A Tour in the South of Ireland in 1782

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The late eighteenth century saw an enormous increase in travel writing on Ireland. This anonymous description of the south of Ireland in 1782, the bulk of which is devoted to Munster, provides an interesting perspective on such oft described cities as Kilkenny, Limerick and Cork, and such overlooked towns as Portarlington, Cahir and Clonmel. As well as this, the author provides informative and rewarding insights on such issues as peasant income, religion and textile manufacture.

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The seventy-five years from 1775 to 1850 saw an unprecedented number of travellers tour and recount their experiences in Ireland. The most eminent of these figures such as Arthur Young, Dr Thomas Campbell, Bishop Pococke, and the Chevalier de la Toenaye, are well known and often cited. However, there are many other lesser known travellers, whose accounts of their experiences were composed as a private record or for limited circulation, that have been overlooked or forgotten. Over the years, scholars and antiquaries have rescued some of them from oblivion, but many more await discovery. Like the works of professional travel writers, they vary enormously in quality but all, virtually without exception, throw new light on Irish life and society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The tour presented below is one such neglected record. Penned by the self-styled ‘X.Z.’, it is the product of a tour made in the southern parts of the country in the summer of 1782. The true identity of the author probably may never be established, but this takes little away from the account, the main value of which lies in the lengthy and generally informative descriptions it provides of a broad range of villages, towns and cities in Munster and Leinster in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

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Chronologically speaking, X.Z.’s tour of the south of Ireland comes early in the great age of travel writings on Ireland. The author was unquestionably influenced by the lengthier and better known descriptions written by Thomas Campbell (whom he quotes approvingly on several occasions), Arthur Young (whose influence is to be seen in his analysis of the tithe) and, not least, Richard Twiss, whose highly critical narrative he goes some length to discredit. His indebtedness to others, notwithstanding, X.Z. was no mere imitator. He did not follow the well established tourist route which brought most travellers to Munster to the Lakes of Killarney, and those to the north to the Giant’s Causeway. Instead, he and his friends chose to travel on horseback rather than by coach, and were thus at liberty to take secondary roads and trackways through such areas as the Knockmealdown Mountains and the midlands, and thus to visit parts of the country seldom traversed by coach-bound travellers. One important result of this is that X.Z. provides descriptions of towns like Athlone and Portarlington, and villages such as Ballyporeen and Mountrath that are rarely touched upon in other travel accounts. But it is not only his visits to unfamiliar places that make this an important addition to the canon of travel writing on eighteenth

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century Ireland. Because of the leisurely pace at which he travelled, X.Z. had the time and opportunity to experience and to examine closely the towns and villages in which he stayed, and to provide detailed information on their economic base. He rarely has recourse to the one line stereotypical and superficial summaries so characteristic of many travel accounts. As a result, the descriptions of towns like Portarlington, Cahir, Tallow and Lismore, and more populous and popular centres like Kilkenny, Clonmel, Mitchelstown, Youghal, Cork, Mallow, Kilmallock, Limerick and Drogheda, are both revealing and refreshingly free of banality.

Though we have no definite evidence and, consequently, cannot ascertain positively whether the author was English or Irish, the sympathies of X.Z. lay, unquestionably, with Ireland. His references to Lancashire villages and to his spending a month in Dublin could be construed as indicating that he was from England, perhaps even Lancashire. But this is more than offset by his support for an absentee tax and his hostility to absenteeism, by his reference to “our nobility and gentry” and “our island”, by his advocacy of domestic consumption, his references to Ballitore and, not least, by his enthusiasm for parliamentary reform. Though it is possible that the author was seeking to conceal his real identity by giving these mixed signals, the balance of evidence would indicate that the author was Irish.

Another strong indicator that the author was Irish rather than English is provided by his preoccupation with rebutting the pejorative comments of Richard Twiss. Twiss was an English traveller of international standing who had published his highly critical Tour of Ireland in 1776. A vain, pompous and self-righteous figure, he was so deprecatory of everything he came in touch with in Ireland—and especially the people, the architecture and the art—that his name was soon synonymous with bad taste. He had declined, for example, to visit Connacht, according to his own account, because the people who lived there were “savages”; he described Irish women as thick-legged; he belittled the standard of art and music on show in Dublin and berated its absence elsewhere; he condemned the ignorance of the lower classes, dismissed the Irish House of Lords as “merely a plain room”, and concluded with the ultimate dismissal that everything worth seeing in Ireland could be visited in the space of a month.2 Twiss’s offensive remarks met with a hostile reception from all sections of Irish society. In one reply, which was published shortly after his tour, he was poetically denigrated as “…a prating, forward, vain conceited creature/[who]…frett’d, frown’d, at everything he rail’d./ and, like a madman, every one assail’d”.3 In another, penned by the poet William Preston, he was mocked as a philanderer and a lecher who spent his time on tour seducing innocent women.4 Much more impactful than verse, however, was the response observed by Philip Luckombe in 1780. His curiosity was aroused in his hotel by the presence of a “picture…at the bottom of the chamber pots, with his mouth and eyes open ready to receive the libation”. On enquiry he was informed that the image represented Twiss and that “the utensil now is more frequently called by the name of a Twiss than any other in contempt of the illiberal reflections of that gentleman.5

Though X.Z. made his tour seven years after Twiss, the frequency with which he alludes to Twiss’s criticism indicates that he was yet a figure of memory, and that Irish sensibilities had been deeply offended by his criticisms. In practice, the author might have been better served by ignoring Twiss, but his references to him do serve to link the present account with other travel writing and to provide a sidelight on Irish public opinion in the 1780s. Though the anonymity of the authorship of the tour presented here poses problems as to the author’s motives and attitude, such difficulties must be held in perspective. The primary value of this description lies in the information it throws on life in Ireland two centuries ago. It does not approach Arthur Young or Thomas Campbell in terms of sheer detail,
but with other sources it is a useful addition to the extant corpus of travel literature, and a helpful source on urban settlements in the 'South of Ireland' in the 1780s.

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The publication history of X.Z.'s Tour in the South of Ireland is curious. The tour was made in the months of July, August and September 1782, and the first section published in the July 1783 issue of Walker's Hibernian Magazine (pp. 362-4). However, sections two and three were not published until November (pp. 593-8) and December (pp. 642-6) 1786. No explanation is provided for the three-year delay, but it is probable that the publication of parts 2 and 3 was prompted by the outbreak of the Rightboy disturbances which racked the southern half of the country in 1786-87. The fact that the second section includes a brief analysis of the wages and conditions of the peasantry, and some highly pertinent comments on tithe payment and the Protestant church in Munster lends itself to this interpretation.

The text provided is as in Walker's Hibernian Magazine. The numbered footnotes are the editor's; all others are the author's. No amendments have been made to the text, but the notes seek to elucidate particular points and to provide pen portraits of the people and issues mentioned.

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A TOUR IN THE SOUTH OF IRELAND IN 1782

[Part 1]

Having spent about a month in visiting the metropolis and her environs, on the 22d day of July 1782, we left Dublin with intention of visiting some of the most remarkable towns in the south. The great Cork road S.W. of Dublin, affords few beautiful prospects in comparison of the other roads leading into this city,—8 miles from Dublin we pass'd through Rathcool, a mean straggling village, and arrived at Naas 15 miles from town, where we breakfasted at a good Inn; but found little remarkable in the town or neighbourhood worthy particular notice:— From hence we proceeded through Kilcullen to Timolin, having taken a cursory view of the beautiful village of Ballitore, where some of us had past many of our early years. ——— This beautiful village is situated on the banks of a small meandering river, and consists of several handsome houses, interspersed among plantations of elms, level fields, hills, etc. ——— It is remarkable for the great boarding school kept there, perhaps near a century, by a Quaker family of the name of Shackleton. 7 ——— I know not how to describe this lovely place, better than by referring the reader to Dr Goldsmith's account of Auburn in her prosperous days. 8

We dined at Timolin, and from thence proceeded to Castledermot. ——— This is a very mean town; in the church-yard is one of those round towers so common in this kingdom, and in another part of the town are ruins of a very fine cathedral.

Five miles more brought us to Carlow, a good town, consisting principally of two streets crossing each other at right angles, and dividing the town into four equal parts. ——— Here
A TOUR IN THE SOUTH OF IRELAND IN 1782
is a good church, with a tall spire steeple, a large Quakers's meeting house, a jail and a court-house, and a good stone-bridge over the great river Barrow, which is navigable from Waterford to this place.

The country about Carlow is very beautiful, especially a range of hills which we past on the right hand for several miles, after leaving the town — the numerous fine seats, plantations and improvements on the side of the hills, and the river below, must have a fine effect on the eye of every traveller.

Leighlin bridge, about 5 miles from Carlow is a good town, well situated on the river Barrow.

Twelve miles from Leighlin Bridge we enter the famous city of Kilkenny; the view of which as we came from Dublin is very beautiful: The castle, a noble ancient pile, situated in a rising ground above the river Nore, has a very majestic appearance; but we are much disappointed of the idea of grandeur raised in us, upon entering a long street of mean cabins, nor does the interior part of the city answer our expectation. This city is situated on the river Nore over which are two stone bridges, one of which consisting of three arches, is built in a very neat and elegant manner.

The Cathedral church of St. Canice is situated in a part of the town distinct from the jurisdiction of the city, returning two members to parliament, as the city (properly so called) does two more — This is a very large pile in the Gothic taste, but without a steeple: it is adorned with several ancient monuments — In the churchyard is a tall round tower.

The church of St. Mary is an handsome building with a good steeple — There was formerly a church dedicated to St. Patrick which is now in ruins — There are now only the two forementioned churches of the established religion in the city; the inhabitants being mostly Roman Catholics who have two chapels in the city, and two in the suburbs.

The castle is a noble ancient pile, adorned with towers, and is beautifully situated in the most conspicuous part of the town; it was formerly the seat of the Duke of Ormond, who kept a magnificent court here, far exceeding the splendour of the court of any of our viceroys; it is now in the possession of a branch of that family.

There is a very handsome walk along the river side about a mile in length, planted with trees.

In this city is a College founded by the Duke of Ormond — The other public buildings are the Tholsel, Courthouse, city and county Jail, etc. etc.

The number of houses in Kilkenny are said to exceed two thousand, therefore the inhabitants may amount to fifteen or sixteen thousand.

A great number of very genteel people live in this city, particularly of the Roman religion — There is a large stand of Sedan-chairs here.

The principal manufacture carried on here is that of freize and coarse wollens, of which there are very great fairs in this place — We spent four days in this city.

From Kilkenny to Callan, a small poor town, the country is bleak and thinly inhabited; from thence we rode several miles over a great mountain; on descending of which, we are presented with a view of the river Suir, gliding thro' a beautiful well planned valley, which extends many miles through the county Tipperary, which with the province of Munster we now enter.

Clonmel is a large regular town pretty well built, consisting principally of four side streets, at the junction of which stands the county court-house, adorned with a clock and cupola, which forms an handsome termination to the main street, — The number of houses may be about 900, which are very well inhabited; so that the number of inhabitants cannot be much fewer 8,000.
The river Suir, on which this town is situated, is navigable from Waterford 25 miles, whereby this town is become of late years a considerable place of trade, sending a large quantity of butter, hides etc. to Waterford for exportation. — There is a pretty considerable manufactory, of wollen yarn, camblets, serges, etc. — But the most considerable trade carried on here, is that of flour, several large mills being lately built in the town and neighbourhood.

The church of this town is a large building, with a tall octagonal steeple, and a ring of very musical bells.

The Presbyterian meeting house was formerly the chapel of an ancient Abby; it has a steeple.

The Quaker's meeting-house is likewise a good building.

The Romish Chapel without the western gate of the town is a very large and handsome building; it is generally reckoned that 4,000 people hear mass in this chapel at once.

The streets of this town are very ill pav'd, which is easily accounted for, the town being a corporation. — It is governed by a Mayor, who with the freemen return to parliament two representatives appointed by a certain Nobleman in a neighbouring county, whose creatures preside over the Corporation, to the great injury of the trade and pavement of the town. 14

In this town we spent three days at a very good inn; we saw one or two hackney sedan chairs here.

From Clonmel we rode W. 8 miles to Cahir, and here we first noticed the difference between Munster and Leinster roads; the roads in Munster are not carried on in right lines, but wind about considerably in different places for no reason that we could find out, except it be in some places for the sake of mounting a few very steep hills, which would be avoided if the roads were carried on in a straight line. — They seem the paths formerly trod by their ancestors, and are in some places paved or gravelled in others in a natural state — Travelling on these accounts is very slow in Munster, especially if we go out of the turnpike roads, but this was no inconvenience to us, as we were on a tour of pleasure, and not travelling from one fair to another on account of business.

Cahir is a handsome small town beautifully situated on both sides of the river Suir; it has a large market square surrounded with handsome stone houses mostly three stories high. — Lord Cahir's house 15 forms one side of the square, and immediately opposite to it, but at a considerable distance, his lordship has built an elegant market-house adorn'd with a cupola. — Notwithstanding that good buildings are daily rising in this little town, yet there seems to be very little business done here, and without trade a town rises only immediately to fall; but doubtless his lordship has in his contemplation to give good encouragement to manufacturers to settle here. — The inn in this town is very good. The ruins of a large castle situated on a high rock by the river side have a very magnificent appearance from the square. — The church is but an indifferent building, and as we spent Sunday here we found the congregation very small.

From Cahir we rode about 14 miles to Michelstown in the county of Cork, the first 4 miles of the road were very bad, but the other 10 we found as good as any road in Ireland; it has lately been repaired principally at the expense of Lord Kingsborough. 16 were the other estated men in this province as public spirited as this young Nobleman, we should soon have little occasion to complain of the Munster roads. — Since our leaving Clonmel to this place 22 miles we saw but 3 or 4 houses; but cabbins are very numerous, nor are they such wretched habitations, as we are taught to expect. 17

Lord Kingsborough has greatly improved his town of Michelstown; — having laid out a very large market square which is now almost entirely built in a regular handsome
manner, and two or three new streets partly built; the college forms one half of this square; it was founded by an estate left by the late lord Kingston, for 24 reduced gentlemen and widows, who each have an handsome small house and 40 per annum. — This was the first charitable institution we met in this province, and may be termed the noblest in Ireland; many are the foundations in this kingdom for the relief of the common poor; but few for those who moved in a more exalted sphere.

The improvement of his lordship's estate in the country, keeps pace with those carrying on in the town. — How different would the appearance of this kingdom be, if every man of estate imitated the real patriotism of lord Kingsborough!

Would this worthy young gentlemen give good encouragement to manufacturers to settle here, (as doubtless he has it in view,) I know no place more likely to become considerable in a short time, — Were he to set houses in the town with a few acres of ground in the neighbourhood to traders at a low rent, and with a long lease, and encourage them for 10 or 12 years to pay their rent in their own manufactures, he would soon establish his town at a small expence. — From Michelstown we rode about 16 miles through fine improved country to Mallow; the country around Mallow for three or four miles is very beautiful consisting of a great number of handsome seats, and beautiful improvements.

Mallow consists principally of one handsome street; the houses being painted of different colours give the whole a very sprightly appearance. — As it was the season for drinking the waters, we found the town very full of company; accommodations of all kinds were very dear; many people get their bread by lodging and boarding those who come here to drink the water. — The well is situated at a small distance from the town, from whence there is an handsome shaded walk by the side of a canal; it would tend very much to the convenience of the water-drinkers, if the owner of the town had an handsome house built over the well, with proper accommodation, after the manner of the pump-room at Bath, a coffee-house likewise seems much wanting in the town. — The long room where the assemblies are held, is no very grand building; it is adorned with a public clock. — For the convenience of the company, there are two sedan chairs, kept in the town. The church is a handsome building with a steeple.

From Mallow we rode 14 miles to Cork, and passed by the elegant house of lord Muskerry, about 3 miles from Mallow; but as this building is not finished, we shall not attempt to describe it. — In its neighbourhood is the handsomest country church, we saw in Munster, and the only one with a steeple.

The great city of Cork we shall describe hereafter, as the hospitality and politeness of its inhabitants induced us to pay a second visit, and shall here only say, that after spending nine days there, on the 18th of August we set out, accompanied by two acquaintances from that city for Youghall.

The country between Cork and Youghall is peculiarly beautiful; the road which is good, for the first 12 miles runs mostly by the side of the harbour of Cork; a number of elegant country seats at one side of the water vessels sailing up and down, and a distant view of the improvements on the opposite shore, on the other give a charming variety to the prospect. — Four miles from Cork is the beautiful village of Glasmirie — the hills in the neighbourhood being thickly wooded, and adorned with handsome houses and gardens afford a prospect hardly to be equalled.
From Glanmire we rode eight miles to Middleton, and thence four miles to Castlemartyr. The fine seat and improvements of Lord Shannon add considerable lustre to this beautiful village; particularly an artificial river winding in beautiful meanders through the gardens and crossing the street of the town, giving the whole a pleasurable romantic appearance. Eight miles more brought us to Youghal.

This is a considerable town, situated on the West side of a bay of the same name, which separates it from the town of Waterford. On the opposite side of the town is a very high hill, on the summit of which part of the old walls are yet standing—— Youghall consists principally of one street, about a mile in length, which runs along the water side; from this the lanes run up the hill before-mentioned. Upon an exact numeration the houses were found to be about 890, which being very well inhabited, may contain 7,000 people. The buildings are in general mean, and old fashioned in the outside appearance. The Quay has been much improved of late, by parliamentary grants, and private expence. — In the centre of the town stands an handsome gaol, adorned with a clock and cupola. The church is a very large and ancient building, containing several curious monuments. The trade of the town seems increasing. Its exports consists of pork, butter and corn. There is a pretty considerable fishery carried on here, and some branches of the woollen manufacture.

The principal ornament of the town is the Mall, a beautiful gravelled walk with trees on each side, situated at the water-side, and separated from the street by a low wall. From this walk we see vessels sailing up and down the bay, others at anchor, and the rising ground in the county Waterford, all together forming a prospect delightfully variegated.

The government of the town is by a mayor, alderman, and common-council, who, with the freemen, return to parliament two representatives, nominated by a neighbouring nobleman; this town being one of the rotten members of the commonwealth, which requires the instrument of the surgeon to separate it from the body for its recovery. 22

From Youghall we rode ten miles, principally over an uncultivated mountain to Tallow. This town is situated in a beautiful valley, lying between two ridges of very high hills, from whose summit, Tallow and the beautiful river Bride, makes a pleasing appearance. The number of houses in this town may be about 500. How the inhabitants make out a livelihood was quite imperceptible to us, for a few shops in the market square, and two or three women spinning wool in the suburbs were the only appearance of trade this place afforded.

The landlord never resides in this nation, and annually drawing a sum of thirty thousand pounds from this estate, little of which ever returns, must leave the place in great poverty; but the case is not singular.

The government of the town is by the Duke of Devonshire's seneschal, who, by his master's orders, returns two members to parliament; the inhabitants or potwallopers have a legal right to vote. 24

The river Bride runs about half a mile North of this town, where we passed it by a stone bridge, and upon mounting the hill, had a fine view of it, winding in serpentine meanders, as if designed by art. This winding, in some measure, obstructs its navigation, yet flat-bottomed boats come up to the bridge. Thus have the people of Tallow an easy communication by water with Youghal.

Lismore is four miles from Tallow. Upon entering this town a traveller would hardly imagine it to have been a great university, a bishop's see, and a city. Little of its ancient lustre remains. The cathedral, part of the castle, a few good houses, interspersed among some hundreds of cabins, now constitute the city of Lismore—— Yet this town returns as many representatives to parliament as the metropolis! 25
There is still less appearance of trade here than Tallow. We saw several very genteel equipages pass through the town, whence we concluded there must be several people of property in the neighbourhood.

The castle was built by King John in 1189. It is very boldly situated on the verge of a rock, the height of a moderate steeple, perpendicular above the Black-water. At looking out of the window of the great room a stranger is apt to start back with surprise; for at entering he does not perceive its amazing height above the river, being on the ground-floor, and much lower than the streets of the town. The entrance is by an ancient and venerable avenue of stately trees. Over the gate are the arms of the first great Earl of Corke,26 with this motto: "God's Providence is our Inheritance". Some parts of the building are kept in repair, and inhabited by the Duke of Devonshire's agent.

From the Castle we are presented with one of the most delightful prospects imaginable. On the East, the river gliding down a well-wooded vale to Cappoquin, whose castle, standing on an eminence, appears conspicuous: several good farm-houses interspersed gives to the whole a pleasing variegation. To the North, exactly opposite the great window, a deep and wide glin, pleasantly watered, presents itself, and about the distance of a mile winds of to the west-side of the great mountain of Knock-mele-down, which, at the distance of four or five miles, appears like a huge cone or sugar-loaf. To the West, is a full prospect of the salmon fishery. The noise of the water through the weirs adds a lulling softness to the beauty of the scene. Above the weirs the sides of the river are beautifully variegated with woods, lawns, and corn fields.

The possessor of this beautiful place never resides in the kingdom. Were it in possession of one who would spend even a few months here annually, and appropriate a small portion of the rents which he receives to improve its natural beauties, I know few places in the kingdom would transcend Lismore.

Though thus nobly situated, its venerable castle is going to ruins; and though one of the finest navigable rivers in the nation runs by the town, the inhabitants are almost destitute of employment.

But, in justice to the Duke of Devonshire, I must not omit the noble bridge built a few years ago at his private expense. One arch alone of this bridge crosses the great river Blackwater, it is elliptic and 102 feet wide. There are ten other arches for the overflow in floods. This stupendous arch, just under the castle, adds much to the magnificence of the scene.

There are in Lismore a tolerable handsome cathedral, a great free school, and an alms-house for six old men, who are each allowed £5 a year, their firing, and a great coat.

From Lismore we rode through the glin before-mentioned, to the mountains of Knockmele-down. Though this be the only passage northward from Lismore, and the direct way from Youghal, and several other towns, to the principal parts of the county Tipperary, the road is only the tracks of those who crossed the mountain before us, and that so incumbered with loose stones, that we were more than three hours riding seven miles. A carriage cannot at all pass this way, but must go about many miles. During these three hours we saw not a single hut. At length we gained the highest part of the road, and instantly were presented with a fine view of the fertile plains of the county Tipperary, like a beautiful garden below. The sudden view, from being two prodigious high mountains, had a fine effect, and resembled part of a beautiful scene in a theatre, exposed by drawing up a corner of the curtain. We descended about a mile to Clogheen, on the great Cork road, and lodged at a good inn. This is a poor town. From Clogheen we rode six miles to Ballypooreen,
a miserable village; thence ascending the Kilworth mountain, eight miles more brought us to Kilworth. This town contains some hundreds of houses, but no trade. Here we saw a church, having rode 13 or 14 miles without passing one. Three miles from Kilworth is Fermoy, a poor village on the Black-water. Thence, having rode three miles more, we arrived at Rathcormuck, a borough town, with one decent street, and several streets of cabins, containing, perhaps, as many people as Kilworth, and as little employment for them. Near this town are two handsome seats, one of which, belonging to a Mr Devonshire, was the best house we yet saw in Munster.

Twelve miles more, through a country not remarkable for beauty, brought us back to the great city of Cork.

We here found a sensible relief from that oppression of spirits under which we laboured since we left this city. A country enjoying every natural advantage, almost depopulated to make way for the beasts of the field; the abject poverty, and miserable slavery of the few peasants, and the almost as wretched state of the numerous inhabitants of the poor villages, must sensibly affect any mind possessed of the least particle of patriotism, or even with the common feelings of humanity. The natural beauties of many of the scenes afforded a momentary pleasure to the imagination; but the desolation of the country, suffered us not long to enjoy the pleasing sensation.

The wages of labourers in the country are generally 5d. or 6d. a day; out of this they have to pay £5 per acre for potato-ground, and sometimes more. After they have planted their potatoes, dug them out of the ground, and paid their rent, the tythe-man must have his share, before the poor people are suffered to eat any themselves. Thus they are oppressed on every side. The farmer withholds part of the value of their labour, and charges more than the value of his ground—the pluralist takes away their property without giving an equivalent, under the sanction of divine right.

Most of the poor people are Papists—a very few are Protestants; the case of these latter is very hard: four or five parishes are generally united, and one church serves them all. In some unions indeed there is not one. Hence, several Protestants have 5, 6, 7, or more miles of very bad roads to go to the nearest church, which renders it quite impracticable for those in low circumstances to get their children to church, or indeed, their wives, except in the middle of summer. Notwithstanding that four in five of the parishes have no public worship kept up, yet, under pretence of supporting the Protestant church, are the people obliged to pay much more than is paid in the northern parts of the kingdom, where regular service is performed in every parish, many things being tythable here, which in the North are exempt. This great oppression of tythe falls heaviest on the most useful members of the community. The grazier, who depopulates a thousand acres of land pays no tythe; while the industrious farmer, who employs a great number of poor people in tilling an hundred

NOTE* We shall mention one instance, among many, to prove the depopulation of the country. A gentleman in the northern parts of the county Cork, who held four large farms, containing about 1700 acres, took a fifth farm, of 600 acres, at about 12 miles distance from his dwelling. On this farm lived 42 families, who maintained themselves by tillage. The natural humanity of this gentleman induced him to keep on the land as many of these little farmers, as he could employ as labourers; but 600 acres under black cattle, requiring but few, far the greater number were obliged to seek a precarious subsistence elsewhere. This happened in 1780. The only singularity in this case, is the humanity of the gentleman in endeavouring to find employment for some of these poor people, and giving some little time to the others, to seek huts to protect their families from the weather.
acres, is taxed the tenth part of his produce, which is often a fourth of his profit.* While tythes remain as at present, in vain does parliament offer bounties to encourage tillage. What bounty would so much conduce to its encouragement, as the total abolition of this pernicious tax? A very small tax by the acre on grazing land would afford a much better provision for the clergy in actual service, that they receive from their masters, who take away the fourth or fifth part of the poor man's property for nothing.

The great hospitality and urbanity of the inhabitants of Corke induced us to continue several weeks in this city, and rendered it the most agreeable place we touched at in our journey. We had full opportunity of observing the fine situation of this town for foreign traffic, and with pleasure that the inhabitants made use of that advantage. In short, we were so pleased with this place that we left it with infinite regret.

This great city is partly situated on several little islands, formed by the river Lee, and partly on rising ground at each side of the river. The city, properly so called, is entirely surrounded by the river; on the North and South side the river are extensive suburbs. The North suburbs consists of two parishes, the city of three, and the South suburbs if two more, in all seven. The length of the whole, from North to South, is about two English miles; the breadth, from East to West, about half a mile. In extent, the number of inhabitants, it may be about one-third of the size of Dublin, being about as large as Bristol; the number of houses may be 9,000; the inhabitants 90,000.

Formerly several small channels of the river were open, whence, except the Mainstreet, there was nothing in the city deserving the name of street, the whole consisting of a great number of narrow lanes, and irregular and inconvenient quays. But now these channels are mostly either filled up, or arched over, whereby several wide and handsome streets have been formed, by the union of the quays at each side. The streets, however, are in general narrow, and very inelegantly built. The houses are almost universally weather-slated, which gives them a very heavy and dull appearance; and though a good taste is shewn in the variety of slating in the modern buildings, yet the houses have not that spirtly appearance, that those of brick have in other towns. Notwithstanding the general meanness of the buildings, of late years many elegant structures have been erected, which, if disposed in regular streets, would add much to the beauty of the city; but want of uniformity and regularity through the whole is observable.

Cork formerly consisted of eleven parishes, when it did not contain a third part of its present inhabitants. About 50 years ago, by dividing some parishes and uniting others, they were formed into seven, and six new churches built, St. Peters being the only old one left standing: St. Peter's is now rebuilding.

St. Anne Shandon's church is situated on a great eminence in the North suburbs. This is a large and elegant structure with a tall steeple, which appears to great advantage from the lower parts of the town, different in this respect from St. Patrick's in Dublin, which, although much higher, from its low situation, has not so magnificent an appearance. — St. Anne's has a good ring of bells; St. Mary's Shandon's, St. Paul's, and St. Nicholas's are neat and commodious buildings, but without steeples.

NOTE* Actual account of the produce of ten acres of wheat, rejecting fractions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 acres of land</td>
<td></td>
<td>£15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manure</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour and feed</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tythe</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear profit</td>
<td></td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Produce 80 Barrels</td>
<td></td>
<td>£88.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59
Christchurch is the largest and most magnificent in the city, being accounted one of the largest modern parish churches in the kingdom: it is said to contain three thousand people. The building is of hewn stone, in an elegant, though plain style. By reason of the foundation sinking, the steeple was taken down as far as the roof of the house in 1749; since which time the remaining part seems to threaten destruction to the passenger, by its perceptible inclination to one side. ’Tis a great pity the whole was not taken down, and entirely rebuilt, that this fine building should not be without the ornament of a steeple.

The cathedral church of St. Finbarry, situated on a rising ground, is a neat building of hewn stone, with a tall spire steeple, and a good ring of bells. In appearance it differs not from a parish, being much less than Christ church.

The parishes are much more equally divided than those in Dublin, though they are all very large.

There are five meeting-houses in Cork for dissenters of various sects, and 11 Popish chapels.

We visited several hospitals and other charitable foundations, but there being nothing peculiar in their occonomy, shall not trouble you with their descriptions; not only that we must not pass over unnoticed, the society for the relief and discharge of poor debtors. This consists of a large number of citizens, who subscribe annually such sum as each thinks proper. This money is disposed of in the maintenance of poor prisoners for debt, or for their release, when it can be obtained upon reasonable terms. Many hundreds of the unfortunate industrious have been restored to their families and the public by this humane society. The institution is well worthy imitation by other cities and counties. We understand the setting on foot such a society in the county Tipperary is in contemplation. Doubtless, those active in such charities, from good motives, will receive the reward our Lord promised to those whom he thus addressed: “I was sick and in prison, and ye ministered unto me.”—“In as much as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.”

The exchange is an handsome building, adorned with a clock and cupola: In the hall stands a pedestrian statue (as we supposed) of one of their mayors.

The mayoralty-house is a large commodious building of stone, not remarkable for elegance, the entrance being but mean. In it is a pedestal statue of the late Lord Chatham of white marble. A late despicable writer from the next island (Twiss) tells us this statue was actually painting in oil colours; this, you may be assured, was a falsehood, though not the first made use of by his countrymen to ridicule the poor Irish, whose greatest foible is making too much of these evil spies when they come among us.

Though the mayoralty-house be but five minutes walk from the exchange in the centre of the city, yet it is quite open to the country at one side. From it, westward, runs a beautiful walk, a mile long, and planted at each side with elms, called Mardyke, or the Red House Walk. At either side, the lands rising in gentle hills, ornamented with a great number of neat villages, gardens, and plantations, together with the winding of the river, present a landscape beautifully variegated. Yet this walk is little frequented by the genteel citizens, they chusing rather to walk in the middle of the Grand parade, a noble street lately formed by arching over one of the small channels, and joining two quays, before not remarkable for elegance. This noble street is very wide, and of a considerable length, and if rebuilt of brick in a regular manner, would be one of the finest in the kingdom. Some of the houses on the parade are good, and many of the shops elegant, but many are mean and low. In the midst is an equestrian statue of the late king.

The county and city gaols are over the gates at each end of the main street. I shall not describe the custom-house, corn market house, nor the two barracks, which latter generally contain two regiments of foot.
Assemblies and balls are frequent in this city, for which they have spacious and superb rooms: there is likewise a good theatre.

Sedan-chairs seem more numerous here than in Dublin, in proportion to the extent and opulence of the two places; but this may easily be accounted for, as they have no hackney coaches, of which 400 constantly ply in the streets of Dublin.

It is needless to say that the trade of Corke is very great, as this fact is well known to every one. At present some of the merchants in Corke far exceed in opulence any others in the nation. I shall just mention that the cotton manufacture is gaining ground in this city, one gentleman alone (Mr. H. Sadleir) employing about nine thousand people (men, women, and children) in the manufacture.\textsuperscript{29}

I cannot but admire the impudence of several Englishmen, who have written tours and travel in Ireland, in pretending to give a full and particular description of this island, having spent only a few weeks in riding post through it. I suspect the greater number of these authors are runners to the manufacturers in England; but to these people alone, this ignorance is not confused. It is well known Twiss was a man of fortune, and had gotten a decent education; but he had that supercilious contempt of Ireland, which all his countrymen from ignorance entertain, or from a mistaken policy effect. He likewise had a mind to be a virtuoso; but it is plain he was not fit for it. All his knowledge was in getting a few hard terms by rote, and a catalogue of the most famous rarities of nature and art, and where deposited. His mentioning the fine statue of the Earl of Chatham, shews plainly that although he might have seen it, he did not know it; for he took an old image of plaster of Paris, which stands in the mayoralty-house, for the white marble statue.\textsuperscript{*}

This gentleman ran through the Kingdom in three months, about half of which he spent in Dublin. He in that time saw everything worth seeing in the island (as he says) and gives a most accurate account of every particular. We spent about as long a time in our journey through some parts of the South of Ireland, and yet had not time to see half the places we wished to see. We therefore do not give as a full account; but just as the rough sketch of a few observations, made in the course of a journey, undertaken for amusement.\textsuperscript{32}

\* \* \* \*

[PART 3]

Leaving our friends in Corke, with the deepest regret, we set out for Limerick, which is about 50 miles North of Corke. The first day we rode to Mallow, 14 miles, and as this was the season for company at the Well, we here spent three days.

Mallow is often termed the Irish Bath; but little of the splendour and magnificence of the English Bath appears here. The accommodations are tolerably good, though dear. The town seemed pretty full of company; but from its vicinity to Corke, and the remarkable quality of the water, we might expect to see this town increasing in a far more rapid degree than it does. While our nobility and gentry spend their incomes abroad; while every individual, from the peer of the realm, to the lowest citizen, and even the farmer, disdains

\textsuperscript{NOTE*} A gentleman, whom I heard of in almost every part of Ireland that I visited, had this remarkable assertion, relative to the statue of Lord Chatham, marked in italics in his Tour of Ireland. A house painter was at the time I was there, actually at work painting it in oil colours. What led the sagacious and learned writer into an error was this: an house-painter did paint in oil colour the plaster of King William, which he mistook for the marble statue of Lord Chatham. Philos. Survey of the South of Ireland.\textsuperscript{31}
to appear in the manufacture of our own country;* while Ireland affords not a seminary fit for the education of the children of its meanest inhabitants; why should we be satisfied to have our maladies cured at home? Irish physicians, and Irish waters, must certainly be as unfashionable as Irish cloth, and Irish education.

There is one neat street in Mallow, tho’ the houses, new and old, are in the Spanish fashion, something like the old wooden houses formerly in Dublin. There is a good assembly-room, but no coffee-house.

The situation indeed of Mallow is delightful, on the bank of the Blackwater, being surrounded by a highly improved country, adorned with a considerable number of neat seats and well planted improvements.

A beautiful shady walk, by the side of a canal, leads from the town to the well, where the patients drink the water in the open air, their being not even a pump-room. There are a few sedan-chairs kept for hire in the town.

There is nothing remarkable between Mallow and Limerick, except the ancient borough of Kilmallock, which is described in the Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland; the author of which work seems to be a man of sense and judgement, very different from other late English writers on this subject, whose works are below contempt; yet this writer is not quite free from English prejudice, as might easily be shown, and a person might imagine the Doctor, to whom he wrote, must be very ignorant to need seriously to be informed that Ireland is divided into four provinces; that an Irish perch is seven yards, and many other such matters. Many little circumstances in some of our late writers of tours, would make us imagine that English writers are more ignorant than Irish peasants.

It is worthy of remark, that the turnpike roads are almost the only roads fit for travelling in Munster; whereas in other parts the country roads are much preferable to the turnpike roads. This must proceed from inattention or want of public spirit in the inhabitants of the South; for it is scarce conceivable what difference there is between the roads in this part, and those in the other provinces.

It must be owned that in public works, in the elegance of private buildings and improvements, the South of Ireland is almost a century behind the rest of the nation, some parts of Connaught excepted.

Half a mile above Limerick, the river Shannon divides itself, forming an island, on the South part of which the English-town is built; and though it is 63 miles from the sea, vessels of 500 tons burden come up the quay with safety. Its communication with the Irish-town is by a bridge, on one side of which a row of houses have lately been built; this quite obstructs the river, and gives it a very disagreeable appearance. Over the main channel of the river is a bridge of 14 arches, whereby the city has a communication with the county Clare; on this as well as the county Limerick side are extensive suburbs of half a mile in length. The New Bridge, of three arches, which joins that part of the town, called Newtown-Pery, is an handsome building, the centre arch being 41 feet wide. The city and suburbs are of a great length, perhaps near two English miles, but the breadth is inconsiderable. I know not how many parishes Limerick contains; but the churches in repair are but three; the outside of a fourth has lately been built by the Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount[1] Newtown Pery, which, doubtless, he will not leave unfinished. The cathedral church of St. Mary is an ancient Gothic building, with a tolerable steeple, and a ring of bells; the other two merit not a particular description, being plain buildings without steeples. There are also

*NOTE* Even the attorney’s clerk must be dressed in English cloth. And such is the contempt of Irish woollens in Ireland, that it is common for the draper to sell for English, those that are really Irish. Survey of S. Ireland.
in this city, a Presbyterian, Quakers, and Methodists meeting-house, and four Romish parish chapels.

The streets are in general narrow and mean, except in Newtown-Pery, where two quays, and several streets have been planned, and partly built of brick in an elegant and uniform manner, far exceeding those of any town in the kingdom, the metropolis only excepted. In this part of the town is the new custom-house, erected in 1765, at a vast expense. An elevation of this elegant building may be seen in the History of Limerick, to which we refer. 36

The number of houses in Limerick (per Watson’s almanack) in 1767 were 3859, and in 1777, 5257, making an increase of near 1400 in ten years. This is quite erroneous. Were we form a conjecture, we should imagine the number of houses at present to exceed four thousand. The inhabitants are generally estimated at 40,000. It is the third city in the kingdom for extent and population, and nearly half as large as Corke.

This city was a regular garrison till 1760, since which time the walls and 14 gates have been taken down. When cooped within walls, the citizens were much straightened for room. Since the taking down of the walls, the city has been much improved and enlarged, the air, by being less confined, is become more wholesome. In the place of the old walls, have been substituted the spacious quays and streets before mentioned, and large commodious houses are daily rising.

The city is adorned with an handsome exchange, two court-houses, a jail, and two barracks, capable of containing eleven hundred men.

They have likewise spacious and elegant assembly-rooms, lately erected on the new quay.

The mayoralty-house is but mean, in no wise suitable for the residence of the chief-magistrate of so improving a city as Limerick. It would be well worthy the attention of the corporation (who are possessed of a considerable revenue) to build a large and elegant mansion for their mayors, that might afford them a place of residence suitable to their dignity, and at the same time be an handsome ornament to the city.

The imports of Limerick are very considerable, but its exports inconsiderable, if compared with those of Corke or Waterford. There is a considerable manufacture of sergeant carried on here.

Several people of fortune reside in the city, and there is a large number of sedan-chairs in the streets.

From Limerick we returned East to Clonmel 42 miles. The land in the county Limerick is by far the most fertile in Ireland, therefore set at very high rents to graziers, by which means there is little or no employment for the few peasants who reside therein. Their habitations are very wretched, and their manner of living much meaner than in the less fertile parts. Thus it is in every fertile part of this nation, while the land is occupied by cattle, intended to feed foreigners, and often enemies, the poor natives are almost destitute of food.

From Clonmel we rode eleven miles to Cashel, through a very bleak country, occupied by cattle. Cashel is styled a city; it consists of several hundreds of houses and cabins, disposed in irregular streets; a more particular description of it, with the ruins of its ancient cathedral, may be seen in the Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland. 38

From Cashel we rode 15 miles of a bad road, through a bleak country to Urlingford, when we enter Leinster province. The country now becomes more populous, better improved, and the roads much more agreeable for travelling.

The country between Abbeyleix and Durrow is very beautiful, uniting everything in nature and art.

At leaving Cashel, our intention was to return immediately to Dublin, having been absent
about nine weeks; but the weather continuing favourable, and some of our company being desirous of visiting the Western parts of Leinster, we crossed the country from Monastereven to Portarlington. This town is situated in a beautiful well improved country; the houses are in general good, and mostly inhabited by gentlemen; but many of them being inclosed within walls, courts, or gardens, have not an handsome appearance in the streets, which by these means are very irregular. The town is of a pretty considerable extent. It is reckoned a very genteel place; they have some hackney sedan-chairs, and assemblies are frequent. There are boarding-schools for both sexes here; and from its situation, must be a very eligible place for education, as I look upon the town and neighbourhood full as polite as the pretty villages in Lancashire, and other parts of England, where our youth are generally educated.

The country in Leinster we found much better improved, than what we passed thro' in Munster; the farms are not extensive, nor the huts so miserable. The general price of labour is about 8d. per day; but in harvest time, the labourer has 10d. or 12d. and his food, sometimes more.

From Portarlington we rode five miles to Mount-Mellick, a neat well built town of some business; and from thence, South, through Mountrath and Burros-in-Ossory; two poor towns, to Roscrea, on the border of Tipperary county.

Roscrea is a pretty good town, of some business, with an ancient church and a large castle. The surrounding country (particularly the Leinster side) is well planted, diversified with hill and dale, and adorned with several gentlemen's seats.

From thence we went to Birr, a town of pretty considerable extent, neatly built, and very regular, adorned with a pedestrian statue of the late Duke of Cumberland, on a column. This town seems in a flourishing condition, having the advantage of a resident landlord.

From Birr to Athlone, on the Leinster side of the Shannon, the country is neither so well planted, nor so populous, as the interior and Eastern parts of the province; however, notwithstanding the soil is naturally poor, if compared with the lands in Limerick and Tipperary counties, yet, it is much better cultivated than those last, bringing a considerable quantity of grain, particularly oats.

Athlone is a large town, beautifully situated on both sides of the Shannon, in the provinces of Leinster and Connaught. Its principal manufacture is of wollen hats. The town consisting of two parishes, contains but one church built by parliament, which the author quoted in the notes, esteems a proof of the poverty of the place. This does not always follow, as it is well known, that parliament often grants money to build churches in the richest parishes. The inhabitants of Ireland imagine themselves exempt from the expense, which they think ought to be defrayed by the first fruits, which, if properly managed, would leave little occasion either to burden the people, or oblige them to apply to parliament.

In this town is a large castle, which serves for a barrack for a regiment of horse.

NOTE* "Great part of the country between Limerick and Athlone is rough and in some places mountainous, yet it afforded greater pleasure than the most fertile parts; for it shewed incomparably more cultivation, and more signs of population. The houses, I remarked, grew more frequent and less wretched, wherever the grounds were bad. For not being fit for pasturage, they are obliged to till them; tillage requires human creatures, who must share some pittance of their own labours. The bog and the mountain is reclaimed for a scanty subsistence; the rich soils are eaten up by sheep and bullocks; and the famished shepherd is made the very scape-goat of human nature." Philos. Survey of S. of Ireland.

I have heard a gentleman in the North say, that if it were not for the extreme poverty of the soil, the numerous inhabitants of Ulster must starve. Yet the Munster graziers complain very much that tillage will quite impoverish the land, if it be not timely stopped.
Hence to Moate of Granoge, about nine miles, the country produces great quantities of oats, some wheat and barley, and a good part is under cattle. Moate is a long village with an handsome church, and a very high Danish mount, whence the town has its name.

Thence we rode about 18 miles, through a country not very populous, though pretty well cultivated, to Mullingar, the shire town of this county West-Meath. The country some miles round Mullingar is very beautiful; woods, lawns, and gentlemen's seats, on the sides of several lakes of a mile or greater extent, diversifying the scene in the most delightful manner. The town itself is pretty large and well built, and from the appearance of the shops, seems to have a considerable trade. The assizes of the country, the great wool fairs, and almost a constant resort of travellers, render this a place of considerable stir. There are two great inns in this place.

From Mullingar we rode to Trim, the shire town of the county of East-Meath, less than the former, tho' pretty well built. Here are ruins of some old castles, and part of the town walls yet standing. A large new gaol has lately been built, after the model of that in Dublin.

Thence to Slane, remarkable for a great flour mill, one of the first erected in the kingdom, though now surpassed by that at Marlfield, near Clonmel.

This fertile country, though generally divided into extensive farms, is in many places well cultivated, producing a great quantity of wheat for the Dublin and Northern markets. Likewise, supplying many parts of Ulster with beef and mutton. The farms have a peculiar neatness, very different from the more fertile lands in the Southern parts.

Now we came to the famous town of Drogheda, which seems to be the largest in Leinster, next to the metropolis; we imagine the number of houses in it must exceed two thousand, though we have not heard an exact numeration has been made.

This great town at present contains only two parishes, separated by the river Boyne. The parish of St. Peter, on the North side, is in every respect the greater. The church well situated on a rising ground, is a large and elegant building, with a good steeple, on which stood a tall spire, taken down a year or two ago, why not again rebuilt we could not learn.

St. Mary's church has no steeple. These two are the only churches now left in this town, though, by the ruins yet remaining, we imagine there were several others, before the dreadful havoc committed here by Cromwell. The tholsel, in the centre of the town, is a handsome building, adorned by a steeple.

The houses are mostly brick, and of late years, buildings have increased in number and elegance; so that the town at present appears to be in as flourishing a state, as before Cromwell's devastation.

The principal manufacture carried on in the town and neighbourhood, is that of coarse sheetings, of which there is a large market weekly.

The inhabitants of Drogheda, of the Romish church, far exceed the Protestants in number; these have several chapels.

The ride from Drogheda back to Dublin we need not describe, being so near the metropolis, few of your readers require the delineation.

Thus have we given a sketch of our journey, which we hope will afford amusement to some of your readers; and we hope, that the example may induce some more able hands, from time to time, to favour the public, through the channel of your Magazine with such accounts, that our acquaintance with the distant parts of our island may encrease, and we can assure you, that a journey in different parts of the nation, will supply ample subject for the investigation of the curious.

X.Z.
NOTES

1. Arthur Young, A Tour in Ireland 1776-79 (2 vols., London, 1892); Thomas Campbell, A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland (Dublin, 1778); G. T. Stokes, ed., Pococke's Tour in Ireland in 1752 (Dublin, 1891); John Stevenson, ed., A Frenchman's Walk through Ireland 1796-7 (Belfast, 1917).

2. Richard Twiss, A Tour in Ireland in 1775 (Dublin, 1776).

3. A Defence of Ireland: a Poem in answer to the partial and malicious accounts given to it by Mr Twiss and other writers, by Mr Lewis (Dublin, 1776), pp. 9, 14.

4. [William Preston], An Heroic Epistle from Donna Teresa Pinna y Ruiz of Murcia to Richard Twiss (Dublin, 1776); An Heroic Answer from Richard Twiss esquire at Rotterdam to Donna Teresa Pinna y Ruiz (Dublin, 1776).


7. Ballitore school was opened by Abraham Shackleton (1697-1771) in 1726, and among its pupils were Edmund Burke and James Napper Tandy. Abraham Shackleton, grandson of the founder, was in charge of the school in 1782 (Michael Quane, 'Ballitore School', Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society, 14(1966-67), 174-209; Mary Leadbeater, Memoirs... of Richard and Elizabeth Shackleton (London, 1822); The Leadbeater papers (2 vols, London, 1862).

8. This is a reference to Oliver Goldsmith's The Deserted Village, which has been published in many editions; for example, A. Friedman, ed., The Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith (vol. 4, Oxford, 1966).

9. Shanties were a feature of many eighteenth century Irish towns and were commented on by many travellers. See, for example, Richard Twiss, A Tour in Ireland in 1775 (London, 1776), pp. 29-30; Philip Luckombe, A Tour in Ireland (Dublin, 1780), pp. 70-71.

10. The borough of St Canice was controlled by the Bishop of Ossory who usually returned candidates recommended by Dublin Castle. The borough contained about 3000 inhabitants in 1783, but only the portreeve, twelve burgesses and the freemen, all of whom were nominees of the bishop, had a vote (G. O. Sayles, 'Sketches of Members of the Irish Parliament in 1782', Proc. Roy. Irish Academy, 56, c(1954), 252; E. M. Johnston, 'Members of the Irish Parliament, 1764-87', ibid., 81, c(1971), 218; History of the Proceedings... of the Volunteer Delegates in Congress (Dublin, 1784), p. 149).

11. The representation of Kilkenny city was controlled in the 1780s by John Butler, the head of the Butler family. According to one source, the charter of the city laid down that the mayor, sheriffs (2), aldermen (18) and the commons at large had the right of election, but the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen and thirty six of the commons had used a byelaw to transfer the power of voting to freemen they approved of (Johnston, op. cit., p. 226; History of the Proceedings of Volunteer Delegates, p. 149).

12. The Butlers of Ormond were one of the most eminent families in Ireland from the Norman invasion until the early eighteenth century.

13. Kilkenny College was founded by Piers, eight Earl of Ormond, in 1538. It fell into decline in the early seventeenth century, but was refounded by the first Duke of Ormond in the 1660s. For a brief history of the school see W. E. Dobbs Notes on the History of Kilkenny College 1538-1938 (Kilkenny, 1960).

14. The borough of Clonmel was jointly owned and administered by Lord Mountcassel, the 'certain noblemen' referred to, and by Stephen Moore, both of whom returned one member (Johnson, op. cit., p. 226).

15. James Butler, Lord Cahir (1711-86) had a large property in county Tipperary. The family estates were worth £13,000 per annum in 1788 (G.E.C., The Complete Peerage).

16. Lord Kingsborough, heir to the first Earl of Kingston, was elected M.P. for county Cork in 1783, and retained the seat until he succeeded his father in 1797. His estates in Cork and Roscommon gave him an annual income of some £18,000 in 1799 (G.E.C., The Complete Peerage).

17. The Irish mud cabin was a favourite topic of travel writers. A typical description can be found in Philip Luckombe, Tour in Ireland, pp. 162-3.

18. Mallow was the most popular Irish spa, and was known as the 'Irish Bath'. Among the travellers who visited it were Arthur Young, Richard Twiss, Philip Luckombe, Charles Bowden, and John Wesley.

19. Robert Tison Deane, son and heir to Sir Robert Deane, fifth Lord Dromore, was created Baron Muskerry in 1781. He had been M.P. for Carysfort (1771-6) and for county Cork (1776-80).

20. The first section of XZ's tour ends at this point. It was published in the July 1783 issue of Walker's Hibernian Magazine, pp. 362-4. The subsequent two sections were published in 1786.
21. Richard Boyle, second Lord Shannon, was one of the leading boroughmongers in the Irish parliament. Nicknamed ‘the Colossus of Castlemartyr’, according to one Castle source he controlled the votes of fifteen M.P.s in 1787 (Johnson, op. cit., p. 239).

22. Youghal borough was under Lord Shannon’s control, and to preserve his dominance he had the burgesses and mayor create absentee freemen at Carbery sixty miles from Youghal (History of the Proceedings... of Volunteer Delegates, p. 144).

23. William Cavendish, fifth Duke of Devonshire, was an extremely wealthy Whig grandee. He held the sinecure Irish offices of Lord High Treasurer and Governor of county Cork but spent little or no time in Ireland on the 50,000-plus acres he owned in counties Cork and Waterford.

24. The borough of Tallow (more usually spelled Tallagh) was one of the six manor borough in the kingdom, and had about a hundred electors. The seneschal of the manor was appointed by the Duke of Devonshire, but he surrendered his political interest in the borough to Lord Shannon, who returned both candidates in 1783 (Johnston, op. cit., p. 228, Sayles, op. cit., p. 268; History of the Proceedings of Volunteer Delegates, p. 134).

25. Lismore was a manor borough. The Duke of Devonshire, who appointed the seneschal of the manor, gave one seat to Sir Henry Cavendish and the second to the Ponsonbys, who returned Sir Richard Musgrave.

26. Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, carved out a great estate in Munster in the wake of the collapse of the first Munster plantation.

27. The borough of Rathcormack was controlled by William Tonson, Lord Riversdale, who had a large estate in county Cork. It was a small town with few voters, and only seven voted in 1783 when Riversdale gave the return of the borough to Dublin Castle.

28. William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham (1708-1778) was a brilliant wartime statesman who guided Britain to victory during the Seven Years War.

29. Richard Twiss (1747-1821) was a travel writer, and the author of Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1783 (London, 1775) and the controversial Tour of Ireland (Dublin, 1776).

30. The Sadleir brothers established a cotton factory in Glasthule, county Cork, in the early 1780s, and remained a major employer in the area until their business collapsed in the late 1790s.

31. The author of A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland (Dublin, 1778) was the reverend Thomas Campbell, chancellor of St Macartan’s, Clogher. In 1789, he published Distichs on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland... in which he took both Charles O’Connor and Colonel Vallancey to task.

32. The second section of this tour ends at this point. It was published in the November 1786 issue of Walker’s Hibernian Magazine, pp. 593-8. The final section was published in December.

33. The borough of Kilmallock was a corporation borough without freemen, which was owned by the Oliver family of county Limerick who sold both seats in 1783 to John Fitzgibbon and John Armstrong.

34. Campbell, A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland, pp. 211-14, and plate facing p. 211.

35. Edmond Sexton Pery (1719-1806) was Speaker of the House of Commons between 1771 and 1785. On his resignation, he was given a pension of £3,000 and the viscountcy of Newtown-Pery [A. P. W. Malemson, Speaker Pery and the Pery Papers, North Munster Antiquarian Journal, 16(1973-74), 33-60]. Pery owned that part of Limerick city known as Newtown-Pery and he was responsible for developing much of this area (John Ferrar, History of Limerick (Limerick, 1767), pp. 10, 67-69, 101; The History of Limerick, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military from earliest records to the year 1787 (Limerick, 1877), pp. 89-90).

36. Ferrar, History of Limerick (1767), facing page 73.

37. Watson’s Almanack was compiled by John Watson, and was more accurately entitled The Gentleman’s and Citizens Almanack.

38. Cashel was a corporation borough with freemen. Its patron was Mr Pennefather who controlled the burgesses and freemen, and had himself and his son returned (Campbell, Philosophical Survey, pp. 121-26).

39. William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-65) was third son of George II. By profession a soldier, he is best remembered for his role in crushing the Jacobites at Culloden. The statue at Birr was erected in 1747 in honour of his victory (Lewis’s Topographical Dictionary (2 vols, London, 1837), ii, 1837).

40. The ‘resident landlord’ was Sir William Parsons who took a close interest in the running of his estate and in developing the town of Birr.

41. Campbell, Philosophical Survey,..., p. 264.

42. Arthur Young gives a detailed account of the mill at Slane which was built between 1763 and 1766 (Tour of Ireland, i, 37, 44).

43. The Marfield mill was built by Stephen Moore, and is described by Arthur Young (Tour of Ireland, i, 393-7).