houses on 74 of the 89 units. Excluding a school, a tollhouse and a graveyard, this means that 86 per cent of rural smallholdings under five acres were inhabited. There were 34 'house and garden' entries, 29 'house only' entries and 8 'house and land' entries. Only 15 entries (14 per cent of the total) were listed as 'land only', suggesting that smallholders around Dunlavin still inhabited an overpopulated world; the situation of families trying to survive with scant resources on very small parcels of land remained a reality for these people even after the Famine.

Overpopulation is not defined by population density (though the two are obviously closely linked), but by the ability of the available resources to support the population.

Moreover, while the number of cottiers was unquestionably diluted by the 1850s, 60

⁸⁰ Mr Brown, *Mudhovelism, Dunlavin, Ireland* ([1879? np], pp 1-12 passim. The only extant copy of this pamphlet that I could locate is in the library of the University of Bristol and is dated by its reference to the battle of Rorke's Drift [1879].

of the 89 smallholdings of less than five acres were actually less than one acre in extent.⁸¹ Hence, 67.4 per cent – slightly more than two-thirds – of rural smallholdings around Dunlavin in 1854 were little more than a garden, pointing to the resilience of the cottiers in the wake of the Famine, giving the lie to any suggestion that the catastrophe caused the sudden and dramatic demise of this class. Their post-Famine decline, while very real, was more gradual than many general histories have suggested.⁸²

The *Valuation* reveals that there were 26 female lessors in Dunlavin civil parish out of a total of 360. While this 7.2 per cent is a low proportion, it indicates that women could and did succeed as lessors in nineteenth-century Dunlavin, if the opportunity or the need arose. Though there were 26 properties leased by females, there were only 7 individual female lessors, as Georgina Bookey, Mrs. Fields and Amy Thomas were all multiple lessors, with 12, 5 and 5 properties respectively. Moreover, Georgina Bookey was one of the principal lessors in the entire area, leasing out 970 acres, including the largest single unit of land in the civil parish, 250 acres, to Anthony Allen. Below the status of Georgina Bookey, Amy Thomas, who occupied a house and garden valued at £5 belonging to Tynte in Dunlavin village, was also the lessor of 5 smaller properties in the village, the highest of which was valued at 15 shillings. All the indications are that she was a comfortably situated middle class person, but both she and, on a larger scale, Georgina Bookey, were actually the exceptions that proved the rule, as the world of lessors in mid-nineteenth-century Dunlavin was male dominated, with 92.8 per cent of all lessors being men.

⁸¹ Areas of holdings of less than one acre are not given in roods and perches in appendix fourteen. All such holdings are listed as 0.5 acres. While this causes a slight inaccuracy in the appendix, it makes it easier to query the database, and to draw conclusions from those queries.

⁸² See for example F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (Glasgow, 1971), p. 46 and R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p. 334.

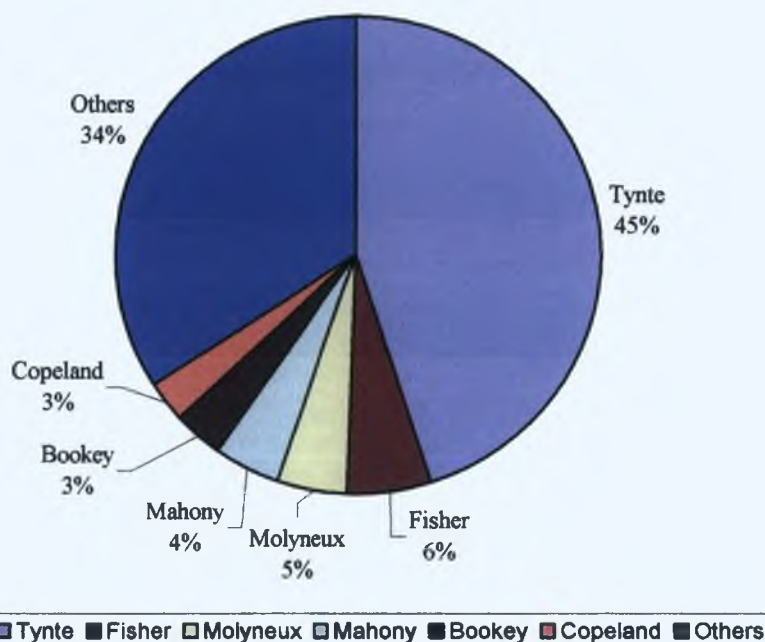
There were 53 females listed as occupiers of properties in the *Valuation*. This was 14.7 per cent of the total number, which was just over twice the percentage of female lessors. Widows and spinsters had to attend to landholding matters themselves of course, but the *Valuation* does not record the marital status of these occupiers.⁸³ Four females occupied units of land in excess of 50 acres, but all came from strong farming families.⁸⁴ However, some indication of the wealth or social standing of most of these female occupiers may be gleaned from the fact that 37, or 69.8 per cent of the total, occupied holdings of less than one acre, basically houses and gardens, relegating them to the bottom of Dunlavin's landholding (and, by inference, social) ladder.

At the other end of the landholding scale, *Griffith's Valuation* reveals that there were a small number of lessors leasing multiple properties to various tenants in Dunlavin in 1854. Joseph Pratt Tynte was the dominant landlord in the area, leasing 67 of the 137 properties within the urban space of Dunlavin village. Some of these properties were further sub-let, but Tynte was landlord of 49 per cent of the properties within the village. Overall, Tynte leased 162 out of 360 properties in Dunlavin civil parish, making him the proprietor of 45 per cent of the total land and property resources in the area. Tynte owned nearly half the locality, but there were other multiple lessors (figure 61).

⁸³ Most of them are identified by Christian names and, even if the term 'Mrs' appears, it is no indication whether the woman's husband is alive or dead.

⁸⁴ The families involved were Fisher, Harrington, Ryder and Hayden.

Figure 61. Principal lessors of land in Dunlavin civil parish, 1854.



Source: *Griffith's Valuation, 1854.*

The evidence of the *Valuation* confirms Tynte's dominant position in the region. Tynte was lessor of 162 properties, while the second largest lessors, the Fishers, leased 20. The Molyneuxs (17), the Mahonys (16), the Bookeys (12) and the Copelands (10) completed the 5 principal leasing families after Tynte.⁸⁵ Each of these Protestant settler families had acquired land in the area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and had sufficient substance to purchase properties from Tynte and other owners as they became available for sale. Though these families were all established landowners in the region, none of them were in the same league as Joseph

⁸⁵ Fishers of Merginstown and Molyneuxs of Decoy were long-established leading loyalist families; Mahonys' principal holdings were in the Grangecon area, with some overspill into Dunlavin; Bookeys of Derrybawn were prominent landholders in Donard, again overlapping into Dunlavin civil parish and Copelands of Brewershill were also an old-established loyalist family in that area. Some of these entries in *Griffith's Valuation* were divided between family members of differing Christian names, indicating that different branches of the family had inherited land over the years. This was not the case for Tynte, further underlining his position as the area's dominant landlord. [Spelling discrepancies in the *Valuation*, such as 'Copeland' or 'Copland' and 'Molyneux' or 'Molyneaux' have been ignored].

Pratt Tynte in terms of land and resources, and consequently, power and social control, around Dunlavin.

Below the principal lessors was a class of rural dwellers who were beginning to emerge as significant players at both local and national level – a trend that would intensify as the nineteenth century progressed – the strong farmers. These occupiers of large holdings provided opposition to the privileged position of the landlord class, whose power was diminished in the wake of the Famine and the concurrent collapse of much of their rental income. Griffith listed 31 holdings in excess of 50 acres in Dunlavin civil parish. Of these, 12 were between 50 and 74 acres; 6 between 75 and 99 acres, and 13 were over 100 acres in extent. In addition to Tynte, the lessors of these 31 larger units included 4 of the 5 principal families already identified.⁸⁶ In other words, in addition to their position as principal lessors in terms of the numbers of leases they held, these families were also leading lessors in terms of the amount of land they owned and the areas of the units that they leased. Fisher, Molyneux and Copeland are among the surnames of the occupiers of these larger farms. They were accompanied by larger Protestant farmers such as Dixons and Allens, but also by strong farming families such as Ennis, Hayden, Harrington and Norton, all of whom were Catholic. The latter families were strongly nationalist and they played prominent parts in the politics of the local National League some thirty years later. They attest also to a large degree of continuity in strong farming circles in Dunlavin during the second half of the nineteenth century, and their improving social status, which will be examined later in this section, mirrored the gradual erosion of landlord power in the region.

⁸⁶ The lessors of these thirty-one larger holdings included Tynte (12 entries), Bookey (8 entries), Mahony (3 entries), Fisher (2 entries) and Molyneux (1 entry). Copelands did not feature as lessors, but did appear as the occupiers of a seventy-nine acre unit in Brewershill, leased from Tynte.

Continuity among the leading farming families is confirmed by cross-checking *Slater's Directory* (1881) with *Griffith's Valuation*. Slater lists 17 leading farmers in the Dunlavin area in 1881, all of whom were either the lessors, occupiers (or both) of land in 1854.

Table 14: Farming families from 1854 surviving in Dunlavin in 1881.

Family surname 1881	Entries as lessors 1854	Entries as occupiers 1854
Allen	1	1
Cooper	1	1
Copeland	4	0
Deering	0	1
Dixon	2	2
Douglas	0	3
Ennis	0	1
Fisher	20	10
Harrington	1	1
Headon	0	3
Kealy	4	4
Killy	0	0
Maher	0	1
Molyneux	14	7
Norton	2	3
Ryder	0	2
Smith	0	2

Source: *Griffith's Valuation*, 1854 and *Slater's Directory*, 1881.

All the farming families in 1854 survived as significant farmers in 1881.⁸⁷ Strong farmers consolidated their position around Dunlavin in the aftermath of the Famine, and these leading farming families, many of them Catholic, remained at the heart of land-related issues as the post-Famine years passed.

However, with 25 per cent of all holdings below 5 acres, many Catholic farmers in the Dunlavin area had smallholdings, and they remained locked into a daily struggle to survive. When Shearman arrived as the new curate in Dunlavin in 1862, he commented on the hardships endured by the Catholic smallholders throughout the region. Evictions in the Glen of Imaal provoked a particularly acerbic observation:

All this done in a remote glen in Wicklow in this year of grace 1862 – too remote to be reached by public opinion – a feeling well nigh strangled in this region of serfdom. Should there be a man so daring as to raise his voice above the common herd he is set down as a turbulent spirit and entails on himself a persecution of the lowest and meanest character unworthy of the noble proprietors whose only excuse is that they act thus led only by the invidious whisperings of avaricious agents and their cowardly myrmidons.⁸⁸

Post-Famine evictions in west Wicklow, where landlords were adjusting to the new economic realities, were not confined to Imaal, however.⁸⁹ Shearman asserted that ‘the district of Dunlavin has been scarcely more fortunate’ (than Imaal) in relation to Catholic evictions. He observed that vacated farms ‘as a general rule are given to

⁸⁷ ‘Killy’ may be a misprint in *Slater’s Directory* for ‘Kelly’, a surname that does appear in *Griffith’s Valuation*. If this is indeed the case, and it is likely, all the surnames in 1854 reappear in 1881.

⁸⁸ A statistical memoir of Dunlavin (N.U.I., Maynooth, Shearman papers, xvii, f. 169). According to Shearman, ‘systematic persecutions and evictions of hostile proprietors and Orange agents have depopulated Imaile [Imaal] and introduced Protestants from the obscure nooks and corners of neighbouring counties to usurp the places of the Irish Catholics who were themselves, a little more than a century before, the proprietors in fee, while the few who were tolerated were driven up the mountainsides’. The rate of population decrease in Donaghmore parish [in Imaal] between 1831 and 1901 was much greater among Catholics than among Protestants. In relative terms, the Protestant population of the area increased from 19 per cent to 36 per cent during this period. Ken Hannigan, ‘Wicklow before and after the Famine’ in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow: History and Society* (Dublin, 1994), p. 791.

⁸⁹ See for example Trant, *The Blessington Estate 1667-1908*, p. 167 and Gorry, *The Baltinglass chronicles 1851-2001*, pp 42-3.

Protestant adventurers, which has a demoralising effect on the Catholics'.⁹⁰

According to Shearman, this demoralisation ran deep, in contrast to 'the uncompromising spirit by which they were animated during the struggle for emancipation, the abrogation of the tithes and the repeal movement'.⁹¹

Shearman portrays a region with low Catholic morale in the post-Famine era. Before the Famine, the village and its environs were central to the events of 1798 and a hotbed of anti-tithe activity. Daniel O'Connell's drive for repeal of the Act of Union was widely supported in west Wicklow, supplanting the anti-tithe protests of the 1830s, and heightening the aspirations of nationalists beyond mere tithe reform, but there are fragmentary indications that this support grew gradually in the region. In May 1842, Elizabeth Smith of Baltiboys House observed that only one of her tenants attended a repeal meeting at the Curragh to hear O'Connell speak. It was, she noted, 'a very foolish proceeding and will prevent the colonel adding to his farm as he intended'.⁹² However, despite landlord disapproval of tenants who sympathised with O'Connell, in June 1843 William Owen, the marquis of Downshire's agent in Blessington, reported on the increasing momentum of the Repeal movement in west Wicklow and that 'the uneducated' of the district believed that 'the country would erupt before the new potatoes were dry'.⁹³ O'Connell addressed a monster meeting in Baltinglass in August 1843, and Owen observed that Blessington attracted 'a great number of agitators' to observe the Liberator's coach pass through *en route*.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ A statistical memoir of Dunlavin (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, xvii, f. 168). Shearman mentions many townlands where Catholic tenants were driven out, noting that only one Catholic family remained in Rathallagh. However, this was the Norton family, who also occupied 141 acres in Tournant in 1854, confirming their position among the strongest Catholic farming families in the area.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, f.168.

⁹² Dermot James and Seamas O Maitiu, *The Wicklow world of Elizabeth Smith 1840-1850* (Dublin, 1996), p. 45. The tenant in question was one Pat Ryan, and Smith wrote: 'I am inclined to hope it was only curiosity that took him there'. 'The colonel' was Elizabeth's husband, Henry, Ryan's landlord.

⁹³ Owen to Downshire, Jun 1843 (P.R.O.N.I. D.671/C/215/7)

⁹⁴ Owen to Downshire, Jun 1843 (P.R.O.N.I. D.671/C/215/15)

O'Connell was imprisoned in May 1844, and in June ninety-six leading nationalist citizens requested that a monster meeting should be held in Baltinglass to 'tender to the Liberator and his co-martyrs... our admiration of their consistent, enduring and heroic patriotism'.⁹⁵ O'Connell was released after four months, but he left Ireland and the onset of the Famine was concurrent with the failure of the Repeal movement.

With the drive for repeal over, the Young Ireland movement emerged to represent nationalist aspirations. While the organisation had some level of support in east Wicklow, there is no evidence to suggest it was widespread in the west of the county. In the summer of 1848, people from Dublin went to Wicklow town, to get the clergy to establish political clubs, and this concerned Archbishop Murray of Dublin.⁹⁶ However, the parish priest assured his archbishop that none of the clergy (with the exception of 'two eccentric curates, both of whom were very good priests') would meddle in politics. The Young Irelanders were also active in Bray, where the parish priest verified that certain people were trying to establish political clubs.⁹⁷ In Roundwood the priests allowed Young Ireland speakers to address their congregations.⁹⁸ On 2 November 1846, it was 'suspected and rumoured that

⁹⁵ Police report and monster meeting notice, 24 Jun 1844 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/11131). Sub-inspector McCartney informed Captain Warburton R.M. that notices advertising this event were posted throughout west Wicklow and parts of neighbouring counties. However, the notice clearly stated that those undersigned called only for 'peaceful, legal and constitutional means' to 'achieve the great measure'. The names on the notice were headed by Fr. Daniel Lalor, the parish priest of Baltinglass. Of the ninety-six names, at least twelve (and perhaps more, allowing for dual-location surnames) were from Dunlavin. I am indebted to Mr. Paul Gorry FSG, MAPGI, for his assistance in locating these surnames.

⁹⁶ Fr. Grant (P.P. of Wicklow) to Archbishop Murray, 2 Jul 1848 (Dublin Diocesan Archive [D.D.A.], Murray Papers 32/4/21). Grant states that his views are well known; he would not support such clubs, and even in O'Connell's time he had not allowed the public to be addressed on Sundays! People want changes, but Grant says that they 'will not resort to any illegal act to redress their grievances'. He also hopes that 'God will inspire the rulers to do justice to this unfortunate country'.

⁹⁷ Fr. Roche (P.P. of Bray) to Murray, 5 Jul 1848 (D.D.A., Murray Papers 32/4/23). Roche did not know how successful these people have been. At a priests' conference on 4 Jul, all the priests present said they were not involved in political clubs, but 'three would not denounce them, nor would they stop their people from forming them'.

⁹⁸ Grant to Murray, 5 Jul 1848 (D.D.A., Murray Papers 32/4/24). Grant informed Murray that Frs. Gowran and Clarke of Roundwood and Annamoe had allowed the agitators to 'address their people'. Clarke to Murray, 29 Jul 1848 (D.D.A., Murray Papers 32/4/27) informed Murray that Fr. Gowran 'has promised to have nothing more to do with politics'. Gowran to Murray, 29 Jul 1848 (D.D.A., Murray Papers 32/4/28) apologises for his conduct, which 'has caused you so much uneasiness, but since Fr. Clarke came from retreat, I did not attend any political meeting, nor do I mean to attend any, and I am bound to tell you that your informant from Wicklow has grievously misrepresented me'.

emissaries from Tipperary were trying to introduce a system of opposition on public works in the neighbourhood of Dunlavin'.⁹⁹ Moreover, in 1847 a threatening letter received by Mr. Pilsworth, land agent for the Mahony family of Grangecon, was signed 'Tipperary Boy'.¹⁰⁰ However, Elizabeth Smith of Baltiboys observed on 26 March 1848 that 'the physical force section [Young Irelanders] make no way' in west Wicklow,¹⁰¹ and no reports of Young Ireland political activities reached Archbishop Murray from Dunlavin or any of its surrounding settlements in west Wicklow or neighbouring parts of Kildare, indicating that the region was not politically active at the time of the Young Ireland rebellion, a non-event that petered out in Tipperary on 28 and 29 July 1848.¹⁰²

The following decade witnessed the birth of a new separatist movement, Fenianism. Like the United Irishmen before them, the Fenians were a secret, oath-bound society dedicated to physical force to achieve independence from Britain. The movement grew through the first half of the 1860s, gaining some support in west Wicklow. One supporter was Denis Downey, a Roman Catholic tailor from Baltinglass, and father of six children.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ *Correspondence relating to the measures adopted for the relief of distress in Ireland Jan-Mar 1847* [797] H.C. 1847, lii, p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ Bartholomew Warburton to Thomas Redington, 18 Dec 1847 (N.A.I., Outrage papers, County Wicklow, MS 32/245). Warburton stated that 'this system of intimidation is fast creeping into this most peaceable country... [but the] wickedness has not spread so far as to the carrying out of the diabolical intentions mentioned in [the letters]. Pilsworth's letter stated that he was 'on our list of Mahony's bullies... Your conduct and the doings of your father in 98 will come home to you... Our friends are in America, and Ireland is our home'. This wording suggests some level of a nationalist/political agenda.

¹⁰¹ Pelly and Tod (eds), *The highland lady in Ireland*, p. 374.

¹⁰² Connolly (ed), *The Oxford companion to Irish history*, p. 474. Though part of Dunlavin's County Kildare hinterland is in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, much of it, including Kilcullen, Ballymore Eustace and Eadestown is in Dublin diocese, as are neighbouring west Wicklow parishes such as Hollywood and Blessington. The Murray papers contain no report of any Young Ireland political activity from any of these parishes, or from any part of west Wicklow.

¹⁰³ N.A.I., Fenian photographs, FP 133.

Illustration 10. Denis Downey, a Baltinglass Fenian.



Source: Fenian photographs, FP 133.

Downey was arrested for Fenian activities on 15 December 1866, and guns and ammunition were found in his house in Dublin. He was incarcerated in Mountjoy Gaol, but was acquitted at his trial under the Arms Commission in February 1867.¹⁰⁴ On 15 January 1868, Downey was rearrested on charges of harbouring wanted escapees, and conspiracy to effect the escape of other imprisoned Fenians, and detained in Kilmainham Gaol. His discharge from prison was ordered on medical grounds, and on condition that he leave Ireland and go to America. He was released on 7 April 1868, but his health was failing and he stayed in Ireland despite the conditions of his discharge.¹⁰⁵ He was never rearrested despite being reported as a

¹⁰⁴ N.A.I., CSO papers, Habeas corpus suspension act [H.C.S.A.] (Fenians); Irish Crime Records [I.C.R.] 10, p. 316D. Downey's case can be traced through the following file numbers: File 23,325: Superintendent Ryan reported that there were found 6 Revolvers 2 guns 6 or 8 moulds and a considerable quantity of bullets caps etc. all concealed in the windowsills and door cases. Denis Downey's house was searched before but nothing found, owing to the arms being concealed in the woodwork round the joints of the doors and under the floor and counters where a carpenter placed them. File 23,279: Letter from Christopher Downey requesting prisoner's release. File 864: Order to detain dated 17 Jan 1867. File 1,557: Prisoner's letter to the Visiting Director 27 Jan 1867 stating that his health is very bad and praying to be released on bail. File 2056: Downey received in Kilmainham Gaol 6 Feb 1867 and tried and acquitted at Feb Commission 1867.

¹⁰⁵ N.A.I., CSO papers, H.C.S.A. (Fenians); I.C.R. 12, p. 5. Downey's second case can be traced through the following file numbers: Number of File 17.1.68 498: Constable John Doran states that Downey spoke to him about receiving some of the Fenian prisoners out of Mountjoy in Jan or Feb last. Again after the trial of Doran and Burke prisoner said that as there was great sympathy it would be well to rescue them. File 16.1.68 469: Superintendent Ryan reports arrest and lodgement of Downey in Kilmainham Gaol on 15 Jan 1868. File 816: Letter dated 27 Jan 1868 from Governor of Kilmainham Gaol that prisoner be not removed. File 884 Report from Commissioner of Metropolitan Police dated 1 Feb 1868. File 1045: Report from Downey praying release on bail and order to detain dated 18 Feb 1868. File 1486: Memorial dated 28 Feb 1868 signed by workmen whom he employed requesting Downey be released on bail and warrant dated 6 Mar 1868 for removal of prisoner to Mountjoy. File

Fenian sympathiser again on 14 May 1868, attending a meeting to secure the release of Fenian prisoners in 1869 and playing a prominent role at the funeral of the mother of Fenian leader, Thomas Luby.¹⁰⁶ This was Downey's last recorded Fenian activity.

Isolated cases such as Downey apart, there is scant evidence of support for Fenianism in west Wicklow during the period 1860-1900. Even infiltration of the GAA was minimal in the region. In 1890 only one club in the Dunlavin region merited police attention for containing suspected I.R.B. members. Of all the officers of the seven clubs in the broader west Wicklow area, only the secretary of the Irish Brigade (Ballymore Eustace) was recorded in police records as an I.R.B. member. The other clubs were Sons of the soil (Lemonstown), McAllisters (Kilbaylet), Laurence O'Tooles (Imaal), O'Connellites (Brittas), Ninety-Eights (Ballyknockan) and Sons of St. Nicholas (Dunlavin).

The land question ensured that the latter years of the nineteenth century were dominated by a struggle for social and political control in the Dunlavin area. In an ironic twist, the phenomenal success of the Home Rule party under Parnell throughout the 1880s sidelined the Fenians and isolated them as hardliners among Irish nationalists. The short-lived New Departure ended with Parnell's acceptance of the Kilmainham Treaty in 1881. From that time onwards, relations between Parnellism

1762: Memorial dated 11 Mar 1868 from Downey's wife asking that her husband may be allowed to leave the country. File 1788: Downey applies for release on bail, claiming he is innocent. File 1890: Medical report dated 18 Mar 1868 stating that prisoner is delicate accompanied by order to discharge for America dated 24 Mar 1868. File 2073: Further medical report dated 27 Mar 1868 stating that Downey's health is fast giving away and letter from prisoner dated 26 Mar 1868 stating that he could not gain a livelihood in America due to bad health. Also order to discharge Downey on bail dated 3 Apr 1868. File 2247: Downey discharged on bail by M. O'Donnell M.D. on 7 Apr 1868.

¹⁰⁶ N.A.I., CSO papers, H.C.S.A. (Fenians); I.C.R. 12, pp 5 and 67. Also I.C.R. 14, p. 233. Later reports on Downey can be traced through the following file numbers: File 2617: Letter dated 14 May 1868 from Robert Fitzgerald stating that Downey should be detained as an active Fenian. File 4363: Downey reported as having attended a meeting relative to release of political prisoners on 28 Jun 1869 at the Rotunda. File 5795: Downey visited released convicts in Feb 1870. File 6569 Downey was a leader at Mrs. Luby's funeral. Since Thomas Luby's wife accompanied him to America in 1871, this Mrs. Luby must refer to his mother.

and Fenianism were, at best, strained and, at worst, openly hostile. In 1881, despite Gladstone's second land act, the position of the landed elite, including Joseph Pratt-Tynte, seemed assured. By 1901, however, this was no longer the case. Local politics were by then dominated by nationalists, not unionists, and the burning issue at the heart of the power struggle was land. The struggle for political and agrarian control impacted significantly at local level in and around Dunlavin.

John Norton's evidence before the Devon Commission and Shearman's 'Memoir of Dunlavin' revealed that tenant grievances regarding landlord policy had existed in the Dunlavin area for many years. John Norton's son Joseph was a personal friend of Parnell,¹⁰⁷ and a leading member of the Dunlavin branch of the Land League, the first branch established in county Wicklow.¹⁰⁸ The Land League was formed on 21 October 1879, with Charles Stewart Parnell as its president,¹⁰⁹ and the movement spread rapidly. On 21 November 1880 branches of the Land League were established in Dunlavin and Baltinglass.¹¹⁰ It was unsurprising that these were the first branches of the League in county Wicklow as 'relationships with landlords were more fraught in the less prosperous west of the county'.¹¹¹

In 1881 the Bessborough Commission published its findings regarding the working of the 1870 land act and the general state of landholding in Ireland. The commission interviewed no witnesses from Dunlavin, but three witnesses from neighbouring parishes gave evidence. These were Thomas Robertson of Narraghmore, John La

¹⁰⁷ *Leinster Leader*, 4 Jun 1898.

¹⁰⁸ *Leinster Leader*, 26 Jul 1890. He was referred to as 'Joe Norton of Rathsalagh, a thorough Irish gentleman of the old school... a veteran of Land League days'. *Leinster Leader*, 4 Jun 1898.

¹⁰⁹ *The Nation*, 25 Oct 1879. The genesis of the League may actually be traced to the Irishtown, county Mayo, meeting of Mar 1879: Michael Davitt, *The fall of feudalism in Ireland* (London, 1904), p. 213.

¹¹⁰ Minutes of Rathvilly Land League branch, N.L.I., MS 842, Nov 1880.

¹¹¹ Roy Foster, 'Parnell and his neighbours', in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow, history and society* (Dublin, 1994), p. 904. Shearman's memoir and Norton's evidence before the Bessborough Commission suggest the veracity of Foster's observation.

Touche of Harristown and Edward Fenlon of Kilcullen.¹¹² Moreover, Fenlon claimed to represent the feelings of the vast majority of the farmers of Kildare and neighbouring Wicklow.¹¹³ All three witnesses told similar stories, stating that large increases in rent were common, but the tenants lacked any form of security, as the 'Ulster custom' did not exist in the area.¹¹⁴

Landlords in the region still did not make any allowances for improvements carried out by tenants. John Norton commented on this to the Devon commission in 1845, and all three witnesses to the Bessborough commission confirmed that this state of affairs had not changed by 1881. La Touche, as a landlord, saw no reason why the tenant should have any claims for improvements,¹¹⁵ but Robertson and Fenlon saw the question of tenant improvements not being recognised as unfair.¹¹⁶ Unfairness in the Irish landholding system was tackled by Gladstone's second land act of August 1881. However, many Land Leaguers in west Wicklow thought that the act did not go far enough and did not accept it. Some members were arrested for obstructing the act. These included John Dowling and Philip Healy of the Dunlavin branch and E. P. O'Kelly, George O'Toole and John Power of the Baltinglass branch, all of whom were imprisoned in October 1881.¹¹⁷ These arrests suggest agrarian dissatisfaction in west Wicklow, but the Kilmainham Treaty of April 1882 calmed the situation and disbanded the Land League in one fell swoop. However, support for Land Leaguers

¹¹² *Report of Her Majesty's commissioners of inquiry into the working of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act 1870, and the acts amending the same* [2779], H. C. 1881, xix, pp 36-42, 50-7 and 132-6. Hereafter cited as *Bessborough Commission*.

¹¹³ *Bessborough Commission*, p. 134.

¹¹⁴ *Bessborough Commission*, pp 132-3, 51-3 and 36-7. For a detailed account of the Ulster Custom see William F. Bailey, 'The Ulster tenant-right custom: its origin, characteristic and position under the Land Acts', *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, x, lxxiv (Dublin, 1893-1894, pp 12-22). The custom included the rights of free sale and fixity of tenure, and the right to a fair rent which the custom claimed, but had no satisfactory method of enforcing prior to 1881.

¹¹⁵ *Bessborough Commission*, p. 38.

¹¹⁶ *Bessborough Commission*, pp 55-6 and 134.

¹¹⁷ Detainees under the Protection of Persons and Property Act, Oct 1881 (N.A.I., Arrest Books) cited in Chris Lawlor, *Canon Frederick Donovan's Dunlavin 1884-96: A west Wicklow village in the late nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2000), p. 42.

remained strong. When Mr Byrne of Baltinglass was released from Naas gaol on 1 April 1883, where he was detained for boycotting, he returned to Baltinglass via Dunlavin, 'where he got a very cordial reception and fifty car-loads of supporters waited to accompany him to Baltinglass. The Crehelp brass band gave a stirring selection of music and [his] procession assumed immense proportions as it left Dunlavin for Baltinglass'. ¹¹⁸

The Irish National League was founded on 17 October 1882 'to attain the following objects: (1) national self-government, (2) land law reform, (3) local self-government, (4) extension of franchises and (5) encouragement of Irish labour and industrial interests'. ¹¹⁹ Land reform was now relegated to a secondary objective, while home rule was the primary objective of the new organisation, thus marking a transition from social to political agitation. This transition, however, was not always apparent at local level, ¹²⁰ as National League meetings were dominated by the land question and the stronger farmers controlled the organisation. ¹²¹ The reality was that the members of the National League equated gaining home rule to gaining control of land in Dunlavin in the 1880s. The Dunlavin branch of the National League had its origins in a meeting held on Dunlavin green on Sunday 22 July 1883. A large crowd assembled and bands from Crehelp, Donard, Ballymore-Eustace and Crookstown played nationalistic airs. The meeting began at 3.30 p.m., but the crowd had been at fever pitch since the arrival of T. D. Sullivan and Denis Moran from Dublin at 1 p.m. Moran was a poor law guardian from Dublin, but Sullivan, who became M.P. for Westmeath in 1880, was a leading Parnellite and editor of *The Nation*. ¹²²

¹¹⁸ *Leinster Leader*, 14 Apr 1883.

¹¹⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 18 Oct 1882.

¹²⁰ I am indebted to Dr Terence Dooley of N.U.I., Maynooth for this observation.

¹²¹ See for example *Leinster Leader*, 28 Jul 1883; *Leinster Leader*, 5 Jul 1884; *Leinster Leader*, 2 Aug 1884; *Leinster Leader*, 25 Aug 1888; *Leinster Leader*, 25 Oct 1890.

¹²² *The handbook of the Drogheda chemical manure company 1897*, p. 73.

Illustration 11. T. D. Sullivan M.P.



Source: M. E. Collins, *The land question 1879-1882*.

Sullivan's presence on the platform meant that this was a significant event and ensured a huge attendance. The shorthand writer who took notes on the proceedings was under police protection. Sullivan's address did not disappoint the crowd. He began his speech by invoking the massacre on Dunlavin green in 1798: 'It's not the first time that this historic green of Dunlavin saw men ready to stand and suffer for the holy cause of Ireland. It has been consecrated by the heart's blood of Irish patriots and this generation of Dunlaviners is as ready as their fathers to do their duty by Ireland. The men of '98 did not fall in vain'. Sullivan then went on to denounce the landlord system:

It was impossible for Ireland to thrive, to have security in your own homesteads or to enjoy the rewards of your own industry, but we arose and we have maimed the evil. We have broken the back of Irish landlordism and all the doctors in the British empire cannot repair it. Our banner is 'The land for the people' and under that banner we will fight and conquer.

While the National League relegated land reform to the status of a secondary objective behind home rule, Sullivan's speech in Dunlavin unapologetically concentrated on land reform. This theme struck a chord with the attendance of the meeting, chaired by Edward Peter (E. P.) O'Kelly, one of the most ardent nationalists in Wicklow. O'Kelly was an auctioneer from Baltinglass and chairman of the

Baltinglass branch of the Land League, who had been imprisoned in both Dundalk and Kilmainham gaols during the Land War.¹²³ O'Kelly expressed three aims in his address; to obtain another, more just, land act; to seek a better deal for the agricultural labourers and to ensure that never again would either a Whig or Tory represent Wicklow in parliament. The sequential order of O'Kelly's aims also suggests that land reform was seen as a more important priority than home rule at local level, despite the official National League position. Sullivan ended his speech with a plea:

I ask you then to form in this town a Dunlavin branch of the National League. I ask you to put local differences and jealousies aside for the sake of Ireland... There is room for improvement in this town, there ought to be a flourishing branch of the Irish National League in it and I hope that very soon there will be one.

This message was well received by his audience, which included many nationalist strong farmers. J. Harrington, Joseph Norton, Terence Higgins, Patrick Byrne, John Hayden, Martin Kavanagh, Thomas Metcalfe, Michael Healy, Thomas McDonald, Mathew Headon, Philip Healy, William Keogh and H. J. Mullally were all present. All of these families were prominent occupiers of land in 1854, confirming a high degree of continuity in strong farming circles during the thirty years between Griffith's *Valuation* and the meeting on Dunlavin green in 1883.¹²⁴ H. J. Mullally, a nationalist farmer from Lemonstown, addressed the meeting and reminded all present of the plight of 'two poor men in Friar Hill who do not know the day they are to be evicted. One of them lives in a roofless cabin and is in rapid consumption, but he and the other man are about being turned out by the crowbar brigade'. Mullally encouraged all present to 'stand together under the banner of the National League to

¹²³ The political career of O'Kelly, whose mother's family had been prominent in tithe agitation in County Carlow earlier in the century, symbolised the improving fortunes of Catholics and nationalists in late nineteenth century west Wicklow. By the 1890s he was chairman of Baltinglass poor law union and one of only thirteen Catholic justices of the peace (from a county-wide total of one hundred and sixteen). On 22 Apr 1899 he was elected as the first chairman of Wicklow County Council. Brian Donnelly, *For the betterment of the people: A history of Wicklow County Council* (Wicklow, 1999), pp 9, 10, 12 and 17.

¹²⁴ Griffith, *Valuation*, pp 10-38 passim.

prevent such happenings'. The wording and theme of Mullally's address provides more evidence that the National League was being used as a means of rallying the population, and that land reform rather than Home Rule was the key issue at grassroots level in Dunlavin.

The Dunlavin green meeting of 22 July 1883 passed three resolutions:

(1) to use every legitimate means to have the land act's many defects amended, (2) to strengthen the local branches of the National League and to establish a branch in Dunlavin and (3) To agitate to have the agricultural labourer placed in a position to clothe himself and his family and procure a suitable education for his children.

The plight of the agricultural labourer was urgent, but it was last on the list of resolutions passed by the meeting, even though O'Kelly asked all present 'to unite in the cause of both farmer and labourer. The question of the labourers is a big one and hard to deal with, but there is a good day coming'. O'Kelly's optimism was groundless though, and he seemed to be including the labourers for the sake of saying the right thing – even if it was only lip service.¹²⁵ T. D. Sullivan left Dunlavin for Sallins station amid music from the bands. The railway did not reach Dunlavin till 1885, and the Tullow branch was only in the planning stages at this time. It would be two years before the plans became reality under engineer Robert Worthington.¹²⁶ Sullivan promised to carry the word of the resolutions passed at the meeting to the central branch of the National League that 'they may depend on the county Wicklow, and the men of the town of Dunlavin'.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ For an account of the rural underclass in county Wicklow during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Ross M. Connolly, 'A rightful place in the sun – the struggle of the farm and rural labourers in County Wicklow', Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society* (Dublin, 1994), pp 911-25.

¹²⁶ Cora Crampton 'The Tullow line', *Journal of the West Wicklow Historical Society*, i (1983-1984) p. 8.

¹²⁷ All information in this and the preceding paragraphs regarding the Dunlavin green meeting on 22 Jul 1883 is taken from *Leinster Leader*, 28 Jul 1883.

3. Canon Donovan's involvement in agrarian and political issues.

The Dunlavin branch of the National League was functional when Frederick Donovan became parish priest on 17 April 1884.¹²⁸ The League flourished during 1884 and in June it was decided to incorporate Donard, also in Dunlavin Roman Catholic parish. This decision was taken at a meeting, chaired by Thomas Norton, on 29 June at the committee rooms of the Dunlavin National League in Tournant. The Norton family had occupied nearly 213 acres in Tournant since the 1850s, subletting to Michael Byrne and Michael Somers.¹²⁹ They were one of the strongest nationalist farming families in the district, and Thomas Norton's position as chairman of the Dunlavin branch of the National League reflected this. Many other strong farmers were also present at the Tournant meeting including Michael Healy, James Kelly, James Cunningham, Joseph Norton, Thomas Byrne, William Keogh, Matthew Headon, Thomas Metcalfe and Thomas Moody. Others present included Thomas O'Toole, Patrick Costello and Captain W. Cassidy. Significantly, local shopkeepers are conspicuous by their absence. Prominent merchants such as Edward Fay, Martin Kelly and J. Harrington (Tynte Arms) did not attend, indicating that larger farmers controlled the local branch of the National League. Two resolutions were passed at the meeting on 29 June, first, that the books for enrolling members be closed on 31 August and that no subscriptions be paid except to the duly appointed collectors¹³⁰ and second, that a meeting be held at Mr Thomas Metcalfe's, Oldmill, near Donard, on Sunday 20 July to enrol new members for Donard and Davidstown districts.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Canon Donovan's Diary, undated, 1884. As in the previous section, all further information given in this section is taken from Donovan's diary unless otherwise stated.

¹²⁹ Griffith, *Valuation*, pp 25-6.

¹³⁰ Proposer: Thomas Metcalfe, Oldmill; seconder: Michael Healy, Tober

¹³¹ Proposer: Thomas McDonald, Lemonstown; seconder: Matthew Headon, Tournant. *Leinster Leader*, 5 Jul 1884.

Nearly 1,000 people attended the meeting at Oldmill. The Donard and Crehelp brass bands were both present. Thomas Norton again took the chair and those present included Dunlavin strong farming families, and many strong farmers from the Donard area, including the Allen, Brien, Murphy, Tyrrell and Whittle families.¹³² The speeches were ultra-nationalistic. Reference was made to the fact that this area was home to 'Michael Dwyer of historic Imaal'. Parnell was compared to Tone, Emmet, Fitzgerald, Smith O'Brien, Davis and Kickham. The tone of Norton's speech indicated that there was a very fine line indeed between the National League's aspirations to home rule and the Fenians' aspirations to complete independence! The land question again figured pre-eminently with the speakers. Norton told the assembly 'Scarcely a day passes without some heartless evictions. Let your battle cry be 'The land of Ireland for the people of Ireland',¹³³ indicating that the National League was perceived as an instrument of land reform at grass roots level.

However, the National League was only one arena in the general power struggle that was taking place during these decades. The various elections held during the 1880s and 1890s provided another arena in which that struggle manifested itself, as nationalists sought to establish a presence wherever they could. Thomas Norton instructed all League members to pay their rates, by 1 July 1884 'so as not to lose their votes'.¹³⁴ Despite this, in March 1885, when Anthony Metcalfe of Lemonstown stood for election as poor law guardian in the Dunlavin division of Baltinglass Union, the sitting Conservative guardian, Richard Fisher of Merginstown, defeated him by 95 votes to 66. Canon Donovan attributed this 'minority of twenty-nine' to 'landlord

¹³² All of these families were listed as prominent farmers in the Donard area in *Slater's Directory*, 1881.

¹³³ *Leinster Leader*, 2 Aug 1884. The *Leader* may have exaggerated the numbers attending the meeting, but it was evidently a large affair and very successful.

¹³⁴ *Leinster Leader*, 5 Jul 1884.

multiple votes' and he took heart from the fact that this poor law guardian contest for the Dunlavin division was the first on record and a sign of changing times.¹³⁵

At national level, W. J. Corbet represented county Wicklow in parliament. Corbet had not been present with T. D. Sullivan at the Dunlavin green meeting of 22 July 1883, but a letter conveying his apologies and supporting Sullivan had been read.¹³⁶ When the nationalists of county Wicklow resolved to present Corbet, 'their faithful representative in parliament with an address and presentation', Donovan sanctioned a church gate collection for the purpose. The collection held on 19 July 1885 amounted to £34 7s. 10d. This figure is high compared to other collections. The diocesan educational fund in October 1884 had only come to £14. 14s., while even the Peter's Pence collection for Pope Leo XIII in July 1884 (traditionally a 'silver collection') had amounted to only £23. 5s. Donovan undoubtedly exhorted his congregation to give generously to any nationalist collection, contributing to the flourishing state of the National League in Dunlavin, and of the wider home rule party.

The year 1885 also saw an election, the first to operate under the newly enlarged franchise. The £12 valuation threshold was abolished for this election, and Donovan was pleased that Gladstone had taken this step as well as 'disestablished an alien church, passed townland acts and endeavoured to pass an education bill'. Gladstone's ballot act was, Donovan observed:

¹³⁵ The poor law system of larger ratepayers having multiple votes was finally abolished in the Local Government (Ireland) act 1898. Brian Donnelly, *For the betterment of the people: A history of Wicklow County Council* (Wicklow, 1999), p. 14.

¹³⁶ *Leinster Leader*, 28 Jul 1883. W. J. Corbet of Spring Farm, Delgany, was nominated for Wicklow at Parnell's insistence in 1880, served as M.P. for Wicklow from 1880-1885 and for Wicklow East from 1885-1892. Defeated as a Parnellite in 1892, he was elected in 1895, ending his parliamentary career in 1900. Nicholas Grene, 'Synge and Wicklow' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow, history and society* (Dublin, 1994), p. 720.

the most useful of all. Not long since, bodies of tenants would be swept along to the poll by agents and bailiffs who knew how they would vote, and were surrounded by troops of infantry and horse and driven to the hustings like slaves, and if they refused to go they were marked men.

Donovan rejoiced that now 'every voter can vote for whom he likes, every household has a vote under certain conditions, every cabinholder can have as good a vote and a right to vote as his landlord'. Donovan foresaw that 'as a rule the landholders of the county, the shopkeepers in the towns and the labourers in their cabins will come forward in great numbers and support the choice of Mr. Parnell'.

As a result of the enlarged franchise, west Wicklow obtained its own representative. The western contest was between Garret Byrne (Nationalist) and W. W. F. Hume Dick (Conservative), while W. J. Corbet stood against the Conservative Colonel Tottenham in the east of the county. On 22 November 1885, Donovan chaired a 'large and enthusiastic meeting' at Tournant moat 'within a few yards of St. Nicholas's well and of the grave of the 36 martyrs who were shot down by English soldiers on Dunlavin green in 1798'. The association with 1798 was significant, as Donovan pointedly linked the historic armed struggle with the present political one. He stated that he was proud to preside at this meeting organised by the Dunlavin and Donard branch of the National League. If every branch had such numbers as this 'the cause of Ireland would be gained in a short time'. Donovan had no desire to preside at meetings, but he did so for the first time, as it was 'gratifying to the people and useful to the cause of their common country'. After Donovan's speech, Rev. Thomas Lynch of Donard also addressed the meeting, urging the assembly to vote for Byrne, so that he would be returned with 'such a majority as will prevent any other individual not in accordance with the principles of Mr. Parnell from showing his nose anytime again in west Wicklow'. Anthony Metcalfe also spoke. He urged farm labourers, who had the

franchise for the first time, to vote for Byrne. Landlords in Baltinglass poor law union 'were doing everything in their power to obstruct the labourers' act'. Labourers were urged to 'be honest to yourselves and your families and vote for Mr. Garret Byrne, the chosen of Mr. Parnell'. The labourers duly obliged and in December 1885 Byrne defeated Hume Dick by 3,721 votes to 871, while in east Wicklow Corbet defeated Tottenham by 3,385 votes to 1,000. Donovan, delighted by the result, recorded that 'the people voted with great spirit and enthusiasm'.

Significantly, many local shopkeepers were present at Tournant in addition to the usual strong farmers. J. Harrington (Tynte Arms), Edward Fay and Martin Kelly were all present, indicating that many of Dunlavin's Catholic mercantile community were also firmly nationalist and pro-home rule, despite their lack of involvement in the local branch of the National League. They probably perceived the League as being primarily oriented towards land reform, which did not concern shopkeepers. The usual farmers were also present at Tournant moat – Thomas Metcalfe for example – as well as E. P. O'Kelly from Baltinglass, described as an 'ex-suspect', and P. J. Whelan, the 'representative of the labourers'. ¹³⁷

A further opportunity for nationalists to assert themselves in the struggle for social control occurred in March 1886, when the office of poor law guardian for Rathsallagh division was contested between W. Bolton (Conservative) and Joseph Norton (Nationalist). Norton won by a narrow margin, 63 votes to 61. Donovan was ecstatic. This was the first time that a Catholic represented Rathsallagh division as poor law guardian, and Donovan recorded that Norton's election was a milestone that happened because of a 'well planned and well fought contest' by the nationalists in Rathsallagh.

¹³⁷ Despite the election of Byrne and Corbet, life remained very challenging for the labourers until well into the twentieth century. Connolly, 'A rightful place in the sun', pp 912-3.

Nationalist planning and organisational skills were needed again in July when Gladstone dissolved parliament 'that the constituencies might vote whether Ireland was to be granted Home Rule'. West Wicklow was again contested and Donovan took delight in recording that on 12 July there were 3,531 votes for Garret Byrne against 856 for W. Hume Dick, 'a Parnellite majority of 2,675'.

Following the 1886 election, Parnell and his party were at the height of their powers and strongly supported locally, but in March 1887 the *Times* attacked Parnell in its articles 'Parnellism and crime'.¹³⁸ These Pigott forgeries led to a commission of enquiry during 1888 and 1889.¹³⁹ In October 1888, Donovan sanctioned a collection for 'the national indemnity fund, towards the expenses of the judicial commission regarding Parnell and the other Irish M.P.s'. Again, Donovan exhorted the people to give generously and 'the Dunlavin parochial contribution amounted to the sum of £40'. This figure may be put into context by comparing it to the July 1888 Peter's pence silver collection, which amounted to £18 12s.¹⁴⁰

Despite the high profile of the Irish Party and its pursuit of home rule, the land question remained a burning issue at local level. In February 1888 a large crowd of people from Dunlavin travelled to Ballyknockan to demonstrate their support for an evicted tenant, Bridget Mulvey.¹⁴¹ Such evictions became a rallying point for nationalists. In Dunlavin, one case before Joseph Pratt Tynte and William Heighington at the petty sessions on 25 July 1888 provided evidence of why this was so. The case involved an evicted tenant, Mrs Brady. She was charged with taking

¹³⁸ *The Times*, 7, 10 and 14 Mar, 1887.

¹³⁹ F. S. L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell* (Bungay, Suffolk, 1977), pp 417-20.

¹⁴⁰ Even in Jul 1887, when the Peter's pence 'assumed larger than ordinary dimensions', due to Pope Leo XIII's golden jubilee, only £31 0s. 6d. was collected.

¹⁴¹ *Leinster Leader*, 11 Feb 1888. Mulvey's case, which has some unusual aspects as her house was pulled down and rebuilt before she actually moved back into it, is described in Seamas O Maitiu and Barry O'Reilly, *Ballyknockan, a Wicklow stonecutters' village* (Dublin, 1997), pp 28-30.

forcible possession of the premises from which George Farrell of Ballymore-Eustace had her evicted. Mrs Brady returned to the house and occupied a pigsty, from which Farrell again evicted her. During the court case, the Brady family was living under the arch of Lemonstown bridge, and had their furniture there. The bench decided that a custodial sentence was unwarranted and justice would be served if Mrs Brady did not return to Farrell's house, a condition to which her husband agreed and so she was discharged.¹⁴² Evictions were an ongoing problem in west Wicklow, and in December 1889 Donovan recorded that a massive £78 3s. had been collected in Dunlavin 'for the Irish Tenants' Defence Fund'. This is the largest figure subscribed to any collection in Donovan's diary, and it is evident that Catholic Dunlaviners supported the evicted tenants, and, by implication, were behind reform of the land system. The threat to the rural establishment, embodied in Dunlavin by the elite such as Tynte and Pennefather, was intensifying. The sectarian undercurrent that accompanied the ongoing power struggle between unionists and nationalists surfaced occasionally, and such developments led to sectarian incidents in the parish, the most notable of which was the 'outrage on Donard church' in August 1888. Garret Byrne asked a question in the House of Commons 'whether it was a fact that the Roman Catholic church at Donard, County Wicklow, was some days ago decorated with Orange lilies, the doors chalked with Orange texts and the chapel bell rung, all in the dead of night... and whether any steps are being taken to bring the perpetrators to justice'. In reply the chief secretary said that Orange emblems were hung in the church and the bell was indeed rung, but no texts were chalked on the door. He assured Byrne that the police had the matter under investigation.¹⁴³

¹⁴² *Leinster Leader*, 28 Jul 1888.

¹⁴³ *Leinster Leader*, 11 Aug 1888.

This incident resulted in a meeting in Donard on 5 August 1888, which was attended by more than 3,000 people. Donovan, the parish priest, did not attend the meeting. He was based in lowland Dunlavin, and it was the upland Donard church which had been violated, so he was content to let his Donard curate, Patrick Brennan take the platform, even though the young Brennan was only newly ordained when he replaced Thomas Lynch in June 1887. Brennan did not disappoint his audience, which included large contingents from Baltinglass, Hollywood, Blessington, Ballymore-Eustace, Imaal and Dunlavin. Before the meeting, the grand master of Imaal's Donaghmore Loyal Orange Lodge 1798, Rev. Timothy Clifford O'Connor, mounted the podium and tried to speak, but he was shouted down and 'put off the platform by a man called Hurley'. There had been an Orange lodge in the Donard area for about ninety years, and generally the Orangemen were tolerated locally, but the crowd at this meeting was not in a tolerant mood! ¹⁴⁴ When the chairman, John Magrath of Castleruddery, called on Fr. Brennan to speak, the curate delivered a fiery address. He was, he said, 'sent to Donard by our holy and patriotic archbishop, Dr. Walsh, to aid his flock, save their souls and defend the honour of God's house'. Brennan stated that he had 'never interfered in politics, but he would put his foot down to stamp out Orangeism'. The next speaker was the poor law guardian, E. P. O'Kelly. He was even less moderate than Brennan: 'Orangemen had too much toleration in Donard. There, on 12 July, they assembled, and brought out all their old shanderadans and decorated their old horses, their mules, their asses, their old wives and mothers and ugly orange coloured daughters – there wasn't a good looking girl among them – wait until 12 July and he would see if they have their peaceable nonsensical display unmolested'!

¹⁴⁴ 'Hurley' could be a reference to a caman, or hurley stick. On the Orange lodge in Donard in 1799, see Ruan O'Donnell, 'The rebellion of 1798 in County Wicklow', p. 369. This lodge is also mentioned in Shearman papers, xvii (N.U.I. Maynooth), f. 167 [in the year 1835] and f. 170v [in the year 1862].

In spite of this threat, there is no record of violence in Donard on the following 12 July. Despite localised Orange displays, however, the nationalist tide continued to rise. Another inroad was made on unionist power in the Dunlavin area when, in March 1889, Edward Fay, the Dunlavin merchant, was returned as poor law guardian for the Dunlavin electoral division of Baltinglass union. Fay was the first Catholic to represent Dunlavin in this position, and Donovan had no doubt that Fay's breakthrough was a significant one for the nationalists of Dunlavin, and he noted it gleefully in his diary.

However, all was not well within the Dunlavin branch of the National League, and by 1890 the branch was defunct. There is no record of the cause, but internecine strife between sectional vested interests was the most probable reason. The League was not involved in the case of the Brady eviction in July 1888, so it is possible that its demise happened even before that. On 1 February 1890, however, the *Leinster Leader* carried an article about Edward Sweetman, who was 'among the best of the Kildare landlords', but who charged John Harrington of Dunlavin a rent of £490 a year on a property which the Kane sub-commission had now valued at £340 fair rent. This sub-commission, headed by Mr R. R. Kane, was an organ of the Land Commission, which had been established under the 1881 land act, but whose power and scope were extended under the 1885 Ashbourne land act. The purpose of the sub-commission was to hear appeals and establish fair rents on properties. On 25 January 1890 the sub-commission met in Blessington to fix fair rents in Baltinglass union, and Harrington's appeal was one of 22 on which Kane delivered judgement that day. These appeals, taken against seven landlords including Sweetman, all resulted in a rent reduction. What made the Harrington-Sweetman case significant was the scale of the reduction. The average rent reviewed was £62 11s. 6d. and the average reduction was 24.7 per

cent. Harrington's rent of £490 was more than twice as much as the second largest figure, £202, and was reduced by 32 per cent. This reduction of £150 a year was very substantial, and the *Leinster Leader* remarked that such a sum would be taken by many people to provide a good living for the year. Such a sum, said the article, was considerable, and the *Leader* wondered if Harrington would be reimbursed by £150 a year, and if so, would the refunded money be backdated! The same issue of the newspaper delivered a vitriolic attack on 'the absence of a branch of the National League, or of any organisation' in the parish of Dunlavin to support the claims of tenants such as Harrington, and suggested that these tenants should play a leading role in revitalising the League in the area. 'No effort' the article stated 'was being made to collect the tenants' defence fund in Dunlavin parish'. It went on 'Surely some of the people there should do something for the tenant farmers? Those who obtain reductions of £150 a year by means of the organisation should not grudge a small share of their wealth or spare a little trouble; self-interest if they are dead to gratitude ought to move them'.¹⁴⁵

This broadside from the *Leinster Leader* upset Donovan. He wrote a scathing reply, which appeared in the paper on the following Saturday. The author of last week's article, Donovan stated, 'wrote hastily and incorrectly and pictured quite an unreal state of affairs'. If nothing was being done in Dunlavin, wrote Donovan 'it is because it has been done long since. Dunlavin was the first parish in the county Wicklow to forward its large and generous contribution of over £78 for the tenants' defence fund early last December'. Donovan was also quick to defend John Harrington, who had been mentioned in the article of the preceding week. 'The gentleman in question' stated Donovan's letter 'in the opinion of those who know him best, is not in the habit

¹⁴⁵ *Leinster Leader*, 1 Feb 1890.

of grudging either small or large sums as circumstances may require, and on this occasion his contribution amounted to near £6'.¹⁴⁶ Donovan's reply, however, could not hide the fact that the Dunlavin and Donard branch of the National League was no longer in existence. Later that year the *Leinster Leader* again threw down the gauntlet: 'Where are the Leagues of west Wicklow? The branches in Dunlavin and Baltinglass have become extinct'.¹⁴⁷ H. J. Mullally, speaking at a meeting in Hollywood on 20 July 1890 stated:

It was always a source of regret and pain to him that there was now no branch of the National League in his own parish of Dunlavin, he had been the first to start the land league in west Wicklow and Dunlavin was the first branch in the county, but circumstances which he could not control caused a falling off in the branch which he had established and for which he so long felt a pride, but its efficiency and work died out.

Mullally promised 'that he would do his best to revive the organisation in Dunlavin, and if there was not a branch in full working order there within a short time, the fault would not be his'.¹⁴⁸ However, despite Mullally's pledge, there is no record of a revival of the National League in Dunlavin.¹⁴⁹

The reason or reasons behind the demise of the Dunlavin branch of the National League during the late 1880s remain obscure. Canon Donovan's diary reveals him to have been among the most ardent supporters of the League in the early and mid-1880s, but Donovan studiously avoids any reference to the League after 1886.

Similarly, reports in the *Leinster Leader* from Dunlavin branch cease about the same time. The indications are that the League folded due to an internal feud of some kind.

If this were the case, it is possible that the *Leader*, a nationalist newspaper, did not

¹⁴⁶ *Leinster Leader*, 8 Feb 1890.

¹⁴⁷ *Leinster Leader*, 31 May 1890.

¹⁴⁸ *Leinster Leader*, 26 Jul 1890.

¹⁴⁹ The Land League and National League papers in the N.L.I. do not include the records of the Dunlavin branch, so one is dependant on passing references Dunlavin in records from other places, the nearest of which geographically is Rathvilly, (Minutes of Rathvilly Land League, N.L.I., MS 842).

wish to print the details of such a disagreement. A similar argument could be applied to the *Freeman's Journal*, which contains no reference to the cause of the branch's demise either. The local Unionist newspaper, the *Kildare Observer*, was probably not privy to the details of any internal National League feud, and so could not (and did not) print the story. At the seminal meeting of Dunlavin National League on Dunlavin green on 22 July 1883, T. D. Sullivan had asked all present 'to put local differences and jealousies aside for the sake of Ireland; let the spirit of brotherhood prevail. There is room for improvement in this town'. This was indicative of tensions within the local strong farming community before the establishment of the Dunlavin branch of the League. H. J. Mullally, a local strong farmer from Lemonstown, actually told that meeting 'I know I have enemies, but so has Parnell'. Mullally's statement on 22 July 1883 may have referred to covert enemies within the local nationalist farming community.¹⁵⁰ Sullivan's plea for brotherhood fell on deaf ears, and the Dunlavin branch of the National League was rent asunder by its own members during the late 1880s, and reported to be defunct by the *Leinster Leader* in 1890.

However, although the year 1890 saw the death throes of Dunlavin National League, it also witnessed the birth pangs of Dunlavin G.A.A. club. The club was founded as the 'Sons of St. Nicholas' at a meeting held on 20 January 1890.¹⁵¹ Donovan's curate, Rev. Francis McEnerney was the club's first president. Perhaps Donovan, who was now nearly sixty years of age, was content to leave the presidency of this athletic association to the younger man. The other officers of the club were the poor law guardian Edward Fay, vice president; Chris Lawlor, treasurer; John Rochford, secretary; Joseph Whittle, captain and Thomas Roche, vice captain. It is evident from this list that, unlike the National League, strong farmers did not dominate the G.A.A.

¹⁵⁰ *Leinster Leader*, 28 Jul 1883.

¹⁵¹ James Whittle, *Sons of St. Nicholas: a history of Dunlavin GAA club* (Naas, 1984), p. 4.

Fay was a leading Dunlavin shopkeeper. The Whittle family were among the nine leading Catholic merchant families in Dunlavin in the 1860s.¹⁵² Neither Rochfords nor Roches were listed among the leading local farmers in the 1880s. Chris Lawlor worked as a bartender in a local public house.¹⁵³ The G.A.A. was nationalistic, but it was not perceived as an instrument of land reform, so strong farming families did not seek control of the club.

The G.A.A. club played in a field that Mr. J. Norton had granted them permission to use.¹⁵⁴ They contested their first championship match against Baltinglass on 14 May 1890, but were defeated.¹⁵⁵ In county Wicklow, the championship reflected the east-west divide. Nearly all the clubs competing were from the west, so Bray Emmets got a bye into the finals as they were 'in a remote part of the county' from the rest of the participating teams.¹⁵⁶ Despite defeat in the championship, the Dunlavin club continued to flourish and later in 1890 held its first tournament. The names of the competing G.A.A. teams, which included Irish Brigade (Ballymore-Eustace), Michael Davitts (Athgarvan) and McAllisters (Kilbaylet), emphasised the nationalistic nature of the organisation.¹⁵⁷ The G.A.A. was a prime manifestation of the rising tide of nationalism in Dunlavin during the late nineteenth century, a tide also demonstrated by the success of Byrne at the polls in west Wicklow and of Fay at the polls within Baltinglass union. The link between the G.A.A. and the newly resurgent Catholicism, exemplified in Dunlavin by Donovan's work, was personified in the patronage of Archbishop Croke. In March 1890, Croke made a speech about the virtue of

¹⁵² A statistical memoir of Dunlavin (N.U.I. Maynooth, Shearman papers, xvii, f. 167)

¹⁵³ Oral family records. Chris Lawlor was the author's great grandfather.

¹⁵⁴ Whittle, *Sons of St. Nicholas*, p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁶ *Leinster Leader*, 15 Apr 1890.

¹⁵⁷ *Leinster Leader*, 8 Nov 1890; *Leinster Leader*, 15 Nov 1890; *Leinster Leader*, 22 Nov 1890. Also Whittle, *Sons of St. Nicholas*, pp 6-7. Athgarvan is a small village near Newbridge in County Kildare and Kilbaylet is a rural area near Donard.

temperance and advocated that all G.A.A. members should take the pledge. All county Wicklow games were cancelled for one day to allow the players to do so. The proposal passed by the Dunlavin branch of the G.A.A. stated 'That we cordially respond to the pious and patriotic appeal which our Most Reverend Patron had addressed to the manhood of Ireland calling on them to wipe away the one stain that disfigures the fair fame of their motherland today'.¹⁵⁸ The motion was proposed by Patrick Kenny and seconded by Patrick Doyle. The club evidently perceived temperance as a serious issue!

However, just as Dunlavin G.A.A. was developing into a major local force came 'the unfortunate Parnell split'. Nowhere was the bitterness and reaction felt so heavily and destructively as in Parnell's home county of Wicklow,¹⁵⁹ and 'there was little or no involvement by Dunlavin G.A.A. club over this period'.¹⁶⁰ Donovan was dismayed by the Parnell scandal, but he adopted an anti-Parnellite stance, the official position of the Irish Catholic Church, on the matter. Donovan wrote in his diary

During this twelvemonth all Ireland was torn by dissensions, arising out of the Parnell divorce case, between two rival parties; one headed by the deposed Chief himself... and his numerous and noisy following, and the other consisting of the majority of the parliamentary representatives supported by the Irish hierarchy, and the bulk of the nation.

The Parnell split halted a fledgling revival of the National League that occurred in Donard, prompted by the evictions on the Smith-Barry estate in Tipperary. A meeting was held in Donard on 19 October 1890, chaired by Rev. J. Hickey, and it was decided to send £5 to central branch to re-affiliate to the League. Three resolutions were passed, supporting the tenants in Tipperary, supporting the actions of John

¹⁵⁸ *Leinster Leader*, 12 Apr 1890.

¹⁵⁹ The importance of place, locality and identity in Parnell's Wicklow life – and of Parnell to Wicklow – is addressed in R. F. Foster, 'Interpretations of Parnell: the importance of locale', *Paddy and Mr Punch, connections in Irish and English history* (London, 1993), pp 40-61.

¹⁶⁰ Whittle, *Sons of St. Nicholas*, p. 8.

Dillon and William O'Brien and condemning the role played by Balfour in the whole affair.¹⁶¹ Three months later, however, another meeting of the Donard National League broke up having adopted the following resolution by nineteen votes to six: 'That we, the members of the Donard branch of the Irish National League, believe Mr. Parnell, who has proved himself unfit to lead the Irish people, to be seriously imperilling the home rule cause by his present agitation'.¹⁶²

The Donard branch of the League became defunct again after this meeting. There was no revival of the League in Dunlavin. Some strong farmers in the area remained loyal to Parnell. These included Joe Norton of Rathallagh and James Kelly (now poor law guardian) of Man of War, who were recruiting officers for a short-lived Parnellite organisation called the Army of Independence. Dunlavin farmers James Norton, Joe Norton, H. J. Mullally, J. Byrne, Peter Doyle and J. McGrath all attended the Parnell anniversary commemorations in Dublin in October 1893.¹⁶³

The Parnell split divided the nationalist community of Dunlavin. A meeting was held on Dunlavin green on 14 June 1891 to establish a branch of the Irish National Federation. This organisation replaced (or at least became a rival to) the Irish National League, which was too closely identified with Parnell for the anti-Parnellite camp.¹⁶⁴ Donovan called this meeting on the green 'very successful'. It had been intended to hold the meeting in an enclosed yard, but the crowd was too large and the venue was changed. A platform for the 'local clergy and leading representative men of the district was hastily erected by many willing hands. The union of priests and people, now sought by some to be divorced was strikingly manifested'. Donovan evidently

¹⁶¹ *Leinster Leader*, 25 Oct 1890.

¹⁶² *Leinster Leader*, 27 Dec 1890.

¹⁶³ Whittle, *Sons of St. Nicholas*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁴ F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the famine* (4th ed., London, 1976), p. 261.

did not see the Parnell scandal as a threat to the Catholic resurgence, the local culture of devotional revolution or the position of parish priest. 'As the clergy addressed their flock', wrote Donovan, 'their sentiments were cheered by hundreds of as good-humoured, orderly, well-disposed and faithful a people as could be found in Ireland'. The Crehelp brass band and the Inchaquire fife and drum band were in attendance. Five resolutions were passed at the meeting on the green: establishing a Dunlavin and district branch of the Irish National Federation, pledging support to the Irish parliamentary party under Justin McCarthy, stating their renewed confidence in Gladstone, calling on Parnell to release the Paris funds for the benefit of evicted tenants and finally condemning the conduct of those Parnellites who, 'forgetting all sense of propriety, religion and gratitude had hissed the honoured name of that most generous, eloquent and self-sacrificing patriot, the great archbishop of Cashel at Inchicore on Sunday week'. A sum of £22 was collected for the federation fund, which included £2 contributed by Donovan. The one 'stain of the day' recorded by Donovan was:

a determined Parnellite counter demonstration, incited by an active personal canvass at the local fair of last week, and further urged by bilious-worded printed posters of the accepted national colour, which was convened the same day, to give the quietus to the popular Federation meeting. The result was a very peculiar gathering of ill-sorted people of a miscellaneous character. Parnellite partisans, official and otherwise, newspaper correspondents, strangers from Dublin, friends from the distance, human contributions from different parishes and counties, masters and men, parents and children, boys and girls and one jailbird recently released from incarceration, all told made up a couple of dozen, very conveniently fitting into one room.

Presumably the 'gathering of ill-sorted people' included many of Donovan's National League allies from the past – Parnellites such as Norton, Kelly and Mullally for example. Donovan's emotive language is indicative of how deeply the Parnell split cut into Dunlavin's nationalist community. Donovan's description of a 'jailbird

recently released' contrasts vividly with his proud description of E. P. O'Kelly as an 'ex-suspect' at the Tournant meeting of 22 November 1885.

The National Federation quickly became established in Dunlavin, taking over from the defunct National League. There was one last hurrah for the League though; when James Norton, J. McGrath and Henry J. Mullally attended the Parnell anniversary commemorations in October 1893, they described themselves respectively as president, vice president, and secretary of the Dunlavin branch of the Irish National League.¹⁶⁵ However, this was not indicative that the League enjoyed a revival in Dunlavin. The men had held these same offices in the Dunlavin branch before its mysterious demise, and there is no evidence that the League held meetings or transacted any business in Dunlavin in the 1890s. The descriptions of themselves given by the old Parnellites were a last defiant gesture. The National Federation, not the National League, embodied the mainstream of nationalist opinion in Dunlavin during the 1890s.

Donovan's support was one factor that ensured the success of the Federation in Dunlavin. On 2 June 1892 Donovan noted that John Rochford and Rev. Francis McEnerney from Dunlavin were appointed as treasurer and secretary of the election expenses fund at the county convention of the Federation, in Bray. Dunlavin parish topped the county Wicklow list of subscribers to this election fund, contributing £38 8s. 4d., nearly twice as much as the £20 13s. from Baltinglass, the second highest parish on the list. Evidently Donovan was once again exhorting his congregation to give generously to the national cause. The Federation also organised a collection for

¹⁶⁵ *Leinster Leader*, 31 Oct 1893.

the evicted tenants' fund in 1892. Donovan noted that the total of £45 1s. collected was:

a contribution in times of most serious depression of the patriotic people of this parish who never shirk a duty. I regret, however, I must make some exceptions. There are, in this parish as in many others, some few misguided factionists of means. Not one shilling of their money have they subscribed towards the relief of their evicted fellow farmers, by whose struggle they have gained. I had hopes that the result of the last west Wicklow election would have taught these people a little political sense, but I now have despair of their return to reason. They have turned their back on all their former principles and would now wreck the national hopes because they cannot blindly lead.

Donovan's attitude reveals that the Parnell split was still a very raw wound in Dunlavin in December 1892.

Donovan also listed the names of the subscribers to the evicted tenants' fund. These names represent the anti-Parnellite majority in the parish. Among the families were Harringtons, Copelands, Metcalfes, Mooneys, Cunninghams, McDonalds, Keoghs, Haydens, Fays, Deerings, Headons, Costelloes, Whittles, Healys, Sinotts and Lawlors. . Of 46 surnames recorded by Donovan, at least 28 are leading farming families. This represents 61 per cent of the total, indicating that strong farmers in the Dunlavin region dominated the Federation, just as they had done the League. Of the other names on the list, at least five came for Dunlavin's mercantile community, but farmers heavily outnumbered shopkeepers in the Federation's Dunlavin branch. Leading farming families not mentioned in Donovan's list included Nortons, Kellys, McGraths, Mullallys, Byrnes, Doyles, Barretts and Stapletons. These Parnellites were among the people who, according to Donovan 'had not been taught political sense by the result of the last west Wicklow election'.

That election was held on 13 July 1892, and was preceded by:

a great nationalist meeting on Dunlavin green on Sunday 19 June to organise for the success of James O'Connor, the selected candidate for west Wicklow at the general election. Large deputations from the neighbouring parishes attended, the parish priests of Dunlavin, Baltinglass, Ballymore-Eustace, Boystown and Eadestown and the Dunlavin curates were also there, and the Crehelp brass band and the Crookstown fife and drum band played national airs. Rev. F. A. Donovan, P.P., V.F., Dunlavin, occupied the chair, and among the other speakers were Mr. T. J. Condon M.P. [for east Tipperary], ¹⁶⁶ Mr. J. O'Connor and Rev. F. McEnerney C.C. Dunlavin.

This meeting must have seemed like old times to Donovan, who noted with satisfaction that 'much enthusiasm was displayed'. The meeting bore fruit when O'Connor (Nationalist) was duly elected on 13 July with 2,582 votes. Col. R. P. Saunders (Conservative) polled 784 votes and J. H. Parnell (Factionist) 546. Donovan noted gleefully that the majority over Toryism was 1,798, ¹⁶⁷ and the majority over the Parnellites was 2,030. The contest in east Wicklow was closer. Donovan gives the figures as Sweetman (Nationalist) 1,433, Halpin (Tory) 1,225 and Corbet (Factionist) 1,115. The fact that the sitting M.P. was Parnellite had split the eastern home rule vote, but Donovan noted with satisfaction that two nationalists had been returned in the county. At local level, in December 1892, Donovan noted that 'Mr. Andrew Byrne was elected unopposed as coroner of west Wicklow. He was the first Catholic elected in Wicklow to this position this century. Times are much altered'. The National Federation continued to function in Dunlavin during the 1890s. In May 1894 the sum of £24 16s. 6d. was received from Dunlavin parish by the evicted tenants' fund. ¹⁶⁸ Canon Donovan noted that this was well down on the £78 3s. 6d. and the £45 1s. collected for the fund in December 1889 and December 1892 respectively, but he also noted that 'happily we have no evicted tenants here and we are only influenced by

¹⁶⁶ *The handbook of the Drogheda chemical manure company 1897*, p. 73.

¹⁶⁷ Recorded by Donovan as 1798; the comma is omitted and the figure is heavily underlined in his diary.

¹⁶⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 20 May 1894.

feelings of justice and humanity'.¹⁶⁹ Times had changed since the late 1880s and there was evidently no case such as the 1888 eviction of the Bradys to concentrate minds in Dunlavin parish in 1894. Also, Parnellites would not subscribe to any National Federation collection, another factor behind the decreasing amounts collected for the fund.

John Harrington of Cannycourt still subscribed to Irish National Federation funds. On 5 June 1894 Donovan recorded that Harrington, a J.P., had 'subscribed £10 to the Federation parliamentary fund. He is honourable and manly enough to avow his national principles and unselfish enough not to spare his purse in their support. Mere barren sympathy and lip praise do duty for patriotism with many, but fall very short of his idea of duty'. The failure of the second home rule bill in the House of Lords in 1893 did not upset Donovan unduly as he wrote:

We seem to be now nearing the goal of our expectation. We have a friendly government in power willing, so far as practicable, to grant our legitimate demands, our representatives may be said to live in the House of Commons for our benefit and it is our duty to support them there by our relatively cheap sacrifices.

Real sacrifices were required in February 1895 because of a 'long and continued snowstorm', resulting in much hardship in the district. Mr Supple, the district inspector of the R.I.C., organised a charity concert 'in relief of the poor and unemployed of the district'. The star attraction at the concert which was held in Dunlavin's railway goods store, was Percy French, 'who caused any amount of mirth'. Following the concert, Donovan made a speech thanking Supple for 'so agreeable a social meeting and so successful a charity'. Despite the concert, the harsh

¹⁶⁹ Fr. Frederick A. Donovan was elevated to the status of canon on 10 Jan 1893. The address to mark the event presented to Donovan on 12 Mar 1893 does not bear the names of any leading Parnellite families in the parish. This address and Donovan's reply is transcribed in appendix fifteen.

winter may have been a factor involved in the decrease in the next collection for the local Irish National Federation fund in May 1895, which only raised £21 16s. 6d.

Donovan noted that this amount was collected in the parish

notwithstanding the strain on the very limited resources of our farmers by reason of the low prices obtainable at fairs and markets and in spite of the many pecuniary sacrifices made in years past for the common good the people of the parish continue to set a patriotic example of generosity.

Nationalist progress continued during 1895. In March two 'pronounced nationalists' were elected as chairman and vice chairman of Baltinglass board of guardians. This was the first time that Baltinglass union was under nationalist control. The election of the two, E. P. O'Kelly and James Coleman of Grifflinstown, was a watershed in Baltinglass poor law union. As late as 1890, the *Leinster Leader* reported 'the doings of the Tory deadheads who rule the roost at Baltinglass often afford interesting reading on the law as it is administered by them'.¹⁷⁰ The election of O'Kelly and Coleman was 'an indication of the present progress of democratic power in the country', and Donovan remained optimistic about the implementation of home rule. In February 1895 he wrote: 'The success of the Home Rule measure is now so assured that apathy at the present juncture would be little short of criminal'. Donovan was overjoyed when E. P. O'Kelly was returned as M.P. for east Wicklow at a bye-election, but success was short lived, and in July 1895 Donovan recorded that in the general election 'the English liberals were completely routed and the Conservatives returned with a 152 majority. Mr. James O'Connor returned unopposed for west Wicklow, but Mr. E. P. O'Kelly now resigning and Mr. W. Corbet (Parnellite) was returned'. Evidently the Parnell split was still festering. The final entry of a political nature in Donovan's diary concerns the 'unopposed election of Mr. John Germaine

¹⁷⁰ *Leinster Leader*, 17 May 1890. The reference is to the acquittal of a Protestant rate-collector by Dunlavin petty sessions in the face of all the evidence. The collector, John Barrett, had evidently embezzled over £120 before declaring himself to be bankrupt.

J.P. (Nationalist) as coroner for the west Wicklow division', and is dated 2 September 1895. Donovan died in 1896 and he left behind him a county divided between its two nationalist parliamentary representatives, and a parish containing a bitter rift between its anti-Parnellite majority and its Parnellite minority.

Dunlavin's Parnellites and anti-Parnellites drew closer together to commemorate the 1798 massacre. On 29 May 1898 a large meeting was held in Dunlavin and the chair was taken by Mr Thomas Metcalfe P.L.G., Crehelp, in the absence of Very Rev. Fr. Maxwell P.P. Amongst those on the platform were members of both nationalist camps; anti-Parnellites such as James Cunningham, John Harrington and Mark Deering were joined by Parnellites including Henry J. Mullally, James Kelly junior and J. Byrne. Two leading Parnellite veterans 'absent through the hand of death, Joe Norton, Rathallagh, who had been a close personal friend of the dead Chief and James Kelly senior, the Man O'War', were both remembered in the proceedings. After patriotic speeches by Mr Hugh McCarthy, Mr. G Sweeney, Mr J. J. Burke and several local speakers, the second chair was taken by the Parnellite, H. J. Mullally, who thanked the anti-Parnellite chairman, Thomas Metcalfe for his contribution in an instance of power sharing and a gesture of reconciliation within the Dunlavin nationalist community. That night 'the town was brilliantly illuminated. A huge bonfire blazed on the green and a torchlight procession, headed by bands proceeded to Tournant churchyard, where the martyrs sleep'.¹⁷¹ This procession was described as 'a weird and impressive sight, and partook more of a religious than of a political character'.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ *Leinster Leader*, 4 Jun 1898.

¹⁷² McGee, *Retrospect*, p. 2

Illustration 12. Nationalist meeting on Dunlavin green (late 1890s).



This photograph may show the 1798 centenary meeting or an election meeting from that decade. Source: private possession.

Political progress was receding, however. At national level, it has been suggested that William O'Brien's United Irish League, founded in January 1898 and named for the rebels of 1798, threatened the hegemony of the Irish party and enforced its reunification.¹⁷³ The establishment of the League as an instrument of agrarian agitation and the resurgence of national feeling that followed in its wake had ramifications at all levels of national life. At local level, the implementation of the Local Government Act made sweeping changes in governance in county Wicklow. Five rural district councils were established in Wicklow, with Dunlavin being included in Baltinglass Number One district.¹⁷⁴ The first elections (of urban district councillors) under the act were held in January 1899, and the elections of county councillors were held in April of that year. The result was a landslide nationalist victory.¹⁷⁵ Joseph Dunne, a nationalist from Merginstown Glen, was returned for Dunlavin electoral division.¹⁷⁶ At the inaugural meeting of Wicklow County Council

¹⁷³ R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p. 427.

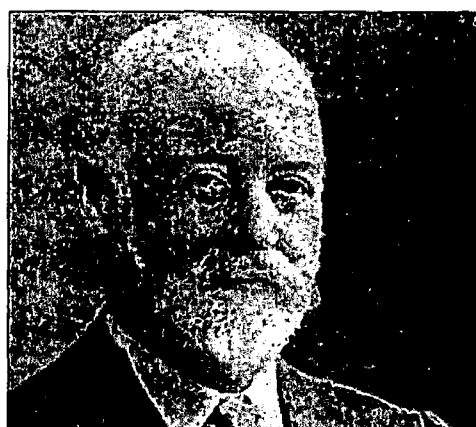
¹⁷⁴ The other districts were Rathdown Number Two rural district, Rathdrum rural district, Naas Number Two rural district and Shillelagh rural district.

¹⁷⁵ Seventeen nationalists and three unionists were returned. Donnelly, *For the betterment of the people*, p. 15

¹⁷⁶ Nationalists were returned all over west Wicklow with E. P. O'Kelly [Baltinglass], Anthony Metcalfe [Hollywood], William Osborne [Blessington] and Michael Kelly [Rathdangan] all being elected. Donnelly, *For the betterment of the people*, pp 160-1.

on 22 April 1899, O'Kelly was elected as its first chairman. The progress of the United Irish League was welcomed by the newly-elected Wicklow County Council, and in February 1900 Joseph Dunne of Dunlavin was among the significant majority of councillors who voted for the formation of League branches in every district in county Wicklow.¹⁷⁷

Illustration 13. Veteran nationalist E. P. O'Kelly.



Source: Brian Donnelly, *For the betterment of the people*.

There were indications of healing within the divided nationalist community of Dunlavin as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Dunlavin nationalists, who had come so far in terms of gaining political control at local level, were drawing together again, but the wounds would take time to heal. After protracted negotiations the two wings of the Irish Parliamentary Party were reunited under chairman John Redmond in February 1900.¹⁷⁸ As the new century dawned, the nationalist community of Dunlavin was part of a wider national political movement, which faced the future with renewed optimism, despite the fact that a third home rule bill seemed but a distant dream. However, within two decades or so, home rule was sidelined as insignificant, and political realities would shift in ways in which the local nationalist community could not even begin to contemplate.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, pp 17 and 20.

¹⁷⁸ J. C. Beckett, *The making of modern Ireland 1603-1923* (5th ed., London, 1973), p. 415.

Conclusion

This chapter focussed on religious, agrarian and political developments in and around Dunlavin during the later nineteenth century. The Tynte family held on to social control precariously, but the twin threats of resurgent Catholicism and growing nationalism to the position of the elite resulted in a shift in political alignments, culminating in the establishment of the new county council system in Wicklow. Folk belief and informal religious worship, such as that at St. Nicholas's holy well, continued to exist, but was in decline. One major factor in this decline was the tighter control exercised by the Catholic clergy as the devotional revolution proceeded apace, ensuring that the chapel was the principal focus of worship. Canon Donovan was an agent of this devotional revolution in Dunlavin, in addition to becoming a leading figure in the struggle for land ownership. The Land War resulted in a loosening of Tynte's control of the land, but agricultural labourers failed to benefit from these developments and strong farming families emerged to play a leading role in nationalist organisations such as the Land League and the National League. Canon Donovan's diary reveals that nationalists, led by these strong farmers, were gradually assuming political control in the region, but these developments led to a society in which the gap between the rich poor was continued to widen. By the beginning of the twentieth century, an irreversible process of land reform, political reform and the changeover of social control was underway in the Dunlavin region. The death of Joseph Pratt Tynte in 1896 marked the end of an era, and coincided with the death throes of landlord control in Dunlavin. The power of the elite was broken, and though more remained to be done, such as the finalising of land purchase agreements, it was essentially a detail (albeit an important one) as the inexorable rise of nationalism continued into the twentieth century. As that century dawned, the newly nationalist-controlled Dunlavin faced the future with a mixture of hope and trepidation.

CONCLUSION.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, a pattern that was to shape the twentieth century was established, and the power of the Tyntes and other elite families in the Dunlavin region was all but broken. Nationalists dominated the new county council, and the fortunes of the reunited home rule party were rapidly rising towards the end of that decade. Protestant influence was in irreversible decline, a fact attested to by the success of the Catholic middle class in local elections. However, in the Dunlavin region as elsewhere, the centuries-old divisions based on class and religion were deeply embedded, creating what F. S. L. Lyons described as 'an anarchy in the mind and in the heart... which forbade unity of being, an anarchy that sprang from the collision within a small and intimate island of seemingly irreconcilable cultures, unable to live together or live apart, caught inextricably in the web of their tragic history'.¹ The separate identities of Dunlavin's Catholic and Protestant communities are attested to by the excruciatingly small numbers of mixed marriages recorded in the pages of the Catholic parish register.² The Catholic Church was now the dominant religious force and Irish Protestants, in the Dunlavin region as elsewhere, were adopting the more reserved role that defined their twentieth-century history.

The transfer of land to Catholic ownership also attested to the decline of Protestant influence. This happened in tandem with the decline in landlord power and social control in the region. A process had been established by the various land acts that ensured that tenant farmers could purchase their properties, and slowly but surely,

¹ F. S. L. Lyons, *Culture and anarchy in Ireland 1890-1939* (Oxford, 1982), p. 177.

² Only one such marriage, that of Thomas and Bridget Moody of Whitestown, was recorded in the first volume of the parish register, which covers the period from 1815-39. The second and third volumes, which cover the remainder of the nineteenth century, reveal similarly low numbers of mixed marriages. Literally, these unions may be counted on one's fingers. Such a minimal trend of mixed marriages indicates that points of contact between the two major religious communities of Dunlavin were very limited. While Catholics and Protestants met in the economic sphere of fairs and markets and during the everyday transactions of trade and commerce, they were educated separately and evidently married nearly exclusively within their own religious communities.

social control in the Dunlavin region was wrested from the hands of the elite. In 1909, ex-tenants on Dunlavin's Tynte estate were in the process of purchasing eighty-eight properties.³ Tynte's land agent, Richard Stokes of Dawson Street in Dublin, collected instalments of the 'purchase money' from these ex-tenants, rather than the annual rent due under the old system.⁴ The prices of the farms being purchased varied from £23 (A. Toole of Tubberbeg) to £4,777 (Mrs Jackson of Dunlavin).⁵ The total due to Tynte from the sale of these properties was £52,835 and the average purchase price was £600 8s. Though elite families were losers in the struggle for landownership, they were compensated monetarily for their loss of lands and rental incomes.

Tenants living in towns, villages and similar urban spaces did not come within the remit of the land acts, and experienced no reform of the landlord system. In 1909 Tynte was in receipt of £492 annual rent from his properties in Dunlavin village. This sum included rent from sixty-four urban tenants.⁶ The census of 1901 revealed that there were no fourth class houses left in the village, indicating that these hovels were systematically replaced with better dwellings in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷ However, despite an improvement in the quality of housing, village dwellers still paid ground rent to Tynte, and this ground rent was 'by law forever'. Not many village dwellers had money to buy out the freehold of their Dunlavin houses in the early decades of the twentieth century, though this situation began to

³ The estates of Colonel Mervyn C. S. Tynte, counties of Cork, Dublin, Kilkenny, King's county, Leitrim, Meath, Wexford, Wicklow and North Wales, rental and account for half year to 1 Nov 1909 (private possession), ff 5-16. Hereafter cited as Tynte rent roll 1909.

⁴ Tynte rent roll 1909, ff 5-16 *passim*. The columns entitled 'tenants' yearly rents' has that title crossed out and replaced with the wording 'purchase money'.

⁵ *Ibid*, ff 7 and 15.

⁶ *Ibid*, ff 17-26

⁷ Forms B1, House and building return (Dunlavin village), Census of Ireland, 1901 (copies in private possession. Originals held in N.A.I.). There were only six third class houses (from a total of one hundred and three) left in the village in 1901. All other houses were either first or second class. The returns of the 1901 census for Dunlavin village are given in appendix sixteen.

change gradually in the 1920s and 1930s.⁸ As the twentieth century progressed, more Dunlavin tenants bought out their houses, particularly following the Landlord and Tenant Ground Rent Act of 1978, which led to a 'happier atmosphere in the homes of our small town house dwellers'.⁹

Commercially, the village remained self-sufficient, maintaining many lower and middle order services, despite its continuing population decline. An account of the services, businesses and inhabitants of the village during the 1920s was published in 2000,¹⁰ and the level of services remained largely unchanged from the 1901 and 1911 census returns.¹¹ The largely unchanged census returns indicate demographic stagnation, justifying the conclusion of this study in the early twentieth century. Stagnation ensured the physical fabric of Dunlavin remained relatively unchanged, and in 1963 the last link with the Tynte family was broken with the death of Violet Tynte, after which Tynte Park was put on the market.¹² It was a measure of the changed landholding reality that the only significant twentieth-century expansion of the village were peripheral social housing schemes presided over by Wicklow County Council. The eclipse of the elite by elected nationalist representatives was complete.

⁸ Joseph Whittle SDB, 'Dunlavin houses', *Dunlavin Festival of Arts Brochure*, ix (1991), p. 46. Whittle states that by the 1930s 'the bigger business houses were freeholds. Such were Lawlers of the Railway hotel, a public house and grocery; Cunninghams, who had a grocery shop and a bakery and Lawlors of the Green, grocery and public house, to mention just a few'.

⁹ *Ibid*, pp 47-8. However, Whittle also notes that 'it was not easy to persuade some few [Dunlavin tenants] of the possibility to approach their ground rent landlords for the freehold possession of their homes', and at the time of my writing this study (2010), there are still a number of properties in Dunlavin village owned by the Tynte estate.

¹⁰ Dudley Kirwan, 'Dunlavin in the twenties', *Dunlavin Festival of Arts Brochure*, xviii (2000), p. 9. There were fifteen shops, seven pubs (including two hotels), two banks and a garage. Despite the presence of the garage, the importance of the horse in village and rural life had scarcely diminished, and there were two blacksmiths and a coach factory in the village. Specialist services included a jeweller's shop, a chemist, a bicycle shop, two butchers, a bakery, a tearoom and a post office. Trades included tailors, carpenters and saddlers. There was a police station with three policemen resident in the village, a resident doctor and a midwife, in addition to two schools and two churches, with resident clergymen.

¹¹ The 1911 census is available online at <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/>. The village population in 1911 was 450, marginally down on the 479 recorded in 1901.

¹² Violet Tynte's dated headstone is in the churchyard of St. Nicholas's church, Dunlavin. The Bulkeley-Tynte Dunlavin line of succession from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries is shown in appendix seventeen. Tynte Park had various owners since the departure of the Tynte family.

The fortunes of the elite have been central to this study, which has followed their arrival, and establishment of a village at Dunlavin, through their paternalistic zenith to their decline and early twentieth-century nadir. Their changing fortunes impacted on all Dunlavin's people, and the forces that united and divided Dunlavin's various communities have been traced over three centuries. This *longue duree* approach is not episodic, as more narrowly-focussed studies are, and it allows major phases in history to be explored. In this instance, the long and formative impact of Anglophone settlers in the Dunlavin region, the society they introduced, their impact and legacy in forming the cultural environment of the region, their diverse political aspirations, their adoption of methods – ranging from paternalism to coercion – to ensure their dominance, their establishment of social structures and their eventual eclipse have all been addressed.

This local study suggests that one could posit a model regarding the fortunes of the elite in the Dunlavin region thus: the seventeenth century witnessed their rise; the eighteenth their floruit; the nineteenth a rearguard action to preserve their position,¹³ and the early twentieth their decline and eventual fall. This model may have broader applicability at national level, but Donald Harman Akenson's observations on the significance of individual local studies are very relevant here.¹⁴ In essence, he observes that the findings are questionable due to the small-scale nature of the study.

¹³ I have included the whole nineteenth century, rather than just the post-Famine period, in this stage of the model. In south Munster, it has been suggested that this process was underway as early as the 1820s, as many of the 'props that had supported the regional society were weakening' by then. The popular perception of the Famine as a watershed in the fortunes of the elite 'incorporated elements of a deeper past... compressed into the political aspects of that memory'. David Dickson, *Old world colony: Cork and south Munster 1630-1830* (Cork, 2005), pp 498-9. In truth, perhaps no single decade of the nineteenth century can lay claim to generating the beginning of the end of the elite; the process was gradual and progressed throughout the period of the 'long nineteenth century', from the 1780s to the 1920s and beyond.

¹⁴ Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario*, p. 332.

However, one must realise that the study is not a sample, and the findings refer to the returns of an entire, if small, individual world. This study sheds little light on major figures of political or intellectual history, but they, in turn, impacted little on the world of Dunlavin. This study of Dunlavin, placed in its cultural region, is illuminating – but is it representative of a wider phenomenon? In his local study of Leeds and Lansdowne townships, Akenson points out that ‘one must first realise the place was not typical. No community is’.¹⁵ In his local study of Islandmagee, Akenson refuses to make any scholarly judgement about whether Islandmagee was typical of small Irish communities, or was unique.¹⁶ He points out that the value of studying Islandmagee is that it presents a pure case in which one rural religious group – Presbyterians – can be isolated.¹⁷ Perhaps the value of studying Dunlavin is that it does not present such a case, and the complexity of the relationships between the two principal religious groupings – Anglicans and Roman Catholics – in the region may be examined in depth and over a long time span.

Whether Dunlavin’s experience over three centuries was unique or not, the real significance of this study is that it allows one to discern where in the overall pattern of historical experience the individual world of the Dunlavin region fits. Dunlavin may or may not have been typical of many other villages, but every village and every community is different. Modern approaches to local history appreciate this, and many comparative studies would be needed before the typicality of the Dunlavin experience could be judged. Used with other local studies, this study is like a thread in a multicoloured garment. It is part of an overall pattern where no one thread is typical

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 333. Akenson continues: ‘Even if one took typical to mean average and studied only local societies that were close to the average on various major indices (population, age, ethnic source and economic structure) one still would not have analysed a typical community, for most communities were far from being average on all the major indices’.

¹⁶ Akenson, *Between two revolutions*, p. 4.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 177.

or average, but Dunlavin's thread is as integral and significant to the garment as any other thread. This understanding of significance frees the local historian from having to argue that his study is more typical (and thus more important) than others.¹⁸

Collectively, scholars who do local studies try to understand the nature of past societies, economies and communities, and case studies are vital to this understanding, because they illuminate individual parts of a complex network of past local experiences, and each local study allows one to learn more of the range of past behaviours. This study places on record the thread of one village's, region's and its communities' past experiences and behaviours within that network, adding to the corpus of work on the Irish local past, and that knowledge is surely one benefit of studying Dunlavin's history.

¹⁸ Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario*, p. 333.

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APPENDIX ONE: SIR RICHARD BULKELEY'S ATTEMPT TO ENTICE FRENCH PROTESTANTS TO RESIDE IN DUNLAVIN VILLAGE, C.1689

Note: Spellings etc. unchanged from original document.

C'est un village bien situe, dans un Terrain fertile, bien arrosé. Il y a un marché une fois la semaine, le mieux fréquenté et le mieux fourny du bled, de bestail, de volaile etc. de toute la Province ; et encore deux grandes foires annuelles. Pour le chauffage on s'y sert principalement de charbon, lequel on y achete a fort bon marché, et c'est le meilleur charbon du monde, qui ne fait ni fumee, ni cendres, mais qui brûle comme du fer rouge, et qui dure fort long temps au feu ; mais il y a aussi des tourbes.

Ce lieu là n'est éloignée d'une riviere navigable que de huit miles ou de deux lieues et demi, d'où on descend cinquante miles ou seize lieues à son embouchure, ou l'on trouve la belle et riche Ville de Waterford, la seconde Ville d'Irlande ; laquelle a un fort bon havre, fréquenté de quantité des Vaisseaux Marchands, de sorte qu'un peut aisement transporter toutes sortes de Manufactures de Dunlavin en Angleterre ou Hollande.

1nt Je promets a tous les Protestans ffrancais Artisans qui voudront aller habiter dans ledit Village, de leur fournir des Maisons selon leur famille, lesquelles ils auront franchises pour deux années.

2nt Que quand ils feront cent personnes, je leur entretiendray un ministre ffrancais.

3ment J'auray soin que le marché soit toujours pourveu de quantité d'herbages, comme de raves, navarins, carottes, toutes sortes de choux, d'artichauts, de feves, de pois, d'oignons, de poireaux, de patates, etc. et de toutes sortes d'herbes potageres.

4nt Quant aux laboureurs, s'il y en a qui voudront y aller, je leur promets de les employer tout le long de l'an au prix courant ; en leur fournissant aussi des logemens ou des maisons pour leur famille, sans exiger d'eux aucune rente pour la première année; et que je leur affermeray de petites terres ou vergers, autant qu'ils en pourront labourer. Et je m'oblige de plus de leur payer a chacun un ecu constant, comme argent de prest, au lieu ou ils viendront s'embarquer.

5nt Que je les obligeray lors que l'occasion se presentera ; en prenant soin que la justice leur soit rendue lors que besoin fera; et que je les protegerai de manière que personne ne leur fera aucun tort; et que j'encouragerai tous ceux qui se rendront digne de mon amitié.

Pourveu que quand le dit village aura este incorpore par leurs Majestés en Bourg ou Ville, qu'alors ils se soumettront a toutes les Loix et Ordonnances que leurs Magistrats auront faites pour mieux gouverner ledit Bourg ou Ville.

J'attens aussi (apros la premiers année) que chacun d'eux me donnera chaque semaine une journée (pendant l'Esté) pour aider a batir leur Eglise; promettant de leur fournir les vivres necessaires dans les jours de travail.

APPENDIX TWO. PROTESTANT BAPTISMS IN DUNLAVIN 1698-1801.

I.D. number	Year	Month	Day	Christian Name	Sex	Father	Mother	Surname
1	1698	3	8	George	M	Daniel	Elizabeth	Champion
2	1698	6	14	Alice	F	John	Elizabeth	Scot
3	1698	7	15	Jonah	M	Daniel	Elizabeth	Champion
4	1698	8	25	Anne	F	Thomas	Anne	Woodman
5	1698	11	6	Martha	F	francis	Martha	Bond
6	1698	2	22	Mary	F	John	Katherine	Hanbigge
7	1698	2	23	Richard	M	Richard	Lydia	Searle
8	1698	2	27	Philip	M	William	Elizabeth	Burnel
9	1698	2	28	Samuel	M	Samuel	Susannah	Hunt
10	1699	5	28	Elizabeth	F	William	Esther	fletcher
11	1699	9	1	Robert	M	Kildare	Elizabeth	Borrows
12	1699	3	5	Elizabeth	F	John	Jane	Woods
13	1699	3	24	James	M	Lewis	Elizabeth	Byrn
14	1700	6	3	Thomas	M	Daniel	Elizabeth	Champion
15	1700	8	1	Henry	M	Maurice	Elizabeth	Allard
16	1700	8	11	Arthur	M	William	Anne	Dunn
17	1700	9	1	George	M	John	Joane	Stanton
18	1700	9	2	Charles	M	John	Margaret	Couce
19	1700	11	11	Bridget	F	Thomas	Katherine	ffitzgerald
20	1700	11	26	Elizabeth	F	Kildare	Elizabeth	Borrows
21	1700	2	16	Sarah	F	James	Mary	Gyeves
22	1700	2	27	Thomas	M	Samuel	Katherine	Smith
23	1701	4	10	Elizabeth	F	William	Mary	Newins
24	1701	4	13	Matthew	M	William	Esther	fletcher
25	1701	2	13	George	M	John	Elizabeth	Seol
26	1702	4	12	John	M	John	Elizabeth	Harington
27	1702	7	15	Elizabeth	F	John	Elizabeth	Balif
28	1702	8	13	Alexander	M	Thomas	Jane	Ryves
29	1702	9	20	Robert	M	John	Jane	Woods
30	1702	10	25	John	M	Joseph	Anne	Davis
31	1702	11	12	Mary	F	Thomas	Rogers	Mary
32	1702	11	12	Thomas	M	Alexander	Hannah	Sidesorf
33	1702	11	15	Richard	M	Richard	Mary	Heade
34	1702	1	3	William	M	Samuel	Katherine	Smith
35	1702	1	31	Mary	F	Daniel	Elizabeth	Chapman
36	1702	2	20	William	M	William	Eleanor	Carter
37	1702	3	17	Mary	F	William	Anne	Plowman
38	1703	5	4	Richard	M	Ralph	Mary	Wornal
39	1703	5	23	David	M	David	Eleanor	Harborne
40	1703	2	14	Katherine	F	Joseph	Jane	Berthram
41	1703	3	17	Eleanor	F	James	Mary	Moorehead
42	1703	3	20	Thomas	M	Daniel	Elizabeth	Champion
43	1704	3	26	Elizabeth	F	William	Anne	Plowman
44	1704	7	13	Richard	M	James	Mary	Barry
45	1704	7	15	James	M	John	Margaret	Ussher
46	1704	7	16	Elizabeth	F	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
47	1704	7	20	Alcock	M	David	Eleanor	Harborne
48	1704	7	23	Robert	M	francis	Martha	Bond
49	1704	7	30	Elizabeth	F	James	Margaret	Dooling
50	1704	9	10	Katherine	F	Thomas	Mary	Heade
51	1704	9	24	William	M	John	Mary	Harris

52	1704	9	27	Martha	F	John	Rebekah	Bell
53	1704	10	17	Mary	F	Anthony	Katherine	Allcock
54	1704	10	22	Hannah	F	Richard	Anne	Harborne
55	1704	10	27	Robert	M	Richard	Lydia	Searle
56	1704	11	28	Robert	M	Robert	Anne	Jones
57	1704	12	27	Elizabeth	F	Luke	Mary	Bishop
58	1704	12	30	Gilbert	M	Dennis	Katherine	Tracy
59	1704	12	31	Jane	F	John	Mary	Wilkinson
60	1704	1	21	Katherine	F	Edward	Eleanor	ffisher
61	1704	1	21	Thomas	M	James	[blank]	Quin
62	1704	1	21	John	M	Edward	Mary	Copelin
63	1704	1	23	Esther	F	John	Jane	Woods
64	1704	3	11	Elizabeth	F	Richard	Rebekah	Walsh
65	1704	3	15	William	M	Thomas	Anne	Plowman
66	1705	3	30	Susannah	F	Thomas	Margaret	Morgan
67	1705	4	10	Richard	M	Charles	Elizabeth	Eustace
68	1705	5	1	Sarah	F	John	Jane	Westwood
69	1705	5	6	Mary	F	Ralph	Esther	Woznel
70	1705	5	27	Rebekah	F	Daniel	Elizabeth	Champion
71	1705	7	1	Eleanor	F	William	Eleanor	Carter
72	1705	7	8	John	M	Alexander	Hannah	Sidesarf
73	1705	8	1	Anne	F	Bryan	Eleanor	Dempsey
74	1705	8	12	Jane	F	William	Mary	Maurice
75	1705	9	30	John	M	Samuel	Katherine	Smith
76	1705	11	4	William	M	Robert	Dorothy	Homer
77	1705	11	18	Thomas	M	Joseph	Hannah	Whittaker
78	1705	11	21	Mary	F	William	Katherine	Myres
79	1705	12	16	John	M	Benjamin	Rachel	Smith
80	1705	1	1	Jane	F	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
81	1705	1	11	Brereton	M	Anthony	Katherine	Allcock
82	1705	2	10	Neyle	M	Mathew	Jane	Guinan
83	1705	2	19	Samuel	M	William	Mary	Barker
84	1705	2	24	John	M	Thomas	Anne	Plowman
85	1705	3	7	Mary	F	ffrancis	Martha	Bond
86	1705	3	13	Anne	F	Charles	Grissell	Bryan
87	1706	4	7	Anne	F	John	Margaret	Couce
88	1706	4	10	James	M	James	Margaret	Dooling
89	1706	4	21	Anne	F	James	Mary	Barry
90	1706	6	2	Michael	M	George	[blank]	Wilson
91	1706	6	28	Mary	F	David	Eleanor	Harborne
92	1706	7	28	Rebekah	F	John	Rebekah	Bell
93	1706	8	4	Samuel	M	Ralph	Esther	Wornel
94	1706	9	8	John	M	William	Anne	Plowman
95	1706	9	18	ffrancis	M	ffrancis	Katherine	Graham
96	1706	9	24	Elizabeth	F	Henry	Grace	Wilkinson
97	1706	10	20	Thomas	M	Richard	Rebekah	Walsh
98	1706	10	20	Simon	M	Daniel	Elizabeth	Champion
99	1706	10	30	Anne	F	John	Margaret	Ussher
100	1706	11	3	Richard	M	Benjamin	Rachel	Smith
101	1706	12	15	Mary	F	William	Anne	Robinson
102	1706	12	29	Elizabeth	F	William	Margery	Clark
103	1706	1	10	Joseph	M	William	Anne	Williams
104	1706	2	17	Robert	M	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
105	1706	2	19	Samuel	M	William	Elizabeth	Crampton
106	1706	3	1	Thomas	M	John	Jane	Westwood
107	1706	3	5	Christian	F	John	Mary	Harris
108	1706	3	12	John	M	William	Katherine	Myres
109	1706	3	16	Robert	M	Andrew	Mary	Eustace
110	1707	4	21	Esther	F	Robert	Anne	Jones

111	1707	5	1	Garret	M	James	Elizabeth	ffitzgerald
112	1707	5	1	Jane	F	Edward	Eleanor	ffisher
113	1707	6	9	Mary	F	Robert	Jane	Mollyneux
114	1707	6	15	Mary	F	Richard	Elizabeth	Matthews
115	1707	9	28	Richard	M	Luke	Mary	Bishop
116	1707	12	7	John	M	John	Honora	Askins
117	1707	12	7	Richard	M	Robert	Dorothy	Homer
118	1707	12	14	John	M	John	Mary	Wilkinson
119	1707	12	26	Nathanael	M	Daniel	Elizabeth	Champion
120	1707	1	2	William	M	David	Eleanor	Harborne
121	1707	1	3	Margaret	F	Richard	Margaret	Brabazon
122	1707	1	9	Robert	M	Anthony	Katherine	Allcock
123	1707	1	13	John	M	Michael	Mary	Allen
124	1707	1	25	Elizabeth	F	Bryan	Eleanor	Dempsey
125	1707	2	19	William	M	William	Sarah	ffletcher
126	1707	2	19	Mary	F	Terence	Winifred	Toole
127	1707	2	19	Katherine	F	Terence	Winifred	Toole
128	1707	2	19	Esther	F	James	Mary	Barry
129	1707	2	25	Charity	F	Kildare	Elizabeth	Borrows
130	1707	3	14	Mary	F	William	Eleanor	Carter
131	1708	3	28	William	M	William	Martha	Barber
132	1708	3	30	ffrancis	M	ffrancis	Martha	Bond
133	1708	4	4	Benjamin	M	Benjamin	Grace	ffletcher
134	1708	4	7	Henry	M	James	Margaret	Dooling
135	1708	4	18	Eleanor	F	Ralph	Esther	Wornel
136	1708	5	9	Mary	F	Edward	Mary	Copelin
137	1708	5	16	Dorothy	F	Charles	Grizil	Bryan
138	1708	5	17	John	M	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
139	1708	6	17	Mary	F	Richard	Rebekah	Walsh
140	1708	7	31	Richard	M	John	Rebekah	Bell
141	1708	10	22	Anne	F	Thomas	Martha	Alford
142	1708	10	24	Henry	M	William	Katherine	Myres
143	1708	11	19	Elizabeth	F	William	Sarah	ffletcher
144	1708	12	19	Eleanor	F	Robert	Eleanor	Noble
145	1708	3	5	James	M	Myles	Anne	Lenaghan
146	1708	3	5	Susannah	F	Edward	Eleanor	ffisher
147	1709	4	7	ffrancis	M	Luke	Mary	Bishop
148	1709	4	9	Margaret	F	Robert	Jane	Molyneux
149	1709	4	24	Mary	F	Robert	Dorothy	Horner
150	1709	5	15	Anne	F	John	Jane	Westwood
151	1709	5	22	William	M	William	Anne	Robinson
152	1709	6	12	Thomas	M	Samuel	Letitia	Allcock
153	1709	6	26	Anne	F	William	Anne	Plowman
154	1709	6	26	Katherine	F	Richard	Rebekah	Walsh
155	1709	7	3	Jane	F	Edward	Bridget	Bulkeley
156	1709	7	13	Matthew	M	John	Jane	Woods
157	1709	7	13	John	M	John	Jane	Woods
158	1709	7	17	Edward	M	Andrew	Mary	Eustace
159	1709	8	11	William	M	William	Esther	Plowman
160	1709	11	6	George	M	David	Eleanor	Harbone
161	1709	11	6	Hannah	F	James	Mary	Barry
162	1709	11	28	Eleanor	F	Anthony	Katherine	Allcock
163	1709	12	20	Henry	M	Richard	Elizabeth	Eslington
164	1709	12	24	Henry	M	William	Sarah	ffletcher
165	1709	12	29	James	M	Matthew	Jane	Guinan
166	1709	12	29	Susannah	F	William	Margery	Clark
167	1709	2	22	Edward	M	Robert	Anne	Jones
168	1709	3	6	Elizabeth	F	ffrancis	Martha	Bond
169	1709	3	22	Elizabeth	F	Thomas	Mary	Heade

170	1710	4	10	James	M	Nicholas	Elizabeth	Beaghan
171	1710	4	23	Diana	F	Daniel	Diana	Champion
172	1710	5	10	Katherine	F	John	Rebekah	Bell
173	1710	5	17	William	M	James	Margaret	Dooling
174	1710	6	24	John	M	Ralph	Esther	Wornell
175	1710	6	25	Mary	F	Samuel	Sarah	Smith
176	1710	7	16	George	M	Edward	Mary	Copelin
177	1710	7	23	Eleanor	F	John	Mary	Harris
178	1710	7	23	Margaret	F	Lewis	Dorothy	Byrn
179	1710	8	5	Thomas	M	William	Katherine	Myres
180	1710	8	21	Thomas	M	William	Elizabeth	Campton
181	1710	9	3	Mary	F	William	Margaret	Brabazon
182	1710	10	1	Katherine	F	Daniel	Margaret	Divey
183	1710	10	22	Margaret	F	Michael	Mary	Allen
184	1710	11	11	Elizabeth	F	Joseph	Sarah	Plowman
185	1710	12	5	Thomas	M	Robert	Jane	Mollyneux
186	1710	12	17	John	M	James	Elizabeth	Dillany
187	1710	1	3	Elizabeth	F	Peter	Mary	Harris
188	1710	1	28	Simon	M	Andrew	Martha	Elliott
189	1710	2	11	Mary	F	Thomas	Margaret	Whealin
190	1710	3	3	Susannah	F	James	Mary	Barry
191	1710	3	24	Mary	F	John	Mary	Noble
192	1711	4	20	William	M	Richard	Elizabeth	Elsington
193	1711	5	17	Richard	M	William	Sarah	ffletcher
194	1711	5	23	Mary	F	Timothy	Margaret	Lattin
195	1711	6	3	Mary	F	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
196	1711	6	30	Joseph	M	Joseph	Hannah	Whitaker
197	1711	7	1	Elizabeth	F	William	Eleanor	Carter
198	1711	8	5	Henry	M	John	Jane	Westwood
199	1711	8	19	William	M	ffrancis	Martha	Bond
200	1711	9	6	Mary	M	William	Anne	Plowman
201	1711	10	14	William	M	Thomas	Margery	Mollyneux
202	1711	10	14	Katherine	F	Andrew	Mary	Eustace
203	1711	10	22	Thomas	M	Edward	Elizabeth	Cooper
204	1711	11	4	Jane	F	Robert	Dorothy	Horner
205	1711	11	4	Mary	F	Henry	Goodeye	Scot
206	1711	12	2	Daniel	M	Daniel	Diana	Champion
207	1711	1	9	Thomas	M	William	Martha	Barker
208	1711	1	12	John	M	Robert	Eleanor	Noble
209	1711	2	24	Samuel	M	Samuel	Sarah	Smith
210	1711	3	6	Mary	F	Richard	Elizabeth	Essington
211	1712	3	31	Anne	F	Luke	Mary	Bishop
212	1712	4	26	Haenry	M	James	Margaret	Dooling
213	1712	6	9	ffrances	F	Robert	Mary	Morgan
214	1712	7	25	Thomas	M	Joseph	Sarah	Plowman
215	1712	8	16	Katherine	F	William	Katherine	Myres
216	1712	8	17	Mary	F	Richard	Rebekah	Walsh
217	1712	8	17	John	M			Bond
218	1712	9	7	Rebekah	F	John	Jane	Woods
219	1712	12	15	John	M	Edward	Anne	McDonnald
220	1712	12	28	William	M	Mathew	Jane	Guinan
221	1712	1	11	Joseph	M	Ralph	Esther	Wornell
222	1712	1	29	Henry	M	Dudly	Elizabeth	ffletcher
223	1712	2	1	John	M	William	Sarah	ffletcher
224	1712	2	9	Anthony	M	Michael	Mary	Allen
225	1712	2	12	Richard	M	Richard	Elizabeth	Essington
226	1712	3	22	Elizabeth	F	Augustine	Anne	Wilkins
227	1713	4	5	Edward	M	Timothy	Elizabeth	Linny
228	1713	4	26	Margaret	F	Thomas	Mary	Heade

229	1713	5	13	Mary	F	James	Elizabeth	Dillany
230	1713	6	29	Edward	M	Edward	Mary	Copelin
231	1713	7	2	Elizabeth	F	William	Jane	Smith
232	1713	7	13	Mary	F	John	Elizabeth	Cheney
233	1713	7	26	George	M	Robert	Mary	Morgan
234	1713	7	30	Rebekah	F	Robert	Jane	Mollyneux
235	1713	8	18	Jonathan	M	David	Eleanor	Harborne
236	1713	8	18	Samuel	M	Joseph	Hannah	Whitaker
237	1713	11	15	Thomas	M	William	Anne	Plowman
238	1713	12	7	John	M	George	Mary	Wilkins
239	1713	1	24	Elizabeth	F	Andrew	Martha	Elliott
240	1713	1	31	Robert	M	Samuel	Sarah	Smith
241	1713	2	21	Bridget	F	[blank]	Mehitabell	Piggott
242	1714	3	28	William	M	Michael	Mary	Allen
243	1714	4	4	Samuel	M	John	Sarah	Carragan
244	1714	4	19	William	M	James	Maudlin	Pullen
245	1714	6	1	Mary	F	Joseph	Sarah	Plowman
246	1714	6	5	Martha	F	Robert	Dorothy	Homer
247	1714	6	23	Jane	F	Thomas	Margaret	Young
248	1714	7	4	Anne	F	William	Katherine	Myres
249	1714	8	26	Jane	M	ffrancis	Martha	Bond
250	1714	9	13	William	M	Thomas	Mary	Valentine
251	1714	9	18	John	M	James	Mary	Barry
252	1714	9	19	Elizabeth	F	Ralph	Esther	Wornell
253	1714	9	19	Martha	F	Joseph	Elizabeth	Bows
254	1714	9	20	Anne	F	William	Sarah	ffletcher
255	1714	10	3	Eleanor	F	David	Eleanor	harborne
256	1714	10	9	Elizabeth	F	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
257	1714	10	18	Luke	M	Luke	Mary	Bishop
258	1714	11	15	Elizabeth	F	Thomas	Eleanor	Sherlock
259	1714	12	5	Anne	F	William	Elizabeth	Crampton
260	1714	12	11	Mary	F	William	Katherine	Alford
261	1714	12	26	Jane	F	Edward	Elizabeth	Late
262	1714	12	27	Sarah	F	William	Jane	Smith
263	1714	12	29	John	M	William	Mary	Gilstrop
264	1714	1	29	Richard	M	Richard	Eleanor	Walsh
265	1714	1	29	Augustine	M	Richard	Eleanor	Walsh
266	1715	4	24	Richard	M	Robert	Eleanor	Bryan
267	1715	7	10	Richard	M	Robert	Jane	Mollyneux
268	1715	7	14	William	M	David	Mary	Saywell
269	1715	7	20	Anne	F	Dudly	Elizabeth	ffletcher
270	1715	7	31	Elizabeth	F	John	Mary	Harris
271	1715	9	16	Mary	F	Thomas	Mary	Tyte
272	1715	11	16	Edward	M	Augustine	Anne	Williams
273	1715	11	26	George	M	Edward	Anne	McDonnald
274	1715	12	8	Henry	M	ffrancis	Katherine	Copelin
275	1715	1	15	Mary	F	ffrancis	Joane	Bulgier
276	1715	1	15	William	M	Joseph	Sarah	Plowman
277	1715	1	29	Thomas	M	Henry	Katherine	Donnelly
278	1715	3	6	Eleanor	F	David	Eleanor	Harborne
279	1715	3	8	Benjamin	M	William	Sarah	ffletcher
280	1716	4	8	Dorothy	F	William	Katherine	Myres
281	1716	5	7	George	M	Michael	Mary	Allen
282	1716	7	8	James	M	Patrick	Anne	Cotterell
283	1716	8	26	Margaret	F	William	Mary	Gillstrop
284	1716	9	9	Richard	M	Richard	Eleanor	Walsh
285	1716	9	9	Elizabeth	F	James	Maudlin	Pullen
286	1716	9	15	Henry	M	Richard	Elizabeth	Essington
287	1716	9	20	William	M	William	Anne	Plowman

288	1716	10	6	Anne	F	Robert	Jane	Mollyneux
289	1716	10	14	Mary	F	Ephraim	Margaret	Cheney
290	1716	10	23	Elizabeth	F	William	Rebekah	Perrin
291	1716	10	27	James	M	William	Anne	Harrington
292	1716	10	27	Elizabeth	F	Joseph	Elizabeth	Baor?
293	1716	11	3	Henry	M	Robert	Eleanor	Bryan
294	1716	11	20	Thomas	M	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
295	1716	12	18	Elizabeth	F	John	Bridget	Haynes
296	1716	12	28	John	M	Henry	Mary	Harrington
297	1716	12	29	Joseph	M	Thomas	Anne	Evans
298	1716	1	7	Elizabeth	F	Thomas	Mary	Tyte
299	1716	2	24	Robert	M	Robert	Dorothy	Horner
300	1717	4	5	George	M	William	Sarah	ffletcher
301	1717	4	22	Mary	F	David	Mary	Saywell
302	1717	5	8	Katherine	F	ffrancis	Joane	Bulgier
303	1717	6	16	Patrick	M	William	Jane	Cardiff
304	1717	6	16	ffrancis	M	ffrancis	Martha	Bond
305	1717	6	17	Edward	M	Edward	Elizabeth	Late
306	1717	7	7	Anne	F	Thomas	Elizabeth	Brown
307	1717	7	21	Jane	F	Andrew	Martha	Elliot
308	1717	8	9	John	M	William	Jane	Smith
309	1717	8	11	Elizabeth	F	George	ffrancis	Gill
310	1717	9	12	Henry	M	Richard	Elizabeth	Essington
311	1717	9	28	Latitia	F	Samuel	Latitia	Allcock
312	1717	10	6	Esther	F	Thomas	Margaret	Young
313	1717	10	13	William	M	Dudley	Elizabeth	ffletcher
314	1717	10	15	Jane	F	John	Elizabeth	Hanbidge
315	1717	11	27	John	M	Peter	Margaret	Harris
316	1717	12	12	Susannah	F	Piggot	Susanna	Sands
317	1717	12	30	John	M	Joseph	Sarah	Plowman
318	1717	1	1	Katherine	F	John	Mary	Bond
319	1717	3	2	James	M	William	Mary	Gyves
320	1717	3	10	William	M	William	Katherine	Myres
321	1717	3	12	Mary	F	Walture	Mary	Basset
322	1717	3	18	Esther	F	William	Sarah	ffletcher
323	1717	3	24	Mary	F	Henry	Katherine	Dillon
324	1718	5	17	Martha	F	Ralph	Esther	Wornell
325	1718	5	24	Elizabeth	F	ffrancis	Joane	Bulgier
326	1718	6	26	John	M	Walture	Mary	Murphy
327	1718	7	19	Jane	F	John	Bridget	Haynes
328	1718	9	7	Nicholas	M	James	Margaret	Dooling
329	1718	11	27	Anne	F	Richard	Eleanor	Walsh
330	1718	11	30	John	M	James	Maudlin	Pullen
331	1718	12	1	William	M	John	Sarah	Gyves
332	1718	12	26	Jane	F	Robert	Eleanor	Bryan
333	1718	1	8	Christopher	M	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
334	1718	1	25	Thomas	M	David	Eleanor	Harborne
335	1718	1	26	John	M	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
336	1718	2	8	John	M	John	Mary	Cheney
337	1718	2	8	John	M	Morgan	Jane	Mallon
338	1718	2	12	William	M	Henry	Mary	Harrington
339	1718	3	6	Mary	F	Michael	Mary	Allen
340	1719	3	29	Eleanor	F	Timothy	Elizabeth	Linny
341	1719	4	8	Richard	M	Philip	Anne	Poyntz
342	1719	5	31	William	M	Bartholomew	Katherine	Hogan
343	1719	5	31	Patrick	M	Patrick	Sarah	ffoly
344	1719	6	8	Joyce	F	William	Jane	Smith
345	1719	6	9	John	M	William	Anne	Harrington
346	1719	7	5	John	M	Ephraim	Margaret	Cheney

347	1719	7	12	William	M	William	Rebekah	Perrin
348	1719	8	2	Anne	F	Samuel	Sarah	Smith
349	1719	8	8	Anne	F	Joseph	Sarah	Plowman
350	1719	8	20	John	M	John	Bridget	Haynes
351	1719	9	19	Anne	F	George	Grace	Cope
352	1719	11	15	Alice	F	Robert	Dorothy	Homer
353	1719	11	29	Alice	F	Joseph	Elizabeth	Bows
354	1719	12	31	John	M	John	Elizabeth	Hanbidge
355	1719	1	3	Anne	F	William	Jane	Cardiff
356	1719	1	17	Jane	F	William	Mary	Gyves
357	1719	1	21	Elizabeth	F	Richard	Elizabeth	Essington
358	1719	1	24	Mary	F	William	Sarah	fletcher
359	1719	2	27	Anna Maria	F	Philip	Anne	Poyntz
360	1719	3	12	Samuel	M	Samuel	Latitia	Alcock
361	1719	3	13	William	M	William	Elizabeth	Crampton
362	1719	3	13	Rose	F	Edward	Anne	McDonnald
363	1720	3	25	William	M	John	Mary	Bond
364	1720	5	4	Margaret	F	Robert	Eleanor	Bryan
365	1720	5	8	David	M	David	Mary	Saywell
366	1720	5	8	Samuel	M	John	Susanna	Topham
367	1720	5	15	Wilcocks	M	William	Anne	Harington
368	1720	6	3	Benjamin	M	Patrick	Anne	Ellis
369	1720	7	17	Mary	F	James	Maudlin	Pullen
370	1720	7	17	Jane	F	George	Jane	Champion
371	1720	7	24	Elizabeth	F	Cornelius	Anne	Dempsey
372	1720	7	31	Mary	F	John	Joane	Harris
373	1720	7	31	Dennis	M	William	Mary	Bryan
374	1720	9	11	William	M	John	Margaret	Alexander
375	1720	10	9	Richard	M	William	Mary	Pierson
376	1720	10	9	John	M	Walture	Mary	Basset
377	1720	11	1	Thomas	M	Thomas	Elizabeth	Brown
378	1720	11	6	Elizabeth	F	John	Mary	Burchil
379	1720	11	18	ffrances	F	Richard	Eleanor	Walsh
380	1720	11	22	Rebekah	F	Walture	Susanna	Bell
381	1720	12	11	Mary	F	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
382	1720	12	22	William	M	Thomas	Jane	Kelly
383	1720	1	18	George	M	George	Elizabeth	Walker
384	1720	1	22	Thomas	M	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
385	1720	3	12	Mary	F	Robert	Anne	Gillstrop
386	1721	3	28	Mary	F	Daniel	Anne	Navin
387	1721	6	11	Katherine	F	Thomas	Elizabeth	Christy
388	1721	6	18	Katherine	F	James	Rose	Connor
389	1721	6	22	John	M	Philip	Anne	Poyntz
390	1721	7	16	John	M	William	ffrances	Byrn
391	1721	7	26	Peter	M	James	Elizabeth	Tool
392	1721	7	26	James	M	Henry	Mary	Harrington
393	1721	8	13	Elizabeth	F	Morgan	Jane	Mallone
394	1721	9	24	William	M	Josep	Eleanor	Ward
395	1721	9	24	Sar	F	Thomas	Margaret	Byrn
396	1721	10	1	Philip	M	Philip	Dorothy	Higginbotham
397	1721	11	19	John	M	George	Elizabeth	Cheney
398	1721	11	24	Anne	F	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
399	1721	12	17	William	M	John	Elizabeth	Tool
400	1721	1	20	Kildare	M	Walture	Mary	Borrows
401	1721	1	21	Elizabeth	F	John	Sarah	Gyves
402	1721	2	1	Thomas	M	Michael	Mary	Allen
403	1721	2	9	Elizabeth	F	Robert	Eleanor	Bryan
404	1721	2	29	Cordelia	F	John	Bridget	Haynes
405	1721	3	11	John	M	Thomas	Eleanor	Kelly

406	1722	4	14	Sarah	F	Joseph	Sarah	Plowman
407	1722	5	8	Anne	F	William	Eleanor	Robbins
408	1722	5	27	Elizabeth	F	Edward	Anne	McDonnald
409	1722	7	6	John	M	Richard	Anne	Wilkinson
410	1722	7	9	Joseph	M	ffrancis	Anne	Whittle
411	1722	8	26	Jonathan	M	Samuel	Letitia	Allcock
412	1722	8	30	Thomas	M	Thomas	Mary	Young
413	1722	9	21	Luke	M	John	Mary	Bond
414	1722	9	21	Margaret	F	William	Mary	Gyves
415	1722	10	21	Henry	M	John	Elizabeth	Hanbige
416	1722	11	6	George	M	James	Elizabeth	Rawson
417	1722	11	25	William	M	William	Martha	Love
418	1722	1	27	Elizabeth	F	John	Margaret	Alexander
419	1722	1	27	Anne	F	Walture	Mary	Bassett
420	1722	2	24	Mary	F	John	Mabell	Burchile
421	1722	2	25	Elizabeth	F	Barry	Anne	Wilkinson
422	1722	2	25	William	M	Samuel	Sarah	Smith
423	1722	2	26	Joseph	M	William	Jane	Smith
424	1722	2	26	Esther	F	John	Elizabeth	Toole
425	1722	3	18	Robert	M	Walture	Mary	Borrows
426	1723	4	26	Dudley	M	George	Elizabeth	Cheney
427	1723	4	29	Margery	F	Henry	ffrances	Rafter
428	1723	5	19	Hannah	F	Thomas	Katherine	Cotton
429	1723	6	23	Elizabeth	F	Michael	Mary	Currin
430	1723	8	9	Robert	M	Patrick	Anne	Ellis
431	1723	9	1	Anne	F	James	Maudlin	Pullen
432	1723	9	19	William	M	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
433	1723	11	18	Anne	F	Daniel	Anne	Navin
434	1723	11	27	Elizabeth	F	Robert	Elizabeth	Hopkins
435	1723	11	27	Elizabeth	F	John	Anne	Brewster
436	1723	12	8	James	M	Morgan	Jane	Mallone
437	1723	1	19	Peter	M	John	Elizabeth	Harris
438	1723	2	16	Henry	M	William	Elizabeth	Toole
439	1723	3	8	Mary	F	Richard	Mary	Warren
440	1723	3	15	Samuel	M	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
441	1723	3	15	Mary	M	John	Sarah	Gyves
442	1724	4	1	Richard	M	Robert	Eleanor	Bryan
443	1724	5	8	Eleanor	F	Arthur	Margaret	McCormack
444	1724	5	17	Deborah	F	Henry	mary	Harington
445	1724	5	18	ffrancis	M	George	Mary	Douglas
446	1724	5	20	Ruth	F	James	Elizabeth	Rawson
447	1724	7	7	Edward	M	Edward	Anne	McDonnald
448	1724	7	16	Augustine	M	Barry	Anne	Wilkins
449	1724	7	23	Mary	F	Richard	Anne	Wilkinson
450	1724	8	9	Anne	F	Thomas	Margaret	Young
451	1724	8	9	Mary	F	Thomas	Margaret	Young
452	1724	8	10	Mary	F	David	Alice	Jones
453	1724	9	16	William	M	William	Jane	Smith
454	1724	9	20	Mary	F	William	Eleanor	Robbins
455	1724	9	27	Hannah	F	William	Mary	Gyves
456	1724	10	11	Anthony	M	James	Katherine	Ryder
457	1724	1	2	John	M	Samuel	Latitia	Allcock
458	1724	1	10	John	M	John	Jane	Grierson
459	1724	2	14	Joseph	M	Joseph	Sarah	Plowman
460	1724	2	28	William	M	Edward	Elizabeth	Late
461	1724	3	3	James	M	William	ffrances	Byrn
462	1724	3	3	George	M	John	Mary	Bond
463	1724	3	11	Michael	M	Michael	Mary	Allen
464	1724	3	12	John	M	George	Anne	Dobbs

465	1724	3	14	Mary	F	Patrick	Honora	Tool
466	1724	3	15	Matthew	M	John	Elizabeth	Hanbige
467	1725	4	18	John	M	Francis	Joane	Bulger
468	1725	4	19	Margaret	F	George	Mary	Claxon
469	1725	6	2	Rebekah	F	John	Elizabeth	Tool
470	1725	8	28	Esther	F	Matthew	Eleanor	Fletcher
471	1725	9	5	Henry	M	Joseph	Eleanor	Ward
472	1725	10	3	Michael	M	James	Maudlin	Pullen
473	1725	10	17	Annabella	F	John	Sarah	Smith
474	1725	10	20	Mary	F	francis	Anne	Whittle
475	1725	1	19	James	M	John	Jane	Bond
476	1725	2	2	Richard	M	Richard	Mary	Warren
477	1725	2	20	Anne	F	Daniel	Anne	Navin
478	1725	2	20	Margaret	F	Daniel	Anne	Navin
479	1725	3	23	Eleanor	F	Michael	Katherine	Pridget
480	1726	4	8	Eleanor	F	Richard	Margaret	Moony
481	1726	5	8	Abel	M	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
482	1726	5	23	Margaret	F	Patrick	Anne	Ellis
483	1726	7	3	Michael	M	John	Mabell	Burchill
484	1726	7	5	James	M	John	Mary	Barry
485	1726	7	5	Job	M	John	Mary	Barry
486	1726	7	17	Henry	M	George	Mary	Claxon
487	1726	8	9	John	M	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
488	1726	8	14	Matthew	M	Thomas	Diana	Evans
489	1726	8	21	James	M	Thomas	Elizabeth	Christy
490	1726	8	28	Mary	F	George	Mary	Douglas
491	1726	9	11	Mary	F	Augustine	Elizabeth	Wilkiins
492	1726	9	14	John	M	John	Sarah	Gyves
493	1726	10	9	Richard	M	William	Mary	Gyves
494	1726	10	16	Thomas	M	John	Elizabeth	Toole
495	1726	10	16	Dorothy	F	Thomas	Elizabeth	Thornton
496	1726	11	19	Mary	F	John	Elizabeth	Young
497	1726	11	26	Anthony	M	Joseph	Anne	Wills
498	1726	1	22	Jeremy	M	Edward	Jane	Slater
499	1726	1	29	Anne	F	Barry	Anne	Wilkins
500	1726	3	9	Anne	F	Arthur	Margaret	Hutchisson
501	1726	3	11	Elizabeth	F	James	Katherine	Rider
502	1726	3	19	Alice	F	Joseph	Eleanor	Ward
503	1727	3	26	George	M	George	Elizabeth	Cheney
504	1727	4	6	Charity	F	Richard	Mary	Warren
505	1727	4	20	Jane	F	Richard	Anne	Wilkiison
506	1727	6	7	Edward	M	Edward	Anne	McDonnel
507	1727	6	18	Jane	F	Michael	Margaret	Dowdin
508	1727	7	10	Francis	M	Joseph	Sarah	Plowman
509	1727	7	23	James	M	John	Mary	Bond
510	1727	10	1	Mary	F	Richard	Joan	Wornal
511	1727	10	29	John	M	Richard	Elizabeth	Poaksly
512	1727	10	29	Lucy	M	John	Jane	Grierson
513	1727	9	14	Florence	F	Samuel	Latice	Alcock
514	1727	9	19	John	M	George	Grace	Hopkins
515	1727	12	3	William	M	Matthew	Eleanor	Fletcher
516	1727	12	3	Richard	M	Morgan	Jane	Mallowny
517	1727	1	7	Joseph	M	John	Anne	Plowman
518	1727	3	18	Eleanor	F	Francis	Anne	Whittle
519	1728	4	5	William	M	William	Eleanor	Robbins
520	1728	5	2	Mary	F	John	Elizabeth	Henbidge
521	1728	5	19	Mary	F	John	Mary	fulkey
522	1728	6	20	Dorothy	F	Philip	Elizabeth	Higginbotham
523	1728	6	24	Margaret	F	Patrick	Mary	Doolin

524	1728	7	28	John	M	John	Anne	Steele
525	1728	8	18	Richard	M	William	Margaret	Rawson
526	1728	8	25	Katherine	F	Daniel	Anne	Knavin
527	1728	9	1	Anne	F	John	Rachael	Monachan
528	1728	10	15	Eleanor	F	George	Mary	Claxon
529	1728	12	29	Samuel	M	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
530	1728	1	19	Thomas	M	John	Elizabeth	Young
531	1728	1	26	William	M	William	Mary	Gyves
532	1728	1	26	Susanna	F	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
533	1728	2	22	John	M	James	Maudlin	Pullen
534	1729	4	5	Christopher	M	Christopher	Mary	Metcalf
535	1729	4	26	Martha	F	Thomas	Mary	Crawly
536	1729	5	2	Mary	F	Michael	Katherine	Pridget
537	1729	5	11	Arthur	M	Joseph	Eleanor	Ward
538	1729	5	28	Katherine	F	George	Mary	Duglas
539	1729	8	6	Robert	M	Robert	Katherine	Molynex
540	1729	9	14	Milthrade	F	William	Margaret	Owens
541	1729	9	23	David	M	Alcock	Elizabeth	Harborn
542	1729	9	28	James	M	James	Jane	Rider
543	1729	10	30	Thomas	M	John	Sarah	Gyves
544	1729	11	9	George	M	Augustine	Elizabeth	Wilkins
545	1729	11	13	Sophia	F	Richard	Elizabeth	Poaksly
546	1729	11	27	Henry	M	William	Hesther	Plowman
547	1729	12	26	Ralph	M	Richard	Joan	Wornal
548	1729	1	25	Elizabeth	F	Thomas	Diana	Evans
549	1729	1	25	Elizabeth	F	George	Grace	Hopkins
550	1729	2	15	Thomas	M	Arthur	Mary	Hutchisson
551	1729	2	25	Susannah	F	Richard	Mary	Scott
552	1729	3	9	James	M	Alexander	Elizabeth	macDonald
553	1729	3	22	William	M	William	Elizabeth	Thomas
554	1730	3	31	Ann	F	John	Ann	Plowman
555	1730	4	12	Margaret	F	John	Elizabeth	Young
556	1730	5	17	Francis	M	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
557	1730	7	6	Elizabeth	F	Alcock	Elizabeth	Harborn
558	1730	7	8	William	M	Matthew	Eleanor	Fletcher
559	1730	7	15	Nicholas	M	John	Mary	Bond
560	1730	7	21	William	M	Robert	Katherine	Mollynux
561	1730	8	6	George	M	George	Honora	Duglas
562	1730	8	23	John	M	Patrick	Elizabeth	Neil
563	1730	11	1	Ann	F	William	Katherine	Picket
564	1730	12	7	George	M	John	Eleanor	Barret
565	1730	12	23	Robert	M	William	Mary	Barber
566	1730	2	1	John	M	William	Mary	Gyves
567	1731	4	14	Mary	F	James	Mary	Clark
568	1731	4	17	John	M	Thomas	Sith (or Pith)	Whittle
569	1731	4	20	Elizabeth	F	John	Ann	Steel
570	1731	5	2	Andrew	M	John	Mary	Elliot
571	1731	5	7	Michael	M	Alexander	Mary	McDonald
572	1731	5	7	Mary	F	Edward	Anne	McDonald
573	1731	6	3	Edward	M	Richard	Mary	Scot
574	1731	6	17	Rebekah	F	John	Diana	Bell
575	1731	6	20	John	M	William	Margaret	Rawson
576	1731	7	25	Mary	F	Robert	Katherine	Mollynux
577	1731	9	19	Ann	F	William	Anne	Harrington
578	1731	10	3	Hannah	F	George	Mary	Duglas
579	1731	10	8	Susanna	F	Thomas	Elizabeth	Thornton
580	1731	10	24	Rebekkah	F	George	Grace	Cope
581	1731	10	31	Robert	M	John	Mary	Fulkey
582	1731	11	17	Elizabeth	F	Joseph	Eleanor	Ward

583	1731	12	1	Richard	M	George	Eleanor	Matthews
584	1731	12	1	Constance	F	George	Eleanor	Matthews
585	1731	12	3	Mary	F	John	Sarah	Nowlan
586	1731	12	4	Thomas	M	William	Elizabeth	Ryves
587	1731	12	9	Mary	F	Brereton	Ann	Alcock
588	1731	12	30	Jonah	M	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
589	1731	1	16	Joshua	M	Francis	Mary	Graham
590	1731	2	16	Bridget	F	Arthur	Mary	Hutchisson
591	1731	2	22	Anne	F	Thomas	Mary	Almery
592	1731	3	3	Thomas	M	William	Mary	Barber
593	1732	4	10	Joseph	M	William	Margaret	Owens
594	1732	4	18	Hesther	F	William	Anne	Horner
595	1732	5	7	Richard	M	Francis	Anne	Whittle
596	1732	5	18	Mary	F	William	Katherine	Pigot
597	1732	5	21	Thomas	M	John	Margaret	Perkins
598	1732	5	21	Robert	M	William	Anne	Perkins
599	1732	5	31	Katherine	F	William	Elizabeth	Thomas
600	1732	6	20	John	M	Allcock	Elizabeth	Harborn
601	1732	8	1	Robert	M	Robert	Katherine	Mollynex
602	1732	8	14	William	M	Philip	Anne	Butler
603	1732	8	27	Katherine	F	Walter	Susanna	Bell
604	1732	9	14	Anne	F	Richard	Mary	Scot
605	1732	9	22	Benjamin	M	Richard	Ruth	Smith
606	1732	9	23	Elizabeth	F	James	Anne	Clark
607	1732	10	3	Susannah	F	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
608	1732	10	16	Samuel	M	Richard	Joan	Wornell
609	1732	10	25	Elizabeth	F	John	Eleanor	Barret
610	1732	1	3	Thomas	M	John	Elizabeth	Young
611	1732	2	4	Thomas	M	Francis	Martha	Barret
612	1732	2	9	Henry	M	Henry	Mary	Harrington
613	1732	2	16	William	M	Michael	Katherine	Eustace
614	1732	2	17	Francis	M	Thomas	Mary	Forbes
615	1732	3	10	Bridget	F	William	Elizabeth	Ryves
616	1732	3	15	Katherine	F	Isaac	Mary	Benjamin
617	1733	3	25	Thomasin	F	John	Mary	Bond
618	1733	3	25	William	M	George	Mary	Brady
619	1733	3	25	Eleanor	F	George	Mary	Brady
620	1733	4	1	Mary	F	James	Lucy	Conway
621	1733	4	22	Eleanor	F	Patrick	Elizabeth	Neil
622	1733	6	3	Rebekkah	F	John	Elizabeth	Hanbidge
623	1733	6	21	Benjamin	M	John	Jane	Farrelly
624	1733	7	1	William	M	Morgan	Jane	Mallone
625	1733	7	3	Mary	F	Allcock	Elizabeth	Harborn
626	1733	8	16	Robert	M	George	Honora	Duglas
627	1733	8	26	Charles	M	William	Eleanor	Robbins
628	1733	9	3	John	M	John	Diana	Bell
629	1733	9	29	Anne	F	William	Margaret	Rawson
630	1733	10	5	Elizabeth	F	Richard	Ruth	Smith
631	1733	11	4	Matthew	M	John	Anne	Steel
632	1733	1	6	Thomas	M	Thomas	Anne	Christy
633	1733	1	19	Jane	F	John	Mary	Elliot
634	1733	1	20	Elizabeth	F	George	Mary	Douglas
635	1733	2	20	Hesther	F	Thomas	Elizabeth	Thornton
636	1733	2	24	Anne	F	John	Mary	Fulkey
637	1733	2	25	Anne	F	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
638	1733	3	2	Martha	F	William	Mary	Barber
639	1733	3	5	Elizabeth	F	Thomas	Mary	Crathorn
640	1733	3	13	Richard	F	Thomas	Diana	Evans
641	1733	3	17	Frances	F	Arthur	Margaret	Morgan

642	1733	3	17	James	M	John	Sarah	Nowlan
643	1734	3	27	Margaret	F	Arthur	Mary	Hutchisson
644	1734	4	17	George	M	Cadwalladar	Hannah	Shipley
645	1734	4	20	Mary	F	Joseph	Eleanor	Ward
646	1734	5	9	Gilbert	M	John	Mary	Roycroft
647	1734	5	29	John	M	Richard	Mary	Scot
648	1734	6	23	John	M	Patrick	Sarah	Foly
649	1734	6	30	John	M	William	Anne	Horner
650	1734	6	30	Sarah	F	James	Susannah	Gamer
651	1734	6	30	Alice	F	Alcock	Elizabeth	Harborn
652	1734	7	16	Sarah	F	John	Jane	Dowdin
653	1734	8	1	Jane	F	William	Elizabeth	Ryves
654	1734	8	8	Anne	F	Edward	Anne	McDonald
655	1734	9	4	Matthew	M	Matthew	Eleanor	Fletcher
656	1734	9	15	Elizabeth	F	John	Jane	Farrelly
657	1734	9	26	Thomas	M	Hugh	Honora	Evans
658	1734	11	2	William	M	John	Rose	Hughs
659	1734	12	8	Henry	M	James	Anne	Clerk
660	1734	12	15	Edward	M	Philip	Katherine	Bolger
661	1734	12	22	Mary	F	Matthew	Frances	Mc naMarra
662	1734	1	18	Elizabeth	F	William	Katherine	Piggot
663	1734	1	18	Thomas	M	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
664	1734	2	18	John	M	Richard	Joan	Wornal
665	1734	2	18	Margaret	F	Philip	Anne	Butler
666	1734	3	8	William	M	John	Lucy	Harrington
667	1735	4	11	John	M	John	Eleanor	Barret
668	1735	4	23	Margaret	F	William	Margaret	Rawson
669	1735	5	18	Katherine	F	George	Eleanor	Matthews
670	1735	6	15	Kezia	F	John	Sarah	Gyves
671	1735	6	15	Katherine	F	James	Sarah	Duglas
672	1735	6	22	Robert	M	Caleb	Grace	Fishbourn
673	1735	6	23	Rebekkah	F	Matthew	Mary	Doolin
674	1735	8	7	Bridget	F	Alcock	Elizabeth	Harborn
675	1735	8	10	Anne	F	John	Sarah	McDonald
676	1735	8	30	John	M	William	Mary	Barber
677	1735	9	11	Mary	F	John	Margaret	Perkins
678	1735	10	13	Anne	F	Joseph	Susannah	Plowman
679	1735	10	15	John	M	John	Elizabeth	Young
680	1735	10	19	John	M	Benjamin	Mary	Haynes
681	1735	11	19	Robert	M	Francis	Martha	Barrett
682	1735	12	18	John	M	John	Mary	Bond
683	1735	1	6	Patrick	M	Patrick	Elizabeth	Neil
684	1735	2	25	James	M	James	Judith	Coghlan
685	1735	3	10	Jane	F	George	Mary	Duglas
686	1736	4	18	John	M	Thomas	Rose	Harris
687	1736	4	25	James	M	John	Mary	Fulkey
688	1736	5	16	Margaret	F	Matthew	Mary	ffowsom
689	1736	5	27	Sarah	F	Robert	Katherine	Mollyneux
690	1736	5	29	Mary	F	Richard	Mary	Jest
691	1736	6	20	Geo	M	Jonathan	Elizabeth	Harborn
692	1736	6	30	Mary	F	John	Diana	Bell
693	1736	7	1	Robert	M	William	Anne	Horner
694	1736	7	8	Margaret	F	J	Maudlin	Pullen
695	1736	7	8	John	M	Walture	Susanna	Bell
696	1736	7	22	William	M	William	Elizabeth	Ryves
697	1736	8	18	Thomas	M	John	Mary	Hall
698	1736	8	27	John	M	James	Anne	Clerk
699	1736	9	12	Elizabeth	F	John	Mary	Austin
700	1736	9	19	Martha	F	John	Mary	Elliot

701	1736	9	25	James	M	Francis	Mary	Graham
702	1736	12	3	Katherine	F	A	Mary	Hutchisson
703	1736	12	5	Anne	F	Oliver	Dorothy	Morris
704	1736	1	2	Jane	F	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
705	1736	1	11	Jane	F	George	Eleanor	Matthews
706	1736	2	6	Hannah	F	Cadwalladar	Hannah	Shipley
707	1736	3	2	James	M	Philip	Anne	Butler
708	1736	3	7	Munday	M	John	Agnes	Steel
709	1737	3	27	Mary	F	John	Anne	Perry
710	1737	3	31	Michael	M	William	Mary	Bond
711	1737	5	2	John	M	William	Katherine	Pigot
712	1737	5	15	Hester	F	Benjamin	Mary	Haynes
713	1737	5	19	Matthew	M	Morgan	Jane	Mallone
714	1737	5	20	Charles	M	John	Jane	Farrelly
715	1737	6	5	Tynte George	M	Joseph	Susannah	Plowman
716	1737	7	11	Sarah	F	Richard	Joan	Wornal
717	1737	7	20	Anne	F	John	Eleanor	Barret
718	1737	8	14	Mary	F	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
719	1737	9	5	Thomas	M	Henry	Mary	Harrington
720	1737	10	15	Anthony	M	Jonathan	Margaret	Lucas
721	1737	10	23	Katherine	F	William	Elizabeth	Ryves
722	1737	11	6	James	M	William	Margaret	Rawson
723	1737	11	27	Margaret	F	John	Lucy	Harrington
724	1737	12	11	Anne	F	Caleb	Grace	Fishbourne
725	1737	12	26	Joseph	M	Thomas	Alice	Hall
726	1737	12	29	Anne	F	John	Mary	Hall
727	1737	1	6	Thomas	M	William	Mary	Reily
728	1737	1	24	Jane	F	Francis	Martha	Barret
729	1737	2	2	Thomas	M	Richard	Mary	Scot
730	1738	5	3	Mathew	M	Thomas	Rose	Harris
731	1738	5	17	Mary	F	John	Sarah	Gyves
732	1738	5	28	George	M	John	Elizabeth	young
733	1738	6	27	Robert	M	William	Mary	Barber
734	1738	7	9	Charles	M	Benjamin	Mary	Haynes
735	1738	7	16	Sarah	F	Samuel	Eleanor	Smith
736	1738	8	7	William	M	George	Elizabeth	Pearson
737	1738	10	22	Elizabeth	F	George	Eleanor	Matthews
738	1738	10	29	Katherine	F	Patrick	Elizabeth	Neil
739	1738	11	26	Sarah	F	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
740	1738	12	21	Dorothy	F	John	Mary	Fulkey
741	1738	12	27	Comfort	F	William	Mary	Bond
742	1738	1	7	Samuel	M	John	Mary	Elliot
743	1738	1	11	Alexander	M	William	Elizabeth	Ryves
744	1738	1	12	Joseph	M	Robert	Katherine	Mollyneux
745	1738	1	19	Anne	F	Peter	Hanna	Cothil
746	1738	2	8	Thomas	M	Matthew	Mary	Dowlin
747	1738	2	15	John	M	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
748	1738	3	4	Sarah	F	Marmaduke	Mary	Mallone
749	1738	3	18	Sarah	F	John	Mary	Percy
750	1739	4	15	Robert	M	Robert	Jane	Tinston
751	1739	4	19	Mary	F	Oliver	Dorothy	Morris
752	1739	4	27	Diana	F	John	Diana	Bell
753	1739	5	1	Mary Anne	F	John	Mary	Moore
754	1739	5	9	Jane	F	John	Diana	Moore
755	1739	5	15	Henry	M	William	Jane	Batterby
756	1739	5	15	Eleanor	F	John	Rebekka	Fisher
757	1739	5	17	Thomas	M	Thomas	Elizabeth	Thornton
758	1739	5	29	Katherine	F	William	Jane	Cowly
759	1739	9	9	Elizabeth	F	Thomas	Jane	Crampton

760	1739	10	4	William	M	William	Anne	Horner
761	1739	10	11	Susannah	F	Philip	Anne	Butler
762	1739	10	21	Elizabeth	F	Richard	Joan	Wornal
763	1739	11	8	Thomas	M	John	Jane	Farrelly
764	1739	11	25	Elizabeth	F	Francis	Martha	Barret
765	1739	1	1	George	M	George	Eleanor	Matthews
766	1739	1	1	Willm	M	Willm	Mary	Eibure
767	1739	1	20	Peter	M	Jonathan	Margaret	Lucas
768	1739	2	7	William	M	Joseph	Susanna	Plowman
769	1739	3	7	Sarah	F	William	Margaret	Rawson
770	1739	3	19	Joseph	M	John	Margaret	Perkins
771	1739	4	2	George	M	Richard	Mary	Scot
772	1739	4	20	Elizabeth	F	Jonah	Elizabeth	Woodman
773	1739	4	24	William	M	Thomas	Elizabeth	Thornton
774	1739	5	3	Robert	M	Walture	Susanna	Bell
775	1739	5	18	William	M	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
776	1739	8	3	[blank]	F	George	Elizabeth	Rubotham
777	1739	8	7	[blank]	F	John	Jane	Harrington
778	1739	8	24	James	M	Thomas	Rose	Harris
779	1739	9	30	Thomas	M	John	Eleanor	Barret
780	1739	9	30	Richard	M	John	Eleanor	Barret
781	1739	10	15	Elizabeth	F	Philip	Katherine	Bolger
782	1739	11	22	William	M	Allcock	Elizabeth	Harborn
783	1739	12	16	Joseph	M	John	Jane	Smith
784	1739	12	30	Philip	M	James	Hesther	Reily
785	1739	1	6	Edward	M	Edward	Mary	Horner
786	1739	1	10	[blank]	M	Samuel	Mary	Whitaker
787	1739	2		George	M	Thomas	Jane	Cope
788	1739	2	11	Hester	F	Allexander	Hesther	T[??]iah
789	1739	2	23	Anne	F	John	R[?]kah	Fisher
790	1740	3	23	Bridget	F	William	Mary	Burke
791	1741	5	17	John	M	John	Mary	Fulkey
792	1741	6	14	Mary	F	John	Mary	Bond
793	1741	7	6	William	M	William	Margaret	Rawson
794	1741	8	8	Cordelia	F	John	Jane	Farrelly
795	1741	10	25	Thomas	M	Richard	Mary	Scot
796	1741	11	8	Elizabeth	F	Samll	Jane	Smith
797	1741	?		John	M	Thos	Jane	Geoghegan
798	1741	12	26	Thomas	M	Patrick	Elizabeth	Neil
799	1741	12	26	Elizabeth	M	Patrick	Elizabeth	Neil
800	1741	1	14	George	M	George	Eleanor	Matthews
801	1741	3	10	Thomas	M	Jonathan	Margaret	Lucas
802	1741	3	24	T[?]	?	Benjamin	Mary	Haynes
803	1742	4	19	Hesther	F	Joseph	Susanna	Plowman
804	1742	?		James	M	Oliver	Dorothy	Morris
805	1742	5	13	Eleanor	F	John	Eleanor	Barret
806	1742	5	13	Rebekka	F	John	Diana	Bell
807	1742	5	17	Elizabeth	F	William	Anne	Horner
808	1742	7	2	Margaret	F	Philip	Bridget	Brabazon
809	1742	7	4	William	M	William	Anne	Mathews
810	1742	7	15	Bridget	F	William	Cordelia	Plowman
811	1742	8	20	Mary	F	Samuel	Mary	Whitakre
812	1742	9	26	Anne	F	Thomas	Jane	Crampton
813	1742	9	3	John	M	Edward	Mary	Horner
814	1742	9	11	Joseph	M	Richard	Joan	Wornal
815	1742	11	28	Anne	F	Thomas	Alice	Hall
816	1742	12	27	Thomas	M	Philip	Anne	Butler
817	1742	1	16	Jane	F	John	Mary	Fulkey
818	1742	1	19	Mary	F	Thomas	Rose	Harris

819	1743	3	27	[blank]	?	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]
820	1743	4	20	Katherine	F	John	Rebekka	Fisher
821	1743	7	3	Mary	F	Thomas	Martha	Barret
822	1743	7	19	Robert	M	William	Ann	Hindy
823	1743	7	24	Elizabeth	F	John	Elizabeth	Hunt
824	1743	8	20	Anthony	M	John	Jane	Smith
825	1743	9	4	John	M	William	Elizabeth	Ryves
826	1743	1	22	Thomas	M	Samll	Jane	Smith
827	1743	1	22	John	M	Jonathan	Margaret	Lucas
828	1743	1	30	Jane	F	William	Margaret	Rawson
829	1743	2	1	Thomas	M	George	Eleanor	Matthews
830	1743	2	26	Margaret	F	[?]	Elizabeth	Bardin
831	1743	3	11	John	M	Robert	Jane	Cox
832	1744	4	19	Anne	F	William	Ann	Homer
833	1744	5	13	Sarah	F	William	Ann	Mallone
834	1744	6	8	Hannah	F	Samuel	Mary	Whitacre
835	1744	7	30	John	M	John	Mary	Hanbidge
836	1744	7	31	Thomas	M	John	Eleanor	barret
837	1744	8	6	Margaret	F	James	Elizabeth	Dowlin
838	1744	8	26	Elizabeth	F	James	Sarah	Duglas
839	1744	9	9	William	M	Thos	Jane	Crampton
840	1744	9	10	Bridget	F	Benjamin	Mary	Haynes
841	1744	9	13	Henry	M	Thomas	Elizabeth	Thornton
842	1744	9	19	Edward	M	John	Rebekka	Fisher
843	1744	10	18	Thomas	M	George	Elizabeth	Pierson
844	1744	10	25	Margaret	F	Philip	Anne	Butler
845	1744	?	8	Archibald	M	John	Katherine	Wass
846	1744	1	8	Thomas	M	William	Cordelia	Plowman
847	1744	2	3	Elizabeth	F	Oliver	Dorothy	Morris
848	1744	?		John	M	George	Eleanor	Matthews
849	1745	4	18	Hester	F	Richard	Joan	Wornal
850	1745	5	10	Francis	M	William	Mary	Burke
851	1745	5	12	Martha	F	John	Mary	Elliott
852	1745	6	6	Sarah	F	William	Margaret	Rawson
853	1745	7	20	Mary	F	William	Anne	Hindy
854	1745	8	18	Anne	F	Joseph	Susannah	Plowman
855	1745	1	26	Elizabeth	F	Samuel	Jane	Smith
856	1745	2	22	Aby [illeg]	?	John	[illegible]	[illegible]
857	1745	2	23	Susan	F	Jonathan	Margaret	Lucas
858	1745	3	16	Robert	M	William	Anne	Homer
859	1746	8	5	John	M	William	Cordelia	Plowman
860	1746	8	17	Elizabeth	F	[illegible]	Katherine	[illegible]
861	1746	1	29	John	M	Philip	Anne	Butler
862	1746	1	30	George	M	William		Barber
863	1746	2	5	Martha	F	John	Mary	ffulkey
864	1746	2	8	William	M	Thomas	Alice	Hall
865	1746	2	15	Richard	M	John	[illegible]	[illegible]
866	1747	3	31	Anne	F	Thomas	Elizabeth	Thornton
867	1747	?	?	[illegible]	?	John	?	Hall
868	1747	5	3	John	M	Richard	[illegible]	Bryan
869	1747	?	?	John	M	[illegible]	Mary	[illegible]
870	1747	?	17	Sarah	M	John	[illegible]	[illegible]
871	1747	?	27	Simon	M	John	Mary	Seal
872	1747	8		[illegible]	?	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
873	1747	9	7	[illegible]	?	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
874	1747	10	11	[illegible]	?	[illegible]	[illegible]	Abary
875	1747	3	11	Robert	M	Henry	Mary	Bryan
876	1748	4	23	Sarah	F	Richard	Joan	Wornal
877	1748	5	13	Henry	M	John	Mary	Hanbidge

878	1748	6	9	Richard	M	Philip	Anne	Butler
879	1748	6	5	Anne	F	Robert	Katherine	Horner
880	1748	7	3	David	M	Thomas	Elizabeth	Harborn
881	1748	8	28	Margaret	F	George	Mary	Matthews
882	1748	9	27	George	M	Samuel	[blank]	Whelan
883	1748	9	13	William	M	Francis	Martha	Barret
884	1748	9	19	Martha	F	Paul	Elizabeth	Lawless
885	1748	1	15	Constantine	M	Simon	Mary	Egan
886	1748	1	15	Edward	M	John	Sarah	McDonald
887	1748	2	9	Anne	F	William	Delia	Plowman
888	1749	4	30	Henry	M	Jonathan	Margaret	Lucas
889	1749	5	4	John	M	John	Mary	Ward
890	1749	6	29	Robert	M	John	Mary	Matthews
891	1749	6	29	Peter	M	[blank]	Elizabeth	Pearson
892	1749	7	15	Mary	F	John	Rebekka	Fisher
893	1749	8	7	Thomas	M	John	Eleanor	Barret
894	1749	8	7	Mary	F	John	Mary	Fulkey
895	1749	8	24	James	M	James	Mary Anne	[blank]
896	1749	9	9	John	M	Abel	Eleanor	Woodman
897	1749	9	15	Francis	M	William	Mary	Barlet
898	1749	10	29	Richard	M	Joseph	Jane	Ward
899	1749	11	12	Martha	F	Benjam	Mary	Haynes
900	1749	11	19	Sarah	F	Willm	Annabella	Maddens
901	1749	11	27	Martin	M	John	Anne	Collins
902	1749	12	19	James	M	Francis	Mary	Graham
903	1749	1	27	Elizabeth	F	John	Elizabeth	Hanbidge
904	1749	1	28	Margaret	F	James	Anne	Gorman
905	1749	1	28	Elizabeth	F	James	Elizabeth	Dowling
906	1750	3	31	Elizabeth	F	Paul	Anne	Bardin
907	1750	4	22	Anne	F	William	Mary	Plowman
908	1750	4	26	Anne	F	Samuel	Jane	Smith
909	1750	4	26	Mary	F	Richard	Mary	Scott
910	1750	5	20	Charity	F	William	Margaret	Rawson
911	1750	7	8	Anne	F	Willm	Sarah	Murry
912	1750	7	26	Rebekkah	F	John	Elizabeth	King
913	1750	9	23	Anne	F	Philip	Anne	Butler
914	1750	10	14	Anne	F	John	Lucy	Harrington
915	1750	3	1	Thomas	M	Thomas	Elizabeth	Harborn
916	1750	3	10	Christian	M?	William	Anne	Crawson
917	1750	3	16	Margery	F	Robert	Katherine	homer
918	1750	3	23	?	M	?	?	?
919	1751	5	17	Margaret	F	Able	Margaret	Woodman
920	1751	7	7	Mary	F	Jonathan	Elizabeth	Harborn
921	1751	8	25	Jonathan	M	Jonathan	Margaret	Lucas
922	1751	9	26	Mary	F	James	Anne	Collins
923	1751	10	28	James	M	John	Elizabeth	Flood
924	1751	11	9	Frances	F	James	Mary Anne	Graham
925	1751	11	29	William	M	John	Bridget	Rutledge
926	1751	11	31	William	M	William	Delia	Plowman
927	1752	1	26	James	M	George	[blank]	Miley
928	1752	4	5	Thomas	M	Paul	Anne	Reardin
929	1752	4	9	John	M	John	Mary	Downy
930	1752	4	29	Katherine	F	Samuel	Ma[]	Hunt
931	1752	5	3	Elizabeth	F	Joseph	Jane	Ward
932	1752	5	21	Mary	F	Samuel	Jane	Smith
933	1752	6	21	George	M	Edward	Anne	Copelin
934	1752	10	1	Samuel	M	William	Mary	Barber
935	1752	11	3	Anne	F	John	Mary	Hall
936	1752	6	18	John	M	Luke	Mary	Bond

937	1752	12	3	Edward	M	William	Sarah	Murry
938	1752	12	24	John	M	William	Anne	Hindy
939	1753	4	23	Thomas	M	Able	Margaret	Woodman
940	1753	6	11	George	M	Joseph	Mary	Whittle
941	1753	7	15	John	M	Thomas	Alice	Hall
942	1753	7	29	William	M	Timothy	Mary	Maar
943	1753	8	5	Lucy	F	James	Anne	Collins
944	1753	8	5	Thomas	M	John	Mary	Hanbidge
945	1753	8	12	Susannah	F	Jonathan	Margaret	Lucas
946	1753	9	2	Abigail	F	Anthony	Hannah	Allcock
947	1753	9	16	William	M	Robert	Katherine	Horner
948	1753	9	23	Benjamin	M	William	Delia	Plowman
949	1753	10	9	Elizabeth	F			Williams
950	1754	1	19	Samuel	M	Thomas	Frances	Crowder
951	1754	3	15	Mary	F	James	Elizabeth	Dowlin
952	1754	6	5	Edward	M	Benjamin	Mary	Haynes
953	1754	6	16	Martha	F	Robert Crosthwaite?	Baker ?	
954	1754	6	16	Mary Anne	F	Francis	Martha	Barret
955	1754	8	31	Elizabeth	F	William	Elizabeth	Harris
956	1754	10	20	Mary	F	William	Delia	Plowman
957	1754	11	17	Mary	F	William	Elizabeth	Sherridan
958	1754	11	25	Martin	M	John	Catharine	Pul
959	1754	11	25	Anne	F	John	Elizabeth	Flood
960	1754	11	26	Elizabeth	F	Luke	Mary	Bond
961	1754	12	28	John	M	William	Mary	Plowman
962	1755	1	12	William	M	Abel	Margaret	Woodman
963	1755	2	11	Elizabeth	F	William	Annabella	Maddens
964	1755	3	21	William	M	John	Mary	Hanbidge
965	1755	3	24	Mary	F	Richard	[blank]	Rawson
966	1755	3	31	John	M	George	Anne	Couce
967	1755	4	13	Jane	F	William	Sarah	Murry
968	1755	4	27	Bowen	M	Francis	Mary	Duglas
969	1755	6	2	Jane	F	John	Elizabeth	Wilkinson
970	1755	6	2	Elizabeth	F	Philip		Butler
971	1755	7	9	Thomas	M	George	Mary	Alcock
972	1755	10	5	Henry	M	Henry		Cheyney
973	1755	10	5	John	M	Timothy	Mary	Magher
974	1755	10	31	Martha	F	Zechariah	Mary	Raper
975	1755	11	22	Matthew	M	Thomas	Frances	Crowder
976	1755	11	23	Judith	F	Bryan	Elizabeth	Cleary
977	1755	12	26	Anne	F	James	Mary	Cathcart
978	1756	1	8	Jane	M	Samuel	Anne	Smith
979	1756	2	1	Annabella	F	William	Annabella	Madder
980	1756	4	18	John	M	Abel	Eleanor	Woodman
981	1756	6	20	Elizabeth	F	Jonathan	Margaret	Lucas
982	1756	8	29	Piercy	M	Philip	Anne	Butler
983	1756	8	29	Robert	M	William	Elizabeth	Mollineux
984	1756	9	12	Edward	M	Edward	Anne	Copelin
985	1757	1	20	William	M	Anthony	Mary	Wright
986	1757	1	31	Edward	M	John	Mary	Hanbidge
987	1757	4	3	Thomas	M	William	Anne	[not given]
988	1757	4	8	Mary	F	?	?	Williams
989	1757	4	10	Mary	F	George	Anne	Couce
990	1757	4	10	John	M	Henry	?	Cheney
991	1757	5	1	William	M	William	Mary	Plowman
992	1757	5	1	William	M	Thomas	Mary	Murphy
993	1757	7	10	Mary	F	James	Jane	Perkins
994	1757	8	7	Mary	F	John	Elizabeth	Wilkinson
995	1757	9	4	Jane	F	Francis	Martha	Barret

996	1757	10	9	Robert	M	Richard	Margaret	Bryen
997	1757	11	12	Thomas	M	Samuel	Jane	Smith
998	1757	12	19	Frances	F	Thomas	Frances	Crowther
999	1757	12	28	Margaret	F	Pierce	Joan	Stuart
1000	1758	2	12	Margaret	F	William	Sarah	Murry
1001	1758	4	2	Elizabeth	F	Abel	Eleanor	Woodman
1002	1758	4	20	Catherine	F	William	Elizabeth	Molineux
1003	1758	4	20	Alice	F	William	Elizabeth	Molineux
1004	1758	6	21	Eleanor	F	Thomas	Elizabeth	Harborn
1005	1758	6	22	Katherine	F	Edward	Anne	Cook
1006	1758	7	9	Sarah	F	Philip	Anne	Butler
1007	1758	7	30	Esther	F	Henry	Muriel	Plowman
1008	1758	8	20	Elizabeth	F	Richard	Catherine	Smith
1009	1758	8	27	Jane	F	Luke	Elizabeth	Gormuccan
1010	1758	10	1	Elizabeth	F	Timothy	Mary	Maar
1011	1758	11	13	Joseph	M	Tynte George	Comfort	Plowman
1012	1758	12	10	Francis	M	William	Catherine	Thomas
1013	1758	12	10	John	M	William	Mary	Woodman
1014	1758	12	29	Delia	F	William	Mary	Plowman
1015	1758	12	29	Robert	M	Thomas	Mary	Murphy
1016	1758	12	29	Mary	F	Thomas	Elizabeth	Morris
1017	1759	7	8	Henry	M	Richard	Margaret	Brien
1018	1759	7	28	Sarah	F	S[ill]	Elizabeth	S[ill]
1019	1759	7	29	Mary	F	William	[blank]	Butler
1020	1759	8	20	Amilia	F	Joseph	[blank]	Cheyney
1021	1759	10	6	Thomas	M	David	Winifred	Ellis
1022	1759	11	2	Richard	M	John	Elizabeth	Wilkinson
1023	1759	11	3	Mary	F	Tynte George	Comfort	Plowman
1024	1759	11	5	Jane	F	Patrick	[blank]	Farrelly
1025	1759	11	5	Peter	M	William	Elizabeth	Harris
1026	1759	12	2	Mary Anne	F	William	Elizabeth	Mullyneux
1027	1760	1	1	Michael	M	James	[blank]	Gyves
1028	1760	1	10	Mary	F	Henry	Muriel	Plowman
1029	1760	1	30	Richard	M	Able	Eleanor	Woodman
1030	1760	5	24	John	M	Thomas	Frances	Crowther
1031	1760	7	6	Elizabeth	F	William	Sarah	Murry
1032	1760	9	21	Lewis	M	William	Katharine	Thomas
1033	1760	10	26	Mary	F	Daniel	Margaret	Foley
1034	1760	11	2	Margaret	F	Philip	[blank]	Butler
1035	1760	11	30	Elizabeth	F	William	Delia	Plowman
1036	1761	2	1	William	M	Henry	Muriel	Plowman
1037	1761	5	10	Elizabeth	F	Luke	Elizabeth	Gormuccan
1038	1761	5	19	Richard	M	Richard	Margaret	Brien
1039	1761	8	10	Samuel	M	Samuel	Mary	Hunt
1040	1761	8	29	Mary	F	John	Mary	Hanbigge
1041	1761	9	16	James	M	Abel	Eleanor	Woodman
1042	1761	12	5	Joseph	M	William	Elizabeth	Mollyneux
1043	1761	12	15	Eleanor	F	John	Anne	Allcock
1044	1761	12	29	Andrew	M	James	[blank]	Archer
1045	1761	12	2	Henry	M	Mary	Mary	Harrington
1046	1761	12	6	Anne	F	William	Elizabeth	Harris
1047	1761	12	14	Susanna	F	George	Comfort	Plowman
1048	1761	12	20	Simon	M	John	Rebecca	Champion
1049	1762	1	12	Joseph	M	William	Mary	Plowman
1050	1762	2	7	Frances	F	James	Mary	Grierson
1051	1762	3	14	John	M	Anthony	Mary	Wright
1052	1762	7	25	Michael	M	John	Margaret	Jackson
1053	1762	7	27	William	M	George	Anne	Couce
1054	1763	4	10	Elinor	F	Abel	Elinor	Woodman

1055	1763	3	25	Mary	F	William	Anne	Meath
1056	1763	12	8	Charles	M	William	Mary	Plowman
1057	1763	4	12	Elizabeth	F	Robert	Susanna	Homer
1058	1763	7	25	Hanna	F	Thos	Francis	Crowther
1059	1763	9	18	Rose	F	William	Elizabeth	Mullenux
1060	1763	9	18	Elizabeth	F	William	Mary	Woodman
1061	1763	11	4	Eaton	M	Thomas	Anne	Allcock
1062	1764	1	21	Mary	F	Tim	Elizabeth	Mahur
1063	1764	3	11	Thomas	M	James	Dorothy	Archer
1064	1764	6	12	Jane	F	Patrick	Mary	Reily
1065	1764	6	22	Thomas	M	John	Mary	Hanbidge
1066	1764	6	24	Elizabeth	F	William	Catrin	Thomas
1067	1764	7	12	Catherine	F	Thomas	Mary	Vincent
1068	1764	10	7	Francis	M	William	Anne	Meath
1069	1764	10	14	Margaret	F	[blank]	[blank]	Pitt
1070	1764	10	28	Catherine	F	James	Elinor	Gyves
1071	1764	11	25	Elizabeth	F	William	Margarett	Harrington
1072	1764	3	19	William	M	George	Comfort	Plowman
1073	1765	2	15	William	M	William	Elizabeth	Mulleneux
1074	1765	3	26	William	M	John	Margaret	Jackson
1075	1765	5	5	Mary	F	George	Comfort	Plowman
1076	1765	5	12	Anthony	M	Thomas	Francis	Crowther
1077	1765	5	12	Anne	F	Joseph		Wright
1078	1766	3	6	Anne	F	Abel	Elinor	Woodman
1079	1766	2	23	William	M	William	Elizsha	Mathers
1080	1766	3	31	Bridget	F	Thomas	[blank]	[blank]
1081	1766	7	20	Garrett	M	John	Jane	Geoghegan
1082	1766	9	29	Anne	F	Richard	?	Whittle
1083	1766	10	26	Catherine	F	James	Easter	Mylie
1084	1767	2	1	Jane	F	Mary	Henry	Miller
1085	1767	2	15	George	M	James	Dorothy	Archer
1086	1767	2	15	John	M	William	Hannah	Pierson
1087	1767	5	15	Eliza	F	Willm	Elisha	Mathers
1088	1767	5	17	William	M	Thomas	Mary	Alcock
1089	1767	5	24	Mary	F	Richard	Ann	Gives
1090	1767	7	26	Elinor	F	Richard	Anne	Whittle
1091	1767	8	16	Mary Ann	F	William	Elizabeth	Mulleneux
1092	1767	8	30	Elizabeth	F	William	Mary	Rutlige
1093	1767	8	31	Judith	F	Jame	Ester	Miley
1094	1767	9	3	Elizabeth	F	George	Sophia	Powel
1095	1767	9	6	James	M	William	?	Butler
1096	1768	1	18	Abel	M	Abel	Elinor	Woodman
1097	1768	3	6	Jane	F	James	Elizabeth	Kelly
1098	1768	3	6	John	M	Joseph	Anne	Write
1099	1768	10	17	Emilia	F	George	Sophia	Powel
1100	1768	10	23	Elizabeth	F	Thomas	Francis	Crowther
1101	1768	11	20	James	M	Francis	Anne	Douglas
1102	1769	12	6	Robert	M	Francis	Anne	Douglas
1103	1770	1	27	Harry	M	Thomas	Catherine	Harington
1104	1770	1	17	William	M	Thomas	Ryves	Mary
1105	1770	1	29	Jane	F	Willm	Elisha	Mathers
1106	1770	5	5	John	M	Abel	Elinor	Woodman
1107	1770	5	28	Jane	F	Richard	Anne	Whittle
1108	1770	7	19	Thomas	M	William	Elizabeth	Mullinux
1109	1770	10	22	Thomas	M	Thomas	Mary	Alcock
1110	1770	2	20	Gorge	M	Frances	Ann	Duglass
1111	1770	3	11	Mathew	M	James	Dority	Archer
1112	1770	7	15	John	M	James	Ester	Miley
1113	1770	7	29	Elizabeth	F	James	Fanny	Alcock

1114	1770	11	4	Edward	M	James	Kitty	Dignam
1115	1771	1	2	John	M	Thos	Catrin	Harrington
1116	1771	4	21	Mary	F	Thomas	Frances	Crowder
1117	1771	5	2	Patrick	M	Daniel	Mary	Foley
1118	1772	5	14	Sarah	F	Thomas	Anne	Barrett
1119	1772	5	14	John	M	William	[illeg]	Thomas
1120	1772	7	18	Richard	M	George	Sophia	Powel
1121	1772	8	4	Jonathan	M	Peter	Ester	Lucas
1122	1772	8	4	William	M	Richard	Ann	Gyves
1123	1772	9	8	Hannah	F	Samel	Aby	Elliott
1124	1772	9	22	Robin	M	William	Anne	Meath
1125	1772	9	22	Frances	M	Richard	Anne	Whittle
1126	1772	2	9	James	M	Abel	Elinor	Woodman
1127	1772	12	19	John	M	William	Mary	Perkins
1128	1772	12	20	James	M	Samal	Mary	Alcock
1129	1772	12	20	Briget	F	Micl	[blank]	Myley
1130	1772	12	31	John	M	Edward	Elizabeth	Ruthlidge
1131	1772	9	12	John	M	William	Mary	Hall
1132	1773	1	10	Mary	F	Thomas	Mary	Alcock
1133	1773	3	14	Noble	M	Johnah	Elizabeth	Woodman
1134	1773	3	14	William	M	Willm	Ann	Cook
1135	1773	3	21	Mary	F	Samel	Mary	Wornal
1136	1773	7	25	Elizabeth	F	Richard	Anne	Whittle
1137	1773	7	25	Elizabeth	F	Willm	Catrin	Thomas
1138	1773	8	8	Gilbert	M	Richard	Sarah	Rawson
1139	1773	8	9	Elizabeth	F	Saml	Margaret	Kilbee
1140	1773	11	21	John	M	Peter	Easter	Lucas
1141	1773	11	21	Elizabeth	F	Richd	Jane	Byrne
1142	1774	1	1	Elin	F	John	Letitia	Hopson
1143	1774	1	30	Joseph	M	John	?	Thacker
1144	1774	4	10	Ann	F	Anthony	Mary	Wright
1145	1774	4	14	Richard	M	Samuel	Mary	Wornal
1146	1774	4	26	Francis	M	Edward	Elizabeth	Rutlidge
1147	1774	5	22	Ann	F	Michael	Elizabth	Miley
1148	1774	9	8	Richard	M	James	Catherine	Dignum
1149	1774	11	20	Mary	F	Simon	Margreat	Elliot
1150	1774	11	24	Rebeca	F	Richd	Jane	Fisher
1151	1774	12	4	Jane	F	Andrew	Elinor	Dixon
1152	1774	12	4	Ann	F	James	Easter	Miley
1153	1775	1	1	Thomas	M	William	Mary	Hall
1154	1775	1	7	Catherine	F	Richard	Catherine	Bookey
1155	1775	4	23	Gilbert	M	William	Hannah	rawson
1156	1775	5	21	Sarah	F	Saml	Bridget	Mileer
1157	1775	11	12	John	M	Michael	Elizabeth	Miley
1158	1775	11	27	Abigail	F	Thomas	Mary	Alcock
1159	1775	12	10	Anne	F	Richard	Sarah	Rawson
1160	1775	12	12	James	M	Thomas	Anne	Barrett
1161	1776	1	14	William	M	John	Jane	Mead
1162	1776	3	7	Ralph	M	Samuel	Mary	Wornall
1163	1776	3	31	William	M	William	Susanna	Crampton
1164	1776	4	28	Elizabeth	F			Willson
1165	1776	4	28	John	M	Samuel	Abigail	Elliott
1166	1776	5	25	James	M	James	Catharine	Dignum
1167	1776	6	2	Mary	F	John	Catharine	Hall
1168	1776	9	292	Mary	F	William	Catharine	Perkins
1169	1776	10	20	Elizabeth	F	Richd	Jane	Fisher
1170	1776	11	22	Arthur	M	William	Catherine	Thomas
1171	1776	12	15	Edward	M	Richard	Jane	Byrne
1172	1777	2	9	Nicholas	M	William	Hannah	Pearson

1173	1777	2	18	Ann	F	William	Mary	Hall
1174	1777			Martha	F	Simon	Margaret	Elliott
1175	1777	3	31	Samuel	M	James	Esther	Miley
1176	1777	4	9	Margret	F	John	Elizabeth	Bond
1177	1777	8	10	Sarah	F	Henry	Hester	Lucas
1178	1777	9	10	Elizabeth	F	John	Susana	Hunt
1179	1777	9	26	John	M	Matthew	Mary	Hanbige
1180	1777	10	25	Margreat	F	James	Margt	Kilbee
1181	1777	12	7	Thomas	M	Michael	Elizabeth	Miley
1182	1778	1	7	Fevail	F	Samul	Mary	Wornal
1183	1778	3	14	Catharine	F	Willm	Catharine	Perkins
1184	1778	4	15	Richard	M	Richard	Ann	Whittle
1185	1778	4	15	Elizabeth	F	Richard	Ann	Whittle
1186	1778	4	28	Hannah	F	Thoms	Mary	Alcock
1187	1778	6	8	Curtis	M	John		Haynes
1188	1778	12	3	Anthony	M	Peter	Esther	Lucas
1189	1778	12	6	Edwd	M	William	Hannah	Pearson
1190	1778	12	6	John	M	William	Catharine	Fox
1191	1779	1	10	Jane	F	Anthoy	Mary	Wright
1192	1779	2	28	Elizabeth	F	Simon	Margt	Elliott
1193	1779	3	21	Ann	F	Samuel	Ann	Willoughby
1194	1779	4	25	John	M	John	Catharine	Hall
1195	1779	4	25	John	M	John	Susana	Butler
1196	1779	5	22	Elizabeth	F	John	Susanna	Hunt
1197	1779	5	23	Elizabeth	F	Willm	Mary	Hall
1198	1779	6	6	Frances	F	William	Hannah	Rawson
1199	1779	8	1	Mary	F	Matthew	Eliza	Powell
1200	1779	8	29	Margt	F	John	Mary	Whelean
1201	1779	9	16	Richard	M	John	Eliza	Allfin
1202	1779	9	19	John	M	William	Esther	Ryves
1203	1779	10	12	William	M	John	Ann	Allen
1204	1779	11	7	Mary	F	John	Elizabeth	Mead
1205	1779	12	9	Elen	F	Henry	Esther	Lucas
1206	1779	12	29	Catharine	F	Saml	Topham	
1207	1780	1	2	Richard	M	James	?	Gyves
1208	1780	1	4	Frances	F	William	Cathe	Perkins
1209	1780	2	13	Thomas	M	William	Catharine	Fox
1210	1780	4	2	Francis	M	Thomas	Ann	Barrett
1211	1780	6	4	Margreat	F	John	Elizabeth	Foster
1212	1780	7	9	Peter	M	Peter	Esther	Lucas
1213	1780	9	2	Curtis	M	John	Ann	Haynes
1214	1780	9	8	Ann	F	Thomas	Sarah	Broom
1215	1780	9	29	William	M	Richard	Jane	Fisher
1216	1780	11	22	Catherine	F	Simon	Margt	Elliott
1217	1780	12	24	Ralph	M	Samuel	Mary	Wornall
1218	1781	1	10	Esther	F	James	Esther	Miley
1219	1781	1	11	Sarah	F	John	Eliza	Bond
1220	1781	1	14	Jane	F	Danl	Winifred	Norton
1221	1781	2	28	George	M	John	Mary	Barry
1222	1781	3	5	Joseph	M	Richard	Ann	Whittle
1223	1781	3	11	Thomas	M	Thomas	Catherine	Harrington
1224	1781	4	22	Alice	F	William	Mary	Hall
1225	1781	4	27	Jane	F	William	Ann	Wright
1226	1781	5	6	Mary	F	Edward	Margreat	Bardin
1227	1781	5	6	Eleanor	F	Jeffery	Elizabeth	Crathorne
1228	1781	5	13	Henry	M	Henry	Mary	Thornton
1229	1781	6	5	Anthony	M	Anthony		Alcock
1230	1781	6	25	John	M	Matthew	Elizabeth	Powell
1231	1781	7	3	Jane	F	Matthew	Mary	Hanbidge

1232	1781	7	9	Richard	M	Willm	Hannah	Rawson
1233	1781	7	9	James	M	Edward	Mary	Gyves
1234	1781	10	30	Anne	F	John	Eliza	Head
1235	1781	10	5	William	M	Willm	Hanah	Pearson
1236	1781	10	5	Michael	M	James	Mary	Gyves
1237	1781	10	7	Mary	F	Michael	Sarah	Fenton
1238	1781	11	11	Robert	M	John	Catherine	Hall
1239	1781	11	15	Catherine	F	Samuel	Anne	Elliott
1240	1781	11	25	Lucinda	F	William	Catherine	Peerkins
1241	1781	12	23	Mary	F	William	Catherine	Fox
1242	1782	2	8	Henry	M	Thomas	Eliza	Crampton
1243	1782	2	8	Elizabeth	F	John	Mary	Whelan
1244	1782	2	9	William	M	Michael	Elizabeth	Miley
1245	1782	3	10	Jonathan	M	Henry	Esther	Lucas
1246	1782	3	24	Martha	F	Thomas	Ann	Barrett
1247	1782	4	20	Elizabeth	F	Samuel	Anne	Willoughby
1248	1782	5	24	Sarah	F	James	Margreat	Killbee
1249	1782	5	24	Hannah	F	Thomas	Mary	Alcock
1250	1782	6	7	John	M	Simon	Margaret	Elliott
1251	1782	7	22	Joseph	M	James	Esther	Miley
1252	1782	8	4	William	M	Robt	Esther	Higgins
1253	1782	9	27	Alice	F	Matthew	Catherine	Toole
1254	1782	9	27	Nathaniel	M	William	Susanna	Crampton
1255	1782	9	30	Wm	M	Michael	Sarah	Fenton
1256	1782	10	17	George	M	Richard	Jane	Fisher
1257	1782	12	29	Thomas	M	Anthony	Anne	Alcock
1258	1783	1	27	Hannah	F	Jeffery	Elizabeth	Crathorne
1259	1783	3	22	Stephen	M	Wilson	?	?
1260	1783	5	6	Susanna	F	Peter	Esther	Lucas
1261	1783	5	11	James	M	Thomas	Sarah	Broom
1262	1783	5	25	Benjamin	M	Matthew	Elizabeth	Powell
1263	1783	5	25	Hannah	F	William	Hannah	Rawson
1264	1783	5	29	Mary	F	William	Mary	Hall
1265	1783	6	22	Elizabeth	F	William	Ann	Wright
1266	1783	7	19	Alice	F	John	Mary	Barry
1267	1783	8	25	Robert	M	Samuel	Ann	Elliott
1268	1783	10	5	Mary	F	John	Agnes	Dixon
1269	1783	11	2	Edward	M	Robert	Esther	Beil
1270	1783	11	9	William	M	William	Catharine	Fox
1271	1783	11	9	Edward	M	John	Ann	Haynes
1272	1783	12	3	William	M	Joseph	Mary	Plowman
1273	1783	12	21	Elizabeth	F	John	Elizabeth	Mead
1274	1783	12	21	Margaret	F	Matthew	Ann	Cope
1275	1784	1	21	Mary	F	Anthony	Ann	Alcock
1276	1784	1	21	Thomas	M	Henry	Mary	Thornton
1277	1784	2	10	Jane	F	Michael	Margaret	Gyves
1278	1784	2	11	Martha	F	James	Hannah	Tynte
1279	1784	3	2	Esther	F	Samuel	Mary	Wornal
1280	1784	3	28	Michael	M	Michl	Sarah	Fenton
1281	1784	4	27	Sarah	F	John	Mary	Bond
1282	1784	5	26	Thomas	M	John	catharine	Hall
1283	1784	6	13	Jane	F	James	Margaret	Kilbee
1284	1784	6	13	William	M	William	Catharine	Perkins
1285	1784	6	19	Mary	F	James	Esther	Miley
1286	1784	7	21	Robert	M	Michl	Esther	Miley
1287	1784	9	12	Mary	F	?	?	Thomas
1288	1784	9	19	Ann	F	?	?	Gyves
1289	1784	10	6	Mary	F	Simon	Margaret	Elliott
1290	1784	10	21	Delia	F	Joseph	Mary	Plowman

1291	1784	11	7	Charlotte	F	Thomas	Mary	Ryves
1292	1785	1	2	Mary	F	John	Elizabeth	Alford
1293	1785	1	16	John	M	Matt	Catherine	Toole
1294	1785	2	9	John	M			Hall
1295	1785	2	13	Elinor	F	William		Freeman
1296	1785	3	20	Mary Ann	F	Jeffy	Elizabeth	Crathorn
1297	1785	4	1	John	M	Samuel	Ann	Willoughby
1298	1785	5	29	James	M	John		Topham
1299	1785	6	5	Simon	M	Samuel	Catharine	Elliott
1300	1785	6	10	Sophia	F	William	Hannah	Rawson
1301	1785	7	1	Able	M	Anthony	Anne	Alcock
1302	1785	8	7	Anne	F	William	Mary	Hall
1303	1785	8	21	John	M	?	?	Chance
1304	1785	10	23	Elizabeth	F	John	Agnis	Dixon
1305	1785	10	30	Henery	M	John		Barden
1306	1785	11	17	Thos	M	Michael	Sarah	Fenton
1307	1785	11	20	Thos	M	Thos	Ann	Barrett
1308	1785	11	24	Thos	M	Thos	Mary	Large
1309	1785	11	30	Elizabeth	F	Wm	Catherine	Case
1310	1786	1	5	Margeret	F	Simon	Margeret	Elliott
1311	1786	1	19	Mary	F	Henry	Mary	Thornton
1312	1786	1	22	Anne	F	Joseph	Mary	Plowman
1313	1786	1	22	Anthony	M	William	Ann	Wright
1314	1786	5	2	Mary	F	?	?	Lines
1315	1786	5	7	George	M	Wm	Catherine	Fox
1316	1786	5	15	Willm	M	Richd	Sarah	Rawson
1317	1786	6	25	Deborah	F	Mathew	Elizabeth	Powel
1318	1786	7	9	Easter	F	James	Easter	Myly
1319	1786	7	?	?	M	?	?	?
1320	1786	8	18	James	M	Thomas	Jane	Plowman
1321	1786	9	24	Thomas	M	John	Mary	Barry
1322	1786	11	21	Mary	F	Matthew	Anne	Cope
1323	1786	11	30	Anne	F	John	Anne	Haynes
1324	1786	12	10	Mary	F	George	Catherine	Horner
1325	1786	12	31	James	M	James	Margaret	Kilbee
1326	1787	2	17	Finley	M	George	Mary	Large
1327	1787	3	4	Mary	F	Richard	Jane	Fisher
1328	1787	4	22	Samuel	M	William	Susanna	Cramton
1329	1787	5	3	Anne	F	Samuel	Anne	Elliott
1330	1787	5	27	Samuel	M	Charles	Elizabeth	Cooper
1331	1787	6	10	Elizabeth	F	John	Elizabeth	Bond
1332	1787	8	23	Robert	M	William	Catherine	Case
1333	1787	12	8	Elinor	F	Abel	Mary	Woodman
1334	1787	12	31	Sarah	F	Matthew	Mary	Handbidge
1335	1788	3	8	Sarah	F	Wm	Hannah	Rawson
1336	1788	3	11	Hesther	F	Willm	Cath	Fox
1337	1788	3	16	John	M	Michl	Catherine	Copland
1338	1788	3	16	Elizabeth	F	John	Hannah	Topham
1339	1788	3	24	Frances	F	Simon	Margaret	Elliott
1340	1788	4	12	Susanna	F	William	Anne	Wright
1341	1788	4	22	Favail	F	Samuel	Mary	Wornal
1342	1788	4	24	Wm	M	Daniel	Winifred	Norton
1343	1788	4	27	Ms	M	John	Agnes	Dixon
1344	1788	5	4	Anne	F	Henry	Mary	Thornton
1345	1788	5	25	Sophia	F	John	Eliz	Jones
1346	1788	5	28	George	M	Barrington	Eliz	Lodge
1347	1788	6	2	George	M	William	Eliz	Crampton
1348	1788	9	1	Wm	M	Wm	Mary	Hall
1349	1788	10	12	Frances	F	Anty	Dorothea	Crowder

1350	1788	12	18	William	M	Robt	Anne	Mullneux
1351	1789	1	18	Mary	F	Anthy	Anne	Alcock
1352	1789	1	20	Eliz	F	Willm	Catherine	Case
1353	1789	2	2	Eliz	F	Joseph	Mary	Plowman
1354	1789	3	11	Eliz	F	Samuel	Anne	Willoughby
1355	1789	3	29	Ths	M	Ths	Mary	Lodge
1356	1789	4	3	Catherine	F	Wm	Cath	Fox
1357	1789	5	10	Isaac	M	Charles	Elizth	Cooper
1358	1789	5	10	Jane	F	Simon	Margaret	Elliot
1359	1789	5	16	Elinor	F	George	Catherine	Horner
1360	1789	5	17	Jane	F	Richd	Jane	Fisher
1361	1789	5	10	Elinor	F	Edwd	Elizth	Gyves
1362	1789	9	6	Henry	M	Wm	Susanna	Crampton
1363	1789	9	13	Anna	F	Mattw	Anne	Cope
1364	1789	10	2	Elinor	F	James	Margaret	Kilbee
1365	1789	11	6	Mary	F	Michael	Catherine	Copelain
1366	1789	12	2	Willm	M	Peter	Eliz	Reily
1367	1789	12	4	Wm	M	Wm	Eliz	Ledwich
1368	1790	3	13	Delia	F	Joseph	Mary	Ployman
1369	1790	3	13	Robt	M	Richd	Mary	Allen
1370	1790	2	15	Bridget	F	James	Hester	Miley
1371	1790	3	6	Catherine	F	Willm	Rose	Freeman
1372	1790	3	18	Sarah	F	Michl	Anne	Delahuntt
1373	1790	4	11	Wm	M	Wm	Anne	Wright
1374	1790	4	17	Elizth	F	John	Anne	Topham
1375	1790	4	24	John	M	Anthony	Dorothea	Crowder
1376	1790	6	13	Willm	M	Wm	Hannah	Rawson
1377	1790	8	3	Philip	M	Philip	Anne	Dulles
1378	1790	8	6	John	M	Robt	Mary	Graydon
1379	1790	10	3	Susanna	F	John	Susanna	Rutle
1380	1790	10	3	Eliza	F	Ricd	Abigal	Fowler
1381	1791	1	7	Anne	F	Jn	Mary	Cook
1382	1791	1	30	Eliz	F	Dennis	Honora	Madden
1383	1791	2	6	Mary	F	John	Frans	Allen
1384	1791	2	7	Eliz	F	David	Mary	Page
1385	1791	4	16	John	M	James	Mary	Blundel
1386	1791	5	1	Mary	F	Mary	Thomas	Jay
1387	1791	5	1	Sarah	F	Jms	Rachel	Bryan
1388	1791	7	31	Henry	M	Micael	Catherine	Copelain
1389	1791	7	31	Joseph	M	Henry	Mary	Gosher
1390	1791	11	24	Thomas	M	Richd	Abigail	Fowler
1391	1791	12	4	Mary	F	Abel	Mary	Woodman
1392	1792	2	1	Charles	M	James	Margaret	Hilben
1393	1792	2	5	Samuel	M	Samuel	Anne	Elliott
1394	1792	3	8	Frances	F	Henry	Mary	Thornton
1395	1792	7	4	Samuel	M	John	Mary	Grayton
1396	1792	8	26	Thomas	M	John	Hannah	Topham
1397	1792	8	26	Mary	F	Edwd	Jane	Archer
1398	1793	5		Charles	M	Charles	Mary	Cooper
1399	1793	7	28	Ellinor	F	Ml	Catherine	Copelain
1400	1793	8	4	Mary	F	Edwd	Elizth	Gyves
1401	1793	8	4	Edwd	M	John	Susanna	Butler
1402	1793	12	22	Ml	M	Willm	Catherine	Butler
1403	1793	12	22	Catherine	F	Wm	Catherine	Fox
1404	1793	12	27	Rebecca	F	Rd	Abigail	Fowler
1405	1794	4	20	Wm	M	Robt	Catherine	Bryan
1406	1794	4	26	Robt	M	John	Mary	Graydon
1407	1794	8	10	Robt	M	Thos	Rachel	Bryan
1408	1794	8	20	Joseph	M	Wm	Susanna	Crampton

1409	1794	3	9	Daniel	M	Pk	Bridget	Foley
1410	1795	11	17	James	M	Pierce	Mary	Archer
1411	1795	11	24	Mary	F	Robert	Rebecca	Bryan
1412	1795	11	25	Mary	F	Wm	Margt	Murray
1413	1795	11	26	Anne	F	James	Anne	Valentine
1414	1795	7	27	Mary	F	Charles	Eliz	Cooper
1415	1795	7	27	Amelia	F	John	Mary	Dixon
1416	1795	4	27	Catherine	F	Lucas	Mary	Thomas
1417	1795	6	14	Jane	F	Hugh	Mary	Murry
1418	1795	5	28	Elinor	F	Anthony	Anne	Alcock
1419	1795	6	29	Catherine	F	Edwd	Catherine	Mulligan
1420	1795	7	12	Charles	M	John	Judith	Smith
1421	1795	10		Dorothea	F	Edwd	Jane	Archer
1422	1795	11	19	John	M	Ths	Eliz	Stone
1423	1796	1	7	Eliz	F	John	Mary	Archer
1424	1796	1	11	Annabella	F	Pierce	Mary	Archer
1425	1796	4	10	Margt	F	Rt	Mary	Bryan
1426	1796	4	10	Garret	M	George	Mary	Mathhews
1427	1796	5	1	Richd	M	Anthony	Dorothea	Crowder
1428	1796	5	22	Mary	F	Wm	Anne	Wright
1429	1796	7	10	Rebeckah	F	Joseph	Eliz	Dixon
1430	1796	7	10	Mary	F	Richd	Abigail	Dowlin
1431	1796	10	30	John	M	William	Margaret	Moody
1432	1797	2	6	Eliz	F	Edward	Sarah	Dobbs
1433	1797	3	2	Benjamin	M	John	Delia	Haynes
1434	1797	1	12	John	M	Wm	Mary	Jones
1435	1797	3	19	Mary	F	Wm	Margt	Murray
1436	1797	4	26	Wm	M	Wm	Hannah	Matthis
1437	1797	7	7	John	M	?	?	Wall
1438	1797	5	28	John	M	John	Mary	Barry
1439	1797	5	29	Eliz	F	Richd	Eliza	Parr
1440	1797	8	12	Eliz	F	Anth	Dorothea	Crowder
1441	1797	8	12	Wm	M	Lewis	Mary	Thomas
1442	1797	9	25	Eliz	M	Thoms	E:	Large
1443	1797	10	8	Hannah	F	John	Hannah	Topham
1444	1797	11	5	Edward	M	Edwd	Jane	Archer
1445	1797	11	11	Ml	M	John	Eliz	Allen
1446	1797	11	11	Eliz	F	John	Eliz	Allen
1447	1798	2	25	John	M	Henry	Mary	Handbidge
1448	1798	2	25	Mary	F	George	Mary	Stephens
1449	1798	3	25	Michael	M	Richd	Abigail	Fowler
1450	1798	4	1	Patrick	M	Thomas	Rachel	Bryan
1451	1798	5	13	Michael	M	George	Mary	Horner
1452	1798	7	1	Rachel	F	Matthew	Anne	Barret
1453	1798	7	1	Richard	M	Richard	Anne	Reddin
1454	1798	7	25	James	M	James	Anne	Valentine
1455	1798	8	4	Thomas	M	John	Mary	Dixon
1456	1798	8	16	Robert	M	Robert	Mary	Graydon
1457	1798	9	17	Thomas	M	Francis	Elizabeth	Crampton
1458	1798	9	17	Elinor	F	John	Judith	Smith
1459	1798	10	14	Charles	M	Charles	Rebecca	Hinch
1460	1798	11	8	John	M	James	Jane	Thornton
1461	1798	12	10	Sarah	F	Joseph	Elizabeth	Dixon
1462	1799	1	6	Rebecca	F	John	Alice	Harris
1463	1799	1	6	William	M	William	Anne	Wright
1464	1799	1	8	Charles	M	William	Charlotte	Ashe
1465	1799	1	9	Elizabeth	F	Henry	Elizabeth	Doolan
1466	1799	1	10	Margaret	F	Rachel	Thos	Bryan
1467	1799	10	17	Matthew	M	Henry	Margaret	Noble

1468	1799	10	13	Ann	F	Lewis	Mary	Thomas
1469	1799	11	24	Isaac	M	John	Margaret	Moody
1470	1799	12	15	Jane	F	Antony	Dorothea	Crowden
1471	1800	1	26	Margaret	F	Hector	Elizabeth	Monroe
1472	1800	3	2	Eliza	F	George	Eliza	Barret
1473	1800	2	3	Henry	M	Henry	Mary	Hanbidge
1474	1800	2	3	William	M	Henry	Mary	Hanbidge
1475	1800	2	5	Margret	F	Robert	Mary	Bryan
1476	1800	2	5	James	M	William	Cathrin	Fox
1477	1800	2	24	John	M	Edward	Margret	Hanbidge
1478	1800	4	18	Easter	F	Anthony	Sarah	Valentine
1479	1800	7	7	Anne	F	James	Anne	Vallentine
1480	1800	7	12	Anne	F	John	Cath	Whittel
1481	1799	2	14	Joanah	F	Edward	Elizabeth	Reardon
1482	1800	9	13	Samuel	M	Richard	Cathrin	Williby
1483	1800	10	5	Ellinor	F	Andrew	Mary	Archer
1484	1800	11	16	Anne	F	Henry	Margret	Noble
1485	1800	11	21	Anne	F	William	Eliner	Powell
1486	1800	12	8	Peeter	M	John	Elizabeth	Valintine
1487	1800	12	7	Mary	F	Robert	Mary	Greadon
1488	1800	12	10	Benjamin	M	Henry	Jane	Plowman
1489	1800	12	29	Michel	M	Edward	Elizabeth	Gyver
1490	1801	2	1	Susanna	F	Richard	Elizabeth	Cramton
1491	1801	2	4	John	M	William	Bridget	Brownrig
1492	1801	3	16	James	M	Henry	Jane	Dowlen
1493	1801	3	21	Josephth	M	Josephth	Elizabeth	Dixson
1494	1801	4	8	Elizabeth	F	John	Margret	Butler
1495	1801	4	20	Mary	F	William	Sarah	Jones
1496	1801	5	1	John	M	Josephth	Mary	Willson
1497	1801	5	3	John	M	George	Mary	Matthews
1498	1801	5	25	Mayry	F	John	Mary	Jones
1499	1801	5	?	?	M	?	?	?

APPENDIX THREE. DUNLAVIN CLERGY 1600-1910.

A. CHURCH OF IRELAND RECTORS AND PREBENDARIES.

Rev. J. McGiver (1572-1615)

Rev. W. Lee (1615-1618)

Rev. W. Golebourne (1618-1660)

Rev. J. Blayden (1660-1666)

Rev. J. Golborn (1666-1686)

Rev. T. Hardcastle (1686-1690)

Rev. J. Bolton (1690-1700)

Rev. Jonathan Swift (1700-1713)

Rev. J Espine (1713-1736)

Rev. W. Aishe (1736-1752)

Rev. J. Tench (1752-1778)

Rev. H. Morgan (1778-1799)

Rev. P. Lefanue (1799-1810)

Rev. R. King (1810-1814)

Rev. W. Moore Morgan (1814-1858)

Ven. J. O'Regan (1858-1880)

Rev. J. Carmichael (1880-1886)

Rev. D. Anderson (1886-1894)

Rev. S. Russell McGee (1894-1905)

Rev. T. Rowan (1905-1908)

Rev. F. G. Rochford-Wade (1908-1909)

Rev. H. Acheson (1909-1937)

B. ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.

Status unknown.

Fr. Patrick Haggan (died 1685)

Fr. Patrick Kernan (died 1679)

Fr. James Caufield (died 1736)

Fr. Edward McGinn (unknown)

Fr. Patrick O'Quinn (died 1789)

Fr. Francis Lennon DD (died 18--)

Fr. Michael Murphy (died 1789)

Fr. John Power (died 1815)

Fr. John Roche (died 1826)

Fr. Michael Keoghan (died 1827)

Dunlavin parish priests.

Fr. John Hyland (1815-1862)

Fr. James Whittle (1862-1884)

Fr. Frederick Donovan (1884-1896)

Fr. John Maxwell (1897-1907)

Fr. Michael Flynn (1907-1920)

Dunlavin curates.

Fr. Paul Byrne (died 1799)

Fr. A. Reynolds (early 19th century)

Fr. P. Mulaney (early 19th century)

Fr. Thomas Brohan (1852-1857)

Fr. Stephen Morrissey (1857-1860)

Fr. Thomas Butler (1860-1862)

Fr. John Shearman (1862-1867)

Fr. Francis O'Neill (1867-1869)

Fr. Terence O'Reilly (1869-1879)

Fr. Patrick Shiels (1879-1881)

Fr. Thomas Brennan (1881-1884)

Fr. Peter Vallely (188-1888)

Fr. Christopher Grimes (1888-1889)

Fr. Francis McEnerney (1889-1894)

Fr. Henry Hearne (1894-1897)

Fr. John Healy (1897-1900)

Fr. Thomas McGuire (1900-1905)

Fr. Ambrose Burns (1905-1916)

Donard curates.

Fr. John O'Reilly (1852-1869)

Fr. James Sheridan (1869-1873)

Fr. Thomas Lynch (1873-1887)

Fr. Patrick Brennan (1887-1888)

Fr. John Hickey (1888-1892)

Fr. Patrick Kavanagh (1892-1902)

Fr. Richard Quinn (1902-1905)

Fr. James Doyle (1905-1917)

APPENDIX FOUR: THE DUNLAVIN MASSACRE: THE EXECUTED MEN.

The names of thirty-four men who were shot on the fairgreen are given in Charles Dickson, *The life of Michael Dwyer with some account of his companions*, Browne & Nolan, Dublin, 1944, pp 370-371. They are as follows:

YEOMEN – SAUNDERSGROVE CORPS:

1. James Mara (Maher)
2. John Williams
3. Andrew Ryan
4. Patrick Duffy
5. James Duffy
6. John Webb
7. Patrick Curran
8. David Lee
9. Mat Kavanagh
10. Richard Kelly
11. Morgan Doyle
12. Thomas Doyle
13. Mat Farrell
14. James Moran
15. Charles Evers
16. William Dwyer
17. Thomas Brien
18. David Prendergast

Of these, the two Doyles were farmers from the Rathbarn (Stratford-on-Slaney) area. Mat Farrel was also a farmer. One of the Doyles was also a sub-constable. The Duffy brothers were masons. Five of the men were servants of Morley Saunders and there was also a smith and a slater among them.

YEOMEN – NARRAGHMORE CORPS:

19. James Keating
20. Thomas Keating
21. Martin Walsh
22. Edward Shaughnessy
23. Andrew Carty
24. Darby Byrne
25. John Dunne
26. Martin Griffin
27. Daniel Kirwam
28. Thomas Kirwan
29. Laurence Doyle
30. Thomas Neile

Of these, the two Keatings were masons and were definitely related. Martin Walsh was a nailor. Edward Shaughnessy, Andrew Carty and Darby Byrne were all labourers – in those non-mechanical days many agricultural labourers were needed, of course.

NON-YEOMEN FROM THE AREA

31. John Dwyer, Seskin
32. Peter Hayden, Imaal (Keadeen)
33. Peter Kearney, Donard
34. Laurence Doyle, Dunlavin

Laurence Doyle was a local carpenter. John Dwyer, who had been in the market house for about four weeks, was a relation of rebel leader Michael Dwyer and probably a United Irish baronial delegate for Co. Wicklow. Peter Hayden's family were republican sympathisers, (if not before the massacre, certainly afterwards) and they helped Michael Dwyer later.

The *Shearman Papers* in NUI Maynooth also names thirty of the victims of that day:

1. John Keeravan, {Brothers of Uppertown, Dunlavin.
2. Daniel Keeravan {Printed as 'Reeravan' in *The Sham Squire*.
3. Laurence Doyle, Dunlavin.
4. Martin Gryffin (at 21 he came from Dublin the night before to see his father and was not connected with United men).
5. Duffy {Brothers of
6. Duffy {Baltinglass.
1. Mathew Farrell, Stratford on Slaney.
2. Michael Neil [Dunlavin].
3. Andrew Ryan, Shrucka.
4. Richard Williams, Ballinacrow.
5. Keatinge {of Narraghmore
6. Keatinge {[brothers].
7. Edward Slattery, Narraghmore .
8. Andrew Prendergast of Ballina?
9. Peter Kearney, Donard .
10. John Dwyer do, uncle to Capt. Michael Dwyer.
17. John Kearney, Donard.
18. Peter Headon, Killabeg.
19. Thomas Brien, Ballinacrow Hill.
20. John Doyle, Scrughawn.
21. Morgan Doyle, Tuckmill, Baltinglass.
22. John Doyle do.
23. -Webb, Baltinglass.
24. John Wickham, Eadestown.
25. -Wickham do.
26. -Costelloe.
27. -Birmingham {Brothers of Narraghmore,
28. -Birmingham {belonging to Col. Keatinge's corps.
29. Patrick Moran, Tuckmill.
30. Peter Prendergast of Bumbo Hall, wounded in the belly and escaped.

Shearman provides extra names for victims, and given the fact that so many sources are so definite that thirty-six men were shot, the other victims were those hanged at the market house after the shootings.

ALSO

1. John Brien [named in Peadar Mac Suibhne, *Kildare in '98*, (Naas 1978), p. 133].

Brien was only captured on the day of the massacre. He fought under Darby Neill and Captain James O'Doherty in the Ballyshannon area. He was captured in the gravel pit at Narraghmore after the battle of Pike Bridge. He was taken to Dunlavin and was executed. He was survived by his mother. The fact that he was arrested individually and was not part of any of the groups of prisoners housed in the market house before the massacre may account for his name being omitted from both local folklore and Charles Dickson's book.

2. Joe Hawkins [named in *Leinster Leader*, 25/9/1948, p. 3].

Ironically he was the spy who gave information leading to the arrests of the Saundersgrove yeomen in the first place. The fact that he was an informer would certainly have led to his name being deliberately omitted from the local folk-memory. The *Leinster Leader* of 25 September 1948 stated: The order was to execute in groups of five, and finding that one group had only four men, the spy Hawkins, who had already given information leading to the arrests, was forcibly compelled to take his place in the group of four to make up five, and was executed with them.

These lists contain some degree of overlap, but it is certain that more than thirty-six prisoners were executed. The probable total is somewhere between forty-five and fifty.

APPENDIX FIVE. 1798 CLAIMS IN THE DUNLAVIN AREA.

The following list of claims for compensation made after the 1798 rebellion provides a snapshot of the level of unrest around Dunlavin following the massacre. Question marks indicate tears or smudges in the original list.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Nature of Loss</i>	<i>Amount Claimed</i>
John Barden	Crehelp	House, potatoes meat, tools, fuel fire	£14.08.08
Paul Barden	Crehelp	House, cattle meat, tools, fuel fire	£173.04.04
George Barret	Merginstown	House	£47.06.06
John Barret	Crehelp	House, meadow	£44.09.06
William Crampton	Merginstown	House	£43.03.01
Mary Doyle	Merginstown	House, clothes cash, a stallion	£84.00.02
Edward Fisher	Merginstown	House burned furniture, clothes	£863.17.01
Richard Fisher	Merginstown	A House	£28.04.03
Mary Hanbidge	Merginstown	House, a mare sheep, furniture provisions	£126.19.07

Esther Miley	Merginstown	Car, furniture house, timber	£41.10.00
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Andrew Morris	Griffinstown	Haggard destroyed	£25.04.7
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Andrew Morris	Griffinstown	House, furniture cattle, timber	£357.16.03
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Patrick Mullally	Lemonstown Hill	2 mares, a bull sheep	£37.14.01
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Patrick Mullally	Crehelp	Cash, clothes butter	£30.19.08
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George Powell	Dunlavin	Livestock	£39.18.00
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Matthew Powell	Tober	House, crop timber	£37.16.00
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<i>Name</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Nature of Loss</i>	<i>Amount Claimed</i>
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William Powell	Tober	House, pigs timber, crops clothes	£?
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Gilbert Rawson	Tober	House, a ladder furniture, oats	£13.09.02
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Joseph Toole	Crehelp	A house	£27.03.07
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Samuel Wallis	Oldcourt	Cattle, horses provisions, oats, hay	£?
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Christopher Walsh	Oldcourt	Corn, sheep	£ ?
		furniture, clothes	

Richard Whittle	Merginstown	House, sheep	£22.12.9
		flax	

Thomas Wilson	Griffinstown	House, furniture	£24.014
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Mary Wornell	Merginstown	House, furniture	£57.12.0
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APPENDIX SIX. CATHOLIC SURNAMES BY TOWNLAND IN DUNLAVIN BAPTISMAL REGISTER 1815-1820.

This is a list of the Catholic surnames for each townland named in the Parish register during the period from 1 October 1815 to 31 December 1820. Place names are spelled in capital letters as they appear in Price's *Place Names*. Deviant forms of the spellings that appear in the parish register are given in brackets after the name. If only one form of the name appears, the parish register concurs with Price's spelling. Where possible, Price's explanation of the origin of the place names is given in italics. In some cases, names appear which are not in Price. Where this occurs, it is stated that Price does not mention the name and any explanation is not applicable. In an effort to avoid repetition, the same surname is not included twice in the townland lists if it is spelled the same way for more than one family within that townland.

BALLENARAY (Ballenara) (not in Price): Brien, Kinsella.

BALLINARD (Ballenard) (*High Town*): Kavanagh, Brien, Lambe, Kinsella, Headen, Butler, Toole, Bulger.

BALLINABARNY (Ballinabarnie, Ballinabarna, Ballabarna) (*Cattle Enclosure at the gap road*): Connell Kearney, Connel, Shiel, Finn.

Parish Records also show this name with "Bally" instead of Ballinabarny.

The following family names are listed under the corrupted spellings given beside them: Conoly – Ballybarnie. Hoxey, Duffy – Ballibarna. Shiel – Ballybarny. Connell Kearney – Ballybarna.

BALLINCLEA (Ballinaclay) (*Mountain Settlement*): Kenny, Conran, Kelly, Canavan, Doyle, Crowley, Farrel, Brien, Timmins.

BALLINEBO (not in Price) (*Town of the Cows?*): Wade.

BALLINEDDAN (Ballineddin) (*Town of the Drained Land*): Byrne, Shell, Kerwin, Carty, Rourke, Kirwan, Brien.

BALLINFOYLE (Ballinfile) (*Booley House of the two Pools*): Burke.

BALLINTRUER (Ballintruin, Ballintrure) (*Homestead of three people*): Webb, Pendergast, Duff, Cullen.

BALLYHOOK (*Family Name – Hookes Town*): Gavan.

BALLYHUBBOCK (Ballyhubue, Ballyhubbur, Ballyhubut) (*Robert's Town*): Pendergast, Mooney, Kavanah, Sheridan, Brien, Valentine, Donahue, Kearns, Murphy, Byrne, Germain.

BALLYHURLEY (not in Price): Mooney.

BALLYLEA (*Family Name – Ely's Town*): Dowling.

BALLYLION (Ballyline) (*Family Name – Leynagh's Town*): Nowlan, Metcalf, Lewis, Pendergast, Daly.

BALLYMOONEY (Ballymoony) (*Mooney's Town*): Toole, Gardly, Flood, Neale, Lennan, Dwyer, Tyrrel, McLoughlin, Lennon.

BALLYMOOR (not in Price) (Could this refer to Ballymore-Eustace?): Kane.

BALLYREASK (Ballyreesh) (*Marshy Town*): Kenny, Donahoe, Donoghoe.

BALLYTOOLE (*O'Toole's Town*) – part of Coolmoney and not to be confused with Toolestown: Butler, Daly, Lennon, Sheridan, Byrne, Lindsay.

BALLYVOHAN (Ballyurahan, Ballyrocan, Ballyoran, Ballyvoran, Ballyorahan) (see below) (*O'Mohan's Town and O'Braghan's Town*): Kelly, Reynolds, Cullen, Byrne, Brien, Brady, Miller, Nowlan.

Price names two separate townlands, Ballyvaghan and Ballyvraghan. The multiplicity of spellings in the parish register make it almost impossible to separate them.

BARRACK (not in Price): Kennedy. (Could the name refer to the police barracks in

the village?)

BLACKMOOR (Blackamore): Nugent, Byrne, Kehoe, Ellis, Kinsella, Mullen, Heyden, Reed, Carrol, Daly, Lamb.

BLACKHILL: Traynor, Tracy, Keating, Byrne, Ward, Heade, Reddy, Dunn, Judge, Copeland, Hegarty.

BOWRY (Brothel): Mitchel, Kealy.

BRITTAS (Fortified Dwelling): Case, Butler, Byrne, Flood, Kelly, Kavanagh, Whelan, Darcy.

RUSSELSTOWN (Family Name?): Hayden, Lynch, Smyth, Lennon, Maher, Healy, Smith, Heyden, Donohoe, Fitzpatrick.

BUSHFIELD: Larkin.

CAMARA (Camera) (Drained Area): Doyle, Kelly, Connel.

CASTLERUDDERY (Castlerudry) (Knights Castle or Roderick's Castle): Hickey, Finn, Donohoe, Duff, Doyle, McEvoy, Brien, Plant, Mackay, Toole, Byrne, Conron, Mulhall, Metcalf, Marlay, Maher, Flood, Boyne, Butler, Brown, Maley, Murray, Daly, Synott, Connor.

CASTLESALLAGH (Castlesalla) (Dirty Castle): Donohoe.

COAN (Cowen) (River Bend): Murphy, Toole, Connel.

COLLIGA (Colloga, Colaga) (Thorny Place): Broughal, Karney, Murphy, Kearney, Moore, Mahon, Kavanah.

COOLAMADDRA (Coolamadra) (Den of the dog or wolf): Kelly, Delaney, Conran, Heney, Brien, Donnelly, Germain, Valentine, Heany.

COOLMONEY (Sheltered Shrubbery): Byrne, Hanlon.

COONANSTOWN (Family Name): Somers, Whittle.

CREHELP (Creehelp, Cryhelp) (A branch of the clan Elpi): Murray, Walsh, Kane,

Byrne, Kehoe, Manwaring, Hobart, Metcalf, Heyden, Perry, Galbally, Noon, Quin, Toole, Dempsy, Barden, Maneron, Kelly, Flood, Brad, Mulally, Cunningham, Murphy, Mangan, Cassin, Donohoe, Nowlan, Grattan.

CLONSHANNON (Crosshannon) (*Meadow of the old one*): Donohoe, Murphy, Martin.

CROSSKEYS (*Probably the name of an Inn*): Doyle, Connor, Murphy, McEvoy, Byrne, Waddy, Nowlan.

CURTRA (not in Price): Higgins.

DAVIDSTOWN (*Area was held by David Donn in the 13th Century*): Kenny, Brien.

DERRYNAMUCK (Dernamuck) (*Wood of the pigs*): Martin, Ryan, Hoxy.

DRUMREAGH (Drumreed) (*Striped Hill*): Donaghan, Reily.

DONARD (Dunard) (*High Fort*): Mulhall, Lennon, Fitzpatrick, Byrne, Murray, Farrel, Doyle, Lambe, Grehan, Claxton, Nerale, Coogan, Lewis, Fitzgerald, Tenison, Brady, Russel, Case, Murphy, Lawler, Artry, Conway, Boylan, Eardly, Nowlan, Headen, McEvoy, Donohoe, Harrington, Morgan, Leviston, Ivery, Maneron, Reddin, Stokes, Curren, Fullam.

DUNLAVIN (*Fort of Liamhan?*): Kehoe, Gavan, Fitzgerald, Gorman, Mahon, Balfe, Morgan, Christy, Martin, Neile, Cullen, Fahy, Murphy, Kavanagh, Donohoe, Hoxy, Dempsy, Fox, Roche, Cahill, Whelan, Molyneaux, Byrne, Doyle, Kenedy, Kealy, Gafney, McEvoy, Elliott, Walsh, Toole, Doran, Power, Connors, Ryder, Whittle, Corrigan, Jiven, Donovan, Neale, Leeson, Chamney, Gyves, Barret, Kearns, Conran, Kelly, Couse, Nowlan, Irwin, Heyden, Wall.

EADSTOWN (Eadestown) (*Named for the Ede Family*): Donely, Martin, Dwyer, Rice, Farrel, Anderson, Doody, Breen, Brien, Heyden, Finn, Boyce, Weary, Murphy, Cavan, Byrne, Conway, Doran.

FAUNA (Fiawana, Fawna, Faronah) (*Sloping Land*): Doyle, Kelly, Kehoe.

FRIARHILL (Fryarhill) (*Named for Monks in the Rectory of Tober*): Byrne, Reilly, Murphy, Flood, Judge, Doyle, Mangan, Meade, Kelly, McEvoy, Heade, Walsh.

GIBSTOWN (*origin unknown*): Kelly, Dowling, Mackey, Byrne, Hanlon, Lambe.

IRISHTOWN (*Area where Norman Fitzgeralds put local settlers?*): Bolland.

KELSHA (*Wooded Area*): Kehoe, Halpin, Toomey, Flyn.

KENOW (Kennours) (not in Price): Toole, Connel, Kehoe, Marnah.

KILBAYLET (Kilbealet, Kilbeleth, Kilbelet, Kilbalet, Kilbelim) (*Church at the Pass*): Murphy, Burke, Rourke, Murray, Dowden, Farrell, Coogan, Whittle, Bulger, Foley, Lennon.

KILBREFFY (Kilbruffy, Kilbruffey) (*Church of the Wolf-plain*): Kerry.

KILCOAGH (Kilcough, Kilcooke) (*Church of St. Cuach*): Fitzpatrick, Lennon, Byrne, Kelly.

KILLYBEG (Killabegs, Killibeg, Killybeggs) (*Little Wood*): Heyden, Byrne, Roche, Lennon, Neale.

KINSELLASTOWN (Kinselastown) (*Family Name*): Cunningham, Keily, Kehoe, Heade.

LEITRIM (*Grey Hillock*): Kelly, Darcy.

LEMONSTOWN (St. Loman's Town): Coogan, Mooney, Metcalf, Costeloe, Cullen, Murray, McAtee, Davis, Mulaly, Conoly, Mulally, McDonnel, Gallaher, Coleman, Ayres, Dalton, Donnelly, Murphy.

LOGATRINA (*Corncrake's Hollow*): Donovan, Fay, Brien, Fahy.

LOUGHMOGUE (*Pool of St. Maodhog*): Mahon, Brien, Loughran, Burke, Rowley, Barden, Broughan, Corrigan, Dalton, Henry, Doyle, McEvoy, Wright, Ryder, Dunn, Carroll, Smith, Valentine, Johnson, Deegan, Byrne, Conway, Kealy, Behan, Brady,

Connor, Kenedy, Deering, Sleator, Dempsy, Cullen, Maglinn, Smyth, Tyrrel.

MERGINSTOWN (*Family name of 15th Century settlers*): Rogers, Heyden, Doyle, Dowling, Dempsy, Toole, Nolan, Redmond, Byrne, Fitzgerald, Kavanah, Sleator, Kehoe, Kealy, Walsh, Kane, Murphy, Smyth, Lynch, Myley, Carroll, Brien.

MILLTOWN: Flood, Coleman, Owens, Hede, Byrne, Foley, Duff, Traynor, Toole, Neale, Conway.

MONROE (Monrue) (*Red Bog*): Headen, Grace.

MOORSPARK (Moorparke) (*Family Name*): Conran.

NEWPARK: Heyden.

NEWTOWN: Connor, Toole.

KNOCKADERRY (Nockaderry) (*Hill of the Copse*): Kavanagh, Lenhan, Dowling, Doyle, Kananah, Kehoe, Mackey, Donohoe, Brien, Case, Murray, Higgins.

KNOCKANARRIGAN (Nockanargin) (*O'Regan's Hill*): Conoly, Donelan, Benson, Doyle, Byrne, Manwaring, Mahon, Kelly, Donely, Kerwin.

KNOCKBAWN (Nockbawn) (*White Hill*): Cassin, Whelan.

KNOCKANDARRAGH (Nockendara) (*Little Hill of Oak Tree*): Heyden, Dolle, Conran, Butler, Reily, Grace, Byrne, Bulger, Lynch.

KNOCKNAMUNNION (Nocknamunga, Nocknamunion) (*Hill of Little Torrents*): Doyle, Benson.

OLDMILL: Toole, Metcalf.

PLEZICA (Plessica, Placika) (*Shelly Place*): Whittle, Nowlan, Byrne, Hagarty, Cunningham, Timins, Dunn, Moran, Copeland, Somers, Grace.

RANDALSTOWN (*Family Name*): Byrne, Brien, Ennis, Dunn, Kearney.

RATHSALLAGH (Rathsalla) (*Dirty Fort*): Fay, Byrne, Pigeon, Healy, Wilson, Kavanah, Toole, Brien, Drumm, Fahy, Headen, Norton, Murphy, Kenedy, Nowlan,

Darcy, Bowe, Magennis, Dunn, Kelly, Cullen, Doyle, Dowling, Heade, Cooke, Dunlaley, Harrington.

ROSTYDUFF (Rustyduff) (*Headland of Black Houses*): Geoghan, Lynch, Duffy, Tone, Murphy, Keefe, Flood, Doyle, Rorke.

SESKIN (*Marshy Place*): Kenedy, Cullen, Dowling, Curran, Rogers, Sullivan, Connor, Lynch, Dwyer, Byrne, Doyle, Kavanagh, Jessop.

STRANAHELY (Shranahely) (*Bank of the River Hely*): Cullen, Wade, Kinsella.

SLATEQUARRY (Slatequarries) (*Old Name for Plezica Area*): Nowlan, Whittle, Mangan, Mulally.

SPINANS (Spinings) (*Place of the Gooseberry Bush*): Cambel, Conway, Doody, Valentine, Ennis, Kavanagh, Kehoe, Doyle, Grady, Byrne, Ryan, Finn.

STUDFIELD (*Dating from the 18th Century-Area for Horses*): Lennon, Tyrrel, Murray, Kearney, Daly, Quinahan, Flood, Kane, Walsh.

TOOLESTOWN (Toolstown) (*Family Name*): Cullen, Toole, Byrne.

TOURNANT (*Mound of Nettles*): Heyden, Coonan, Mackey.

TOBER (Tubber) (*Well or Spring*): Magarr, Nowlan, Byrne, Harney, Magrath, Moore, Dunn, Fahy, Fay, Doyle, Dowden, Kelly, Judge, Creighton, Ryder, Hyland, Molloy, Rourke, Brien, Donohoe, Moran, Whelan, Waters, Kearney, Murray, Delaney, Ross, Hartigan, Redmond, White, Foster, Hickey, Butterfield, Murphy, Stuart, Kehoe, Neale.

TOBERBEG (Tubberbeg) (*The Little Well*): Healy, Miley, Kelly, Dalton, Johnson, Whittle.

WHITESTOWN (*Named for the White Family. Also spelled Fottestown. The Irish form of White was Fait.*): Brofy, Byrne, Roche, Doyle, Dunn, Valentine, Brady, Geoghan, Duff, Tracy, Germain, Pendergast.

**APPENDIX SEVEN. ENTRIES IN DUNLAVIN TITHE APPLLOTMENT BOOK
1823.**

ID number	Forename title	Surname	Gender	Townland	Area to one acre	Quality	Amt per acre	Total due
1	Patt	Freeman	m	Dunlavin	16	1	£0.18	£2.94
2	John	Harrington	m	Dunlavin	31	1	£0.18	£5.62
3	John	Fisher	m	Dunlavin	18	1	£0.18	£3.26
4	Widow	Whyte	f	Dunlavin	30	1	£0.18	£5.44
5	Capt.	Caldwell	m	Dunlavin	18	1	£0.18	£3.26
6	James	Fenton	m	Dunlavin	20	1	£0.18	£3.64
7	Dr.	Hatch	m	Dunlavin	4	1	£0.18	£0.71
8	Frank	Thomas	m	Dunlavin	10	1	£0.18	£1.80
9	Lewis	Thomas	m	Dunlavin	8	1	£0.18	£1.36
10	Patt	Clifford	m	Dunlavin	16	1	£0.18	£2.85
11	Tom	Martin (Sen.)	m	Dunlavin	9	1	£0.18	£1.57
12	Edward	Keogh	m	Dunlavin	2	1	£0.18	£0.41.
13	Michael	Conway	m	Sparrowhouse	2	1	£0.18	£0.32
14	William	Burke	m	Dunlavin	7	1	£0.18	£1.27
15	Mr Richard	Powel	m	Dunlavin	2	1	£0.18	£0.31
16	Rev. M.	Morgan	m	Adjoining glebe	4	1	£0.18	£0.66
17	Capt.	Chritchly	m	Dunlavin	7	1	£0.18	£1.27
18	Mrs.	Fowler	f	Boherboy	2	1	£0.18	£0.41
19	Michael	Valentine	m	Boherboy	2	1	£0.18	£0.41
20	Hugh	Graham	m	Dunlavin	2	1	£0.18	£0.36
21	William	Morton	m	Boherboy	1	1	£0.18	£0.18
22	John	Copeland	m	The Green	7	1	£0.18	£1.34
23	Martin	Winder	m	Dunlavin	9	1	£0.18	£1.63
24	George	Couse (Jun.)	m	Dunlavin	2	1	£0.18	£0.41
25	Richard	Fowler	m	Dunlavin	13	1	£0.18	£2.26
26	Mrs.	Fowler	f	Dunlavin	3	1	£0.18	£0.59
27	John	Keegan	m	Dunlavin	6	1	£0.18	£1.09
28	Widow	Fay	f	Sparrowhouse	7	2	£0.16	£1.23
29	Tom	Bryan	m	Sparrowhouse	2	3	£0.15	£0.23
30	Sam	Elliott	m	Sparrowhouse	4	3	£0.15	£0.60.
31	Michael	Coneran	m	Sparrowhouse	4	3	£0.15	£0.59
32	James	Harrington	m	Mrs. William Morgans	8	3	£0.15	£1.21
33	Thomas	Finlay	m	Cross Keys	8	3	£0.15	£1.24
34	Joe	Whittle	m	Cross Keys	8	3	£0.15	£1.14
35	John	Toule	m	Cross Keys	3	3	£0.15	£0.38
36	John	Manly	m	Cross Keys	2	3	£0.15	£0.30
37	John	Dunn	m	Cross Keys	2	3	£0.15	£0.23
38	James	Coleman	m	Cross Keys	2	3	£0.15	£0.76
39	John	Keegan	m	Cross Keys	5	3	£0.15	£1.76
40	James	Harrington (Priory Farm)	m	Cross Keys	12	3	£0.15	£1.39

ID number	Forename/title	Surname	Gender	Townland	Area to one acre	Quality	Amt per acre	Total due
41	Patt	Freeman	m	Baltys Pound Farm	10	4	£0.14	£1.39
42	James	Fenton	m	Near Tubber	6	4	£0.14	£1.39
43	John	Elliott	m	Sparrow House	4	4	£0.14	£0.52
44	Handwich	Hutchinson	m	Sparrow House	33	4	£0.14	£4.56
45	Michael	Coneran	m	Cross Keys	4	4	£0.14	£0.55.
46	John	Dixon	m	Boherboy	14	4	£0.14	£1.56
47	Captain	Chritchly	m	Turnant	93	4	£0.14	£12.94
48	Dan	Ryder	m	Boherboy	8	4	£0.14	£1.16
49	George	Couse (Senior)	m	Boherboy	1	4	£0.14	£0.14
50	John	Copeland	m	40 Acres	40	4	£0.14	£5.50
51	William	Foy	m	Milltown	7	4	£0.14	£0.97
52	Sam	Cooper (above road)	m	Cross Keys	5	4	£0.14	£0.69
53	Edward	Haydon	m	Cross Keys	1	4	£0.14	£0.14
54	James	Kelly	m	Merginstown	26	5	£0.13	£3.31
55	Anthony	Allen	m	Logatrina	161	6	£0.12	£19.56
56	John	Fisher	m	Boherboy	21	6	£0.12	£2.61
57	Widow	Whyte	f	Near Tubber	10	6	£0.12	£1.21
58	William	Powel	m	Near Tubber	10	6	£0.12	£1.16
59	William	Bouce	m	Near Tubber	10	6	£0.12	£1.16
60	Thomas	Elliott	m	Sparrow House	4	6	£0.12	£0.52
61	John	Dixon	m	Milltown	65	6	£0.12	£7.86
62	Thomas	Murphy	m	Cross Keys	11	6	£0.12	£1.28
63	William	Cooke	m	Ballylea	120	6	£0.12	£14.63
64	James	Smyth	m	Merginstown	24	6	£0.12	£2.93
65	Mr. G.	Fisher	m	Merginstown	55	6	£0.12	£6.68
66	Richard	Warnell	m	Merginstown	21	6	£0.12	£2.56
67	Edward	Foley	m	Milltown	43	7	£0.12	£4.98
68	Matthew	Byrne	m	Milltown	37	8	£0.11	£4.15
69	Reps of late Mr	Wilson	m?	Merginstown and Tubberbeg	28	8	£0.11	£3.09
70	Patt	Keogh	m	Merginstown	18	8	£0.11	£2.05
71	John	Haydon	m	Merginstown	18	8	£0.11	£2.05
72	John	Hanchurch	m	Merginstown	43	8	£0.11	£4.83
73	Denis	Dunn	m	Merginstown	27	8	£0.11	£3.04
74	George	Fenton	m	Merginstown	45	8	£0.11	£5.09
75	J. W.	Neal	?	Near Tubber	15	9	£0.11	£1.61
76	Mat	Neal	m	Near Tubber	9	9	£0.11	£0.97
77	John	Keaton	m	Blackhill	14	9	£0.11	£1.53
78	John	Heade	m	Blackhill	17	9	£0.11	£1.77
79	Phill	Benson	m	Blackhill	13	9	£0.11	£1.34
80	?	Dowden	?	Blackhill	13	9	£0.11	£1.36
81	Tom	Bryan	m	Heades Farm	16	9	£0.11	£1.66
82	Art	Doran	m	Boherboy	17	9	£0.11	£1.77
83	John	Copeland	m	Boherboy	15	9	£0.11	£1.56

ID number	Forename/title	Surname	Gender	Townland	Area to one acre	Quality	Amt per acre	Total due
84	Thomas	Moody	m	Turnant	27	9	£0.11	£2.90
85	Michael	Ennis	m	Turnant	72	9	£0.11	£7.67
86	John	Foley	m	Milltown	5	9	£0.11	£0.54
87	Patt	Doyle	m	Merginstown	27	9	£0.11	£2.88
88	Thomas	Handwich (senior)	m	Merginstown	23	9	£0.11	£2.49
89	John	Miley	m	Merginstown	23	9	£0.11	£2.51
90	James	Kean	m	Merginstown	7	9	£0.11	£0.75
91	Carney	Rooney	m	Merginstown	44	9	£0.11	£4.76
92	Patt	Walsh	m	Merginstown	40	9	£0.11	£4.29
93	Mr. Tom	Fisher	m	Merginstown	48	9	£0.11	£5.15
94	John	Hayden	m	Merginstown	36	9	£0.11	£3.81
95	Patt	Toule	m	Merginstown	37	9	£0.11	£3.97
96	Thomas	Whittle	m	Merginstown	49	9	£0.11	£5.24
97	John	Judge	m	Milltown	10	10	£0.10	£1.02
98	James	Harrington	m	Wrights Farm	0.5	10	£0.10	£0.08
99	Dr.	Morgan	m	Morgans Farm	22	10	£0.10	£2.24
100	Michael	McGier	m	Cross Keys	2	10	£0.10	£0.21
101	Anthony	Cooper	m	House Farm	19	10	£0.10	£2.01
102	Dr.	Wright	m	Wrights Farm	10	10	£0.10	£1.07
103	William	Johnston	m	Cross Keys	12	10	£0.10	£1.20
104	Widow	Doyle	f	Cross Keys	3	10	£0.10	£0.33
105	David	Howlet	m	Cross Keys	3	10	£0.10	£0.34
106	Sam	Cooper	m	Below Road	9	10	£0.10	£0.89
107	Whittle	Marton	m	Turnant	48	10	£0.10	£4.97
108	Thomas	Byrne	m	Blackhill	9	11	£0.10	£0.89
109	Tom	Bryan	m	Boherboy	7	11	£0.10	£0.69
110	Patt	Cosgrove	m	Boherboy	6	11	£0.10	£0.59
111	Larry	Cullen	m	Boherboy	2	11	£0.10	£0.22
112	Dan	Finegan	m	Boherboy	4	11	£0.10	£0.34
113	William	Ryves Esq.	m	Ballylea	40	11	£0.10	£3.42
114	Edward	Murphy	m	Merginstown	5	11	£0.10	£0.44
115	Mr. G.	Fenton	m	Reagans Farm	18	11	£0.10	£1.74
116	Mrs.	Fowler	f	Boherboy	23	12	£0.09	£2.09
117	James	Ryder	m	Turnant	42	12	£0.09	£3.81
118	John	Haydon	m	Turnant	69	12	£0.09	£6.26
119	FOX	COVER	-	Turnant	7	12	£0.09	£0.59
120	William	Foley	m	Turnant	40	12	£0.09	£3.61
121	Michael	Conolly	m	Milltown	14	12	£0.09	£1.27
122	Thomas	Archer	m	Milltown	11	12	£0.09	£0.95
123	Widow	Duff	f	Milltown	16	12	£0.09	£1.42
124	David	Archer	m	Milltown	5	12	£0.09	£0.48
125	Richard	Powel Esq.	m	Brewershill	74	12	£0.09	£6.71
126	Mr. J.	Copeland	m	Foresteen Hill	21	12	£0.09	£1.90
127	Andrew	Miley	m	Tubberbeg	21	12	£0.09	£1.88

UID number	Forename/title	Surname	Gender	Townland	Area to one acre	Quality	Amt per acre	Total due
128	Widow E.	Miley	f	Tubberbeg	21	12	£0.09	£1.88
129	Jane	Miley	f	Merginstown	15	12	£0.09	£1.35
130	Mr. Tom	Fisher	m	Harringtons Farm	16	12	£0.09	£1.45
131	James	Harrington	m	Cullens Farm	35	12	£0.09	£3.17
132	Mr. G.	Fisher	m	Tubberbeg	92	13	£0.09	£7.63
133	Edward	Murphy	m	Tubberbeg	1	13	£0.09	£0.09
134	Andrew	Nolan	m	Merginstown	25	13	£0.09	£2.11
135	Peter	Kealy	m	Milltown	57	14	£0.07	£4.34
136	Mr. J.	Copeland	m	Brewershill	330	14	£0.07	£25.09
137	William	Molyneux	m	Loughmogue	222	15	£0.06	£13.61
138	Thomas	Molyneux	m	Loughmogue	211	15	£0.06	£12.94

APPENDIX EIGHT. THREATENING LETTERS OF THE 1820S AND 1830S.

THE 1820s.

Letter one, 1 January 1826.

Notice

Let all landjobbers take warning hereby relative to the lands of Brewers Hill that this is the last notice will ever be put up concerning said lands and because that quibbling politician the great Mr Powell by his derogative libels on his wretched rack renters— (which he dealt with so illiberal) ingratiated himself so artfully with the Reverend Father Germain that his meadows were allowed to be mowed last harvest he was then elated with the thought that he might pursue his oppressive designs as usual and that all means of redemption would henceforth subside in oblivion. But let him think no such thing for that land is subject to redemption yet nor will the [time?] redemption elapse at the expiration of six months or six years or a much longer term. So let this oppressor and the rest of the land jobbing tribe take warning that it is not with the loss of property alone (that can be made upon the County by putting a claim from a code of laws of their own making) we intend to redeem it in future but we will redeem it with the loss of that which can be restored by any such intriguing tribe of usurping pretenders to politics that ever devising diabolical machinations to retard Our Most Gracious Sovereign and the just wise liberal and well disposed part of His Government from meliorating the distresses of the poorer classes of his entailed and miserable tho brave and faithful Subjects

1st Jany 1826

Signed H. L.

Letter two, 12 March 1826.

[With] Thos Fisher do not have any call whatsoever for if you dow remark the consequence Whitel.

This is only a causon for we do intend for to call to see you again with deth in one hand, and no mercy in the other. Do not think that Mary Doyle is dead, for we will not alow any such thing in the coutry. For if it was your case as is his we would do the same for you. Take care do not let us hear any more. We will serve your lady the same as we will serve your door and Captin Rock governed this place always and coutry – have not long to do with it and Mr Rock will be your friend – Carroll and [Naucton?] I hear warn you to have no call whatsoever but pressen death – as I understand you have no call to it I do hear you are encouraging him to it.

Let me hear no more of it with you.

THE 1830s.

Letter three, 12 March 1836.

Notice

To the public to watch that cross-born bastard Moore Morgan, the meaning of this I will tell you, how he was got Moore O'Farrell, got him with an old sickly tailor's young wife, and he pleased her well and laid the foundation of a protestant soul-saver, a parson. Then she made O'Farrell godfather and he made him a parson so he is Moore by O'Farrell and Morgan by the Tailor. We spared this by the by, but all through both day and night at home and abroad we watch this bastard till we take him down and blind Toney and McCarmel and Andrew Divine the poorhouse but the police and chief is doing their duty and not be too officious or we can take them down any time we like.

Letter four, 25 September 1836.

Notice

That we'll call again when opportunity serves to that saim John Harrington and his bre[e]d, the bloody inheritor of the Tony Rite [Wright] family, but any Catholicks holding any communication with John Harrington or Pat in Dunlavin or out of it will be revenged of them as soon as opportunity serves. Jo Whittle and Wall and others that they have promised to pay [tithe] but I now them awl but however will not as Judas like them take them short, but will watch my own time to pay them when the nabours will not save them. Hark the consequences, Ireland as she aught and must be great and free. Remember we'll not the death of the sinner but rather he would be converted and [than?] live death.

Letter five, 25 September 1836.

Take notice and beware of the bloodsucking tithey payers of Dunlavin, and they are the men that called a meeting first in your parish against tityde and made sollem laws that they never would pay tityde to any church to which they did not belong. They have drew the sword against any person who would not pay, but let the public notice that we will find out to go next any of theym, but Harrington in particular, that bloody informer, don't dare to go ny him, and Whittle and Wall, be aware of these but we'll pay them when they laist expected. I have candled before and it did not glow, but I will shoot Harrington in his own shop. Mark the cowl'd clay will be your doom, but in four quarters. By, by, by and by.

Letter six, 25 March 1838.

We the undersigned persons do hereby give an advice to the following persons, John Judge and William Kelly to have no medling or making in the taking of the orphan land at Friar Hill. We thought that we would have no more trouble in corecting this affair by what past herebefore, but since it is so we will have our vallediction on your damnation bodies, as far as plenty of ammunition will go. Do not be encouraged by the police barrack being here so convenient to yous, do not think that your underhand dealing will be let to pass, so beware, life is very sweet. Do not think that it is for past time that this is done, for we will make the devil lep out of yous, you cursed damnation old pair of rascckels, that has one leg in the grave and the other out of it, one of yous striving to outdo the other. Remember if yous do not take this advice that is here laid down before yous, beware of a suddent death you pair of old [feepikes?],

so beware we are laving yous at your own free will, so do not be stuttering from one to the other and saying there is no fear of us, the devil a word will be said untill you get your laving if you deserve it. We have forgot Mr Peter Manneran, we should think that one notice should be plenty for him, we will call to see him again and likewise Timothy Murphy the sloberer.

**APPENDIX NINE. DUNLAVIN RETURNS OF THE SECOND REPORT OF
THE COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION [1835].**

Benefice	Number of schools	Description of schools	Sources of support	Number of children	Average Daily attendance	Increasing/ stationary/ diminishing over 5 years	Kind of instruction
Dunlavin	9	1. Parochial school in connexion with London Hibernian Society.	Principally private subscriptions. Children pay from 1s 1d to 2s 2d per qtr. Hibernian Society usually gives a small donation, at its quarterly visitation, of 12s or 15s to the mistress.	Males 56 Females 61 Total 117	Winter 73. Rather more in Summer	Increasing	Reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar; the females needlework.
		2. Daily school, kept by John Marly	Payments from the scholars from 1s 8d to 3s per quarter. The most usual payment is 1s 8d	Males 24 Females 16 Total 40	Winter 29 Summer 40	Somewhat increasing	Reading, writing, arithmetic.
		3. Daily school, kept by James Byrne	Payments from the scholars from 2s to 4s per quarter. The most usual payment is 2s	Males 26 Females 14 Total 40	Winter 34 Summer 40	Established 1834	Ditto
		4. Daily school, kept by Laurence Connell	Payments from the scholars from 1s 3d to 4s per quarter. The average payment is 1s 8d	Males 25 Females 12 Total 37	Dec (1834) 37 Summer 40	Established nearly two years	Ditto
		5. Daily school, kept by Elizabeth Woodman	Payments from the scholars from 3s to 4s per quarter.	Males 12 Females 16 Total 28	25 but 33 or 34 in the summer of 1834	Established about a year and a half	Reading, writing, arithmetic; the females needlework.
		6. Daily school, kept by Mary Freeman	Payments from the scholars from 1s 3d to 3s per quarter.	Males 9 Females 29 Total 38	25 to 30	Established May 1834	Reading, writing; some of the females needlework.

		7. School kept by Miss Nuttall. This school is for females in a higher station of life than the preceding	Payments from the scholars.	Males 0 Females 8 Total 8	***	Established in 1834	***
		8. Daily school	Supported by Mrs. Pennefather.	***	Dec (1834) 7 Summer 20 to 25	Established in the summer of 1834	Needlework, reading and writing
		9. Sunday school, held in the church	Gratuitous teaching	Males... Females...	25 to 30 45 to 60	***	Scriptural instruction. About two thirds of these children attend at one or other of the daily schools
Uske	1	1. Daily cabin school, kept by Henry Nowlan	Payments from the scholars from 1s 8d to 4s per quarter; 2s 6d the most common payment. These produced about £25 last year.	Males 36 Females 27 Total 63	Between 30 and 40	Diminishing	Reading, writing, arithmetic.
Total	10	Number of children on the books of the daily schools...	Males 163	Females 171	Total 334		

APPENDIX TEN: EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN DR. LYONS AND FR. MAXELL (*KILDARE OBSERVER* 1902).

Fr. Maxwell, the parish priest of Dunlavin, had written to the county council expressing concern at the general state of cleanliness in the village. His concerns included:

- The condition of the village slaughterhouses.
- The disposal of many types of waste, notably manure and offal.
- The keeping of pigs in back yards.
- The lack of adequate toilet facilities.
- The scarcity and poor quality of drinking water.
- The open cesspools in parts of the village.
- The overcrowding of many of the village houses.
- The unhealthy conditions caused by all of the above.

Dr. Lyons' reply was published in the *Kildare Observer* of 12 July 1902:

THE CONDITION OF DUNLAVIN

Mr James H. Coleman J.P. (chairman) presided.

The Local Government Board, writing with reference to the sanitary state of Dunlavin, asked the council to be good enough to furnish them with the report of Dr Lyons of the unsanitary condition of the piggeries in the Dunlavin Dispensary district. The Local Government Board also enclosed the following report from their medical inspector, Dr

Edgar Flynn, who recently visited Dunlavin. The following is his report:

‘I visited Dunlavin recently and in the course of my inspections of the town with the medical officer of health, I visited several localities where pigs were kept in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling house. In fact, adjoining the houses and in many back yards, there were also accumulated organic and vegetable dirt and filth, which had evidently not been removed for a long time, and these conditions constitute a grave danger to the public health of any town, and the council should take steps to improve the sanitary condition of the town in reference to these two important matters. Pigs should not, in any circumstances, be kept in places that adjoin a dwelling house’.

With reference to the above, the board desire to draw attention to section 108 of the Public Health (Ireland) Act 1878, the provisions of which are mandatory and to state that they trust the council will take prompt steps to carry out the necessary improvements.

The following report was read from Dr Lyons:

‘Dear Sir,

I have made careful enquiries into the subject of the letter sent by Fr Maxwell to your board on the occasion of its last meeting. The letter came on me as a surprise as for the past three years I have heard no complaints from the Rev. gentleman about the sanitary condition of Dunlavin. There are certainly some few instances of overcrowding in the town, due to the scarcity of house accommodation. On one occasion I spoke to the landlord’s agent about the advantage financially as well as morally of building a few extra houses in Dunlavin, and also mentioned that a rent of 2s or 2s 6d a week could be secured from thoroughly reliable tenants; but it was useless, as he would not entertain the

proposal at all. In the few instances where "married and single people, grown up boys and girls etc., are huddled together", they are all members of the same family and not strangers, as one might be inclined to infer from the Rev. gentleman's letter. So limited is the house accommodation that I have once known three sound and reliable applicants to interview the landlord to obtain a house within one hour after the occupier's death. The next point dealt with in the letter is the want of proper sanitary accommodation in a great many of the houses. I enclose a report of the houses without such, and also of two where a privy has been provided and not used. I think each house should have a closet of some sort, preferably an earth closet, as the old fashioned privy and cesspool attached requires very careful attention and cleaning, so that it may not become a plague spot instead of a boon. Where the houses have proper yards they are, as a rule, kept very clean, but along the green there are a row of houses with no back yards attached. At the rear of these houses there is a kind of common, which has to serve as a back yard and a passage to the ball-alley. This passage has been lately kept very dirtily, there being manure strewn here and there carelessly, giving the whole place a very dirty appearance. The local government board inspector found fault with this on the occasion of his last visit. It would be very easy to provide yards for these houses, and also form a special passage for those frequenting the ball alley. There ought to be more labourers' cottages in the vicinity of the town. Undoubtedly, the labourers are to a certain extent to blame for this dearth of cottages, as it is almost impossible to persuade them that all that is required for an inquiry under the Labourers' Cottage Act is to have a certain number of applications before the board. I have many times called the attention of the board to the scarcity of the supply of drinking water for the upper half of the town. The work of erecting the new pump is

proceeding very slowly, but I understand the contractor has until November to finish the job, and declares he will have it completed within the time. This is urgently needed, as there are about one hundred and sixty children attending the Roman Catholic school close by daily.

The slaughterhouses are described by Fr Maxwell as being "filthy". The three butchers declare to me that the Rev. gentleman has never been inside their slaughterhouses. I am of opinion that the latter are kept clean, but I am not altogether satisfied with the disposal of the offal. I think this should be either burned or sent to some kennel. I am sure in a country like this, where there are packs of hounds kept, the owners of such would be glad to get the offal for the feeding of hounds. Perhaps Fr Maxwell means the disposal of offal when he speaks of 'filthy slaughterhouses'. The inspector found fault with a few places where piggeries were up against the back wall of dwelling houses. I reported these two to your board at their last meeting and the resolution I see is "No Order". In the interests of the inhabitants themselves, as well as the community at large, these piggeries should be removed from their present position. The "filthy cesspool" complained of is caused by the outflow from the closets attached to the Roman Catholic school being stopped, in a place called the 'Grove', by the tenant thereof. The exit from the 'Grove' is not sufficiently large to carry off the flow quickly. As a result of this, there is sometimes backward leakage towards the tenant's house, and it is to prevent this that he occasionally stops the outflow. Of course, he only does this occasionally. In fact, on the occasion of a previous visit, there was no pool at all. I recommend that the exit from the 'Grove' be at once enlarged and repaired so as to ensure a rapid discharge of the sewerage from the

'Grove'. This can be easily done. For the past year the health of Dunlavin has been exceedingly good. During that time I cannot recall an infectious case having occurred within the town. I think we may justly feel proud of this, at all events, as such a condition is very satisfactory. I may add that Dr Edgar Flynn, the local government board inspector, examined the town on the occasion of his last visit.

Your obedient servant,

Edward Lyons, Medical Officer.

Mr Rochford: Regarding these reports, I have to say that Fr Maxwell was in the slaughterhouses. This whole question wants to be thrashed out. It is proved that there is not proper house accommodation and if there was proper sewerage accommodation there would be no complaint about outflow or anything else. The landlords who are drawing rent for these holdings should be made remedy those defects, and this would meet the requirements of the case both from a moral and sanitary point of view. It is in the power of the council to compel landlords to provide proper sanitary accommodation.

Chairman: Have we that power, Mr Dagg?

Clerk: We have power to compel the landlord. He must provide proper sanitary accommodation for his tenants. I have been preaching that to you since I came here.

Mr Rochford: There are other matters to which your attention might be drawn. Some of those people who have no back yard throw slops into the cesspits and an offensive smell arises from them in the summer time. Would it not be better to have them closed up? The clerk quoted section 178 of the Public Health (Ireland) Act to show that the council had power to compel landlords to provide proper sanitary accommodation.

The *Kildare Observer* of 9 August 1902 included two letters, one from a severely chastened Dr Lyons, and one from a triumphant Fr Maxwell:

THE STATE OF DUNLAVIN

Mr James H. Coleman J.P. (chairman) presided.

Following the appointment of Mr Timothy O'Toole as cottage rent collector in the district [*The procedure of this election is described in great detail in the extract, but is omitted as irrelevant*] the meeting went on to discuss the sanitary state of Dunlavin.

Dr Lyons, Dunlavin, wrote:

In my letter to the board on the occasion of its last meeting, I mentioned that the butchers of Dunlavin declared to me that Fr Maxwell was never in their slaughterhouses. What I meant to convey was that the butchers were not aware of his visit, but this, of course, does not mean that the Rev. gentleman did not visit them. I did not understand from his first letter that he had visited any of them. I visited him lately, on which occasion he told me he had been in Mr Fay's slaughterhouse. The local government board inspector, Dr Flynn, visited the latter place also and made no complaint. The date of his visit was 9 May 1902. I regret very much any annoyance that Fr Maxwell has been caused. I had no intention of making little of his letter in any way. I would respectfully suggest that the board appoint six or more of its members to meet in Dunlavin and examine the yards, and confer with me as to the best means of disposal of manure, so as to prevent its accumulation to any extent in the yards of the town, and also on the removal of the piggeries, which are too close to dwelling houses. These are two difficult problems to

solve. The labourer says he must keep a pig to live, and wishes to accumulate manure to sow potatoes in the spring. Some of them even say that they could not get on without keeping pigs. A carman, too, must necessarily have manure accumulated within his yard, as at times of the year it is not easy to dispose of it. I will meet any gentlemen the board will appoint at their convenience in Dunlavin.

Rev. T. Maxwell P.P., Dunlavin also wrote:

Dr Lyons' report on my letter of 7 June ult. contained several erroneous and misleading statements, which demand notice, as my character for truthfulness is questioned. The doctor asserts that for the past three years he heard no complaints from me about the sanitary condition of Dunlavin. I can candidly declare I rarely allowed a favourable opportunity to pass without directing attention to the filthy surroundings of the church, schools and presbytery – to the foul condition of the channels and catch drains in the street. Above all, to the inhuman manner in which many families were housed and deprived of decent sanitary accommodation. On one or two occasions his reply implied that if he reported these nuisances he might leave the town, as his private practice would be destroyed. I answered that being the case, the dispensary and sanitary duties ought not to be entrusted to the one person. He added that it would be greatly to his benefit were they separated. This may account for the *modus operandi* of the doctor as sanitary officer. In the second paragraph of his report, the doctor writes, partly quoting my words:

‘In the few instances where “married and single people, grown up boys and girls etc., are huddled together”, they are all members of the same family and not strangers, as one might be inclined to infer from the rev. gentleman's letter’.

Strangers were not before my mind when I penned these words. There was no need to mention them, for surely is it not bad enough, degrading and revolting to morality to have members of the same family, single and married, grown up brothers and sisters, indecently huddled together for want of proper home accommodation! "To err is human". However, this is too delicate a subject to dilate on minutely and profusely. The lack of house accommodation in Dunlavin is truly lamentable. Last week I was called to attend a dying man living with his father on the green. The fetid hole the agonising creature lay in was so small that I had to administer the last rites of our Church on my knees. When he expired, for want of space for a coffin a kind neighbour gave the use of a room. A scene like that does not redound to the credit of the much-vaunted refinement of the present day. Notwithstanding the assurances, which the butchers gave Dr Lyons, that I had never been inside of their slaughterhouses, I could bring forward many witnesses to testify that I have inspected them very frequently. These buildings could not be kept clean, owing to their enclosed position, and the difficulty experienced in the disposal of the offal. No wonder that the stench is often times fearful, and that the neighbours suffered in health. This nuisance will account for the town being infested with rats. Church, schools and presbytery suffer very much from these rodents. Slaughterhouses should be located far away from dwelling houses and then the offal could be more easily got rid of. I am pleased to learn that Dr Lyons has reported a number of houses destitute of proper sanitary accommodation, which by law they are bound to have, and which could be supplied by a small outlay. Mothers, with tears, have frequently pointed out to me the gross insult offered to themselves and their modest daughters by their deprived of decent

conveniences and sanitary requirements, and so reducing them to the level of savages and the brute creation.

Not to prolong this letter, I will conclude with begging to be allowed to bear testimony to the very efficient and charitable manner in which Dr Lyons has discharged his duties as a dispensary doctor, and to his much valued skill in private practice. We both, I am sure, have the same objective in view – the welfare of those committed to our charge.

Misunderstandings will sometimes arise, which ultimately will not lessen mutual friendship. I hope that our labour for the good of the community will meet the sanction and co-operation of your respected board and shield us from the opprobrious and disheartening decision of “No Order”.

[Following the reading of these letters] Mr Rochford stated in the course of a long address that both Fr Maxwell and Dr Lyons were eager to have the town in a proper sanitary state. He (speaker) could say that Dunlavin was the cleanest little town in all Leinster. If they (the council) were to do away with the poor man’s pigs, they might go and condemn all the farmers’ houses in the whole country. He knew Dr Lyons to have to take his luncheon in a farmer’s house in the same room as was the sow and a litter of bonhams. Dr Howes was also attending a woman in a house where there was another pig, who, Dr Howes stated, was far better covered and more comfortable than the patient herself. To his own knowledge, all the piggeries into Dunlavin were kept clean, and he himself had piggeries, which were also kept clean.

APPENDIX ELEVEN.

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE CANON WHITTLE MEMORIAL, 1885.

(Source: Canon Donovan's Diary)

THE CANON WHITTLE MEMORIAL

Rev F A Donovan, P.P. Dunlavin	£5 5 0
Rev Thomas Lynch, C.C. Donard, Dunlavin	1 0 0
Rev T A Brennan, C.C. Dunlavin	1 0 0
Rev James Sheridan, P.P. Garristown	1 0 0
Rev Pierce O'Donnell, C.C. Johnstown, Arklow	1 0 0
Sacred Heart Association, Dunlavin	5 0 0
John Harrington, Dunlavin	5 0 0
David Mahony, J.P., Grancecon	5 0 0
P and E Sweetman, Francis st, Dublin	5 0 0
Baron de Robeck, High Sheriff, Co. Wicklow	3 3 0
William Burke, Dublin	3 0 0
Edward Pennfather, J.P., Rathsalla	3 0 0
Major Burrowes, Giltown	2 2 0
Canon Keogh, P.P. Balbriggan	2 2 0
J. M. Royse, J.P., Thornton	2 2 0
George Howes, M.D., Dunlavin	2 0 0
Henry Copeland, Ballymore-Eustace	2 0 0
James Leigh, Dublin	1 1 0
John Leigh, Dalkey	1 0 0
Rev M P Lanigan, P.P., Kilcullen	1 0 0
Michael Aylmer, J.P., Kilcock	1 0 0
Thomas Norton, Rathsalla	1 0 0
Thomas Keogh, Greenville House, Dublin	1 0 0
Martin Kelly, Dunlavin	1 0 0
James Cunningham, do.	1 0 0
Peter Kealy, do.	1 0 0
Edward Fay	1 0 0
John Whittle	1 0 0
John Brien	1 0 0
Mrs Lawlor	1 0 0
Miss Lawlor	1 0 0
Anthony Metcalf, Cryhelp	1 0 0
Thomas Metcalf, Old Mill	1 0 0
James Norton, Coonanstown	1 0 0

James Synnott, Cryhelp	1 0 0
Denis Fay, Colbinstown	1 0 0
Joseph Dunne, Merginstown	1 0 0
Patrick Driver, P.L.G., Ballymore-Eustace	1 0 0
Andrew Fay, Brewel	1 0 0
Patrick Cunningham, Naas	1 0 0
M J Bourke, Balbriggan	1 0 0
M J Coleman, Griffithstown	1 0 0
P. Manton, Garden Lane, Dublin	1 0 0
Mrs Dixon, Milltown	1 0 0
Miss Ennis, Tournant	1 0 0
Captain Heighington, J.P., Donard	10 0
Robert Heighington, do.	10 0
John Fallon, do.	10 0
Martin Dowling, Dunlavin	10 0
Wm Martin, do.	10 0
John Nolan, do.	10 0
Mrs Kelly, do.	10 0
Joseph Norton, Rathsalla	10 0
Thomas Byrne, do.	10 0
John Valentine, do.	10 0
William Maher, do.	10 0
Mrs Kealy, Merginstown	10 0
James Kealy, do.	10 0
James Bagnall, do.	10 0
George Copeland, Tober	10 0
Michael Healy, do.	10 0
Michael Burke, Merginstown	10 0
John Fay, Rathbeg	10 0
Joseph Deering, Milltown	10 0
John Burchel, Grangebeg	10 0
Patrick Keogh, Kinsellatown	10 0
Anthony Metcalfe, P.L.G., Lemonstown	10 0
Miss Copeland, Brewer's Hill	10 0
Miss K. Copeland, Ballymore-Eustace	10 0
Mrs. Doyle, Spitalfields, Dublin	10 0
John McGrath, Castleruddery	10 0
John Brady, Whitestown	10 0
Miss Dempsey, Ballintruer	10 0
A Friend, Rathsalla	10 0
A Friend, Clane Parish	10 0
Patrick Moran, Tober	10 0

Peter Cunningham, Bray	10 0
William Staples	10 0
Head-constable Griffin	5 0
James :Kelly	5 0
John Sheridan	5 0
Thomas Whelan	5 0
John Mooney	5 0
John Smith	5 0
John Dowling	5 0
John Headon	5 0
Patrick Smith	5 0
Walter Miley	5 0
James Kennedy	5 0
Denis Brien	5 0
James Kealy	5 0
Sarah Headon	5 0
"Johanna"	5 0
Mrs Hegarty	5 0
John Kinsella	5 0
John Bollard	5 0
Edward Lynch	5 0
John Kelly	5 0
Mrs. Donohoe	5 0
Mrs Kelly	5 0
Thomas Daly	5 0
Michael Kavanagh	5 0
Nicholas Lynch	5 0
Peter Cullen	5 0
John Smith	5 0
Thomas Whittle	5 0
Joseph Fitzgerald	5 0
John Hartigan	5 0
Stephen Nolan	5 0
Total subscriptions amounted to	£116 8 0

**APPENDIX TWELVE. ADDRESS PRESENTED BY CANON DONOVAN TO
ARCHBISHOP WALSH IN KILCULLEN ON 27 SEPTEMBER 1885.**

Address of the Priests and People of Dunlavin.

May it please your Grace,—"We, the priests and people of Dunlavin, hearing of your advent to a neighbouring parish in the discharge of an episcopal function, gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity presented to address you and add our voices to the universal chorus of welcome which has greeted you ever since your landing at Kingstown.

In you we behold the ecclesiastic who was selected for the position of Archbishop of Dublin not alone by the vote of the chapter and clergy of our diocese and the bishops of our Irish Church, but by the ardent wishes of the Catholic laity of our island. We had heard of your high moral qualities as well as your rare intellectual gifts; we knew of your great stores of acquired knowledge in so many departments of learning; we were assured of your prudence and governing power; and we had before us your sympathetic and broad statesmanlike views on the Irish land and education questions. Hence the joy we experienced when we learned of the overthrow of statecraft and intrigue, and the triumph of religious independence in the confirmation by the Holy See of the free choice of our Irish Church. We believed you were not alone a true Churchman, but a true patriot as well, and we were not mistaken.

As faithful children of the Church we desire to be guided by you in spiritual matters, and we hopefully appeal to you as a high-souled lover of your country to assist us in all our rightful struggles to improve our temporal condition. The condition of our country is depressed. Education in all its branches requires adjustment. Catholic educational endowments are needed. Positions of emolument should be more

impartially distributed. We are suffering from the effects of centuries of misrule, and we want light and guidance in the road to prosperity.

We seek light and guidance from your Grace. Teach us to unite for our common good.

Help us to select honest and capable representatives in Parliament, and then we may hope that prosperity will return and evil traditions be forgotten.

—Signed on behalf of the parishioners.

F.A. DONOVAN, P.P.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

THOMAS NORTON.

ANTHONY METCALFE, P.L.G.

JAMES CUNNINGHAM.

**APPENDIX THIRTEEN: REPORT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY LORD
PLUNKET IN DUNLAVIN ON THE OCCASION OF THE RE-OPENING OF
THE PARISH CHURCH AND CONFIRMATION, 20 AUGUST 1895.**

The Archbishop said he had come here today on a two-fold mission. He was amongst them for the purpose in the first place of congratulating them all upon the completion of that work of church restoration and renovation whereby they had been seeking to make this house of God more worthy of the solemn services held within its walls. It was to him a cause for much thanksgiving to find those tokens of spiritual life in this diocese. He had, not many days ago, an opportunity of witnessing a similar evidence of Church life in a neighbouring parish, and he took occasion then to refer to the fact — a most encouraging fact as regarded the ancient Church to which they all belonged — that during the last fifty years there had been expended in the shape of voluntary contributions a sum of at least one million of money in the restoration and erection of cathedrals and of parish churches in the Church of Ireland. He reminded his hearers then, as he now desired to remind this congregation, that during the latter half of that interval, since the separation from the State, Irish Churchmen were called upon to bear the burden of an entirely new responsibility, and there had been since the date of their disestablishment an average sum of something like a quarter of a million every year contributed by the members of their Church for the support of their ministers and other Church requirements, and the fact that during such a time, while so great a burden had to be borne, there should have been this additional sum contributed for the restoration and building of cathedrals and churches reflected no little credit, as it seemed to him, upon their national Church, and was a cause for no little thanksgiving on their part towards Him to whom everything they did was due.

He added that it was all the more encouraging to witness such zeal for the beauty and the dignity of God's house when they knew that it did not indicate in any sense a craving after ritualistic display; that it did not in any sense betoken a return towards those dangerous innovations which at the Reformation their Church disowned and rejected. It was sometimes thought that this care for the beauty and the dignity of the house of the Lord was in some way or other inconsistent with evangelical simplicity and Gospel truth; and there had been some, who, when speaking of the evangelical revival which took place at the beginning of this century, and the subsequent desire for improving and renovating their churches, seemed to contrast those two movements, the one with the other, and describe this work of restoration in churches as something indicating a reaction of the evangelical zeal that had preceded.

So far, to his mind, from its being a reaction, or something to be contrasted with reaction, it appeared to be the natural outcome and the necessary consequence of this evangelical zeal. For if they found that God was so gracious and loving towards themselves, and they looked up to Him with thankfulness for His mercies, surely their first impulse would be to see that the house of prayer dedicated to His services would not be allowed to fall into neglect or squalor. He rejoiced to find in this parish such a change as he witnessed today from what he himself had seen in years gone by. He now found here nothing gaudy or extravagant, but he found order, decency, beauty, and dignity and he rejoiced from his heart to witness this transformation as regarded the appearance of their church. He felt that much gratitude was due to all who had taken a part in the work. Much credit was due to their pastor for his zeal and perseverance in putting the work on foot, and carrying it to a successful completion.

Much credit was due to the architect who threw himself with so much zeal and

earnestness into the work, and to whom its completion at so moderate a cost was mainly done. Much credit was due to all those who took part in carrying out and fulfilling the purpose and the design that the architect had in view, and much credit was due to the members of the congregation who had in a spirit of Christian self-sacrifice given willingly their offerings on behalf of this good work. Yet, having said all this, he was quite sure he was only expressing the deepest feeling of their hearts when he said that for all they attributed praise to another source. He was sure that each one of them at the present moment was ready to exclaim "Not unto us, but unto Thy name, O Lord, be praise". The second object of his coming here today was to administer the holy rite of Confirmation, and most fitly, as it seemed to him these two purposes were found combined together, for he could not imagine how they could better celebrate the re-opening of their church after an interval of much suspense and tantalization no doubt on their part, than by holding within it that beautiful service in which some here present would participate, and which they should have the privilege of witnessing. His Grace then delivered a very earnest exhortation to the young people who were about to be confirmed, stating that the thought he would wish especially to impress on the minds of their dear young friends was the thought of the Heavenly Father, the thought that they as well as all gathered in this church might claim the right, if they would only lay hold of it, to call themselves children of God. This service, as it seemed to him, brought the truth of their filial relation to God to the very forefront, and made it stand out brightly and vividly.

**APPENDIX FOURTEEN. GRIFFITH'S VALUATION FOR
DUNLAVIN CIVIL PARISH, 1854.**

ID NO	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
1	Annalecky	George Fisher	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	125	£90.50
2	Blackhill	Patrick Spain	M	Robert Geer	M	House and Land	36	£19.75
3	Blackhill	Michael Smith	M	Robert Greer	M	House and Land	49	£24.50
4	Boherboy	Robert Brien	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	17	£7.00
5	Boherboy	Joseph Tynte	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	28	£17.75
6	Boherboy	George Douglas	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	49	£29.50
7	Boherboy	Arthur Doran	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	25	£14.00
8	Boherboy	James Fay	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	9	£7.00
9	Boherboy	John Brady	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	10	£5.25
10	Boherboy	Francis Malone	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	18	£14.00
11	Brewershill	Patrick Cunningham	M	John Copland	M	House and Land	8	£4.50
12	Brewershill	John Copland	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	79	£56.00
13	Cowpasture	Michael Hayden	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	68	£40.75
14	Cowpasture	Rebecca Fisher	F	Charles Sharpe	M	House and Land	80	£42.50
15	Cowpasture	John Doolan	M	Jane Fowler	F	Land	6	£2.00
16	Cowpasture	Patrick Hayden	M	Charles Sharpe	M	House and Land	56	£28.50
17	Cowpasture	George Fisher	M	Charles Sharpe	M	Land	15	£10.75
18	Cowpasture	Martin Glinn	M	George Fisher	M	Land	1	£0.60
19	Decoy	William Molyneux	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	107	£46.50
20	Decoy	Patrick Keogh	M	William Molyneux	M	House and Land	3	£1.50
21	Decoy	Joseph Molyneux	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	99	£45.75
22	Dunlavin Lower	Anthony Allen	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	57	£76.25
23	Dunlavin Lower	Joseph Kilby	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	131	£177.75
24	Dunlavin Lower	Francis Malone	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	9	£11.50

ID NO	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
25	Dunlavin Lower	Mrs Brownrigg	F	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	21	£32.75
26	Dunlavin Lower	Edward Keogh	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	3	£7.50
27	Dunlavin Lower	Matthew Fay	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	2	£4.00
28	Dunlavin Lower	William Thomas	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	11	£18.00
29	Dunlavin Lower	Mary Harrington	F	Georgina Bookey	F	Land	85	£145.00
30	Dunlavin Lower	Timothy Clarke	M	Mary Harrington	F	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
31	Dunlavin Lower	James Dixon	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	33	£30.00
32	Dunlavin Lower	George Douglas	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	12	£15.50
33	Dunlavin Lower	Thomas Byrne	M	James Dixon	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.50
34	Dunlavin Lower	Patrick Byrne	M	James Dixon	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.55
35	Dunlavin Upper	Christopher Gaffney	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	11	£14.50
36	Dunlavin Upper	Andrew Fay	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	9	£12.00
37	Dunlavin Upper	Mrs Brownrigg	F	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	26	£34.50
38	Dunlavin Upper	Amelia Thomas	F	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	9	£12.00
39	Dunlavin Upper	John Thomas	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	32	£35.50
40	Dunlavin Upper	Matthew Fay	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	13	£16.50
41	Dunlavin Upper	John Byrne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	11	£8.25
42	Dunlavin Upper	Peter Fay	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	11	£14.00
43	Dunlavin Upper	Samuel Hutchinson	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	22	£17.00
44	Dunlavin Upper	Joseph Tynte	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	4	£3.25
45	Dunlavin Upper	Robert Horner	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
46	Dunlavin Upper	John Geraghty	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.00
47	Dunlavin Upper	Thomas Elliott	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	6	£6.50
48	Dunlavin Upper	Sarah Elliott	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	7	£9.00

ID	TOWNLAND	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
49	Dunlavin Upper	John Hanbidge	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	26	£20.50
50	Dunlavin Upper	Sarah Nolan	F	John Hanbidge	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
51	Dunlavin Upper	Samuel Elliott	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	6	£6.75
52	Dunlavin Upper	Christopher Cullen	M	Thomas Elliott	M	House	0.5	£0.25
53	Dunlavin Upper	James Fay	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	15	£18.50
54	Dunlavin Upper	John Keane	M	Luke Bond	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.10
55	Dunlavin Upper	Joseph Kilby	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	42	£58.00
56	Dunlavin Upper	William Kealy	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	10	£13.75
57	Dunlavin Upper	Rev. Moore Morgan	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£0.80
58	Dunlavin Upper	Rev. Moore Morgan	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	11	£11.00
59	Dunlavin Upper	John Bourke	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	12	£18.00
60	Dunlavin Upper	Patrick Rorke	M	John Bourke	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
61	Dunlavin Upper	James Kavanagh Jnr	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£0.75
62	Dunlavin Upper	James Kananagh	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£0.75
63	Dunlavin Upper	Michael Kavanagh	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£0.25
64	Dunlavin Upper	George Douglas	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	55	£56.50
65	Dunlavin Upper	Anne Walsh	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
66	Dunlavin Upper	Arthur Doran	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	1	£2.50
67	Dunlavin Upper	Daniel Ryder	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	14	£15.50
68	Dunlavin Upper	Joseph Whittle	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	4	£5.00
69	Dunlavin Upper	Thomas Winder	M	Joseph Kilby	M	Land	30	£41.25
70	Dunlavin Upper	James Archer	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	4	£6.25
71	Dunlavin Town	Petit Sessions	N/A	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£0.50
72	Dunlavin Town	Church Educ. Soc.	N/A	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£0.25

ID NO.	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
73	Dunlavin Town	John Leonard	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
74	Dunlavin Town	Vacant	N/A	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£1.75
75	Dunlavin Town	William Neill	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.25
76	Dunlavin Town	Mary Whelan	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.25
77	Dunlavin Town	James Rochford	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.00
78	Dunlavin Town	Matthew Hanly	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.25
79	Dunlavin Town	James Tierney	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.75
80	Dunlavin Town	Edward Keogh	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.00
81	Dunlavin Town	Lodgers	N/A	John Hatch	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.50
82	Dunlavin Town	William Shaw	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	2	£16.00
83	Dunlavin Town	Amy Thomas	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£5.00
84	Dunlavin Town	George Travers	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.00
85	Dunlavin Town	John Halahan	M	Amy Thomas	F	House	0.5	£0.50
86	Dunlavin Town	John Hickey	M	Amy Thomas	F	House	0.5	£0.25
87	Dunlavin Town	Mary Hughes	F	Amy Thomas	F	House	0.5	£0.25
88	Dunlavin Town	Robert Gorman	M	Amy Thomas	F	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
89	Dunlavin Town	Vacant	N/A	Amy Thomas	F	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
90	Dunlavin Town	Hugh Byrne	M	William Brownrigg	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.25
91	Dunlavin Town	Peter Dames	M	Luke Bond	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.00
92	Dunlavin Town	John Byrne	M	Luke Bond	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.00
93	Dunlavin Town	Eliza Nowlan	F	Luke Bond	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
94	Dunlavin Town	Matthew Fay	M	Andrew Fay	M	House and Land	1	£6.00
95	Dunlavin Town	Michael Benson	M	Andrew Fay	M	House	0.5	£0.25
96	Dunlavin Town	Martin Nowlan	M	Andrew Fay	M	House	0.5	£0.25

ID NO.	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
97	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Irwin	M	Andrew Fay	M	House	0.5	£0.50
98	Dunlavin Town	Anthony Irwin	M	Andrew Fay	M	House	0.5	£0.25
99	Dunlavin Town	Ellen Byrne	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£0.25
100	Dunlavin Town	John Browne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.50
101	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Byrne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.00
102	Dunlavin Town	Vacant	N/A	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£0.25
103	Dunlavin Town	Thomas Christie	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.25
104	Dunlavin Town	Thomas Brien	M	Matthew Fay	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
105	Dunlavin Town	Mary Duff	F	Matthew Fay	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
106	Dunlavin Town	James Christie	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.00
107	Dunlavin Town	Jeremiah Curran	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.50
108	Dunlavin Town	Eliza Woodman	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.25
109	Dunlavin Town	Christopher Gaffney	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.00
110	Dunlavin Town	Peter Kelly	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£5.00
111	Dunlavin Town	James Wall	M	Mrs Bookey	F	House and Garden	0.5	£10.00
112	Dunlavin Town	Daniel Boland	M	James Cuthbertson	M	House and Garden	0.5	£5.00
113	Dunlavin Town	Constabulary	N/A	James Cuthbertson	M	House and Garden	0.5	£9.00
114	Dunlavin Town	Richard Byrne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£5.00
115	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Dempsey	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£7.00
116	Dunlavin Town	William Thomas	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.50
117	Dunlavin Town	Vacant	N/A	William Molyneux	M	House	0.5	£0.75
118	Dunlavin Town	James Murray	M	William Molyneux	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.25
119	Dunlavin Town	William Rochford	M	William Molyneux	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.75
120	Dunlavin Town	John Byrne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.35

ID NO	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
121	Dunlavin Town	Andrew Kerr	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.25
122	Dunlavin Town	Thomas Martin	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Gardens	0.5	£2.00
123	Dunlavin Town	Mary Harrington	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£17.00
124	Dunlavin Town	Joseph Reilly	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£6.00
125	Dunlavin Town	Samuel Waldron	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.00
126	Dunlavin Town	John Ingham	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.00
127	Dunlavin Town	Martin Kelly	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£8.00
128	Dunlavin Town	George Douglas	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£9.50
129	Dunlavin Town	William Healy	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.75
130	Dunlavin Town	Samuel Rawson	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.75
131	Dunlavin Town	William Lee	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.75
132	Dunlavin Town	Margaret Hughes	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.25
133	Dunlavin Town	Johanna Graydon	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.00
134	Dunlavin Town	William Cooke	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.25
135	Dunlavin Town	John Crowther	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.25
136	Dunlavin Town	George Neill	M	Robert Rawson	M	House	0.5	£1.50
137	Dunlavin Town	Robert Rawson	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.25
138	Dunlavin Town	Church	N/A	Ecclesiastical Com.	N/A	Church and Graveyard	1	£20.00
139	Dunlavin Town	Rev. William Anderson	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£11.00
140	Dunlavin Town	James Archer	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£8.00
141	Dunlavin Town	Anne Thomas	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.75
142	Dunlavin Town	Christopher Keogh	M	Mrs Copeland	F	House and Garden	0.5	£5.50
143	Dunlavin Town	Thomas Gallagher	M	Christopher Keogh	M	House	0.5	£2.00
144	Dunlavin Town	Richard Fisher	M	James Archer	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.50

ID NO.	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
145	Dunlavin Town	Catherine Ryan	F	James Archer	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.50
146	Dunlavin Town	Vacant	N/A	James Archer	M	Sheds	0.5	£1.50
147	Dunlavin Town	Lodgers	N/A	James Archer	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.50
148	Dunlavin Town	Thomas Winder	M	Joseph Kilbee	M	House and Garden	0.5	£15.00
149	Dunlavin Town	William Winder	M	Joseph Kilbee	M	Garden	0.5	£0.50
150	Dunlavin Town	Rev. Thomas Nolan	M	William Winder	M	House and Garden	0.5	£5.00
151	Dunlavin Town	Margaret Foley	F	William Fenton	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.50
152	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Neill	M	William Fenton	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.50
153	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Keenan	M	William Brownrigg	M	House and Garden	0.5	£6.00
154	Dunlavin Town	Arthur Lennon	M	William Brownrigg	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.50
155	Dunlavin Town	William Kealy	M	William Brownrigg	M	House and Garden	0.5	£8.00
156	Dunlavin Town	Denis McGrath	M	Thomas Winder	M	House	0.5	£0.75
157	Dunlavin Town	Thomas Doyle	M	Denis McGrath	M	House	0.5	£0.25
158	Dunlavin Town	James Kenny	M	Thomas Winder	M	House	0.5	£0.50
159	Dunlavin Town	Edward Byrne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
160	Dunlavin Town	Anne Corrigan	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£1.00
161	Dunlavin Town	Samuel Corrigan	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£1.50
162	Dunlavin Town	William Doran	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£1.50
163	Dunlavin Town	William Esmonde	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£1.50
164	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Gaynor	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£1.50 £1.50
166	Dunlavin Town	William Murphy	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	
166	Dunlavin Town	Michael Roche	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£1.50
167	Dunlavin Town	John Byrne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Tolls of Fair Green	3	£5.00
168	Dunlavin Town	School	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£5.00

NO.	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
169	Dunlavin Town	Chapel	N/A	Joseph Tynte	M	Chapel	0.5	£23.00
170	Dunlavin Town	Laurence Doyle	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House	0.5	£0.75
171	Dunlavin Town	William Motion	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.50
172	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Higgins	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.00
173	Dunlavin Town	William Carroll	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
174	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Traynor	M	William Carroll	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.50
175	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Grace	M	Thomas Elliott	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.50
176	Dunlavin Town	Robert Shaw	M	Thomas Elliott	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
177	Dunlavin Town	Bridget Cullen	F	Thomas Elliott	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
178	Dunlavin Town	Vacant	N/A	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.00
179	Dunlavin Town	James Byrne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.25
180	Dunlavin Town	Peter Healy	M	Henry Parr	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.00
181	Dunlavin Town	Owen Byrne	M	Robert Brien	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.50
182	Dunlavin Town	Vacant	N/A	Robert Brien	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
183	Dunlavin Town	John Leeson	M	Robert Brien	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.00
184	Dunlavin Town	James Jeeves	M	Robert Brien	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.25
185	Dunlavin Town	Thomas Brien	M	Robert Brien	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
186	Dunlavin Town	Martin Flood	M	Robert Brien	M	House	0.5	£1.75
187	Dunlavin Town	Mary Doyle	F	John Copeland	M	House	0.5	£1.25
188	Dunlavin Town	James Jeeves	M	John Copeland	M	House	0.5	£1.75
189	Dunlavin Town	John Nowlan	M	Christopher Keogh	M	House and Garden	0.5	£2.75
190	Dunlavin Town	Denis Mahon	M	James Woodman	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
191	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Curran	M	Denis Mahon	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
192	Dunlavin Town	Dorothea Graham	F	Francis Malone	M	House	0.5	£1.00

ID NO.	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
193	Dunlavin Town	Francis Malone	M	John Copeland	M	Sheds	0.5	£2.00
194	Dunlavin Town	Francis Malone	M	Eliza Reid	F	House and Garden	0.5	£18.00
195	Dunlavin Town	Francis Malone	M	Robert Brien	M	House	0.5	£8.00
196	Dunlavin Town	Martin Dowling	M	Robert Brien	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.50
197	Dunlavin Town	Vacant	N/A	Robert Brien	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.00
198	Dunlavin Town	Robert Bryan	M	Michael Valentine	M	House and Garden	0.5	£5.00
199	Dunlavin Town	Stephen Martin	M	Philip Molloy	M	House and Garden	0.5	£3.00
200	Dunlavin Town	John Cunningham	M	Philip Molloy	M	House and Garden	0.5	£5.00
201	Dunlavin Town	Richard Fowler	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£6.50
202	Dunlavin Town	Richard Fowler	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Tolls of Market House	0	£2.00
203	Dunlavin Town	Anne Nowlan	F	John Kelly	M	House and Garden	0.5	£4.00
204	Dunlavin Town	Patrick Keogh	M	John Kelly	M	House	0.5	£0.25
205	Dunlavin Town	James Fay	M	Thomas Hinch	M	House and Garden	0.5	£10.00
206	Dunlavin Town	Graveyard	N/A	Joseph Tynte	M	Graveyard	0.5	£0.00
207	Dunlavin Town	John Byrne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£5.25
208	Forristeen	Matthew Neill	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	40	£32.50
209	Forristeen	John Keating	M	Richard Rawson	M	House and Land	24	£14.75
210	Forristeen	Henry Dowden	M	John Copland	M	House and Land	24	£16.50
211	Forristeen	John Benson	M	Richard Rawson	M	House and Land	20	£14.50
212	Forristeen	John Byrne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	3	£1.25
213	Forristeen	Robert Bryan	M	Michael Valentine	M	House and Land	25	£21.00
214	Forristeen	Esther Allen	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	26	£22.25
215	Forristeen	Patrick Dowden	M	John Copland	M	House and Land	11	£5.75
216	Forristeen	John Tracy	M	John Copland	M	House	0.5	£0.25
217	Forristeen	James Traynor	M	John Copland	M	House and Land	17	£9.00

ID NO	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
218	Forristeen	Mary Doyle	F	John Copland	M	Land	3	£2.50
219	Knockandort	John Foley	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	17	£16.00
220	Knockandort	John Kealy	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	75	£34.00
221	Knockandort	James Archer	M	John Tynte	M	House and Land	39	£36.75
222	Knockandort	William Judge	M	John Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.30
223	Knockandort	Edward Murphy	M	John Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
224	Knockandort	John Flood	M	James Archer	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.40
225	Knockandort	Michael Rowley	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.30
226	Knockandort	Owen Duff	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.30
227	Knockandort	Bridget Duff	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.60
228	Knockandort	Peter Duff	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	8	£9.00
229	Knockandort	Pierce Archer	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	9	£8.75
230	Knocknagull	William Maher	M	Mrs Fields	F	House and Land	55	£46.00
231	Knocknagull	Bridget Toole	F	Mrs Fields	F	House and Garden	0.5	£0.60
232	Knocknagull	Mary Bryan	F	Mrs Fields	F	House and Land	14	£14.00
233	Knocknagull	Catherine Dowling	F	John Large	M	House	0.5	£0.25
234	Knocknagull	Anne Wright	F	John Large	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
235	Knocknagull	Michael Bryan	M	Mrs Fields	F	Land	10	£8.25
236	Knocknagull	Anthony Cooper	M	Robert Saunders	M	House and Land	67	£51.25
237	Knocknagull	James Johnson	M	Mrs Fields	F	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
238	Knocknagull	Lodgers	N/A	Patrick Murphy	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.60
239	Knocknagull	Matthew Tallent	M	Anthony Cooper	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.30
240	Knocknagull	Michael Miley	M	Robert Saunders	M	House and Land	35	£29.75
241	Knocknagull	Catherine McGeer	F	Michael Miley	M	House	0.5	£0.50

ID NO.	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
242	Lorrug	James Bagnall	M	Pierce Mahony	M	Land	22	£8.00
243	Lorrug	Francis Miley	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	41	£16.00
244	Lorrug	George Fisher	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	44	£25.00
245	Lorrug	Vacant	N/A	George Fisher	M	House	0.5	£0.50
246	Lorrug	Robert Miley	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	23	£12.75
247	Lorrug	Rebecca Fisher Joseph	F	Pierce Mahony	M	Land	25	£13.75
248	Loughmogue Lwr.	Joseph Tynte	M	Joseph Molyneux	M	Land	44	£30.00
249	Loughmogue Lwr.	John Cullen	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.55
250	Loughmogue Lwr.	Richard Molyneux	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	2	£1.00
251	Loughmogue Lwr.	Judith Loughran	F	Richard Molyneux	M	House	0.5	£0.50
252	Loughmogue Lwr.	James Corrigan	M	Richard Molyneux	M	Land	1	£0.50
253	Loughmogue Lwr.	William Molyneux	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	69	£37.00
254	Loughmogue Lwr.	Joseph Molyneux	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	74	£29.50
255	Loughmogue Upr.	Stephen Martin	M	Joseph Molyneux	M	Land	5	£1.75
256	Loughmogue Upr.	Patrick Loughran	M	Joseph Molyneux	M	House and Land	15	£7.50
257	Loughmogue Upr.	Joseph Molyneux	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	66	£23.00
258	Loughmogue Upr.	Thomas Brady	M	Joseph Molyneux	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
259	Loughmogue Upr.	Catherine Dalton	F	Joseph Molyneux	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.30
260	Loughmogue Upr.	William Walters	M	Joseph Molyneux	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.60
261	Loughmogue Upr.	Patrick Kennedy	M	Joseph Molyneux	M	House and Land	36	£17.50
262	Loughmogue Upr.	Joseph Tynte	M	Joseph Molyneux	M	House and Land	115	£115.00
263	Loughmogue Upr.	Richard Molyneux	M	Joseph Molyneux	M	Land	32	£16.50
264	Loughmogue Upr.	Timothy Cassin	M	Richard Molyneux	M	House	0.5	£0.25
265	Loughmogue Upr.	James Corrigan	M	Richard Molyneux	M	House and Land	30	£16.25

ID NO	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
266	Lugatryna	Anthony Allen	M	Georgina Bookey	F	House and Land	250	£246.00
267	Lugatryna	Patrick Murphy	M	Anthony Allen	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.30
268	Merginstown	Thomas Kealy	M	Dierce Mahony	M	House and Land	43	£26.50
269	Merginstown	Charles Byrne	M	Thomas Kealy	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
270	Merginstown	Robert Parkinson	M	Thomas Kealy	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.55
271	Merginstown	Mary Clarke	F	Thomas Kealy	M	House	0.5	£0.25
272	Merginstown	Michael Murphy	M	Thomas Kealy	M	House	0.5	£0.25
273	Merginstown	John Hennessy	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	37	£24.00
274	Merginstown	Patrick Smith	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	39	£29.25
275	Merginstown Demesne	Matthew Kealy	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	43	£28.25
276	Merginstown Demesne	John Bagnall	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	37	£22.00
277	Merginstown Demesne	George Fisher	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	149	£112.50
278	Merginstown Demesne	Denis Cahill	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	10	£5.25
279	Merginstown Demesne	Road Trustees	N/A	Road Trustees	N/A	Toll House	0.5	£0.80
280	Merginstown Demesne	Robert Giltrap	M	Rev. Lord Beresford	M	Land	0.5	£0.10
281	Merginstown Demesne	Thomas Giltrap	M	Rev. Lord Beresford	M	Land	0.5	£0.10
282	Merginstown Glen	Rev. John Hyland	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	28	£27.50
283	Merginstown Glen	Vacant	N/A	Rev. John Hyland	M	House	0.5	£0.25
284	Merginstown Glen	George Fisher	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	80	£40.50
285	Merginstown Glen	William Doyle	M	George Fisher	M	House	0.5	£0.25
286	Merginstown Glen	Denis Dunne	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	113	£71.75
287	Merginstown Glen	Thomas Whittle	M	Dierce Mahony	M	House and Land	38	£22.75
288	Merginstown Glen	James Mathers	M	William Heighington	M	Land	0.5	£0.20
289	Merginstown Glen	James Mathers	M	Michael Fenton	M	Land	0.5	£0.30

ID NO	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
290	Merginstown Glen	Joseph Whittle	M	Pierce Mahony	M	House and Land	39	£26.50
291	Merginstown Glen	Margaret Deegan	F	Joseph Whittle	M	House	0.5	£0.25
292	Milltown	James Dixon	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	146	£128.25
293	Milltown	Elizabeth Byrne	F	Thomas Rawson	M	Corn-mill and Land	31	£40.00
294	Milltown	Joseph Deering	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	75	£59.75
295	Plezica	Loughlin Brady	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	16	£7.25
296	Plezica	James Brady	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	24	£12.00
297	Plezica	Edward Copland	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	9	£3.75
298	Plezica	Joseph Tynte	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	160	£64.75
299	Plezica	George Mahon	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.60
300	Rathbawn	Patrick Dempsey	M	Thomas Rawson	M	Land	11	£11.25
301	Rathbawn	Catherine Kelly	F	John Freeman	M	House	0.5	£0.25
302	Rathbawn	Michael McEvoy	M	Patrick Dempsey	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.25
303	Rathbawn	Elizabeth Byrne	F	Thomas Rawson	M	Land	5	£6.25
304	Rathbawn	Denis Byrne	M	Charles Graydon	M	House and Land	31	£27.50
305	Rathbawn	Mary Coleman	F	Denis Byrne	M	House	0.5	£0.25
306	Rathbawn	Anne Flynn	F	Denis Byrne	M	House	0.5	£0.25
307	Rathbawn	James Doyle	M	Denis Byrne	M	House	0.5	£0.25
308	Rathbawn	Thomas Fennelly	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	23	£24.75
309	Rathbawn	Vacant	N/A	Thomas Fennelly	M	House	0.5	£1.50
310	Rathbawn	Joseph Whittle	M	Charles Graydon	M	Land	26	£23.00
311	Rathbawn	JMichael McLoughlin	M	Joseph Whittle	M	House	0.5	£0.50
312	Rathbawn	Joseph Whittle	M	Joseph Whittle	M	House	0.5	£0.50
313	Rathbawn	Margaret Murphy	F	Joseph White	M	House	0.5	£0.25
314	Rathbawn	Mary Bryan	F	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	8	£8.75
315	Rathbawn	John Toole	M	Charles Graydon	M	House and Land	3	£3.25

ID No.	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
316	Toberbeg	Joseph Tynte	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	30	£13.50
317	Toberbeg	Joseph Tynte	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	14	£7.75
318	Toberbeg	Richard Fisher	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	35	£19.50
319	Toberbeg	Richard Fisher	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	125	£63.50
320	Toberbeg	Esther Doyle	F	Richard Fisher	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
321	Toberbeg	Esther Johnson	F	Richard Fisher	M	House	0.5	£0.25
322	Toberbeg	Judith Vines	F	Richard Fisher	M	House	0.5	£0.25
323	Toberbeg	Mary Deegan	F	Richard Fisher	M	House	0.5	£0.25
324	Toberbeg	School	N/A	Joseph Tynte	M	School	0.5	£4.25
325	Toberbeg	Charles Doyle	M	Richard Fisher	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.50
326	Toberbeg	George Fisher	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	28	£16.00
327	Toberbeg	Arthur Norton	M	George Fisher	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.75
328	Toberbeg	Thomas Jackson	M	George Fisher	M	House and Garden	0.5	£1.00
329	Toberbeg	John Doolan	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	1	£1.40
330	Toberbeg	Arthur Dunne	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	2	£1.50
331	Toberbeg	John White	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	3	£2.40
332	Toberbeg	Charles Miley	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	3	£2.40
333	Toberbeg	Martin Glynn	M	George Fisher	M	House and Land	5	£2.90
334	Tornant Lower	Joseph Kilby	M	Georgina Bookey	F	Land	67	£73.00
335	Tornant Lower	John Norton	M	Georgina Bookey	F	Land	71	£69.00
336	Tornant Lower	Michael Byrne	M	John Norton	M	House and Garden	0.5	£0.65
337	Tornant Lower	Henry Ennis	M	Georgina Bookey	F	House and Land	115	£86.50
338	Tornant Lower	Graveyard	N/A	Rev. Moore Morgan	M	Graveyard	0.5	£0.25
339	Tornant Upper	Christopher Keogh	M	Georgina Bookey	F	House and Land	18	£19.50
340	Tornant Upper	Thomas Moody	M	Georgina Bookey	F	House and Land	44	£29.00

ID NO	TOWNLANDS	OCCUPIER	OCCUPIER GENDER	LESSOR	LESSOR GENDER	DESCRIPTION	AREA TO ONE ACRE	VALUATION
341	Tornant Upper	John Norton	M	Georgina Bookey	F	House and Land	141	£89.75
342	Tornant Upper	Michael Somers	M	John Norton	M	House	0.5	£0.50
343	Tornant Upper	Margaret Ryder	F	Georgina Bookey	F	House and Land	68	£29.00
344	Tornant Upper	Julia Hayden	F	Georgina Bookey	F	House and Land	106	£40.75
345	Tornant Upper	Joseph Tynte	M	Georgina Bookey	F	Land	5	£2.25
346	Uppertown	Patrick Cunningham	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	3	£1.50
347	Uppertown	John Cunningham	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	21	£9.50
348	Uppertown	Margaret Kenny	F	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	8	£3.25
349	Uppertown	Joseph Tynte	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	80	£35.50
350	Uppertown	John Wilson	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	10	£5.25
351	Uppertown	William Kirwan	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	10	£5.15
352	Uppertown	James Finnegan	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	10	£5.00
353	Uppertown	James Cosgrave	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	11	£4.75
354	Uppertown	Andrew Dunne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	5	£2.40
355	Uppertown	Peter Marlow	M	Joseph Tynte	M	Land	3	£1.50
356	Uppertown	Vacant	N/A	Peter Marlow	M	House	0.5	£0.50
357	Uppertown	Edward Dunne	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	14	£5.50
358	Uppertown	Henry Copland	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	20	£11.50
359	Uppertown	Edward Grace	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	18	£11.50
360	Uppertown	Francis Whittle	M	Joseph Tynte	M	House and Land	8	£4.75

APPENDIX FIFTEEN: ADDRESS PRESENTED BY PARISHIONERS TO FR. F. A. DONOVAN ON HIS ELEVATION TO THE STATUS OF CANON, 12 MARCH 1893, AND HIS REPLY.

(Source: Canon Donovan's diary)

Address from his parishioners to the Very Rev. Frederick Augustine Canon Donovan, P.P., V.F., Dunlavin, on his elevation to the dignity of Canon of the Archdiocese of Dublin, January 1893.

DEAR CANON DONOVAN: We come on behalf of your devoted flock to express our delight at the well-deserved honour our beloved Archbishop has conferred on you. Having already placed you in the important and confidential position of Vicar Forane or Rural Dean, he now gladdens our hearts by adding this new dignity by enrolling you among the members of the ancient Chapter of this great Archdiocese. We, knowing your unpretending but solid worth, your undemonstrative but deep sympathy with all the wants and legitimate wishes of your people, your tender and considerate solicitude for struggling, honest industry, think no honour in the power of your superiors to bestow too great for your desserts. The crowded confessionals, the flourishing state of the Sacred Heart, Purgatorian and Living Rosary Sodalties; the high answering of the school children at both the religious and secular examinations, the whole tone of the community under your charge, beating responsive to every good and holy call, all tell of the guiding spirit that directs and controls God's beneficent machinery in this faithful old parish of Dunlavin, Donard, and Donaghmore. Nor are your sympathies, nor is your work, confined to the purely spiritual domain. True to the traditions of the Soggarth Aroon, and in cordial accord with the teachings of the Chair of St. Peter, trumpeted forth with special power and emphasis by our present Holy Father, your heart ever prompts you to take no barren interest, not only in the

temporal well-being of your flock, but in the sacred inalienable rights of our ancient race and nation. In fine, we hope and pray that the good God may long preserve you to do credit to your present and still greater future honours, to edify your brethren, to aid in the regeneration of our beloved country, and to help your flock to greater holiness day by day and year by year.

JOHN HARRINGTON, Chairman.

Committee:

JAMES O'CONNOR, M.P.

FRANCIS MACENERNY, C.C.

HENRY L. COPELAND.

ANTHONY METCALFE.

JOHN FALLON.

JOHN ROCHFORD.

JAMES CUNNINGHAM.

THOMAS METCALFE.

Reply.

MY DEAR FRIENDS—It rarely falls to the lot of a parish priest to be the privileged recipient of such an affectionate address from his parishioners as I now receive from you. I do not disguise from myself the fact that the warmth of your cordial feeling has too highly coloured the portraiture of my poor desserts. Any praise bestowed on me for the spiritual well-being of the parish must be largely shared in by my coadjutural in the ministry; and the superior knowledge of prayer and catechism displayed by the children at their annual examination reflects credit on our conscientious staff of National teachers. Called, by the favour of our illustrious Archbishop, to membership

in that venerable Chapter which embraces so much of the dignity and worth of the Dublin clergy, I consider it an honour bestowed rather upon Dunlavin for its merits than on myself; for ever since my appointment among you, I have found religion and patriotism flourishing here. The ready praise of zealous missionaries of wide experience has been freely bestowed upon you for your edifying attendance at their pious exercises. You have taken a foremost position among the parishes of this county by your prompt and generous contributions in the cause of God and of country. While many were apathetic or blindly hostile during a recent crisis in our country's fortunes, you maintained an unfaltering attitude of unity and loyalty of purpose, which proved a pillar of strength to the local National cause.

But, passing to self, I cannot forget on the occasion of return, November, 1891, from my latest and most prolonged foreign travel the warm welcome home you extended to me, when your town blazed with illuminations and the air was filled with the skilled music of your band. Seeing you to be a people so loving, so confiding and faithful, so gentle and generous, should not I make such return as I could? I hold the opinion that the priest should cheerfully share in the burdens of his people, for experience proves that in generous Ireland they will never see him want. As you know I have spent some personal means on the churches and schools of this parish, notably on the Presbytery, Dunlavin, and the new altar at Davidstown. But there is one thing, which you do not know, which, now for the first time I venture to state, though with reluctance. I have made provision to the extent of over £1,000 for the economical maintenance in our Diocesan College of Holy Cross, Clonliffe, of meritorious clerical students of limited means to enable them to become worthy ministers of religion. On this foundation Dunlavin has first claim, then my old parish of Arklow, then the county Wicklow at

large, where my life has been mainly spent, and finally the remaining portion of my native diocese of Dublin.

And now I have done. I have, deeply, to thank you for very many things, kind friends and worthy parishioners, but not least for this last proof of your warm regard and abiding good wishes.

I remain ever your attached pastor,

FREDERICK CANON DONOVAN.

Dunlavin, Co. Wicklow, March 12, 1893.

APPENDIX SIXTEEN. 1901 AND 1911 CENSUSES FOR DUNLAVIN VILLAGE.

1901

NAME	TYPE OF HOUSE	CLASS OF HOUSE	PROFESSION
Sarah Lawler	Public House	1st	Merchant
William Byrne	Shop	1st	Saddler
Joseph Waldron	Private Dwelling	2nd	Plasterer
Kerry L. Supple	Private Dwelling	1st	General servant
Henry Hoey	Hotel	1st	House keeper/Grocer
John Hawkes	Bank	1st	Bank Manager
Henry Coleborne	Shop	2nd	Jeweller
Peter A. Doran	Hotel	1st	Publican
Peter B. Coleman	Private Dwelling	2nd	Bank Official
Jas Gordon	Private Dwelling	2nd	Car Driver
Jas Keogh	Lodging House	2nd	Labourer
Edwd Wall	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer
Philip Doran	Private Dwelling	2nd	Car Driver
James Kelly	Shop	2nd	
John Thomas	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tailor
Michael Moore	Private Dwelling	2nd	Boot Maker
Peter Masterson	Private Dwelling	2nd	Baker
James Walsh	Private Dwelling	2nd	General Labourer
John Moore	Private Dwelling	2nd	Baker
Joseph Ruxton	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tailor
William Rawson.	Private Dwelling	2nd	Plasterer
John Dunn			Servant
J. J. O. Ramsey	Private Dwelling	1st	Civil Engineer
Jas Gorman	Shop	2nd	Butcher
Daniel Brady	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tailor
John O'Brien	Public House	1st	Shop Keeper
Richard Doyle	Private Dwelling	2nd	Blacksmith
William O'Brien	Public House	2nd	Publican
	Shop	2nd	Merchant
Thos Fisher	Shop	1st	Grocer/spirit dealer
	Public House	1st	
Christie Lawlor	Public House	1st	Grocer/spirit dealer
Margt. Corrigan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer
Mary Kavanagh	Private Dwelling	2nd	House Keeper
Patk. Esmonde	Private Dwelling	2nd	Dress Maker
Michael Roche	Private Dwelling	2nd	Carpenter
Ellen Roche	Private Dwelling	2nd	Carpenter
Christopher Kelly	Private Dwelling	3rd	Butcher
Myles Carroll	Private Dwelling	2nd	Baker
John Maxwell	Private Dwelling	1st	P.P.

Peter Early			Clergyman
Mary Byrne	Private Dwelling	3rd	House Keeper
Catherine Bligh	Lodging House	2nd	House Keeper
Martin Collins	Private Dwelling	2nd	Railway worker
Mary Cleary	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer
Joseph Dunn	Private Dwelling	2nd	
Margt Dunn			Labourer
Wm. Horner	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer
Wm. Leigh	Private Dwelling	2nd	Butcher
Jas Moore	Private Dwelling	3rd	Cattle Dealer
Patk. Byrne	Private Dwelling	2nd	Shoe Maker
Anne Doyle	Private Dwelling	2nd	Railway porter
Joseph Nolan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Blacksmith
Christopher Gleeson	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tin Smith
George Horner			Shoe Maker
Jas Kane	Private Dwelling	2nd	Car Owner
Richard Fisher	Shop	2nd	Saddler
Patk Holland	Private Dwelling	2nd	Pensioner
Wm. Byrne	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tailor
Patk. Nolan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Green Grocer
Bridget Waters	Private Dwelling	2nd	Van Driver
Jane Cullen	Private Dwelling	2nd	Shop Keeper
	Shop	2nd	Tailor
Patk. Byrne	Private Dwelling	2nd	Grocer
John Browne	Shop	1st	Grocer
Thos. Bryan	Shop	1st	
Mary Couse	Private Dwelling	2nd	
Margt. Kelly	Shop	2nd	Shop Keeper
Rosanna Roche			House
Ellen Whittle	Private Dwelling	2nd	Farmer
Samuel Magee	Private Dwelling	1st	Cleric
Wm. McNiece	Private Dwelling	2nd	Teacher
Kate Nolan	Shop	2nd	Shop Keeper
John Hallaghan	Private Dwelling	2nd	
John Dempsey	Private Dwelling	2nd	Farm Labourer
Margt. Fay	Private Dwelling	2nd	
John Rochford	Private Dwelling	2nd	
Thos. Monks	Private Dwelling	2nd	Railway man
Jane Hanly	Private Dwelling	2nd	Laundress
Caroline Conway	Lodging House	2nd	House Keeper
John Bagnall	Private Dwelling	2nd	Coach builder
Edward Lyons	Private Dwelling	1st	Doctor
Michael Grennan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer
Louis Carroll			Shoe Maker
Jane Thomas	Lodging House	2nd	House Keeper
Thos. Christie	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer
Michael Griffin	Private Dwelling	1st	Farmer
James Farrell	Private Dwelling	2nd	Policeman

Mary Beveridge	Private Dwelling	3rd	Servant
John McGuirk	Private Dwelling	2nd	Shepherd
Thos. Christie	Private Dwelling	2nd	
Mary Ann Mulally	Private Dwelling	2nd	Farmer
Thos. Roche	Private Dwelling	2nd	Carpenter
Joseph Kane	Private Dwelling	2nd	Car Owner
Jas Christie	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tailor
Peter Kelly	Private Dwelling	2nd	Blacksmith
Jas Neill	Private Dwelling	2nd	Shopman
Ellen Kilmurray			
Teresa Fay	Public House	1st	Publican
Jas Cunningham	Shop	1st	Baker/Grocer
Margt. Boland	Private Dwelling	2nd	Dress maker
Wm. Walsh	Private Dwelling	2nd	Van Driver
Jas.S.Cunningham	Private Dwelling	2nd	Policeman
Esther Mangan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Van Driver
	Market House		
	Protestant Church		
	R.C. Church		
	National School		
	National School		
Matthew Fallon	R.I.C. Barracks	1st	
Matthew Fallon			
Bosquell Mingle	Show Box		

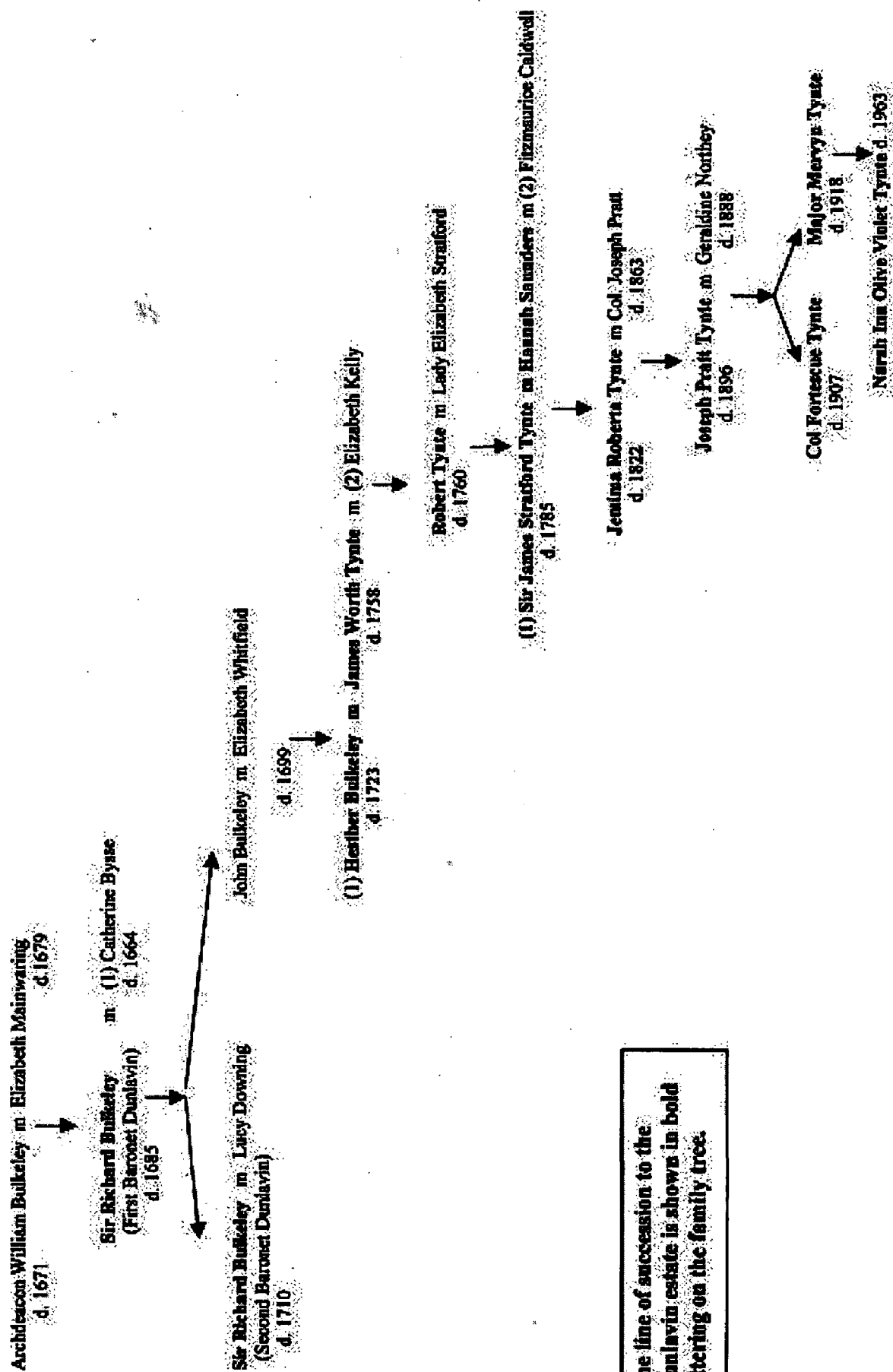
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NAME	TYPE OF HOUSE	CLASS OF HOUSE	PROFESSION
Kate Griffin	Private Dwelling	1st	-
James Farrell	Private Dwelling	2nd	Policeman
Rose Cullen	Private Dwelling	3rd	Old Age Pensioner
Thomas Christie	Private Dwelling	2nd	Retired mason
Michael Higgins	Private Dwelling	1st	Herd labourer
Frank Whittle	Private Dwelling	1st	Farmer
William Fallon	Private Dwelling	2nd	Clerk
Margaret Keane	Private Dwelling	2nd	Farmer
Bridget Christie	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
Peter and John Kelly	Private Dwelling	2nd	Blacksmith
Jas Neill	Private Dwelling	1st	General Servant
Bailey Cluxton	Private Dwelling	1st	Shopkeeper
Hannah Boland	Private Dwelling	2nd	Dressmaker
Matthew Fallon	R.I.C. Barracks	1st	Head Constable
Jas Lawlor	Public House/Hotel	1st	Publican
Sarah Byrne	Shop	1st	Shopkeeper
Joseph Waldron	Private Dwelling	2nd	Plasterer
John F. Dowling	Private Dwelling	1st	Grocer's manager

Patrick O'Brien	Public House	1st	Tea and wine merchant
Rev Ambrose Burns	Private Dwelling	1st	Catholic curate
Henry Coleborn	Post Office	1st	Jeweller
Thomas Hunter	Shop	2nd	Master harness maker
Christy Lawlor	Shop	1st	-
Edward R. Nichols	Private Dwelling	1st	Veterinary surgeon
Edward Gordon	Private Dwelling	2nd	Car Owner
Catherine Wall	Private Dwelling	2nd	Car Owner
Margaret Kehoe	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
Philip Doran	Private Dwelling	2nd	Carrier
James Kelly	Private Dwelling	1st	Tailor
John Thomas	Private Dwelling	2nd	Boot maker
Michael Moore	Private Dwelling	2nd	Baker
Peter Masterson	Private Dwelling	2nd	Baker
James Walsh	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer
John Kelly	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tailor
Edward Walsh	Private Dwelling	3rd	Labourer
James Moore	Private Dwelling	2nd	Auxiliary postman
Frank Whittle	Private Dwelling	3rd	Gamekeeper
William Rawson	Private Dwelling	2nd	Slater and plasterer
John T. R. Westropp	Private Dwelling	1st	Bank manager
Thomas Fisher	Public House	1st	General merchant
J. J. O. Ramsey	Private Dwelling	1st	Civil engineer
James Gorman	Private Dwelling	2nd	Shopkeeper
Danl Brady	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tailor
John O'Brien	Public House	1st	Grocer/Provision merchant
	Shop		
Patrick Esmonde	Private Dwelling	1st	Herd
Michael Kavanagh	Shop	2nd	Butcher
Richard Doyle	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
Margaret O'Brien	Private Dwelling	1st	Merchant
Christy Lawlor	Public House	1st	Grocer/Provision dealer
	Shop		
James Corrigan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Van driver
Anne Doyle	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
Margaret Grennan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Dressmaker
John Kavanagh	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer general
Christy Gleeson	Private Dwelling	2nd	Nailer
George Horner			Shoemaker
Joseph Dunne	Private Dwelling	2nd	Rural postman
Mary Walsh	Private Dwelling	2nd	Servant and pensioner
Michael Roche	Private Dwelling	2nd	Joiner
James Roche	Private Dwelling	2nd	Carpenter
Patrick Cullen	Private Dwelling	2nd	Draper
Christy Kelly	Private Dwelling	2nd	Baker
Myles Carroll	Private Dwelling	2nd	Baker
Rev. F. Flynn	Private Dwelling	1st	Parish priest
Mary Byrne	Private Dwelling	3rd	Washerwoman

Mary Bligh	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
James Moore	Private Dwelling	2nd	Cattle dealer
Patrick Byrne	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tailor
Joseph Nolan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Blacksmith
James Kane	Private Dwelling	2nd	Car proprietor
Martin O'Neill	Private Dwelling	2nd	Constable RIC
Cath. Holland	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
Wm. Byrne	Private Dwelling	2nd	Tailor
James Nolan	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
Owen Byrne	Private Dwelling	2nd	Shoemaker
Walter Brogan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Van driver
Patrick Kilmurray	Private Dwelling	2nd	Retired farmer
John Bourne	Public House	1st	Merchant
Thomas William Bryan	Shop and hotel	1st	Shopkeeper
Patrick Cunningham	Shop	1st	Baker and shopkeeper
Maria Fisher	Private Dwelling	1st	-
Rosanna Roche	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
James Donnelly			Carpenter
Teresa Fay	Public House/Shop	1st	Publican
Joseph Whittle	Private Dwelling	1st	Farmer
Rev H. Achenson	Private Dwelling	1st	Clerk in holy orders
Annie L. Anderson	School	1st	National school teacher
Kate Nolan	Shop	1st	Grocer and purveyor
John Dempsey	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer
Julia Halahan	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
Andrew Fay	Private Dwelling	2nd	Herd
John Rochford	Private Dwelling	2nd	Farmer and cooper
Mary Hanley	Private Dwelling	2nd	Laundress
John Mangan	Private Dwelling	2nd	Bread van driver
John Bagnall	Private Dwelling	2nd	Coach builder
Thomas Monks	Private Dwelling	1st	Agricultural labourer
Edward Lyons	Private Dwelling	1st	General practitioner
James Elliott	Private Dwelling	2nd	Coachman
Jane Thomas	Private Dwelling	2nd	-
Thomas Christie	Private Dwelling	2nd	Labourer

Appendix two. Line of succession of the Bulkeley and Tynite families to the estate at Dunlavin from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries.



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