Treacys of Soloheadbeg – Family, Land and Murder: A very Irish Tragedy.

By Denis G. Marnane

Introduction[1]

In 1865 Mary Treacy made her will. A widow since 1848, with two sons Thomas and Denis and three daughters Catherine, Johanna and Bridget living, Mary Treacy had a farm of around twenty-three statute acres (14.25 acres Irish[2]) in two lots, in the townland of Soloheadbeg, not far from Limerick Junction.[3] Back in 1848, probably because of Famine related illness and in the space of a few weeks, she lost her sixty year old husband John, her twenty year old son, also John and her brother-in-law Nicholas. A daughter Ellen died in infancy and another daughter Mary died in 1844, aged thirteen. In time, her surviving sons Thomas and Denis perpetuated the memory of their father. Twice Thomas named his sons John, neither surviving infancy. Denis married late and when in February 1895, his son was born, he was also christened John. History knows him as Seán.[4]

When in 1945, Desmond Ryan published his biography of Seán Treacy, what he had to say about his subject's Treacy background was covered in a sentence. "Seán Treacy's father was remembered among his neighbours as a man of strong personality and it was said that Seán resembled him in many ways."[5] Generations of readers have taken this sentence with its two statements, at face value but as this discussion reveals, the first statement, about Denis Treacy, is deeply ambiguous, while the second, about his son, is intensely problematic. Seán carried the Treacy surname but his mother's family name Allis was a very important part of his identity. His tombstone in Kilfeacle names him as Seán Allis Treacy. Not a conventional designation. Popularly, this is seen as reflecting the loss of his father when Seán was a child and the consequent increased importance of his mother's family. Reality is more complicated and more interesting. This article is not about Seán Treacy. It deals with a period decades before his birth. However, for both writer and reader, Seán Treacy is never absent.

Table: Treacys of Soloheadbeg

John (1787-1848)[6] (brothers?) Nicholas (1800-1848)[7]
m. 2 Feb 1818 /
Mary Looby (d. 5 Feb 1865) descendants
/
/

Catherine (b.1818)[8] m. 2 May 1850 Con Ryan, Raheen (d. 27 March 1876) no children
Thomas (1821-95) m. 23 Feb 1873 Mary Carey[9] (b. 1851) children
Ellen (b.1824) probably died in infancy
John (1827-1848)[10]
Mary (c.1831-1844)[11]
Denis (c.1832 – 1899)[12] m. 5 Feb 1894 Bridget Allis, Hollyford. One son.
Johanna (c.1834- 16 July 1874)[13] m. 4 March 1862 Michael Hayes. Two children.[14]
Bridget (b.1838)[15] m. 8 Feb 1872 James Coffee. Children.

Inheritance

In 1865 Mary Treacy made her will.[16] Even in the rich Irish literature about disputed wills and contested inheritance, there is hardly an example of more malign consequences flowing from the drawing up of a will.[17] Mrs. Treacy died in the first week of February 1865 and circumstantial evidence suggests that making her will was a matter of rush and botch. "The will was drawn up by an ignorant attorney's clerk, with sufficient knowledge of legal terms only to be enabled to do harm but ignorant of the real principles of law" was the opinion of one of the leading legal experts in the country.[18] In the context of what subsequently happened, it is reasonable to presume that the poor woman was put under pressure by her sons.[19] Also, there can be little doubt but that the driving force was her younger son Denis. (There was around a decade between the sons.) More usually the older son would get the interest in the farm and in this case Mrs. Treacy made a will leaving the everything to Thomas – farm, livestock, house and chattels. But there were conditions: within a year of her death, Thomas was to pay his younger brother Denis £300. There was also a legacy of £240 to her daughter Bridget, then unmarried. Apart from the fact that this seems a good deal of money to come up with on the back of twenty odd acres, there was a sting in the tail.

If after two years the £300 remained unpaid, Denis got the farm and had to pay Thomas the £300. There was also a provision that the brothers would manage the farm together, if they could agree. One wonders how well Mrs. Treacy understood her sons. Whatever their relationship had been before her death, her will made it toxic. The textbook solution to a farm with two sons was neatly explained in the now famous study of Irish rural attitudes and values, based on Clare in the 1930s but relevant to post-Famine rural Ireland generally. A suitable wife (i.e. one with an adequate fortune) was found for one of the sons and this money was used to provide for the other son.[20] It is impossible to know what was on Mary Treacy's mind. Each family has its own dynamic. Perhaps pushed by the competing demands of her two sons, she sought to satisfy both.

Mary Treacy did not leave her twenty-three Soloheadbeg acres to anyone, because of course, she did not own them. What she left, with the agreement of the landlord (or at least without his prohibition), was a leasehold interest in the farm, running for 21 years from 1858.[21] Before continuing with the story of the Treacy family and how their mother's will impacted on their lives, a brief account of the farm in question is in order. The first point is that its ownership was not personal but corporate. The 858.5 statute acre townland of Soloheadbeg in the civil parish of Soloheadbeg was part of the 3,000 acres estate owned in County Tipperary by the Governors of the Erasmus Smith Educational Endowment. The Governors owned some 10,500 acres in Ireland, divided between a number of counties, including around 4,300 acres in County Limerick.[22] Erasmus Smith, a supporter of Cromwell, obtained a great deal of land in Ireland and in order to hold on to it after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, used some of his holdings to establish an educational endowment with grammar schools in Tipperary town, Drogheda and Galway. By the nineteenth century, the Governors had extended their support for education to both first and third levels. The fact that its benefits were not extended to Roman Catholics would become a major issue.[23]

At mid-century (1851) according to *Griffith's Valuation* John Treacy's farm was under thirteen acres, while Nicholas had just over twenty-eight acres in two contiguous holdings. Also, the buildings on Nicholas's farm were slightly better as was his land (an average of 94 pence an acre against John Treacy's 88 pence).[24] By 1856, these holdings were in the names of the Treacy widows, Mary and Margaret. In 1859 Mary Treacy signed a lease for 21 years with the Erasmus Smith Board of Governors for two separate lots of land, around twenty-three statute acres(12.5 acres and 10.5 acres) at an annual rent of £20.40.[25] The farm under Mary Treacy's name, but of course run by her sons Thomas and Denis, was augmented by an additional ten acres, bringing the average valuation per acre up to 91 pence.[26] These additional acres, taken by the Treacys sometime in the 1850s, illustrate how the Great Famine could benefit those who survived, when more land was available.

Around this same period, the Erasmus Smith Educational Endowment, both its schools and the management of its estates, came under government scrutiny. The 1858 *Commission of Inquiry* described how Soloheadbeg had been let to middlemen up to 1835, at which date the Erasmus Smith Governors had the property surveyed and valued and good news for the occupying tenants, rents were reduced by about one-third.[27]Middlemen usually had no long-term commitment to a property or its tenants and especially as their lease neared expiration, were intent on maximising profit. In the words of the report: ". . . the tenants had got into arrears and their farms were generally exhausted and badly cultivated". There was nothing unusual about this perceived negative impact of middlemen on the estate during these pre-Famine decades. For example, the same process occurred on the Smith-Barry estate near Cashel.[28]

For a corporate landlord like the Erasmus Smith Governors, there was an advantage in letting land to middlemen. It was more convenient to deal with a small number of large holdings than with a mass of tenants. In 1834, the sub-tenants of Soloheadbeg petitioned the Governors not to renew the leases of the middlemen in 1835. Initially the Governors were minded to let the townland to the highest bidder but in 1836, the Soloheadbeg (sub) tenants were given one-year leases on probation for three years.[29] The local agent was

Austin Cooper, who lived near Dundrum. He was murdered in April 1838 in a famous incident.[30] – a reminder that everything associated with access to and the holding of land, aroused extraordinary passions.

During the dreadful years of the Famine, census information suggests that tenants were better off holding their farms directly from the estate.

Table: Soloheadbeg Townland 1841-1851[31]

	Houses	Male	Female	Total Pop
1841	37	172	152	324
1851	34	154	133	287

Apart from various donations to local relief committees, the primary response of the Governors was the provision of employment, while at the same time improving the land. To this end the Governors borrowed money from the government for drainage and with the land improved, rents were increased by about ten per cent in the 1850s in order to repay this money. This was how things were managed in Ireland. Landlords rarely used their own money to improve their estates and as in this instance, one way or another, tenants would pay for any improvements. It was around this time that the Treacy farm was increased in size, something that was encouraged on the estate. This was a period when the agricultural economy was improving after the Famine and in the words of J.W. Murland, the man appointed to inspect the Soloheadbeg estate on behalf of the Commissioners: "Some of the tenants on this townland have made great improvements on the farms, and generally the land is carefully cultivated and the rents punctually paid up".[32] Clearly there were worse estates on which to be a tenant.

In 1881 there was another government inquiry.[33] It was noted that the Soloheadbeg tenants complained that while the money owed to the government for drainage loans had been paid off, rents had not been reduced. The Inquiry dismissed this and influenced by the economic upturn of the decades following the Famine, declared that rents were "very moderate", 17% over Valuation. Tenants of course complained but they were more put out by the range in average rents in what was not a huge area (about 530 Irish acres) – from twenty-two to thirty-four shillings per Irish acre.

In this inquiry brief reference was made to the other Treacy family in Soloheadbeg, making the point that their rent was at valuation. Part of the townland was held by an Anglican clergyman, who in turn sublet, one of his four tenants being these same Treacys. The point being made was that the Rev. Mr. Smith charged forty-six shillings per (Irish) acre and Treacy did not complain, so there was no point in his complaining about the rent he paid to the Governors. Comparison was made with an adjacent estate (that of Lord Stanley at Ballykisteen)[34] which had been recently sold and on which rents were as much as forty-six shillings an acre. Incidentally, tenants paid their rents to the local agent at Pallas, where he lived. In his view Sologheadbeg was home to "some respectable independent farmers". As will be seen, it is unlikely he included the Treacy brothers Thomas and Denis in this category.

Cuckoos in the Nest

One of the most written about changes brought about by the Great Famine was the determination to keep farms intact as they passed from generation to generation.[35] Had this not been the norm, both Thomas Treacy and his brother Denis might have been satisfied if the farm was divided between them (which is what seemed to have happened in an earlier generation). With several daughters in a family, any accumulated capital was used to secure satisfactory marriages for at least some of them and not to purchase an interest in another farm for a second son. For example, if the other Treacy farm was available, perhaps because the occupier decided to emigrate, Tenant Right (also known as the Ulster Custom) which was the purchase by an incoming tenant of the interest or "goodwill" of the outgoing tenant, would have cost around ten years purchase. This means a lump sum of ten years rent, which in this instance was £214.[36]

The shedding of siblings was managed variously. "The rules of succession varied from estate to estate and it is not always clear how far agents acted according to the tenants' wishes" is how one modern writer saw the matter, citing a statement from the 1870s that wills were not recognised unless the farm was left to only one person, either the widow or a son. Examples were also given of estates where widows were accommodated so that a parent was not at the mercy of a son, but there were also estates where widows were not favoured.[37] One extreme was on the Lansdowne estate in Kerry, where W. S. Trench the well-known agent (he wrote his autobiography) micro-managed, having a say in tenant's choice of spouse and being rigorous about getting rid of surplus brothers so that under no circumstances could farms be divided.[38] There is no doubt that the arrangement devised by Mary Treacy with respect to the disposal of the interest in her farm between her two sons would not be tolerated on the Kerry estate or on many others.

One thing is certain, to an extravagant degree, the Treacy brothers wanted land and were indifferent as to means. "The whole history of the Treacys went to show that they were capable of any act, no matter how bold or fraudulent" was one contemporary expression of this belief about them.[39] Their mother died on 5 February 1865 and during the following years they continued to share the same roof while each did his best to destroy the other. Each freely used the two methods of redress available: the law of the countryside and the law of the land. The former promoting faction, intimidation and violence; the latter deploying very expensive civil litigation.[40] By the 1870s, it is not too much to say that the Treacys had become notorious.[41] Their story has more twists and turns than a dozen John B. Keane plays and like soap opera there are concurrent but complementary storylines. In this case, three: the conflict between the brothers Thomas and Denis Treacy over their mother's will; the childless marriage of their sister Catherine to Con Ryan and finally the tragedy of their sister Johanna who was married to Michael Hayes.

While the issues raised by their mother's will were being slowly and painfully resolved, the brothers turned their attention to a different source of land. On 2 May 1850, Catherine Treacy, eldest of the family, married Con Ryan a neighbouring farmer. They lived in Raheen Lower a townland just to the south of Sologheadbeg. Con Ryan had two small farms. The farm in Raheen Lower, in two lots and sixteen acres was part of the estate of the earl of Portarlington.[42] The other farm, just under ten acres was in Sologheadbeg townland and therefore part of the estates of the Erasmus Smith Governors. Unexceptionally, Con Ryan was older than his wife and crucially they had no children.

In some respects the story being told in this article is akin to wading through cliches. With Con Ryan childless, the burning question was the direction in which his interest would pass – his wife's family in the person of one of her brothers or his own family in the person of one of his Ryan nephews. In fact, in 1865 Treacys bullied poor Con (it's difficult to think of him any other way) into submission but a decade later, his Ryan nephews bent him to their will. Con Ryan died in March 1876 (probably with some relief) and the following year the disposition of his property was before a court in Clonmel. Good news for an historian because much that would otherwise be hidden, was revealed, including something of the relationship between Con Ryan, his wife and the Treacy brothers.

The story that emerged was not to the credit of the Treacys and indicated (to put it no stronger) that Con Ryan was bullied by his wife and her brothers. The dominant player in this little drama was undoubtedly Denis Treacy. Because of their mother's will, Thomas and Denis Treacy were at loggerheads over possession of the Soloheadbeg farm. One solution appears to have presented itself. What if one of the brothers got his hands on Con Ryan's farm? No sooner was their mother dead but that same month, February 1865, Con Ryan was persuaded to sign over his farm to his brother-in-law.[43] Catherine (Treacy) Ryan's version of this was that her husband was in poor health and was helped on the farm by his brothers-in-law. A second factor was concern that with her husband's death, Catherine would be at the mercy of her husband's family, unless prior arrangements had been made.[44]

This "signing over" was indicated a few months later when Con and Catherine Ryan, together with Thomas Treacy, went to nearby Tipperary town to pay the rent for the land in Raheen Lower. The estate agent was Samuel Heuston, manager of the Munster & Leinster Bank and he later described how he was told to put Tom Treacy's name on the receipt, an instruction from Con Ryan. However, a decade later and the Treacy's were out of favour with Con Ryan. Heuston was again visited by Con Ryan, this time with his nephew in tow and Ryan signed an affidavit giving his interest to his nephew. The provision for the widow Catherine was far from generous: right of residence in a room of the family home and £10 p.a. When a few years later, Heuston described all this in court, he particularly remembered that Con Ryan's refusal to swear an oath caused "consternation". Con said "he was an old man and that he never took an oath in his life and would not do so." It is difficult not to conclude that Con Ryan was a rag doll tossed between Treacy in-laws and Ryan nephews.

Samuel Heuston was one of the witnesses in 1877, a year after Con Ryan's death, when on 17 and 18 July of that year, a court in Clonmel had to decide between the in-law and the nephew – between the transfer of interest to Thomas Treacy in 1865 or the transfer to Thomas Ryan in 1874.[45] In the litigation of 1877, Catherine (Treacy) Ryan had a tough cross-examination from the high-powered counsel engaged by her late husband's nephew.[46] The intention was to show that her husband was bullied and so any transfer of interest to the Treacys was under duress.

Hemphill:	"Were you very fond of poor Con (laughter)?"
(Treacy) Ryan:	"I would be fonder of him now if I had him, after all the bad treatment I got (laughter)"
Hemphill:	"Did you occupy different rooms for a long time?"
(Treacy) Ryan:	"When he got pains in his bones he said he wanted the whole bed to himself (laughter)."

Hemphill:	"And you hunted him?"
(Treacy) Ryan	"No, he went himself."
Hemphill:	"Did you in 1865 put the poor old rickety man out of the feathers?"
(Treacy) Ryan:	"He went himself (laughter)."
Hemphill:	"Did he ever complain that you were giving all his means to your worthless brothers?"
(Treacy) Ryan:	"He did, but why used he be sending for them?"
Hemphill:	"Did he complain of your giving £200 fortune to your sister Mrs. Coffey?"[47]
(Treacy) Ryan:	"No, no such thing occurred. He used not to call me the 'old robber' but he used to my brothers, though he was very great with them always."
Hemphill	"Did you over and over again hit your husband in the presence of your brothers family?"
(Treacy) Ryan:	"No."
Hemphill:	"Nor knock him down with a stick?"
(Treacy) Ryan:	"I did not."
Hemphill:	"Was your husband right in his mind when he signed the deed of 1865?"
(Treacy) Ryan:	"I don't know. I'm no doctor."

Catherine (Treacy) Ryan informed the court that her husband told her he had been drunk when he signed the 1874 deed "and that he did not know what he was doing". She continued: "my husband was very cross and cantankerous at this time. He said he got a blow of a pitchfork on the head from his own brother Larry before he married and that his head was not right." This reference allowed Hemphill to suggest that it was Denis Treacy who had assaulted her husband, something denied by the witness. Hemphill finished with the witness by asking if she knew that Tom Treacy "knocked (Con) down several times – a poor old man - and that Con could not bear the sight of Tom". Catherine (Treacy) Ryan denied any knowledge of such matters.

Denis Treacy also gave evidence and confirmed his sister's account of events.[48] The Treacy brothers, anxious to help their brother-in-law in working his land and eager to preserve the rights of their sister if and when she was widowed, co-operated with Con Ryan when he decided that the best means of doing this was "to settle" the farm on Thomas Treacy. The witness told the court that he simply looked after the paperwork, getting the deed prepared and so on. A decade later when the 1874 transfer to Ryan was being managed, Denis Treacy was in jail (see below). When, after his release, he met Con Ryan, Con was a sorry man, complaining that "all his means" had been taken from him by his nephews and that he had been drunk when he signed the deed and did not know what he was doing. Now, "he could not walk on his own lands". Denis Treacy's account of the signing of the 1865 deed with his references to Con being well able to sit up in bed, his hand not being guided and having no whiskey or wine that day, can hardly have impressed the

jurors. Given the known bad history between Denis and his brother, the witness was at pains to emphasise that he had nothing to gain and that it was Thomas who benefitted.

When Thomas Treacy gave evidence, he painted a picture of long term and close involvement in the running of his brother-in-law's farm. He claimed to have made several improvements, including an extention to the dwelling house. "Old Con often said it was for himself (i.e.Tom Treacy) he was doing the work." In this version of events, Con Ryan, a loving husband was concerned about his wife and minded to safeguard her interests from his Ryan relatives and saw Tom Treacy as the best means of doing this. However, it was admitted that Catherine (Treacy) Ryan was nowhere mentioned in the deed of 1865. Tom Treacy told the court that his life had been threatened by the Ryans, thus allowing them take possession in 1874, having managed to get a befuddled Con under their control. Just as Denis Treacy had been in jail, so also had Thomas (see below) so that it was never going to be likely that jurors would take a benign view of anything involving the Treacy brothers.

In a case like this, no one was virtuous. The Treacys came to the case with a great deal of baggage but driven by a determination to prevent land going out of the family. Con Ryan's relatives were as manipulative. For example, Thomas Ryan one of Con's nephews had been a clerical student in St. Patrick's College, Thurles and it made good copy to claim that one of the reasons Con wanted to help his own relatives was to pay his nephew's college fees. Some comedy was provoked in court because Thomas Ryan gave evidence wearing a Roman collar even though he admitted he was not a priest. Counsel for Treacys insinuated that Ryan had been invited to leave St. Patrick's because of a drink problem. It was also suggested that the wording in the deed of 1874 was very much not that of Con Ryan "a plain-spoken country farmer". There was also some question of Catherine (Treacy) Ryan being assaulted by Thomas Ryan (being struck on the head with a brush).

A telling piece of evidence (and a fascinating piece of social history) in Thomas Ryan's favour was a witness description of seeing on 1 September 1874 Con Ryan giving up possession to his nephew."The fire was put outside the door and Con brought out a chair, pulled some of the thatch out of the eve and gave it to Thomas. He also gave him a portion of the grass and clay of both farms in token of possession." Even in this Con had to be "helped" by another nephew

On the Treacy side, a lurid description was sketched of Con Ryan being brought to Tipperary town in July 1874, rendered drunk and utterly incapable and as if this was not enough, while in the pub "one of the parties took a bottle out of his pocket and gave him something to drink, (the witness) did not know what it was; then they took him into some dark place and gave him more drink . . ." Up to 1874 therefore when matters went against him, Tom Treacy had a grip on the farm of his brother-in-law. Reference has been made to both Thomas and Denis being in jail, in circumstances explained below. This story of the Treacys has three strands and before concluding the story of what happened to Con Ryan's farms, it is necessary to return to the conflict between Thomas and Denis arising from their mother's will.

Sibling Rivalry

During the years after their mother's death, Thomas and Denis Treacy shared the family home. However, on 25 February 1873, Thomas Treacy's circumstances changed. At the age of 52, he married Mary Carey/Carew, a neighbour's daughter.[49] She was twenty-two. This brought him local allies and cash. It also meant that there were now three people in the Treacy home – a combustible situation. The brides's father was explicit about the union: "I gave a fortune (meaning a dowry,) to my daughter when she was going to the house, on condition she was to be mistress of the farm."

While Thomas Treacy, with the help of his brother (or at least without his opposition) was attaching himself to Con Ryan's farms, Denis was working away to secure the Soloheadbeg farm for himself. After their mother's death in February 1865, nothing happened. Certainly the £300 was not paid to Denis within the stipulated time, a neglect Denis probably encouraged. This gave the advantage to Denis which he seized and in the early 1870s there were several expensive court cases as each brother sought to undo the other. In 1872 Denis attained administration to the will and began proceedings to have Thomas evicted from the farm.[50] The following year, shortly after his marriage and no doubt paid for by Carey money, Thomas sued his brother, one of his arguments being that the two years stipulated in the mother's will only ran from 1872 and that before then paying the £300 did not arise.[51]This whole sequence of litigation must have cost a great deal of money. Understandably, the judge described the whole case as "lamentable" and noted that "through the whole of the protracted litigation, that up to the present, the brothers were living in the same house and jointly managing the farm." In June, Thomas won an injunction restraining his brother from trying to evict him and Thomas, within a month, was to lodge £300 with the court. In the meantime, both brothers were to continue to manage the farm.[52]

For Denis Treacy, expensive litigation not going his way and his brother with new allies, it was all too much. On Sunday evening 3 August 1873, police arrived at the Treacy farm. A complaint had been lodged against Denis by his brother's wife and by her parents, that Denis had fired at them with a revolver. He was arrested and brought to Tipperary town and held to appear at Thursday's petty sessions, where it would be decided how the case should proceed. Two stories were told. According to Thomas and the Careys, they were sitting on a ditch opposite the Treacy house, when Denis appeared at the window, revolver in hand, and fired. According to Denis, who had a licence to carry arms, a dog belonging to the Careys came into "his" yard and "as the animal was in the habit of going into his dairy and drinking his milk", he fired a shot without being aware of the presence of the others.[53]Denis also declared that the reaction of the four others was that "they all ran towards him, shouting "We have you now, at last."[54]

When Denis Treacy, described as "an able-looking countryman," appeared in court, he had a defence team of three lawyers. The charge now was that he had fired at "an aged woman named Carey", his brother's mother-in-law. The plea was not guilty. The prosecution claim was that Denis Treacy had no right to be on the Treacy farm because the £300 had been lodged with the court, implying that Denis should have collected his money and disappeared. Of interest is the entry in a diary kept by a neighbour, briefly describing what Denis did "at the kitchen window of his brother's house" – indicating that the locals

regarded the farm as belonging to Thomas.[55] Edmund Carey's (Thomas Treacy's father-in-law) evidence was that Denis had fired at Mrs. Carey, telling her: "Go home now, you old rap." The witness added that there was no sign of a dog. By now, Mrs. Carey was overcome and collapsed. Her pregnant daughter was not much better. On cross-examination, Edmund Carey admitted that "some time after the shot was fired he went into the house to Denis Treacy and said: "That's a good thing you done Dinny, you thought to kill the mother of my ten children."

The defence argument was that Carey could not have been "much terrified" or he would not have gone into the house. Carey was also made to admit that he could not say for certain that Treacy had deliberately aimed at Mrs. Carey, other than firing in her direction. There followed this exchange:

(Denis Treacy's Counsel):	"Did you ever know this man was a lunatic?"
Edmund Carey:	"It is reported that he is, at least."
Counsel:	"Did you ever threaten to get him into a lunatic asylum?"
Carey:	"I did not speak to the man for the last nine months."
Counsel:	"That is no answer. Did you ever say to the neighbours, he ought to be in an asylum?"
Carey:	"Well, I believe I did."

Given the events of these months, not least what was going to happen, these references may not be mere rhetoric.

When Thomas Treacy gave evidence, he may have been conflicted between making life difficult for his brother and co-operating with the authorities. It was the Careys who reported the matter to the police and delivered the most damning evidence. According to Thomas, while he was with his wife and her parents when the shot was fired, "he could not tell by whom". Like the rest of the Careys, Thomas Treacy's wife had no doubts about what happened. This likely had unfortunate consequences a few months later. At the close of this hearing, the court decided that the matter would have be heard at the next Quarter Sessions. Within weeks however, this incident was overtaken by a much more serious confrontation between these parties.

On 11 October 1873, Denis Treacy violently assaulted his sister-in-law Mary (Carey) Treacy.[56] She was pregnant.[57] The fact that the Treacy brothers were under the same roof, not to mention various Careys in and around the place, was bound to cause tensions. On the day in question, around five or six o'clock in the evening, Denis Treacy came into the house and allegedly found that someone had been in his room. The others denied this. The door of the room, presumably his bedroom, appears to have been locked and an attempt made to force an entrance. With litigation still pending, there was certainly motivation to snoop. Nothing about this is certain. What is certain is that Denis Treacy lost his temper.

His brother was in the yard but his sister-in-law was in the house and was subjected to blows and kicks, necessitating bed rest for about a week and visits by a Tipperary town doctor. According to Thomas Treacy, he "heard his wife bawling and went to her assistance". Entering the house, he rescued his wife and not surprisingly, the brothers came to blows. Denis Treacy's solicitor made an effort to focus attention on injuries

sustained by their client from his brother but no matter how much blood poured from him, Denis's situation was never going to detract from what had been done to a heavily pregnant woman, who was in danger of suffering a miscarriage as a result of the assault. It was also suggested that getting Denis to jail and out of the way would be one solution to the long-running dispute over the family farm. But as the judge remarked, this was at best a very temporary solution. Between the assault and Denis Treacy's trial, on 18 February, Thomas wrote a memorial to the Erasmus Smith governors. The memorial is not extant, just the governors reply stating "it is not in their power to interfere in the matter of your memorial"[58]. A reasonable assumption is that Thomas was asking the landlord to intervene in their family dispute, on his side of course, making use of his brother's forthcoming criminal trial to damage him.

The baby, baptised John on 4 December, did not survive very long.[59] Denis Treacy came to trial for the assault in March 1874, at which time the infant was alive. Apart from an assault on a pregnant woman, Denis Treacy was undoubtedly seen as someone who "had form". After a remarkably brisk trial in Clonmel on Saturday 14 March 1874, the jury deliberating for two hours returned a verdict of guilty. The judge declared: "Denis Treacy you have been very properly convicted of a brutal and unmanly assault and I was inclined to sentence you to penal servitude. I will not do so but in order to mark my sense of your conduct, I will sentence you to be imprisoned for two years and you must be kept at hard labour."

Murder

Denis Treacy was not incarcerated for two years. He did his time in Clonmel Jail and was released on 23 July 1875, having served about sixteen months.[60] Ironically, while the criminal law locked him up, at the same time property law gave him what he wanted. The dispute with Thomas finally ended with victory going to Denis. The key factor appears to have been Thomas's delay in carry out his mother's wishes. While Denis was in jail, the sheriff enforced the court's decision. On instruction from Denis, the family farm in Soloheadbeg was handed over to his brother-in-law Michael Hayes who undertook to look after it until the prisoner was released.[61] In the meantime Thomas went to live with his in-laws the Careys and brooded.

This is a story with three strands: the relationship of the Treacy brothers with their sister Catherine and her husband Con Ryan; the dispute between Thomas and Denis Treacy over their mother's will and finally the fatal involvement of another sister Johanna who was married to Michael Hayes. As is usual in toxic family disputes over inheritance, sides are chosen and Hayes and his wife were on Denis's side. Michael Hayes and Johanna Treacy were married on 4 March 1862. It would have been seen as a good match as Hayes had a forty-five acre farm in Milltown in Soloheadmore, a townland not far from Treacys in Soloheadbeg. Hayes also had a few acres in the contiguous townland of Kyle. While there are no details, Hayes faced relentless opposition from the Thomas Treacy faction as he tried to look after Denis's interests.[62] What cannot have occurred to Michael Hayes is how far this campaign would go.[63]

On Wednesday 15 July 1874, Johanna went by train to Clonmel to visit her brother Denis in jail.[64] She returned home that evening and went about her normal business. In looking after her husband and only child, a nine year old daughter, she had the help of a

servant girl Catherine O'Donnell. By midnight when the household was asleep, there was an additional person, a woman of the road whose identity was never ascertained but who picked the wrong night to seek shelter in that particular house – a custom that was not uncommon.[65] Michael and Johanna Hayes shared a bed with their child, their normal practice. Their bedroom was on the ground floor, while the servant slept in the loft overhead them. At around half past one, someone fired a shot through their bedroom window and killed Johanna (Treacy) Hayes. In Michael Hayes's words at the inquest on his wife:

> I was awoke by a shot fired through the window and heard the glass breaking. After the shot was fired she (Johanna) said she was shot through the breast and to go for the priest. I put my hand across on her breast and found blood on it. I spoke to her then and asked her how she felt and she did not answer me. I suppose she was dead. I heard her give a deep sigh. She was lying on the outside of the bed near the window, on her right side with her breast turned out. I sat up in the bed and thought to get out of it but the child who lay between us, told me not to, lest another shot be fired at me.

This evidence was given by Hayes the day after the murder and in his house where the coroner's jury gathered. In a waking nightmare, fearful lest gunmen were lying in wait, Michael Hayes remained with his daughter beside the dead body of his wife for about two hours before going to the home of neighbours for help and then to the RIC barracks in Monard, not far away.[66] After the fatal shot was fired, another window in the house was smashed. A view about this was that the attacker/s were hoping to attract Hayes's attention and when he went to investigate, he would have been shot.

Three factors encouraged greater press coverage than usual of what the *Cork Examiner* called "one of the blackest crimes that ever stained the pages of Tipperary's history".[67] The victim being a wife and mother and murdered in such domestic circumstances. The well known, not to say notorious record of the Treacy family war, Mrs. Hayes's murder being a particularly bloody episode. Thirdly, the murder took place just as the summer assizes were about to open in Clonmel and marked the close of an unusual period of relative freedom from serious crime in Tipperary.[68] That year there were just two murders in South Tipperary.[69] The press also suggested that the timing of the attack may have been connected with the temporary assignment of many local police, including the resident magistrate, to duty in Ulster (because of the 12th).

No sooner had the police arrived at the Hayes house in the early morning of 16 July than they made the short journey to the Carey home in Sologheadbeg and arrested Thomas Treacy, his father-in-law and two brothers-in-law. Later that day, there were other arrests, some individuals connected with the Carey family but primary police attention remained centred on the first four. A search of the Carey house uncovered an old disused gun but not the murder weapon. Intense police activity continued on the Thurday around the Hayes house. Some footprints were reported going in the direction of the Carey house, thought this might be a reporter unable to resist a little colour. The countryside was searched but no casual suspects were picked up.

There was agreement that Michael Hayes and not his wife was the target and at the inquest there were questions about Johanna sleeping on the outside of the bed, which was the position closest to the window.[70] It may be that the murderer assumed this to be where the head of the house slept and without being certain, just fired from a few feet away. Thomas Treacy and his in-laws were held for questioning for several weeks but without

evidence, they were released. What police needed in a crime like this was an informer but the guilty kept their mouths shut. Three points can be made. No one doubted that the Treacy-Carey element was responsible. In the summer of 1876, two years after the murder, during the legal battle between Treacy and Ryan over Con Ryan's farms, Thomas Treacy was asked in court: "Were you not arrested on suspicion of shooting your sister?" His answer: "I spent a month in jail for it any way." He went on to protest his innocence. A second point is the probability that it was Thomas Treacy who fired the shot. Given that he was the key player in the row, how likely was it that one of the Careys took it upon himself to fire the shot? It is not even clear that they were complicit before the crime. Thirdly, it was assumed at the time that Michael Hayes and not his wife was the target. This seems reasonable.[71]

Violence continued to be part of Denis Treacy's life. On the evening of 28 March 1877, he was walking on the road in Raheen, the townland in which Con Ryan's farm was located, when he was attacked by an unspecified Ryan, probably one of Con Ryan's nephews. The attacker, who may or may not have initiated the attack, wielded a stick. However, such was the possible danger to Treacy's life on his release from jail, that he had official permission to carry firearms for his protection. "Treacy warded off the blows and then drew from his pocket a large double-barrelled pistol and struck Ryan a blow of it, inflicting a severe wound on his head, at the same time breaking the stock of the pistol in two halves." The following day, Treacy made a complaint to the police and Ryan was arrested. Ryan then counter-charged, each cancelling the other.[72]

A few months after this, the final episode in the dispute over Con Ryan's estate was before the court, the Treacy brothers bringing with them a distinct whiff of the illicit in what for each of them was an umpteenth court appearance.[73] By now the extraordinary could come across as routine, as in this exchange:

Denis Treacy: "I was sent to jail for assaulting my brother Tom's wife. Tom and I had a great deal of law in the Court of Probate. We are good friends now."

Counsel: "You said they killed your sister while you were in jail?"

Denis Treacy: "Yes, she was killed on the night of 15th July 1874, after being with me in Clonmel Jail on the same day."

Counsel: "Was this after your brother Tom was put out of the farm at Soloheadbeg?"

Denis Treacy: "Yes."

Counsel: "And Mr. Hayes, your brother-in-law was put in charge of the farm?"

Denis Treacy: "Yes, my sister , Mrs. Hayes was shot in bed in her own house near the Limerick Junction."

Counsel: "And was not your brother Tom arrested on suspicion, after the murder?"

At this point Thomas Treacy's counsel objected and the questioning moved to safer ground. The statement by Denis Treacy about friendship with his brother was nonsense and it may be doubted if Denis was too bothered, having evicted Thomas from the family farm, that Thomas also lost out with respect to Con Ryan's land.

Aftermath

Leaving aside the issue of Denis Treacy's son, which of course gives this extraordinary story added interest, these events in a small corner of County Tipperary in the 1860s and '70s tell a different story of rural life and times than the more comforting and familiar Knocknagow. In this real-life story there is no sentiment or romance; no grasping landlords; no oppressive government – just the hunger of the tenant farmer for land. However, if Denis Treacy ever read *Knocknagow*, he would have agreed with old Phil Morris, who "striking his stick against the ground" declared: "Security is the only thing. But if every man was of my mind he'd have security or know for what."[74] Every cliché about Irish land disputes is on display and centred on one family: a troublesome will, feuding brothers, a divided family, mercenary marriage, late marriage, childless marriage, pressure regarding inheritance from competing families, litigation – endless litigation, intimidation, assault and finally murder. No one aspect of this story is unique but rarely if ever can all have come together in shaping the fortunes of one family.[75]

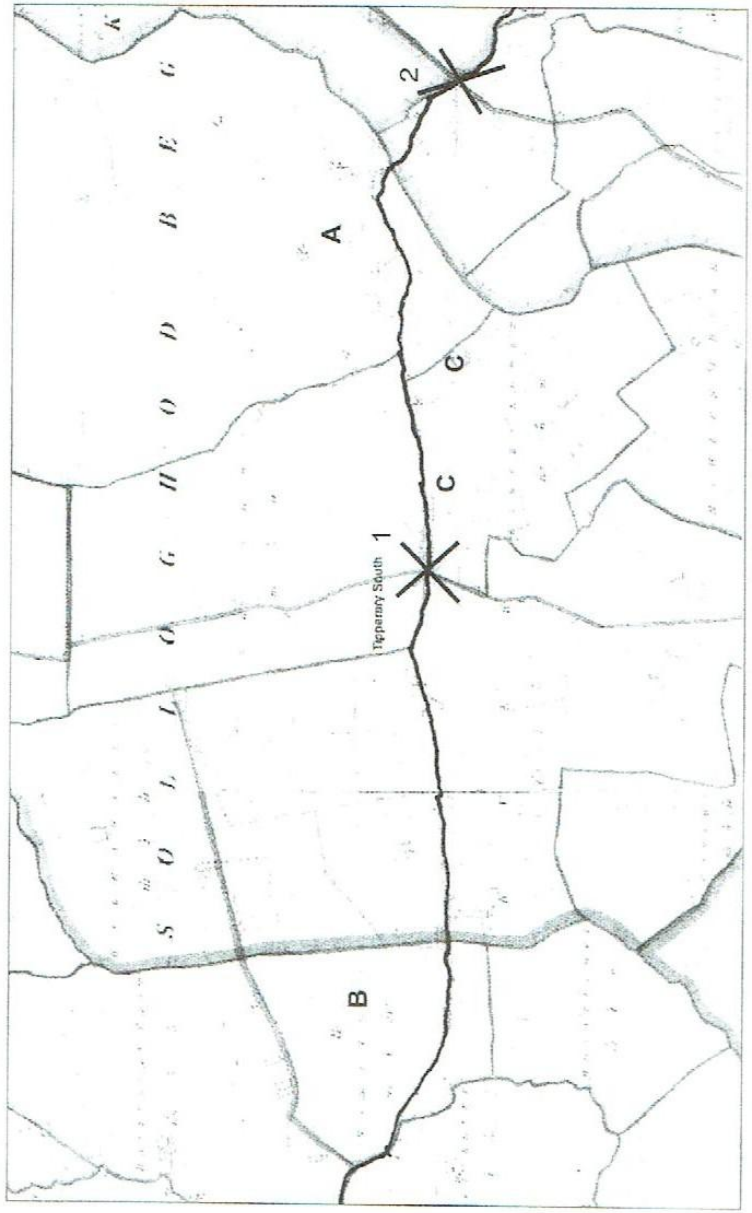
Johanna (Treacy) Hayes was buried in Kilfeakle.[76] At the spring assizes the following year, Michael Hayes applied for £1,000 compensation. He was awarded £500, to be levied on the civil parishes of Soloheadmore and Sologheadbeg at a rate of one shilling and one halfpenny on each pound valuation. Hayes lived in Soloheadmore and so it was inevitably penalised. The only reason Sologheadbeg was included was because Thomas Treacy and the Careys lived there, a clear official declaration of guilt.[77] Michael Hayes did not remain a widower very long. Some months after being awarded this money, on 25 November 1875, he married a woman from the neighbouring townland of Kyle. Eleven months later, they had a daughter. Michael Hayes died aged fifty-five on 4 February 1878. Five months later, his widow gave birth to their son.[78]

Thomas Treacy died on Christmas Eve 1895. He was seventy-four years old and the great loser in the Treacy family saga. Having sacrificed so much for land, including his sister, he ended up with none. Records for Soloheadbeg in the Valuation Office display this with mute eloquence. The name "Thomas Treacy" is crossed out and replaced by "Denis Treacy". After being evicted by his brother from the family farm, he lived with his in-laws but this could be no more than a brief respite during his inexorable loss of status. He moved to Tipperary town. His first child, a son, was baptised in Solohead on 5 December 1873 (the child Mary Treacy was carrying when assaulted by her brother-in-law Denis). All subsequent children, five sons, were baptised in Tipperary parish.[79] The first of these was baptised on 1 November 1874. In Tipperary, Thomas worked as a labourer and lived in Murgasty Cottages. According to the 1901 census, some five years after the death of Thomas, the Treacy household consisted of his widow Mary and her seventeen year old son Martin who worked as a baker.[80]

And what of Denis Treacy? He faded from the public record and indeed from history. Unlike his cousin Thomas Treacy (1842-1914)[81] who had some difficulty with the landlord the Erasmus Smith Governors with regard to his twenty-eight acre farm, Denis Treacy kept his head down and got on with working his farm and even managed to secure a rent reduction during the early 1880s. On 5 February 1894, he married Bridget Allis of Hollyford. He was in his early sixties and given his history, hardly a catch. She was nearly forty and not an obvious prospect for motherhood.[82] On the other hand, there was that snug twenty-three acre farm and no demanding Treacy in-laws to interfere with peaceable possession

during probable widowhood. Their only child, a son, was born on 14 February 1895 and christened John. In light of all that had gone before, there is no surprise that both sponsors were members of the Allis family. Denis Treacy died on 19 March 1899 and was buried in Kilfeacle. On the night of the 1901 census (and more generally), the Treacy family farm in Soloheadbeg was clearly in Allis hands. Living there were Bridget and her brother and sister.[83] The child John Treacy was over in Hollyford with other members of the Allis family.[84]

Among other things, this has been a story about a farm in Soloheadbeg and what one individual was prepared to do to get and keep possession. One can only surmise that for Denis Treacy in his sixties, the birth of a son made all his efforts worthwhile. Dan Breen, who had first-hand knowledge of the family, which by then consisted of Bridget, her son and Bridget's unmarried sister Mary Anne, described the aunt as a "bossy domineering type" who only had interest in the farm and bullied her nephew into working it relentlessly.[85] This single-minded focus on the land would have been approved by Denis Treacy. His son however had another agenda. On 21 January 1919, a short distance from their farm, two policemen were killed in an ambush led by that son, who then went on the run. Just about three months later and a few weeks before the Knocklong Rescue, on 17 April 1919, the twenty-three acre Soloheadbeg farm passed into Treacy ownership under the 1903 Land Purchase Act.[86] The rent had been just short of £18 p.a. The purchase price was £379, all of which was advanced by the same government that the heir to that farm was seeking to overthrow. The annuity was around £12. The new owner of the farm was and would remain Bridget Allis Treacy.[87]



References:

1. To help readers the main characters in this family drama are:
   Mary Treacy – mother of the Treacy brothers
   Thomas Treacy – elder brother by about ten years
   Denis Treacy – younger brother and rival for the family farm in Soloheadbeg
   Catherine Treacy – their older sister and married to Con Ryan
   Johanna Treacy – their younger sister and married to Michael Hayes
   Con Ryan – married to Catherine Treacy
   Michael Hayes – married to Johanna Treacy
   Edmund Carey – Thomas Treacy's father-in-law
   Mary Carey – married to Thomas Treacy
   Michael and Thomas Ryan – Con Ryan's nephews
   Bridget Allis – married to Denis Treacy
2. Lease Board of Governors to Mary Treacy, 1859 (Erasmus Smith archive, High School Rathgar Dublin, EE/474)My thanks to Alan Phelan.
3. Over a period of ninety-three years (1848-1941), the Treacy farm in Soloheadbeg was in the hands of two widows for an aggregate fifty-nine years.
4. Information about the Treacy family is mainly from baptism and marriage records of the parish of Solohead, Diocese of Cashel & Emly, now available in the NLI.
   My thanks also to Tipperary Family History Research in Tipperary town and to Brú Ború in Cashel. The family burial place of the Treacy family was Kifeacle cemetary and some information is preserved on grave stones (not wholly reliable). See W. Ryan, *A Short History and Reference Guide to Kilfeacle Cemetery* (Author, 1985), p.11
   This site http://www.helensfamilytrees.com/allg26.htm#685, though incomplete, is of interest with respect to the extended Treacy family.
5. D. Ryan, *Sean Treacy and the 3rd Tipperary Brigade* (Tralee, 1945), p.11
6. Died 21 Feb 1848 aged 60 years (tombstone Kilfeacle).
7. Died 25 March 1848 aged 48 years (tombstone Kilfeacle) – probably John's brother.
   Certainly the two Treacy families in Soloheadbeg were connected and this seems the most likely way. This Treacy family held 20.75 acres directly and 7.5 acres from a surviving middleman. Both Treacy holdings were contiguous, reinforcing the supposition that in an earlier generation, a farm was divided between sons.
8. Baptised 18 November 1818, so no shotgun!
9. In the Tipperary district, the names "Carew" and "Carey" appear inter-changeable.
10. Baptised 31 March 1827. Date of death 21 March 1848 on tombstone in Kilfeacle.
11. Baptism records for Solohead are missing 1829-36. Her Kilfeacle tombstone records her death on 31 July 1844 aged 13.
12. See Note 11. After Denis died on 19 March 1899, his widow informed civil registration that he was 67 years old, suggesting that he was born about 1832.
13. Johanna does not appear in Sologhead baptism records and at her death her age was given as around 40, indicating that she was born c. 1834.
14. Ellen was baptised 18 August 1863 and Mary on 4 Oct 1864. Only one of these children appear to have survived infancy and has a role to play in the story unfolding.
15. Baptised 16 Jan 1838
16. 'The widows of farmers normally retained control over the farm if their children were unmarried, surrendering control only after the marriage of the chosen inheritor.'
    D. Fitzpatrick, The modernisation of the Irish female in P. O'Flanagan, P; Ferguson & K. Whelan (eds.), *Rural Ireland Modernisation and Change 1600-1900* (Cork UP, 1987), p.172.
    Thomas Treacy was in his forties and Denis in his thrties when their mother died.

Their thoughs and any plans about marriage, prior to their mother's death, will remain unknown but conflict over getting the farm must have been a huge obstacle.
See below for the attitude of Thomas Treacy's prospective father-in-law.

17. David Fitzpatrick made the point that 'stem family succession' whereby a family designated an heir and fairly well regarded other children as surplus to requirment, usually concentrated rows into a short period at the occasion of succession. See D. Fitzpatrick, Class, family and rural unrest in 19th century Ireland in P.J. Drudy(ed), *Ireland: Land ,Politics and People, Irish Studies 2* (Cambridge UP, 1982), p.64. The Treacys were very much an exception to this. Their succession issues lasted a decade (1865-75). For a very academic treatment see L Kennedy, Farm Succession in Modern Ireland: Elements of a Theory of Inheritance in J. David (ed.), *Rural Change in Ireland* (Institute of Irish Studies, Belfast, 1999), pp. 116-42.
18. Thomas Treacy v. Denis Treacy: Vice –Chancellor's Court, *Clonmel Chronicle*, 18 June 1873.
19. Women farmers were more common in pasture counties like Tipperary and Limerick than elsewhere. See C. Clear, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland, 1850-1922* (Manchester UP, 2007), pp.16-17.
20. C.M. Arensbery & S.T. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland* (1st ed. 1940, 3rd ed. CLASP, 2001), p.112.
21. See note 2 above.
22. U.H. Hussey de Burgh, *The Landowners of Ireland* (Dublin, 1878), pp. 415-16.
23. D.G. Marnane, *Land and Settlement a history of West Tipperary to 1660* (Tipperary, 2003) pp. 144-5, 358-9, 360, 364 and *Land and Violence a history of West Tipperary from 1660* (Tipperary, 1985) pp. 9-11, 14, 18, 150, 158. Also, W.J.R. Wallace, *Faithful to our Trust a History of the Erasmus Smith Trust and the High School, Dublin* (Dublin, 2004).
24. *Griffith's Valuation*, Tipperary, Clanwilliam, Soloheadbeg, Soloheadbeg.
    While this valuation is dated July 1851, data appears to have been gathered years earlier as the occupiers are given as Nicholas and John Treacy (actually "Tracy") both of whom died in 1848.
25. See note 2 above.
26. Records of the Valuation Office, Dublin
27. *Report and appendices of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into Endowed Schools in Ireland* (1858), appendix pp.33-36.
28. The Smith-Barry estate was also part of the original Erasmus Smith estate in the county.
29. Wallace, *Faithful to our Trust* ,p.111.
30. Marnane, *Land & Violence*, pp.53-55.
31. *Pobal Ailbe*, p. 70
32. *Inquiry of 1858*
33. *Report and appendices of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into Endowed Schools in Ireland* (1881), vol I, p.301. In 1887, the then agent Thomas Sanders briefly mentioned Soloheadbeg in his evidence – *Third Report of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, 1887-8*, (c – 5546) , H.C. 1888, xxxix
34. This property had also once been part of the Erasmus Smith estates.
35. For example by C. Ó Grada, *Ireland before and after the famine explorations in economic history, 1800-1925* (Manchester UP, 1993), chapter five.
36. The actual number of years purchase varied from estate to estate and from time to time. This money had nothing to do with rent, which the incoming tenant still had to pay and hope would not be increased. See T.W. Guinnane & R.I. Miller, Bonds without Bondsmen: Tenant-Right in Nineteenth-Century Ireland in *The Journal of Economic History*, 56, 1 (Mar. 1996), pp. 113-42.

37. W.E. Vaughan, *Landlords & Tenants in Mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford, 1994), p 91.
38. G.J. Lyne, *The Lansdowne Estate in Kerry under W.S. Trench 1849-72* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 242-52.
39. C.H. Hemphill in July 1877 – see below
40. Had they not been so litigious, little of this story would be known.
41. For example, *Clonmel Chronicle*, 3 March 1877.
42. This estate, thousands of acres, was sold in the 1850s throught the Incumbered Estates Court. Raheen was purchased by Michael Errington.
43. One of the witnesses who signed this deed was Thomas Treacy (1842-1914), a member of the other Treacy family in Soloheadbeg, who described himself as a cousin.
44. A widow had no automatic rights.
45. Tipperary South Riding Summer Assizes, record court, Clonmel – Treacy & Ryan v. Ryan, *Clonmel Chronicle*, 21 July 1877
46. C.H. Hemphill, member of a well known Cashel family, had been a county court judge and was subsequently Solicitor-General for Ireland
47. Bridget Treacy married James Coffey in Feb 1872.
48. Incidentally, this would appear to be the sole example of the "voice" of Sean Treacy's father.
49. The marriage record uses the name "Carey", as does Griffith. Contemporary newspapers uses "Carew". See Note 9 above. "Carey" is used here.
50. *Irish Times*, 16 Nov 1872.
51. *Freeman's Journal*, 13 June 1873
52. *Clonmel Chronicle*, 18 June 1873; *Irish Times*, 14 June 1873.
53. The dog's name was "Spring" – readers might like to know.
54. *C.C.*, 6 Aug 1873.
55. *McGrath Diary, 3, Aug 1873* (copy in writers possession.)
56. *C.C.*, 18 March 1874; *Tipperary Free Press*, 17 March 1874.
57. One study makes the point that there was no automatic horror about assaulting a pregnant woman. It was a matter of individual circumstances. This same study noted that land or inheritance disputes were the motves in one-third of assaults in which women fought with relatives. The point is also made, that post-Famine, with the farm a prize for one family member, vicious tactics were sometimes used. C.A. Conley, No Pedestals: women and violence in late nineteenth century Ireland in *Journal of Social History*, 28:4 (Summer 1995, pp. 804-05.
58. Governors to Thomas Treacy, 18 March 1874 (Erasmus Smith archive, High School Rathgar, Dublin, letter book 1873-76, BG/812)
59. There is no evidence of a link between the assault and the death of the infant.
60. *McGrath Diary*, 23 July 1875.
61. *Freeman's Journal*, 11 March 1875.
62. *Ibid.*
63. "In 35% of homicides between siblings, land or some other form of inheritance was the motive." See C.A. Conley, *Melancholy Accidents - the meaning of violence in Post-Famine Ireland* (Lexington Books, Maryland, 1999) pp.55-9
64. This murder was widely reported: for example *Cork Examiner*, 18 July 1874; *Freeman's Journal*, 18 July 1874; *The Times*, 20 July 1874; locally *Clonmel Chronicle*, 18 July 1874.
65. She was never identified. Wisely she disappeared when Michael Hayes left the house to fetch the police.
66. These neighbours just beside the Hayes house were Crosses and the same family lives there today. An oral folk version of the murder has not survived.

67. *C.E.*, 18 July 1874.
68. *The Times*, 20 July 1874.
69. *Return of outrages reported to the constabulary office in Ireland during 1874* (NAI). Incidentally the relevant CSORP file (1874/11330) appears to be missing from the National Archives. Lots of files are missing.
70. There is a tradition among some descendants that the attack was motivated by anger on the part of the Careys because they had hoped one of them might marry Michael Hayes. For this to make sense, two things have to be explained: why the Careys waited eleven years and why the attack took place in the month that Thomas Treacy lost the home farm. This writer assumes the attack was all about the Treacy farm and that it was unlikely any of the Careys would do Tom Treacy's dirty work for him. What will never be clear is whether Tom Treacy hoped anything could be changed by the attack or was it all motivated by rage. (My thanks to Joe Fitzgerald.)
71. "Apprehending a suspect" is a section in W.E. Vaughan, *Murder Trials in Ireland 1836-1914* (Dublin, 2009), pp.35-68.
72. *C.C.*, 31 March 1877.
73 *C.C.*, 21 July 1877
74. Chapter 32.
75. And of course one famous individual but this is the business of the psychologist rather than the historian.
76. There appears to be no grave inscription. She was probably buried in the Treacy family plot.
77. *F.J.*, 11 March 1875; *Return of applications to grand juries of each county in Ireland for compensation under the Peace Preservation Act*, (449), 1875, lxii. £500 was a substantial sum of money.
78. *McGrath Diary*, these dates.
79. Dates are baptism: John 5 Dec 1873; John 1 November 1874; Edmund 8 November 1875; Timothy 16 July 1878; Thomas 12 April 1881 and Martin 9 November 1883.
80. Martin died in Fermoy in 1977.
81. One of the other Treacy family in Soloheadbeg. *See Returns showing all cases in which an evicted tenant has been with the assistance of the Estates Commissioners reinstated as a purchaser of his or his predecessors holding* (Cd.5107), 1910, lxxvi.
82. She was baptised on 8 July 1855. This writers's great-grandfather Edmund Stapleton and Bridget Allis's mother Catherine Stapleton, were brother and sister.
83. In common with many female returns, between 1901 and the next census in 1911, Bridget Treacy aged three years.
84. He was enrolled in Hollyford NS in November 1900, with a Solohead address.
85. *Dan Breen witness statement (1958) to Bureau of Military History* (WS 1739). This does not seem consistent with Treacy being sent to Tipperary town for secondary education.
86. *Monthly returns of advances etc, March-Dec 1919, EC 5878, 17 April 1919*, 1921.xxviii.
87. She died in June 1941.