



**TIPPERARY HISTORICAL JOURNAL
1990**

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ISSN 0791-0655

Ned Kelly and the Irish Connection — a Re-appraisal

by Bob Reece

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Ned Kelly was the leader of a band of four men — Ned (23), Dan Kelly (17) his brother, Steve Hart (18) and Joe Byrne (21) — who committed a series of acts of violence, including bank raids (the ‘Kelly Outbreak’) tantamount to guerilla warfare against the police in Victoria, Australia, from the time they were outlawed in 1878 until they were finally cornered and all but Ned killed in 1880. Living in conditions of poverty and in an atmosphere of lawlessness, the Kellys and Quinns (Ned’s mother’s family, of Antrim origin) claimed that they were subjected to police persecution and framed for some of the petty crimes for which they were imprisoned — in Ned’s case, first at the age of only 15.

While on the run in October 1878 they were involved in the murders of three policemen (all Irish born) and were officially proclaimed outlaws. Ned was hanged in Melbourne in November 1880 after a sensational trial, at the end of which he told Judge Redmond Barry that he, too, would soon be dead. Barry himself was a Trinity College graduate and the epitome of the Protestant Anglo-Irish heritage in Australia.

— Editor, THJ.

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In the past there has been a somewhat simplistic debate about the Irishness of the Kelly phenomenon, or the “Kelly Outbreak” as it was called at the time. Was the outbreak primarily the expression of Irishness, defined as the inheritance and perpetuation of Irish criminality and barbarism in an Australian setting, or of Irishness defined as the inheritance of Irish Catholic nationalist heroism?

Protestant middle-class Melbourne horror at Irish barbarism and rural riot was best expressed in the editorials and news reports of the *Argus* and the *Age* during the Kelly Outbreak. Writing on the Outbreak over the subsequent 50 years was dominated by retired police officers such as Superintendent Hare¹ in 1892 and J. Sadleir² in 1913, who continued to explain the Kellys in terms of Irish criminality.

Charles White, the first historian of bushranging, also took this line. “The Kellys”, he wrote in 1906, “. . . appear to have lived in an atmosphere of crime and luxuriated in robbery and violence. The family was, root and branch, morally diseased”³. E. J. Brady⁴ repeated this claim in 1944, and it has been taken up in more recent times by other popular writers such as George Farwell⁵ and Keith Dunstan⁶.

The source of this tradition of inherited criminality may well have been the Report of the Royal Commission into the Circumstances of the Kelly Outbreak of 1881, which noted that “John Kelly



. . . who was the father of the outlaws, was a convict, having been transported from Tipperary, Ireland, to Tasmania in 1841, for an agrarian outrage, said to have been shooting at a landlord with intent to murder⁷. This was an explanation which was likely to appeal to prejudices of Protestant middle-class Melbournians; at the same time it suggested to Kelly sympathisers the continuation of an heroic Irish tradition. The Report in fact contained a good deal of evidence to support the claim that the Kellys and the Quinns (Ned Kelly's mother's family) had been the target of sustained police surveillance and harrassment, which could easily be interpreted as a continuation of the persecution suffered by Catholics in Ireland.

The folk traditions sympathetic to (indeed, eulogistic of) the Kellys survived not just amongst those of Irish descent in north-eastern Victoria, but throughout Australia amongst working class and small farmer "battlers" who saw Ned Kelly as the champion of the underdog⁸. The enormous success of the first feature film about the Kelly gang, made appropriately enough by two brothers from Limerick in 1906, appealed to that sympathy which had made Ned Kelly a household word, and "game as Ned Kelly" and "such is life" (Ned's attributed last words) shibboleths of a particular view of the world. In 1924 another film was made, and by 1943 the journalist Clive Turnbull was able to list 40 pieces of published "Kellyana" — a term which he appears to have coined⁹.

The young Sidney Nolan (now Sir Sidney) managed to track down Ned's younger brother Jim before his death in 1946, an experience which no doubt informed his own graphic celebration of the Kelly myth¹⁰. Yet another film was made in 1969, this time with Mick Jagger as Ned Kelly, and today the Kelly industry burgeons as never before. Tourists visiting Glenrowan on the main Melbourne-Sydney highway can now witness a replay of the final shoot-out, performed by computerised robots.

The first historian to express the popular view that the Kellys and Quinns were the victims of police persecution was a Catholic schoolteacher of Irish ancestry, J. J. Kenneally, whose upbringing in north-eastern Victoria had inculcated in him a fiercely partisan defence of the Kellys against what he saw as the lies of the official historians, the apologists for the Victorian Constabulary. Kenneally may also have seen the received orthodoxy about the Kellys as an expression of the crude sectarian antagonism towards Catholics in Victoria, which had flourished in the 1870s during the debate over state aid to Catholic schools, during the conscription crises of the First World War, and again in the 1920s when they were seen by conservatives to be taking over the labour movement.

Kenneally knew Ned's mother, Ellen Kelly (who died in 1923, aged 92), and was at pains to set at rest some of the more outlandish myths which continued to circulate — notably that Dan Kelly had escaped from the blazing pub at Glenrowan and was living somewhere in rural anonymity. In 1911 an ingenious but unscrupulous journalist, Ambrose Pratt, had "edited" the *Memoirs of Dan Kelly*¹¹.

Putting together the more plausible oral traditions, some of which had been collected and published in the *Sydney Sun* by B. W. Cookson in 1911¹², and making effective use of evidence given before the 1881 Commission by people like Superintendent C. H. Nicolson, Kenneally wrote a detailed and avowedly definitive exoneration of the Kellys and the Quinns. This he called *The Complete Inter History of the Kelly Gang and their Pursuers*, and published in 1929 at Moe in Victoria under the imprint of The Kelly Gang Publishing Company, Pty. Ltd. The book subsequently went through at least eight editions, the most recent in 1969.

Kenneally made out a strong case for the persecution claim, and his book had a powerful influence on subsequent historians. However, his response to the old taunt about the hereditary criminality of the Kellys was not to investigate John Kelly's Irish background more closely, but to invest him instead with an Irish nationalist pedigree at a time when memories of Easter 1916 were still fresh and the Irish Free State was just eight years old:

John (Red) Kelly, the father of Ned and Dan, was born in Co. Tipperary, Ireland. He was a fearless young man of some education and outstanding ability.

He was the type of young Irish patriot who was prepared to make even the supreme sacrifice for his country's freedom. He was a man whom the landlords and their henchmen regarded as a menace to the continuation of the injustices so maliciously inflicted on the people of Ireland.

Like the other patriots, he was charged with an agrarian offence (but not assault or murder as falsely stated by the royal commission after Ned Kelly's execution). With jury packing reduced to a fine art, the ruling class in Tipperary had no difficulty in securing his conviction, and transportation to Van Diemen's Land. Among the Irish leaders who were treated in a similar fashion were: John Mitchell, Smith-O'Brien, Maher, O'Doherty, and very many others¹³.

Not only was John Kelly a victim of British oppression in Ireland, according to Kenneally, but he was also hounded by its representatives, who carried on the tradition of persecution in the Australian colonies:

Irish patriotism was such an unforgivable crime in the eyes of the British Government officials in the Colony of Victoria, that even the serving of a savage sentence would not wipe out the campaign of anti-Irish hatred so well organised in the Colonies¹⁴.

Kenneally further attributed Kelly senior's early death to ill-treatment in Kilmore jail.

The next major book on the Kelly outbreak did not appear until 1948, when the Communist journalist Max Brown published *Australian Son: The Story of Ned Kelly*. Strongly influenced by Kenneally's account, Brown also did his best to collect the oral traditions of the Kelly country and constructed a lively narrative whose plausibility was only marred by the addition of fictional dialogue.

Among the traditions were some about John Kelly's origins. Being in no position to investigate their accuracy, Brown gave him the generous benefit of the doubt:

Some accounts say his expatriation originated in a faction fight in Tipperary. Another — later denied by his family — states he was sentenced to fifteen years for attempting to shoot an Irish landlord. In any case he appears to have been a man who had not hesitated to oppose the black terror of English rule in Ireland and had accepted the lash and convict gang as his reward¹⁵.

As a Marxist, Brown interpreted the vicissitudes of the Kelly-Quinn clan not in terms of their Irish Catholic patriotism, but rather in terms of their unwitting involvement in class warfare over control of the means of production in colonial Victoria, land:

In the fifties, as the selectors moved in around Wallan and Beveridge and struggled to extend their roots into the soil, the Quinns and Kellys found themselves in the middle of the conflict, fighting on the side of the selectors and, from the point of view of authority, guilty of the same crimes.

The night forays, these overt acts in a great, yet almost imperceptible economic revolution, clouded by many side issues and dispersed over a wide and sparsely populated land, were lumped together with the acts of "the criminal elements" under the one word, "lawlessness". The "lawless" never clearly understood their "lawlessness" was a necessary part of a great struggle to change Australia from a land of a few thousand sheep kings into a nation in which hundreds of thousands of farmers drew from the soil a thousand products for the needs of man. Inarticulate and unable to counter the spate of Victorian morality which issued from Church and State, they nevertheless went their way, and often enough the most "lawless" among them were held the greatest heroes¹⁶.

After the publication of Brown's book, the popular writer Frank Clune wondered why John Kelly had received such a light sentence if he had in fact been convicted for the attempted shooting of a landlord. This doubt set in train the first real research into his background. The main clue to Kelly's place of origin was the birth certificate of his youngest daughter Grace, registered at Campion's store, Avenel, in October 1865. This gave his own place of birth as 'Macglass, Co. Tipperary'¹⁷.

Macglass could only refer to the hamlet of Moglass or Moyglass in the townland of Clonbrogan and the Catholic parish of Killenaule-Moyglass, whose registers helpfully revealed that a Mary



Cody had married a Thomas Kelly at Moyglass church on 1 February 1819, and that their first child, John, had been baptised on 20 February 1820. The registers also recorded the births of six subsequent children to the same couple — Edmond (10 July 1822), Thomas (14 November 1825), Mary (2 November 1828), Anne (16 July 1831), James (30 August 1835) and Daniel (3 February 1839)¹⁸.

John Kelly of Moyglass seemed to be the man, especially in the light of further evidence from the convict indents in Hobart. These revealed that two men by the name of John Kelly were transported on the *Prince Regent II* from Dublin, arriving in Hobart on 2 January 1842. They were distinguished by the clerk on the basis of their hair colour. John Kelly, no 3248, was designated “John Kelly 1st”, and was described as having “reddish” hair, “fresh” complexion, “large” head, “long” visage, blue eyes, a “large” nose and a scar on his chin. He was 5'8¹/₂" tall, could read but not write and had been convicted at Clonmel assizes on 1 January 1841 for “stealing two pigs, the property of Mr. Quainy”, for which he was sentenced to seven years' transportation.

“John Kelly 2nd” on the other hand, had blackish hair, was two years older, and had been convicted at Nenagh assizes for the theft of firearms at Balcraggan. Supporting the case that John Kelly 1st was John Kelly, son of Mary Cody and Thomas Kelly and father of Ned Kelly, was the information in the Hobart records that his father's name was Thomas and that his brothers' names were Edward, Thomas, James and Daniel, Edward being interchangeable with Edmund in Irish usage¹⁹.

In Ireland, Clune had enlisted the assistance of Father William Breen of Cashel — C.C. in Cashel 1942-1955, and Dean of Cashel (1968-1974). It was he who found the information in the parish registers. Indeed, as Clune's Irish kinsman Sean O'Hogan told him later: “You are lucky that Father Breen got interested in the story, otherwise Bold Ned's connection with the Green Isle would always have remained kind of uncertain”²⁰. In his investigative zeal, however, Father Breen went too far afield. Hearing of a John Kelly who was employed in 1841 on Lord Ormonde's Killurney estate as a woodranger or gamekeeper and paying an annual rent of £1.14.7, Breen visited the area, where locals pointed out a field called *Parc Chelligh Ruiadh* (Red Kelly's field) and told him of a prosperous farmer called Cooney or Quainey who had lived nearby at Ballybo.

This enabled Clune to conclude that John Kelly's crime was, as the saying goes, “hardly a crime at all”: “Pig stealing, especially from a prosperous Irish farmer, was not a remarkable offence. It had no political implications. At that time there was no active insurrection going on in Ireland, and no ‘potting’ at English landlords. The only political excitement was caused by Daniel O'Connell, ‘the Liberator’, who was going strong on the Repeal Movement in a war of words, not deeds”²¹.

What really appealed to Clune was the likelihood (as it seemed to him) that Ned Kelly and William Frederick Cody, better known as “Buffalo Bill”, were descended from the same Tipperary family. Happily (for Clune), a William Cody, presumably Mary's brother, had been a sponsor at Daniel Kelly's baptism in 1839.

On Ned Kelly's maternal side, Clune also established that Ellen (née Quinn) had arrived with her parents and five brothers and sisters at Melbourne as bounty immigrants in July 1841. James Quinn was described as a labourer and came from Ballymena in County Antrim, as did his wife, Mary McGlusky²². Beyond this, however, Clune did not press, preferring (as most historians have done) to see Irishness as a paternal inheritance.

The strongest re-statement of the Irish connection (and, incidentally, of the maternal link) was made by Manning Clark at the Wangaratta seminar on Ned Kelly in 1967:

Mad Ireland had fashioned Ned . . . The boy probably drank in with his mother's milk that great confusion in the minds and the hearts of the Irish on questions of behaviour. The laws of God, reinforced by the harsh laws of man, forbade them to steal or to murder. God had commanded them, ‘Thou shalt



do no murder'. But in the pot-houses and the snugs, and out in the fields of the Emerald Isle, a man was a hero if he told one of the oppressors of his people to have his coffin ready. God had forbidden them to covet their neighbour's servant, his maid, or his ox. But again in the very air they breathed there was an assurance that to steal food from the hereditary enemies of their people was no crime²³.

Kelly, Clark suggested, "sensed that the English in Australia had repeated their abominations against his people....."²⁴. Nevertheless, for all this emphasis on Ned's Irishness and the significance of his ancestry, Clark did no more than Kenneally had done to trace that ancestry and was content to describe John Kelly as "a wild Tipperary man ... transported in 1843"²⁵.

In his brilliant monograph *The Kelly Outbreak* (1979), John McQuilton (who, like Kenneally, hailed from the Kelly country) attempted to Australianise the Kellys and the Quinns by developing an environmental or socio-economic explanation of the Outbreak, treating it in terms of what was occurring in north-eastern Victoria during the 1860s and 1870s and using the Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm's concept of the "social bandit". McQuilton portrayed Ned Kelly as an expression of the frustration experienced by selectors due to bad seasons, transport costs, lack of capital and agricultural knowledge, as well as harassment by squatters determined to sabotage the Selection Acts and preserve their monopoly of land and labour.

At the same time, McQuilton doffed his cap to Kenneally and repeated the old accusations of police persecution of the Kelly-Quinn clan — not for their Irishness, but for their threat to property (farm stock) and to government authority in the north-east. Like Clark, he was uncertain about John Kelly's true identity, overlooking Clune's work and not conducting any research of his own at the Irish end because of his belief that the Kellys were an essentially Australian phenomenon.

McQuilton accepted that Ned Kelly "was intensely aware of his Irish background and the traditional list of Irish peasant grievances" imbibed from his grandfather and from his father, who "had been transported for an agrarian outrage"²⁶. He also accepted that Ned might have seen parallels between the Victorian Constabulary and the Royal Irish Constabulary, "a force created as much for political ends as for criminal control". Nevertheless, he was critical of "the tendency to over-stress this [Irish peasant element in the Kelly Outbreak] because it is so obvious":

Ireland's ills were memories of tales told by his father and grandfather. Like 'the green' and the shamrock, they were emotional symbols, a link with a past he had never experienced. The cruelties of Australia's power of the local squatter . . . were of greater importance in his letters than his sense of being specifically Irish. At Stringybark Creek, when McIntyre tried to dissuade him from killing his fellow countrymen, Ned told the trooper he considered himself an Australian. His own lifestyle belied any substantial link with the Irish peasantry beyond an emotional acknowledgement of his heritage. The over-riding passion to own land, for example, had by-passed him completely²⁷.

McQuilton also argued that the pattern of sympathy and support for the Kellys "cut across the traditional prejudices associated with the Irish and reflected instead the diversity of the region's selectors' background". This last assertion did little to deny the strong case put forward earlier by Doug Morrissey for overwhelmingly Irish local support²⁸.

More importantly, McQuilton adopted an unreasonably literal notion of Irishness. There is no reason why Ned Kelly could not have called himself an Australian and at the same time have nurtured a keen sense of his Irish inheritance and its "emotional symbols". That he did not possess the Irish peasant's obsessive interest in obtaining land was due to the fact that he was not an Irish peasant but the Australian-born son of Irish peasants and the product of a different material environment. At the same time, it seems entirely likely that his view of the world was substantially influenced by "a past he had never experienced". It is not necessary to claim that he possessed a "sense of being specifically Irish" in order to establish the significance of the Irish connection.

In his full-scale biography *I Am Ned Kelly* in 1980, John Molony made some leaps of the romantic imagination in evoking the origins of the Kellys and the Quinns, but added very little to the store



of hard information about them. Indeed, he added to the mythology about John Kelly:

He grew to manhood . . . and, as he grew, he took into himself the hard thoughts nurtured by so many against those foreigners who held authority in the land and against whom his grandfather had fought at Vinegar Hill. By day he worked as a farm labourer, by night he sang, drank, danced and at time . . . talked of freedom. But dreams of freedom can end in squalor and for John Kelly the end was both petty and perhaps plotted by others, because there were those in that land prepared to frame their own.

While confirming that Kelly was transported for stealing two pigs, Molony suggested that he had been betrayed and perhaps even blamed for something he did not do:

. . . John left his native glens with black and lasting bitterness rendered worse because of the fate of his friend and townsman, Philip Regan, who was also arrested, and at that on the word of an agent provocateur, for the crime of cattle stealing . . .²⁹.

Although Molony cited in his footnotes a number of documents relating to the Regan case, none of these are extant. It appears that he has simply listed them from the correspondence registers in Dublin Castle³⁰. However, he did have access to a report in the *Tipperary Free Press* of 13 January 1841, which revealed that the magistrates had employed spies to arrange the theft of cows by Regan and then to give evidence against him.

What Molony neglected to add from the same report was that Regan was regarded as “a noted culprit”, and that the magistrates had been obliged to go to such lengths because of the earlier difficulty in bringing him to justice. Molony did not link John Kelly with the Regan case because he had not seen the police report on John Kelly’s offence and the other newspaper reports of his and Regan’s trials, which make the connection clear.

When we come to Patrick O’Farrell’s *The Irish in Australia* (1986), the most ambitious and comprehensive study to have addressed that rich theme, we might reasonably expect more informed discussion of the Irish background of the Kellys and the Quinns — and indeed, of the Codys and the McGluskys. O’Farrell had earlier expressed strong criticism of environmental determinism in Australian historical writing, as evidenced for example in Russell Ward’s *The Australian Legend*.

Given all this, one would hardly expect him to accept McQuilton’s largely environmental explanation of the Kellys and the local support for them. Yet this is what he in fact does, while conceding that Ned’s ideological reference point was Ireland:

The atmosphere of the Kelly outbreak is Irish, its grievances and conditions local: the Irish were not alone in their rural poverty and frustration, and support active and passive, came from an economic group and an alienated region rather than a nation. Persecuted, indomitable Ireland was for Ned Kelly a symbol of his own people’s plight. The cause generated in him an echo of common feeling in oppression; took him out of himself to share in some elevating inchoate way the fate of that inspiring, familiar nation; he sought dignity and the position of claiming to embody the protest of a whole people; he yearned to sublimate the criminal into the defender of a noble cause. And so this shabby criminal became more than himself, much more, and enduringly so into permanence³¹.

In effect, O’Farrell accepts McQuilton’s Australianising of Ned Kelly in everything except his ideology; but in so doing he does not bother to relate that ideology to the Irish experience of the Kelly-Quinn clan. Their Irishness is, for O’Farrell, an heuristic device whose specific historical roots need not be traced. Ned is reduced to the “shabby criminal” of the police histories, but (following McQuilton) his criminality is seen in environmental rather than ethnic or cultural terms. O’Farrell thus had no reason to pursue the Irish story.

The striking thing is that, while much has been made of the Irishness of the Kellys and Quinns, both in negative and positive ways, little attention has been paid to their Irish background. Kenneally obviously knew very little about it, and was content to represent John Kelly in the nationalist heroic tradition, victimised in Australia as he had been in Ireland by oppressive British

authority. Clune obtained some information, but his account of John Kelly's origins in *The Kelly Hunters* has not been challenged until recently³².

No Australian historian has bothered to come to Ireland to find out at first-hand, because the Kelly phenomenon had been so largely Australianised, reducing the Irish story to little more than colourful romantic 'background'. Much of what follows is based on the work of Mr. Terry Cunningham of the Fethard Historical Society.

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A more careful study of Irish records reveals things in a very different light — although there are still some problems. The Killenaule and Moyglass parish register entry for James Kelly was originally "John", and can be seen as such in the microfilm made of the registers for the National Library of Ireland before they were used by Father Breen. The original registers held in Moyglass Church reveal very clearly that the name "John" has been struck out and replaced by "James". This suggests two possibilities:

1. that the John Kelly born in 1820 died and that his parents gave a subsequent son the same name fifteen years later — a common practice at a time when child mortality was high.
2. that the parish priest made a mistake on 30 August 1835 by recording "James" rather than John, and that whoever corrected the register did so in this belief.

If we are to maintain that John Kelly, father of Ned Kelly, was the son of Thomas Kelly and Mary Cody, we have to accept the second possibility. However, if the 'amendment' of the register was designed to tidy up an embarrassing genealogical detail and to ensure that the Cody link was established, then we have to look somewhere else for what the Irish call 'your man'.

An Irish genealogist, Sean Murphy, who did some research for Molony's book, has already suggested that a more likely candidate is John Kelly, son of Thomas Kelly and Bridget Sullivan of the townland of Derricknew in the parish of Graystown, adjoining the parish of Killenaule and Moyglass and not much further away from where the theft of the pigs took place. (This John Kelly was baptised on 16 August 1819, so that he was the right age to have been the pig-stealer). Other children of Thomas Kelly and Bridget Sullivan recorded in the baptismal register for Graystown were Thomas (1814), Ellen (1816), Daniel (1822) and Bridget (1826). This squares with the fact that John Kelly had brothers by the name of Thomas and Daniel, but fails to account for James, whom we know went to Australia to join him³³.

The alteration of the Killenaule and Moyglass parish register certainly poses a problem, but I am inclined to think that it was a genuine case of *clerical error*, something by no means unusual in parochial records. The evidence which gives me some confidence in saying this is John Kelly's reference to Macglass on his youngest daughter's birth certificate, and his own death certificate which gives his parents' names as Thomas and Mary Kelly. It is also clear from post-1841 rentbook records of Lord Ormonde's Killurney estate that John Kelly, the woodranger, was not the same man. This little genealogical excursion has been partly designed to make the point that, while the Irishness of the Kellys was and is either celebrated or excoriated, only Murphy and Cunningham have bothered to look again at their lineage. The story of the Quinns and McGluskys has still to be told.

Irish police records for the period are a rich source of information, not only providing a detailed account of John Kelly's offence but setting it in the context of the agrarian turmoil that was Tipperary from the end of the Napoleonic wars. Although most of the convict records for the period 1791-1835 were lost in the destruction of the Four Courts during the Civil War, individual incidents can be traced through the so-called Outrage Papers and State of the Country reports, the collections of letters written by police magistrates and others to the authorities in Dublin Castle.



Police reforms drafted by Under-Secretary Thomas Drummond in Dublin Castle and put through Parliament by the Whig government in 1836 brought to Ireland the first properly organised and effective measures for the preservation of law and order since the Anglo-Norman invasion. Drummond, a Scot who had served as an army officer, organised the new Irish Constabulary along military lines, with head constables substituted for sergeant majors and chief constables for ensigns. The ordinary rank and file were stationed in barracks, armed with carbines and given instruction in military drill.

Most importantly, the Constabulary were highly centralised under an Inspector-General responsible directly to the Castle authorities. Military discipline was enforced by means of Constabulary courts. In effect, it was a paramilitary organisation created in response to the agrarian violence which had been endemic since the end of the Napoleonic wars. Unlike the old constabulary system, which was largely under the authority of local magistrates and thus subject to local influences, the new Irish Constabulary were answerable only to the Castle and endeavoured to maintain a non-partisan presence in the countryside.

They were expressly forbidden to assist in the levying of tithes and the collection of rent 'distress', and were debarred from membership of 'political or secret societies' such as the Orange lodges. One particular aim was to prevent the occurrence of faction strife or family feuds, which had been a striking feature of Irish rural life. By stationing themselves in the proximity of country fairs and other meeting places where quarrels were most likely to take place, they had managed to limit the problem to the extent that by 1839 Drummond claimed that faction fighting had virtually ceased.

Altogether, the Constabulary represented a major step towards the impartial and efficient administration of law and order; but it did nothing to remove the fundamental economic problems and land tenure arrangements which gave rise to agrarian strife. Consequently, the incidence of violence and crimes in Ireland, while diminishing somewhat after 1837, remained the highest in western Europe; and in no other county of Ireland was it more marked than in Tipperary³⁴.

It is because of the efficiency of the new Irish Constabulary that we have such a rich store of information on what was happening in the countryside. So-called 'outrage reports' were sent by the police to the Castle, recording every instance of lawlessness that came to their notice. For Tipperary in 1840 there are some hundreds of these in a file about a metre thick, including the report relating to John Kelly made by Sub-Inspector Cox of the New Park barracks. This was the closest police post to the townland of Ballysheehan where the theft of the pigs took place, the Mobarnan barracks also mentioned in the report being four miles to the south-west:

Cashel 7th Decr, 40.

Have to report, that on the 4th inst. about 4 A M two pigs, value about six pounds, the property of James Cooney, were stolen by one *John Kelly* who drove them to Cahir Market (distance 14 miles) and there sold them to a person named Flood, who afterwards on same day sold them to a pig buyer from Carrick on Suir. The Police, hearing of the occurrence, were on the alert and Conble. Hallam assisted by H. Johnston succeeded on same night in arresting *Kelly* in a Lodging house in this city and placing him in Bridewell. Hallam proceeded by order of Captain Haugh on the morning of the 5th to Carrick accompanied by Flood and returned on last night having discovered and brought back the pigs.

Informations were this day sworn agt. Kelly for the offence and he stands committed for trial. This Kelly, who is a notorious character, is the person alluded in my report of the 19th ulto. as being an accomplice of Regan's who was wounded by the Mobarnan Police. I have not visited Cooney's place as I would gain no information by so doing.

Joseph Cox

1st Sub Insp^r.³⁵

Unfortunately the 19 November report referred to by Cox is not extant, but the reference to Kelly as a 'notorious character' and to his implication in the earlier theft of cattle by Patrick Regan

indicates that this was not his first involvement in the business of animal stealing. The theft of the pigs had been reported to the police by Mary Cooney, wife of James Cooney of Ballysheehan. Cooney, far from being the prosperous farmer portrayed by Clune, was a landless labourer like Kelly's father.

The fact that the Irish files of the principal county newspaper, the *Clonmel Herald*, had been destroyed may have meant that Clune (or Father Breen) was unable to trace the report from the Cashel quarter sessions, where Kelly and Regan were tried. But the British Library's file contains accounts of the trials of 6 and 7 January which are quite revealing:

[6.1.1841]

Pat Regan, a notorious character, was put to the bar, charged with stealing 7 fat cows off the lands of Moyglass, the property of James Ryall, esq.

Constable Perry swore that in consequence of information he received that an attempt would be made on the night of the 17th November to steal Mr. Ryall's cows, proceeded with 2 other policemen to the cross roads close to Moyglass, where he found the prisoner at the head of, or before, the cows (which were being driven by another man, whom he saw) to prevent them from turning to another road, seizing the prisoner, who placed a pistol on his breast, and snapped it at him. The prisoner then got from him among the cows, when the witness and his comrade fired at and wounded him, the prisoner effected his escape, but was next morning arrested in the house of a person named Maher, which was in the immediate neighbourhood. This witness knew the other man who was driving the cows.

Constable Murphy proved that there was a third man concerned in driving the cows and added that the prisoner could not be secured without firing at him. The prisoner called no witness, nor had he any agent to defend him. He told a long rambling story of his being fired at before he saw the police. He received a wound in his side and on one of his fingers.

[7.1.1841]

The Jury without hesitation found him guilty. He was sentenced to 10 years' transportation.

John Kelly, indicted for stealing pigs, the property of James Cooney, was found guilty and sentenced to 7 years' transportation. (This culprit was an accomplice with Patrick Regan, found guilty yesterday of stealing Mr. Ryall's cows; it was he that gave information respecting Regan.)³⁶

It is clear from this, together with the police report of 7 December, that Kelly had been recognised by the Mobarnan police as one of Regan's accomplices and that the "information" he gave to the police or to the court about Regan won him a lighter sentence than he would otherwise have received on two counts of animal stealing. Regan, who received ten years, can have borne no love for his accomplice; but there was little opportunity to show this. The wound in his side must have been a serious one because he died in prison six weeks later before he could be moved to Dublin for transportation.

John Kelly was kept at Cashel until some time in July, when he was taken to Dublin and put on board the *Prince Regent* on the last day of that month, sailing on 7 August for Hobart with 180 other prisoners. He had not petitioned the Lord Lieutenant for reduction of his sentence to a term of imprisonment in Ireland, possibly because of that notoriety to which Sub-Inspector Cox had referred in his report.

The picture we have, then, is of a *spalpeen* or landless rural labourer, who supplemented his miserable income from time to time by assisting in the theft of animals. It seems to have been a risky business, given the zealous attitude of the police and the willingness of owners to provide information about thefts. However, when the value of the pigs is set against the fact that rural wages (when seasonal work such as harvesting or cutting hay was available) brought no more than a shilling a day, the incentives were very real. Perhaps it was the first time he had carried out a theft on his own, having served his apprenticeship with men like Regan. At any rate, far from being betrayed or 'framed', it was John Kelly who emerged as informer, if not an *agent provocateur*.

John Kelly was one of the 52 men sentenced to transportation at the various quarter sessions in Tipperary in 1841, but because his offence was committed in 1840 it is more proper to consider him in the context of the 17 similarly sentenced in that year:³⁷

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Offence</i>	<i>Sentence</i>
Francis Lee	38	larceny	7 years
Daniel Madden	38	cow stealing	10 years
Richard Joyce	58	robbery	7 years
Peter Grimes	64	selling base coin	15 years
David Hamilton	50	assault and robbery	10 years
James Martin	19	larceny	7 years
Owen McElmeel	41	administering an unlawful oath	life
Ally Taylor	30	assault and robbery from person	10 years
John McAleen	48	perjury	7 years
James McKenzie	13	larceny	7 years
McCrorry, Ferdie	23	cow stealing	15 years
Thomas Morrow	36	being member of an illegal society called the Ribbon society	7 years
James Pendergrass	18	larceny	7 years
Thomas Kane	40	malicious assault	7 years
Charles Kelly	37	larceny	7 years
Susan Dunlop	24	larceny	7 years
Daniel McCabe	15	larceny from person	7 years

From this it would appear that Kelly's felony was a typical offence; but the outrage reports for Tipperary for 1840³⁸ indicate that agrarian crimes were dramatically predominant. Significantly, very few of these resulted in convictions, and consequently the list above gives a misleading picture of what was happening. A more accurate picture can be gained from a listing of all the reported outrages, those of more clearly agrarian nature being placed in the second grouping.

<i>Group 1</i>		<i>Group 2</i>	
murder	12	assault	76
rape	5	robbery of arms	33
infanticide	10	threatening with arms	16
concealing birth of a child	4	illegal possession of arms	4
child desertion	1	demanding arms	9
abduction	8	appearing armed	14
suicide	1	firing at the person	10
highway robbery	12	attacks on property	19
robbery	43	attacking a dwelling	74
burglary	16	levelling	9
sacrilege	1	arson	62
breaking jail	1	issuing threatening notices / letters	106
animal stealing	43	killing animals	19
fleeing sheep	5	maiming animals	18
		combination	2
		conspiracy	2
		administering an unlawful oath	1
		riot	6
		attacks on police	2



It has to be said, however, that this compartmentalisation into neat categories of agrarian crime is somewhat artificial. A closer examination of the second grouping reveals that the vast majority of crimes have common components. Indeed, it is almost possible to construct the typical crime, as follows. A threatening letter is posted to a tenant — or nailed to his door — ordering him to give up his land on pain of death. He fails to respond. Later one night a party of three or four armed men, their faces blackened, approach his house.

They fire two or three shots through the windows and then break in, forcing the householder and his family to kneel on the floor with their heads bowed, warning him that they will return and kill him if he does not give up his land in favour of the previous tenant. They then beat him and his sons around the head and shoulders with their pistol butts and escape with any money or arms that they can locate in the house. When the local police report the outrage to the Castle they can choose to identify it under any of the following categories:

- firing at a dwelling house
- attacking a dwelling house
- assault
- threatening with arms
- appearing armed
- robbery
- robbery of arms

Tipperary in the 1820s had been one of the main centres of Rockite activity and of Whiteboyism — of informal and localised, but nonetheless effective, groupings of peasants determined to protect tenancies and wage levels. In the early 1840s there was another surge of activity of this kind, most clearly expressed in the threatening letters and attacks exemplified above. In the northern counties, including Antrim, action of this kind was more generally organised through the Ribbon movement, with which James Quinn, a landless labourer, would doubtless have been familiar.

John Kelly's offence was not an agrarian one, but it must still be seen in the context of the rural unemployment and deprivation that marked parts of Tipperary in the pre-Famine decade. A massive population increase had taken place there in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, partly as a result of the cultivation of potatoes, and this population pressure had resulted in the maximum extension of rural occupation in Irish history in the form of a highly dispersed rural population³⁹.

Rural poverty can be defined in terms of the annual rent value of land and buildings established by the General Valuation of Rateable Property in Ireland (better known as the Griffith Valuations) of the late 1840s, which listed most of those dispersed families in Tipperary as occupying land dwellings worth less than £1 per annum. From the valuation for the townland of Clonbrogan in the parish of Magorban, barony of Middlethird, it can be seen that the family of Thomas Kelly and Mary Cody subsisted on one rood and 23 perches of land, rented from Jeremiah Scully Esq. for six shillings per annum and that their dwelling — it would be misleading to style a one-room mud-and-thatch cabin a house — was valued at seven shillings per annum.

Poorer than all but three of their neighbours, and with only enough land for a potato garden and perhaps a cow (but no pigs), the Kellys still managed to rent out another dwelling at three shillings per annum to a Margaret Dunphy. The holdings of their other neighbours, also rented from Jeremiah Scully, were 8, 36, 55, 83 and 118 acres⁴⁰.

— 3 —

It is tempting to see in the struggle between Irish selectors and squatters in north-eastern Victoria in the 1860s and 1870s a similarity to (or indeed a continuity with) the struggle between peasants



and lease-landlords and employers in Ireland in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s, which was only alleviated by the onset of the Famine and its readjustment of the relationship between population and resources. In each case there was a highly centralised police force serving the interests of the properties establishment, the colonial force being modelled on the Irish one.

If there was a continuity, it was not clearly expressed in the colonial careers of John Kelly and his father-in-law James Quinn, who appear instead to have been typical of those immigrants (both involuntary and voluntary) who were anxious to grasp the greater opportunities for economic success in the colonies. Transported to Van Diemen's Land, John Kelly was a well-behaved prisoner, except for one incident involving absenteeism and the theft of some potatoes, which cost him two months in chains.

He qualified for a ticket-of-leave in July 1845 and received his pardon in January 1848 at the end of his seven-year sentence without ever having been flogged, although he was once fined for being drunk and disorderly⁴¹. Moving to Victoria, where he worked as a rough carpenter and tried his hand at the gold diggings, he eloped with the seventeen-year-old Ellen Quinn in November 1850 and settled at Beveridge, later moving to Avenel.

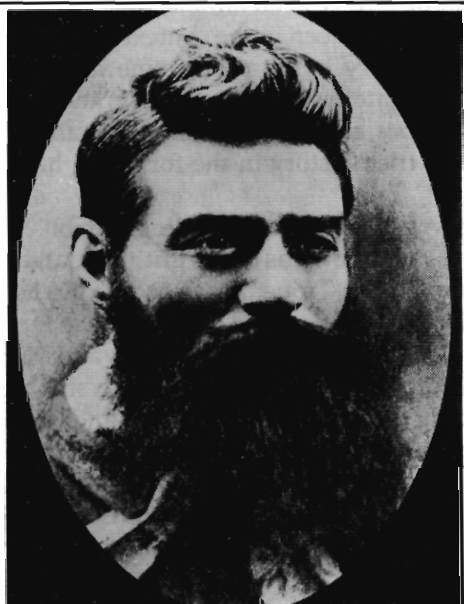
He did not attract the attention of the police until June 1865, when he was found in illegal possession of a cow hide and sentenced to a fine of £25 or six months' imprisonment. Altogether, the hitherto reformed and law-abiding John Kelly was unlikely to have prepared his sons for a life of crime. Indeed, he seems to have done his best to avoid trouble, and there is at least some doubt about the incident involving the cow hide, which was linked to a dispute with a neighbouring family.

The patriarchal James Quinn also kept out of trouble with the police, although his leasing of the 'Glenmore' run near the route used by earlier cattle duffers brought him under police suspicion. His death in 1869 may have removed a constraining influence, because it is from that time that his sons became involved in what probably was the systematic theft of cattle and horses.

John McQuilton has properly pointed to the likely influence on the young Ned Kelly of his ne'er-do-well uncles and their treatment by the police⁴². James Kelly, who had come out to join his brother John about 1857, was the first of the Kelly-Quinn clan to receive a serious conviction when he was sentenced to three years imprisonment in 1863 for cattle stealing.

A more important influence, however, may have been the bushranger Harry Power⁴³, who based himself on James Quinn's 'Glenmore' run after escaping for the second time from Pentridge jail in 1869, and enlisted young Ned's assistance during his operations as a highway robber. Power had been convicted at Waterford in 1840 for stealing a pair of shoes and transported to Van Diemen's Land for seven years.

Although his offence, like John Kelly's, was not a political one, he was more rebellious by nature. During confinement on the convict hulk *Success* at Melbourne for an offence committed after receiving his pardon, he was involved in a rebellion which resulted



*Ned Kelly — the last photograph,
taken the day before his execution.*

(PICTURE BY COURTESY OF
FETHARD HISTORICAL SOCIETY).

in the deaths of two warders. It is difficult to imagine that during their months together in the bush Ned did not imbibe something of the Irish convict tradition from his colourful companion.

Doug Morrissey has demonstrated the significance of the Irish connection in the focal support for the Kelly gang after their outlawing in October 1878. The nucleus of this support was the Greta Mob, the group of bush larrikins who accepted Ned Kelly as their leader. Numbering about forty, 83% of its members were the Australian-born sons of Irish-born parents, and 56% had been convicted for criminal offences, mostly horse-stealing. If we take the wider group of 124 people identified by the police as active Kelly supporters, 78% were of Irish birth or parentage⁴⁴. The older generation of Irish-born were not as dependable as their children.

Even within the Kelly-Quinn clan, James Quinn junior betrayed Harry Power to the police for a large reward and Patrick Quinn became an active informer on Ned and the gang. The loyalty of the Irish-born members of the clan could not be relied on. It was the younger generation of Australian-born sons and daughters of Irish-born selectors who actively and consistently supported the Kellys. Having imbibed something of the Irish tradition from the parents, they responded to surveillance and harassment by the police by closing ranks and emphasising their Irishness as a means of ensuring their group solidarity.

While the Irish clannishness of the Kellys, the Quinns and their supporters mattered a great deal, the Catholic element was somewhat muted. John Kelly and Ellen Quinn had been married at St. Francis's church in Melbourne and their children were baptised. Their eldest daughter Annie was married to Alec Gunn by a priest; but Maggie was married to William Skillion by a Primitive Methodist minister, with Ellen herself as witness⁴⁵. It would certainly have seemed to her contemporaries that she was turning her back on the Catholic Church.

Ned Kelly at no time used the Church as a means of negotiating with the police, and Father Matthew Gibney's presence at Glenrowan was purely accidental. The badly wounded Ned was given the last rites by Gibney and he was also attended by Father O'Dea at Pentridge Gaol before his execution; but this hardly suggests that he actively sought the agency of the Church even in crisis. His famous final statement "such is life" (if he did indeed make it) was more an expression of Australian stoicism than of the faith which had sustained his ancestors in their adversity.

If there was a continuity with Ireland, it is likely to have been in the minds of the generation to whom John Kelly, James Quinn and their kind gave rise — the 'lost generation' of the decades separating the gold rushes from urbanisation and industrialisation, the selection era of rural poverty and deprivation, of disillusionment, alienation and lawlessness. Ireland provided for them a powerful ideological reference point.

Just as 'The Liberator' had failed to bring about repeal of the Act of Union and restoration of their lands to the Irish peasantry, so Charles Gavan Duffy had failed in his constitutional struggle to do something for the Irish-Australian peasantry in Victoria. Leaderless, and with no faith in a system of justice administered by a police force manned largely by apostate Irishmen and a judiciary dominated by the figure of Sir Redmond Barry, that very epitome of the hated Anglo-Irish oppressor, they resorted to some of the methods of the Whiteboys and the Ribbon Men.

The two statements made by Ned Kelly during his period of outlawry are very much in the threatening letter tradition of the Tipperary Rockites and Whiteboys, the first being sent to Donald Cameron, MLA, in mid-December 1878 after the gang's successful hold-up of the bank at Euroa. After a detailed account of the Stringybark Creek shooting and earlier events, Kelly proclaimed:

I have no intention of asking mercy for myself or any other mortal man, or apologising, but I wish to give timely warning that if my people do not get justice, and those innocents released from prison and the police wear their uniform, I shall be forced to seek revenge of everything of the human race for the future. I will not take innocent life, if justice is given, but as the police are afraid or ashamed to wear their



uniform, therefore every man's life is in danger, as I was outlawed without cause, and cannot be no worse, and have but once to die, and if the public do not see justice done I will seek revenge for the name and character which has been given to me and my relations, while God gives me strength to pull a trigger⁴⁶.

The Jerilderie Letter, which Ned Kelly gave to the local printer to publish after holding up the bank there in February 1879, is a much more detailed catalogue of events involving the Kelly-Quinn clan and the police since 1870. However, it ends with yet another threat, not so much to the police this time as to the squatters of the Northern Districts Stock Protection Society:

I wish those men who joined the stock protection society to withdraw their money and give it and as much more to the widows and orphans and poor of the Greta district . . . I give fair warning to all those who had reason to fear me to sell out and give ten pounds out of every hundred towards the widow and orphan fund and do not attempt to reside in Victoria but as short a time as possible after reading this notice. Neglect this and abide by the consequences, which shall be worse than the ruse in the wheat in Victoria or the druth of a dry season to the grasshoppers in New South Wales. I do not wish to give the order full force without giving timely warning, but I am a widow's son outlawed and my orders *must* be obeyed⁴⁷.

It was not a matter of Irishness and its effects in Australia, but of broadly similar conditions in each country producing broadly similar effects, which in Australia were given meaning when the Irish past was involved in different ways. The folklorist Graham Seal has made the point that it was through the oral traditions of Ireland's past that the Kellys and their supporters were able to express their discontent with what were essentially local problems:

Poorly educated, poorly represented in Parliament, and just plain poor, the Kellys, and many like them, had no other means of expressing their anger than through the inherited images and clichés of Irish nationalism.

Yet the Kellys were not actually motivated by such sentiments. It was the immediate, north-eastern Victoria tensions and conflicts that led to the outbreak, not a misbegotten dream of creating an Hibernian utopia in the Wombat Ranges . . .⁴⁸.

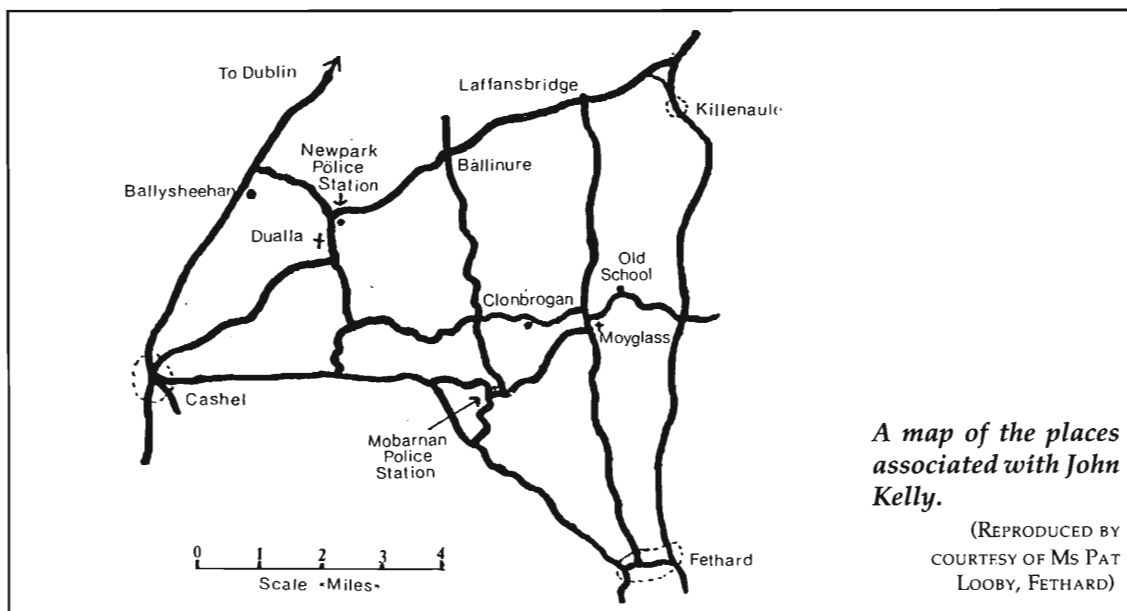
If there should be any doubt about the *ideological* Irishness of Ned Kelly, we have only to remember that extraordinary passage in the Jerilderie Letter:

I have been wronged and my mother and four or five men lagged innocent and is my brothers and sisters and my mother not be pitied also who has no alternative only to put up with the brutal and cowardly conduct of a parcel of big ugly fat-necked wombat headed big bellied magpie legged narrow hipped splay-footed sons of Irish Bailiffs or English landlords which is better known as officers of Justice or Victorian Police who come calls honest gentlemen but I would like to know what business an honest man would have in the Police as is the old saying it takes a rogue to catch a rogue and a man that knows nothing about roguery would never enter the force and taken an oath to arrest brother sister father or mother if required and to have a case and conviction if possible any man knows it is possible to swear a lie and if a policeman loses a conviction for the sake of swearing a lie he has broke his oath therefore he is a perjurer either ways, a Policeman is a disgrace to his country not alone to the mother that suckled him, in the first place he is a rogue in his heart but too cowardly to follow it up without having the force to disguise it. Next he is a traitor to his country ancestors and religion as they were all Catholics before the Saxons and Cranmore yoke held sway since then they were persecuted massacred thrown into martyrdom and tortured beyond the ideas of the present generation. What would people say if they saw a strapping big lump of an Irishman shepherding sheep for fifteen bob a week or railing turkeys in Tallarook ranges for a smile from Julia or even begging his tucker, they would say he ought to be ashamed of himself and tar-and-feather him. But he would be a king to a policeman who for a lazy loafing cowardly bilit left the ash corner deserted the shamrock, the emblem of true wit and beauty to serve under a flag and nation that has destroyed massacred and murdered their forefathers by the greatest of torture as rolling them down hill in spiked barrels pulling their toe nails and finger nails and on the wheel and every torture imaginable more was transported to Van Diemand's Land to pine their



young lives away in starvation and misery among tyrants worse than the promised hell itself all of true blood bone and beauty, that was not murdered on their own soil, or had fled to America or other countries to bloom again another day were doomed to Port McQuarie Toweringabbie Norfolk island and Emu plains and in those places of tyranny and condemnation many a blooming Irishman rather than subdue to the Saxon yoke were flogged to death and bravely died in servile chains but true to shamrock and a credit to Paddys land . . .⁴⁹.

Mad Ireland did not make Ned Kelly, but it did enable him to make sense of his troubled world and the tragic part that he played in it.



FOOTNOTES

1. F. A. Hare: *The Last of the Bushrangers; an account of the capture of the Kelly gang*, (London, 1894).
2. J. Sadleir: *Recollections of a Victorian Police Officer* (Melbourne, 1913).
3. C. White: *History of Australian Bushranging* (2 vols.) (Sydney, 1900-1906) II, p.246.
4. See F. Clune: *The Kelly Hunters: The Authentic, Impartial History of the Life and Times of Edward Kelly, the Ironclad Outlaw* (Sydney, 1954), p.xxi.
5. G. Farwell: *Ned Kelly: What a Life! The Life and Adventures of Australia's Notorious Bushranger* (Melbourne, 1970).
6. K. Dunstan, *Saint Ned* (Sydney, 1980).
7. Cited by Clune, *op. cit.*, p.335.
8. For a discussion of the various manifestations of the Kelly legend, see G. Seal: *Ned Kelly in Popular Tradition* (Melbourne, 1980), pp. 130-175.
9. C. Turnbull: 'Kellyana', in *Australian History Pamphlets*, Vol. 3, 1943.
10. B. Adams: *Sidney Nolan: Such is Life* (Melbourne, 1987), p.85.
11. A. Pratt: *Dan Kelly, being the Memoirs of Dan Kelly (brother of Edward Kelly), Supposed to have been Slain in the Famous Flight at Glenrowan* (Sydney, 1911).
12. B. W. Cookson: 'The Kelly gang from within', in *The Sun* (Sydney), 27 August - 24 September 1911.
13. Kenneally, *op. cit.*, p.17 (Readers will observe that Kenneally managed to misspell Mitchel, Smith O'Brien (no hyphen), and Meagher).
14. *Ibid.*
15. Melbourne, 1948, p.17.



16. *Ibid.*, p.25 (“Selectors” is an Australian term for “small-holders”).
17. Clune, *op. cit.*, p.335.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p.336.
21. *Ibid.*, p.4
22. *Ibid.*, p.12
23. M. Clark: ‘Good Day to You, Ned Kelly’, in C. F. Cave, ed., *Ned Kelly: Man and Myth*, (Melbourne, 1968), pp. 16-17.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
25. C. M. H. Clark: *A History of Australia*, Vol. IV (Melbourne, 1980), p. 325.
26. J. McQuilton: *The Kelly Outbreak 1878-1880: The Geographical Dimensions of Social Banditry* (Melbourne, 1979), p. 188.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, p. 189. For Morrisey, see n.44 infra.
29. J. Molony: *I Am Ned Kelly* (Melbourne, 1980), pp. 7 & 8.
30. Molony’s footnote 8 on p. 260 of *I Am Ned Kelly* is as follows: “For details of John Kelly’s crime, see Registered Papers, first division, file 27/19877, The State Paper Office, Dublin Castle, Ireland; Tipperary Free Press, 13 January, 20 February 1841. For Regan see Registered Papers, 1840 and 1841, first division, files 27/19103, 181, 237, 469, 471 and C2033, 2251 . . .” Document no. 27/19877, the police report on John Kelly’s offence, is extant. However, the documents cited for the Regan case, while some are listed in slightly different form in the registers (27/19181, 19237, 30469 and 30471) are not in fact extant.
31. P. O’Farrell: *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney, 1987), p. 138.
32. S. Murphy: ‘Ned Kelly’s Irish Ancestry’, in *Divilina* (Dublin), No. 4 (September, 1988), pp. 15-19.
33. *Ibid.*
34. This account is based on G. Broeker: *Rural Disorder and Police Reform in Ireland, 1812-36*, (London, 1970), pp. 219-239.
35. Outrage Papers, Tipperary, 1840 1st division 27/19877, State Paper Office, Dublin Castle.
36. *Clonmel Herald*, 9 January 1841.
37. Convict Registers, 1840-42, State Paper Office, Dublin Castle.
38. Outrage Papers, Tipperary, 1840, 1st division, State Paper Office, Dublin.
39. T. J. Hughes: ‘Landholding and settlement in County Tipperary in the nineteenth century’, in W. Nolan and T. McGrath eds., *Tipperary: History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), pp. 339-366.
40. General Valuation of Rateable Property in Ireland, *County of Tipperary, South Riding, Barony of Middlethird, Unions of Callan, Cashel, Tipperary and Clonmel, Primary Valuation* (Dublin: H. M. Printers, 1850). The ‘Griffith Valuations’, together with the Ordnance maps which were used in their compilation, constitute an invaluable source of Irish economic history and of the origins of Irish people who went to Australia. They were used as a base for calculating land tax in Ireland until recent times.
41. Clune, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Molony, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
42. McQuilton, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
43. *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 5 (Melbourne, 1974), p. 454.
44. D. Morrissey: ‘Ned Kelly’s Sympathisers’, in *Historical Studies*, vol. 8, No. 71 (October 1978), p. 293.
45. Clune, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7.
46. ‘The Cameron Letter’ reproduced in J. H. Phillips: *The Trial of Ned Kelly* (Sydney, 1987), pp. 121 and 122.
47. ‘The Jerilderie Letter’, *Ibid*, pp. 115-116.
48. Seal, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
49. ‘The Jerilderie Letter; Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

