HISTORICAL RAMBLINGS ON CLONAKILTY

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This paper presents numerous extracts from contemporary sources dating from the first half of the seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century which discuss Clonakilty and its environs, with the majority dating to the early 1800s. They deal with a wide variety of miscellaneous topics from the local fishing practices of the so-called peasantry to the education of the gentry. Most derive from primary sources and are available for free online. These excerpts help to form a fuller picture of daily life in Clonakilty and of the natural and built landscape of the town, as well as giving us an insight into the local material culture from the period under review. However, we must remember that the writings reflect the socio-political climate during which they were composed and that they were written by high-status, literate individuals, many of whom were outsiders and most would have considered themselves English, Anglo-Irish and Protestant. I offer little analytical commentary but sporadically provide some additional information on places in the wider West Cork region by way of comparison. It is anticipated that, into the future, this paper will encourage further investigation and analysis of Clonakilty's vibrant past.

Sir Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork, was granted a charter for the new borough of Cloghnikilty in 1613.¹ Boyle made a number of references to Clonakilty in his diary; the following are a sample. On 26 August 1639, he wrote letters to Mr Barham signifying his 'choice of Mr peeter Roscrew to be Sovereign of cloghnekeelty, to begin their year on St Lukes day next, 1639';² on 15 September of the following year, Anthony Stowell was his choice for the role of sovereign.³ On 6 April 1640, Boyle sent by his 'tennant Mr Lawrence, of Derrigra, the graunt to make Mr Walter Birde, Recorder of cloghnekeelty'.⁴

Presumably this same Walter Birde, 'a british protestant', made a deposition on 22 October 1642, recalling his memories of the rebellion of 1641.⁵ In it he declared that he 'was robbed and forceably dispoiled of his goods and Chattles', adding that

by meanes of this presente rebellion he is disposed of ... a plot of ground at Cloghne kilty ... for foure score & foure yeeres ... wherevpon this deponent built a house which cost him one hundred & foure score pounds burnt by the rebels ... He is likewise dispossessed of another house built the last yeere by this deponent wherin he is damnified like wise burnt by the rebells ... The deponent saith that he was robbed by the rebells their names he knoweth not. Hee further saith that Thomas Linchcom late soueraigne of Clonekilty aforesaid his wife dorothy Linchcom & Joane his wifes sister aboute two monthes since were cruelly murthered or made away by the rebells.⁶

The rebellions affected the balance of power in the Clonakilty area. This is reflected in the *Down Survey of Ireland*, compiled in the 1650s, which shows that – excepting church lands – the proprietors in the local parishes of Kilgarriff and Inchydoney were 'Irish papists'. In Kilgarriff the listed proprietors were: Joane Roach, James Terry and Teige Dermod O Donovane.⁷ In Inchydoney the proprietors named were: Dermod McOwen Cullahane, Owen McDonogh Cullahane, John McFlynine Cullahane, David Hurley, Donogh oge O Donovane (religion not listed), Richard McTeige O Donovane and Teige McDermod O Donovane.⁸

On 13 June 1711, the Corporation of the 'Burrough de Cloughnakilty' met and discussed the town's watercourse problem:

We find and present that the watercourse coming from Skirtagh, running through the street of this burrough is a nusence, and ought to be kept in the old watercourse; and any pson. that should be found guilty of turning the said stream shall for the first offence forfeit the sum of two shilling and sixpence sterling, and for every offense after shall forfeit the sum of three shillings sterling, the said sum to be levyed by way of distress, if need be, by the suffrain's warrant in being, to the constables of the said burrough to collect the same.⁹

The following description of Clonakilty, provided by William Wilson in 1786, tells of the residual impact of the seventeenth-century rebellions:

Cloghnikilty is situated near the sea, which affords it more pleasure than profit; the mouth of the harbour being choked with sand, ¹⁰ prevents vessels of burthen from coming up to the town. It is built in the form of a cross; and here is a tolerable good church, situated on a rising ground. Before the wars of 1641, it was a flourishing place; but being then burnt down, it has never thoroughly recovered itself. ¹¹

Wilson also recorded the residences of a number of prominent gentlemen in the area, including Mr Stawell at 'Knocknasoney', Mr Harris at 'Coalwood', Dr Calnan at 'Mount-Shannon', ¹² Mr Allen at 'Ballyvackie' and Mr Wardner at Baillad (Bealad). ¹³ In the same work, Rosscarbery is defined as a small town with a small cathedral whose 'church-yard is washed by an arm of the sea, that flows up to the town, and is prettily planted with trees'. ¹⁴ In relation to Bandon, it is noted that 'by a standing bye-law of the corporation, no papist can dwell in the town'. ¹⁵

Reports presented to the House of Commons in the mid-eighteenth century give us an insight into the condition of the barracks in 'Clonekilty'. ¹⁶ By 1755 it had been *re*built by Arthur Jones Nevill (Surveyor General of Ireland 1743–52) and Thomas Eyre (engineer and Surveyor General of Ireland 1752–63). ¹⁷ In 1755 it was stated that

The Roof and all the Timber Work of this Barrack is very well executed in every respect conforming to the Bill of Scantling. The Walls are of the Thickness required, and are well filled, yet appear to receive the Rain in some Parts of the Front and of the Returns, which is a Defect arising from the Quality of the Mortar used, and ought to be remedied.¹⁸

A report a few years later declared:

There are several Defects here; the high Bank behind this Barrack makes the Chimnies smoke and the Ground floors damp; the Yard wants to be levelled and gravelled, or paved; a Well wanted for a Supply of fresh Water.¹⁹

The building was owned by Lord Shannon, who charged no rent and there was no lease. At this time it accommodated one company of foot.²⁰ By 1810, the barracks was 'capable of containing two companies of foot, but [was] seldom occupied by more than one'.²¹

On 14 July 1809, Lewis Dillwyn (1778–1855), a well-known naturalist, porcelain manufacturer and Member of Parliament,²² during his tour of Cork, stayed the night at a small inn in Clonakilty called the Saint.²³ He kept a diary of his observations on natural history and other points of interest; on Clonakilty he made the following commentary:

an Arm of the Sea runs up to the Town, but its Banks are tame & the neighbourhood totally devoid of Beauty. The Town contains very few decent Houses but it is large & very populous.²⁴

While uninterested by the town itself, Dillwyn was very much impressed by the flowers growing in abundance in the meadows close to the town and by the variety of insects and shells at Island (Inchydoney). From Clonakilty, he journeyed to Dunmanway which he observed 'is a better tho' not so large a Town as Cloghnikilty'.²⁵ He also remarked that it is

commonly supposed that there are no Bugs in this Kingdom, & that they were all turned out by St. Patrick. If, however, they ever were

banished they have returned with a vengeance for in my Life I never was so plagued by them as I have been at Cork, at Cloghnikilty & at this place [Dunmanway].²⁶

In the 1810 *Statistical Survey of County Cork*, Rev. Horatio Townsend, rector and vicar of Kilgarriff, informs the reader that

Cloghnikilty has made a rapid progress in population, industry, and opulence, in the course of the last twenty-five years. Within that time have been built extensive quays, large corn stores, and a great many good dwelling-houses.²⁷

There were then over 450 houses and almost 4000 residents.²⁸ Before that period he claimed there were few shops but by 1810 the many shopkeepers were paying heavy rents of up to £40 per annum for 'narrow and uncomfortable tenement'.²⁹ Townsend introduces the reader to what he considered an unusual fishing practice in 'Ross strand, and the great sandy beach near Castlefreke'.³⁰ He reported that these sands were inhabited by a species of eel measuring

from six to twelve inches in length, with a sharp snout, and almost transparent body ... In the beginning of the summer they make their appearance on the coast and are taken with small nets of very close mesh. In the months of September and October, they come higher up upon the sand, for the purpose of spawning. The velocity, with which they pierce through the sand by means of their slender bodies and pointed noses, is surprising; for, unless immediately secured, they work down and are out of sight. When the tide has retired, the peasants collect in great numbers on the strand, with shovels and baskets, and seldom fail to return with a full load, the men turning up the sand, and the women and boys collecting the fish. Night as well as day is employed in this operation ... I have this season, in which they have appeared in unusual abundance, seen a thousand persons at one time engaged in this work, exhibiting a most curious and entertaining scene. Sometimes they stand up to the middle in water, and scraping through the sand, with an old reaping hook fastened to the end of a stick, throw

them on the shore. They are sold in the markets of Cloghnikilty, and, while the season lasts, contribute materially to the subsistence of the poor. The Cloghnikilty and Courtmacsherry strands also supply them, but in less plenty'.³¹

Townsend also provided a description of Clonakilty's classical school which he maintained 'was recommended by a healthful situation and the convenience of sea bathing';³² further details of the school are provided in a report produced in 1812 by the Board of Education for the House of Commons.³³ There were then fourteen private classical schools in Ireland, of which five were located in Co. Cork: Middleton, Charleville, Bandon, Kinsale and Clonakilty.³⁴ The following information was provided on the school in Clonakilty:

A Classical School has been recently established at Clonakilty in the County of Cork, by the Earl of Shannon, who contracted for the building of a School House, sufficiently large to accommodate thirty Boarders, for which his Lordship pays a rent of sixty pounds per annum. It was opened in 1808, and the Reverend H. W. [Henry Wilson] Stewart was appointed Master by his Lordship: there is a playground of more than half an acre, besides a garden belonging to the School House. The School having met with great encouragement in consequence of the character of the present Master, he has been obliged to enlarge his accommodation for Boarders, by taking an adjoining house for which he pays a rent of forty pounds per annum, besides which he has erected a spacious School Room adjoining to the original School House. The two Houses are now capable of accommodating nearly an hundred Boarders. The number at present consists of fifty-six, in addition to which he has twelve Day-scholars. He has three resident Assistants, besides Masters for French, Music and Dancing, who attend the School. The terms of Board and Tuition are not stated in the return made to us of this School; which is at present one of the largest and most reputable and endowed Classical Seminaries in the South of Ireland.35

It was said that the classical school in Bandon was 'endowed by an Earl of Cork and Burlington, in the year 1610'36 but was significantly smaller than the school in Clonakilty by the nineteenth century, accommodating only twenty boarders and twenty-five day-scholars.³⁷ The report affirmed that in 'Kingsale', the school was endowed in 1767 by Lord de Clifford but was in need of repair by the early nineteenth century and so by 1810 the school was located in the private house of the schoolmaster (Reverend John Steward), which could only accommodate two or three boarders and about thirty day-scholars; the 'boys educating at this School are the Sons of the neighbouring Gentlemen and wealthier class of Shopkeepers'.³⁸ *Guys Directory* informs us that by 1824 Clonakilty had a large school of industry for Catholic girls and a school for Protestant girls:

in these the children are employed in fine needlework and spinning, and a portion of their time is devoted to mental instruction. There is also a school for boys, partly supported by the incumbent of the parish, and partly by the Dublin Association for Disconnecting Vice and the Promotion of Religion and Virtue.³⁹

Samuel Lewis remarked that a public library was established in 1825 in Clonakilty by a body of shareholders and that by the 1830s, when he was creating his topographical dictionary of Ireland, there were 'three news-rooms and a lending library for the poor'.⁴⁰

In 1814, Ann Plumptre (1760–1818), novelist and admirer of Napoleon, defined Clonakilty as 'a dirty poor-looking place' and detailed the following scene:

As I was sauntering about here ... I heard a very strange noise, which I did not understand, and saw a great concourse of people coming along the road towards where I was. I could not imagine what this meant; and inquiring, I was told that it was a funeral. I had often *beard of* the noise, the sort of yell used by the poorer sort of Catholics on these occasions, but had never till now *beard it*. Indeed it is impossible, without hearing it, to form an idea of any thing so dreadfully discordant. It is to be

presumed that, intended by those who utter it as an expression of grief, it is considered by them as extremely plaintive and affecting; but to ears unseasoned to it, nothing could appear less so. The coffin was laid upon one of the common Irish cars, drawn by one horse, and around was a prodigious concourse of people, more women than men, and they seemed very much to out-vociferate the men; they were all in long blue cloth cloaks. As the funeral proceeds on its way, it is commonly joined by still increasing numbers, and in going through a town or village the noise is redoubled, so that I, being in a town, heard it to perfection. I could not perceive any sign of tears, or the least symptom of real grief upon the countenance of any person attending.⁴²

Plumptre's hired horse from Cork, a 'sluggish animal', was by the time she had reached 'Cloghnikelty' so wearied that if she had

seen any thing like a tolerable appearing inn, I should have stopped there for the night; but the *bouses of entertainment for travellers*, carried with them so little appearance of affording even tolerable comfort, that I determined to go on to Ross, six miles further, which I knew to be a city and bishop's see, and concluded must therefore afford something better ... When we entered the *city*, and inquired for the best inn, our attention was directed to a miserable-looking place ... looking many degrees worse than those I had despised at Cloghnikelty.⁴³

A report, ordered by the House of Commons, on the gaols and houses of correction in Ireland observed that in 1818 Clonakilty, being a borough, had the power to

hold sessions for the trial of breaches of the peace, and also a court of records for debts under £20. On account of the county sessions those of the borough are seldom held. There is a seneschal's court for debts of £10, and this being cheaper, our record court is not often employed. The persons confined within the last year as criminals have been for trifling offences, such as drunkenness, petty broils, and liberated on

bail; most of those arrested for debt, settled with their creditors, and there are now no prisoners.⁴⁴

There was also a bridewell in Skibbereen, which belonged partly to the county and partly to the manor, and comprised but one apartment.⁴⁵ Similar reports indicate that a new courthouse and gaol (bridewell) were being developed in 'Clonakelty' between 1825 and 1827, amounting to a cost in excess of £769 to build.⁴⁶

In 1823 a report, ordered by the House of Commons, was created to promote employment among the lower classes in Ireland and to relieve their stress. It noted that in 1822:

the potato crop, which furnishes the general food of the Peasantry, had failed; but there was no want of food of another description for the support of human life ... those districts in the south and west presented the remarkable example of possessing a surplus of food, whilst the inhabitants were suffering from actual want. In some districts, as at Clonekelty (Cork) where the potato crop failed, but where some part of the population was employed in manufacturing industry, no individual engaged in the linen trade is said to have had occasion to receive relief ... where the linen manufacture has been introduced [in Clonakilty], tranquillity is stated to have prevailed.⁴⁷

A William Hyett from London on behalf of the Irish Relief Committee visited Clonakilty in the summer of 1822; despite the failure of the potato crop in the area, he claimed that he saw 'no distress at Clonakilty ... it seemed to be a flourishing town'. He put this success down to the means of employment of the peasantry: the coarse linen industry. The report states that agents attended Clonakilty market from different linen buyers in London and elsewhere, including Thomas Oldham, a linen merchant from Barge-yard, Bucklersbury, who purchased both brown and bleached linens in Clonakilty. According to *Guy's Directory* of 1824, the linen products manufactured here were 'peculiar to the county of Cork, and called Vitries and Twills'. 51

In 1822, Richard John Griffith (1784–1878) – later famous for his role as

commissioner of what is now known as *Griffith's Valuation*⁵² – was the principal civil engineer supervising the building of public works in Cork as part of a relief scheme.⁵³ He stated that 'during the period of scarcity' in 1822,

In the western part of the county of Cork, particularly between Skibbereen and Crookhaven, and at Clonakilty, important lines of road were laid out, and considerable progress made under my directions, and paid for out of the charity fund ... By the method pursued, the starving inhabitants of the south of Ireland have been relieved.⁵⁴

Local roads built under his direction included a road from Clonakilty 'along the sea shore to Ring', a road from Timoleague 'along the sea shore to the harbour of Court-massherry' and a road from Skibbereen to Crookhaven. ⁵⁵ Between Clonakilty and Ring, quay walls were built, as well as a new fishery pier which was ideal for 'landing calcareous sea sand, so much used for manure in reclaiming the mountain lands of the surrounding country'. ⁵⁶ A sum of £200 was paid to Hill Clements for works executed by him on the road from Clonakilty to Ring, while £50 was paid to John Leslie for works on the road from Timoleague to Courtmacsherry. ⁵⁷ The Earl of Kingston was paid £60 on account of a bridge built at the joint expense of himself and the public, on the road from Union Hall to Rosscarbery. ⁵⁸

A report by the *Municipal Corporation Boundaries* in 1837 presented the following description of the town of 'Cloghnakilty':

It formerly had an extensive manufacture of Linens, which still employs about 300 hands. There is also a small trade in Cottons. Vessels of 100 tons come to a Quay at the Village of Ring, about one mile from Cloghnakilty on the Eastern side of the Harbour. The Census of 1831 stated the Population at 3,807, since which time it does not appear to have increased. The County Rate for the Town of Cloghnakilty during the last year amounted to 17*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*, being about 1*d.* in the Pound on a Valuation somewhat below the actual rental. There are no Local Rates.⁵⁹

In 1831, with 9820 inhabitants, Bandon's population was well over twice that of Clonakilty's.⁶⁰ Kinsale had a population of over 7000 in 1831 but by 1837 there was 'little Trade carried on' and it was said that the town did not 'appear to be in a flourishing state'.⁶¹

Cork-born artist James Mahony (c. 1816–59) was commissioned by the *Illustrated London News* to document the hardships of the Irish Famine in West Cork. Despite the former glory of Clonakilty's linen trade which saved its people from starvation in the 1820s, less than three decades later the circumstances of the inhabitants had dramatically changed. In 1847, Mahony wrote:

I started from Cork ... for Skibbereen and saw little until we came to Clonakilty, where the coach stopped for breakfast; and here for the first time, the horrors of the poverty became visible, in the vast number of famished poor, who flocked around the coach to beg alms: almongst them was a woman carrying in her arms the corpse of a fine child, and making the most distressing appeal to the passengers for aid to enable her to purchase a coffin and bury her dear little baby. This horrible spectacle induced me to make some inquiry about her, when I learned from the people of the hotel that each day brings dozens of such applicants into the town.⁶²

(Endnotes)

¹ See Tuipéar, this volume.

² Grosart, A. B. (ed.) 1886. *The Lismore Papers (First Series): viz. Autobiographical Notes, Remembrances and Diaries of Sir Richard Boyle, First and 'Great' Earl of Cork*, vol. 5. Printed for private collection, p. 104, https://archive.org/stream/cu31924088022839#page/n7/mode/2up [accessed 01/11/2015].

³ Grosart, The Lismore Papers, p. 158.

⁴ Grosart, The Lismore Papers, p. 133.

^{5 1641} Depositions, Walter Birde, Trinity College Dublin MS 824, fols 027r-028v, http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=824027r032 [accessed 01/11/15].

^{6 1641} Depositions, Walter Birde.

⁷ Terrier, Killgarriffe and Inshydunny, Carbury, Cork, *The Down Survey of Ireland*, http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/down-survey-maps.php#bm=Carbu

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- ry&c=Cork&indexOfObjectValue=-1&indexOfObjectValueSubstring=-1&p=Killgariffe+and+Inshydunny [accessed 03/11/2015].
- 8 Terrier, Killgarriffe and Inshydunny, Carbury, Cork, The Down Survey of Ireland.
- 9 Townshend, D. (collector) 1892. 'Notes on the Council Book of Clonakilty'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, pp. 30-6, at p. 31, https://archive.org/details/journalofcorkhisv21896cork [01/11/2015].
- 10 This notion of being 'choked with sand' is revisited in numerous accounts of the Clonakilty area, see Townsend, H. 1810. Statistical Survey of the County of Cork, with Observations on the Means of Improvement. Dublin, pp. 56-8, 327, http://www.askaboutireland.ie/aai-files/assets/ebooks/14_Cork-Statistical-Survey/14%20 Statistical%20Survey%20County%20Cork.pdf [accessed 02/11/15]; Plumptre, A. 1817. Narrative of a Residence in Ireland During the Summer of 1814, and that of 1815. London, p. 247, https://archive.org/details/narrativeofresid00plum [01/11/2015]. In 1810, Townsend noted that the 'greatest augmentation of sand lately observable [in Cork] has taken place at the island of Inchidony in the head of Cloghnikilty' where 'several acres ... have been covered within the last 40 years'. The sand was used for manure.
- 11 Wilson, W. 1786. *The Post-Chaise Champion: or Travellers Direction through Ireland*. Dublin, p. 228, https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=uHhbAAAAQAAJ&print-sec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PP1 [accessed 01/11/2015].
- 12 See de Bhailís, this volume.
- 13 Wilson, The Post-Chaise Champion, pp. 228, 350.
- 14 Wilson, The Post-Chaise Champion, pp. 228-9.
- 15 Wilson, *The Post-Chaise Champion*, p. 228. The reality of the enforcement of this law (or otherwise) is not discussed.
- 16 For an image of the barracks, see Doyle, fig. 1, this volume.
- 17 The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland from the Tenth Day of October, 1749, Inclusive, to the Eighth Day of May, 1756, Inclusive, in the Reign of His Majesty King George the Second, vol. 5, at 1755, under the index. Special Collections, Boole Library, University College Cork. Thanks to my mother, Marian O'Leary, for presenting this information to me. For info on the surveyor generals see Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720–1940, http://www.dia.ie.
- 18 Journals of the House of Commons 1749 to 1756, at 1755, under the index.
- 19 The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland from the Eleventh Day of October, 1757, Inclusive, to the Seventeenth Day of May, 1760, Inclusive, in the Reign of His Majesty King George the Second, vol. 6, appendix, under Cvi. Special Collections, Boole Library, University College Cork.
- 20 Journals of the House of Commons 1757 to 1760, appendix, under Cvi.
- 21 Townsend, Statistical Survey of Cork, p. 330.
- 22 Jackson, B. D. 2004. 'Dillwyn, Lewis Weston (1778–1855)'. In Rev. Alexander

- Goldbloom (ed.) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford, online edn, May 2010, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7670 [accessed 01/11/2015].
- 23 Dillwyn, L. 1809. *Lewis Dillwyn's Visit to Waterford, Cork and Tipperary in 1809*, MS 967 (Q. 3. 19), Trinity College Library, entry 10, pp. 27-8, http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E800005-002.html [accessed 02/11/15].
- 24 Dillwyn, Lewis Dillwyn's Visit to Waterford, Cork and Tipperary, entry 10, pp. 27-8.
- 25 Dillwyn, Lewis Dillwyn's Visit to Waterford, Cork and Tipperary, entry 10, pp. 27-8.
- 26 Dillwyn, Lewis Dillwyn's Visit to Waterford, Cork and Tipperary, entry 10, pp. 27-8.
- 27 Townsend, Statistical Survey of Cork, p. 326.
- 28 Townsend, Statistical Survey of Cork, p. 329.
- 29 Townsend, Statistical Survey of Cork, pp. 326-7.
- 30 Townsend, Statistical Survey of Cork, p. 356.
- 31 Townsend, Statistical Survey of Cork, pp. 356-7.
- 32 Townsend, Statistical Survey of Cork, p. 325.
- 33 Classical Schools: Twelfth Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland. 1812. vol. 5.1, p. 9, http://www.dippam.ac.uk/eppi/documents/8744/page/199364 [accessed 01/11/15].
- 34 Classical Schools, 1812, p. 1.
- 35 Classical Schools, 1812, p. 9.
- 36 Classical Schools, 1812, pp. 7-8. This seems rather confused as a 1610 date implies Richard Boyle, later 1st Earl of Cork, but he was not Earl of Burlington; his son, also Richard (b. 1612), was made 1st Earl of Burlington in 1664.
- 37 Classical Schools, 1812, pp. 7-8.
- 38 Classical Schools, 1812, p. 8.
- 39 Francis Guy's County and City of Cork Directory, 1824, p. 235, http://www.corkpastandpresent.ie/places/streetandtradedirectories/pigots_directory_1824/#/11/zoomed [accessed 10/11/2015].
- 40 Lewis, S. 1840 (2nd ed.). A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland: Comprising the Several Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Corporate, Market, and Post Towns, Parishes and Villages, vol. 1. London, p. 347, https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=3MQ_AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PP1 [accessed 02/11/15].
- 41 Plumptre, Narrative of a Residence in Ireland, p. 248.
- 42 Plumptre, Narrative of a Residence in Ireland, p. 248.
- 43 Plumptre, Narrative of a Residence in Ireland, pp. 248-9.
- 44 An Account of All the Gaols, Houses of Correction or Penitentiaries in the United Kingdom. 1819. p. 5, note f, http://www.dippam.ac.uk/eppi/documents/9208/page/206082 [accessed 01/11/15].
- 45 An Account of All the Gaols, 1819, p. 137, note g.
- 46 Prisons of Ireland: Fifth Report of the Inspector General on the General State of the

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- Prisons of Ireland. 1827. p. 45, http://www.dippam.ac.uk/eppi/documents/9969/page/220677 [accessed 01/11/15]; 'Public Works' 1829. In Account of Sums Advanced by Commissioners for Public Works in Ireland, and on Mail-Coach Roads and Prisons, 1819-28, pp. 6-7, http://www.dippam.ac.uk/eppi/documents/10229/page/226447 [accessed 02/11/15].
- 47 Report from the Select Committee on the Employment of the Poor in Ireland. 1823. pp. 4-6, http://www.dippam.ac.uk/eppi/documents/9629/page/211956 [accessed 02/11/15].
- 48 Report on the Employment of the Poor, 1823, p. 13.
- 49 Report on the Employment of the Poor, 1823, pp. 13-14.
- 50 Report on the Employment of the Poor, 1823, pp. 14, 16, 59.
- 51 Guy's Directory, 1824, p. 235.
- 52 Griffith's Valuation, http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation/.
- 53 'Griffith, Richard John (Sir)'. *Dictionary of Irish Architects* 1720–1940, http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/2293/GRIFFITH-RICHARDJOHN%28SIR%29 [accessed 02/11/15].
- 54 Griffith, R. 1823. 'No. 1 Report on the southern district'. In Reports Made to the Irish Government by the Civil Engineer Employed During the Late Scarcity in Superintending the Public Works in Ireland; Account of Appropriation of Sums Expended to Provide Employment for Irish Poor: Employment of the Poor. p. 5, http://www.dippam.ac.uk/eppi/documents/9647/page/212716 [accessed 02/11/15]; Griffith, R. 1824. 'Report on the southern district in Ireland'. In Reports Made to the Irish Government by the Civil Engineer Employed During the Late Scarcity in Superintending the Public Works in Ireland; Account of Appropriation of Sums Expended to Provide Employment for Irish Poor: Employment of the Poor. p. 10, http://www.dippam.ac.uk/eppi/documents/9822/page/215001 [accessed 02/11/15].
- 55 Griffith, 1823, 'No. 1 Report on the southern district', p. 9.
- 56 Griffith, 1824, 'Report on the southern district in Ireland', p. 4. This road to Ring, by then completed, is also mentioned in *Guy's Directory*, 1824, p. 235.
- 57 Griffith, 1824, 'Report on the southern district in Ireland', p. 9.
- 58 Griffith, 1824, 'Report on the southern district in Ireland', p. 9.
- 59 Municipal Corporation Boundaries Ireland: Reports and Plans. 1837. London, p.
- 41, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101073333146;view=1up;seq=5 [accessed 02/11/15].
- 60 Municipal Corporation Boundaries Ireland, 1837, p. 15.
- 61 Municipal Corporation Boundaries Ireland, 1837, p. 103.
- 62 Illustrated London News, 13 Feb. 1847.