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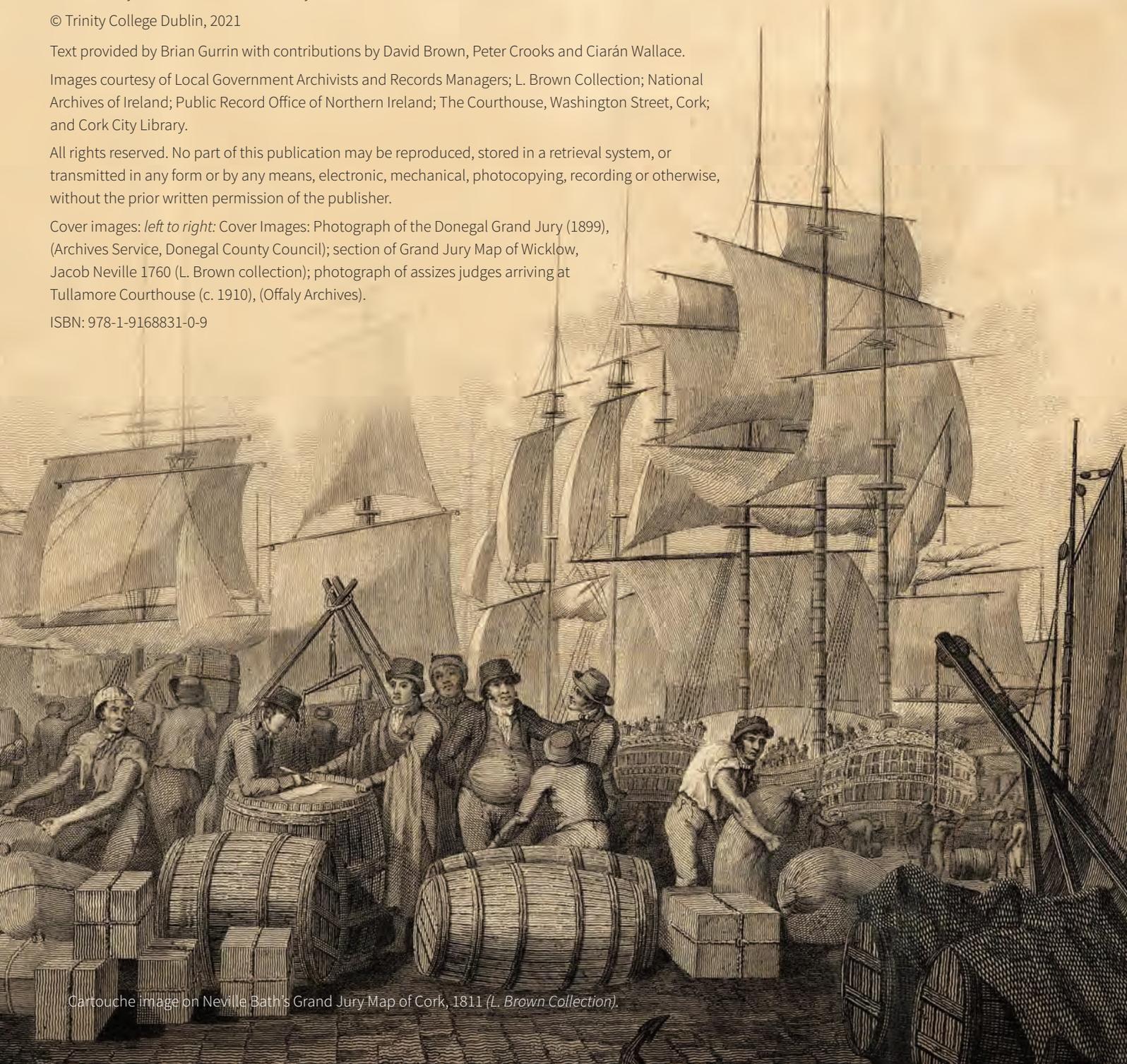
Text provided by Brian Gurrin with contributions by David Brown, Peter Crooks and Ciarán Wallace.

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Cover images: *left to right*: Cover Images: Photograph of the Donegal Grand Jury (1899), (Archives Service, Donegal County Council); section of Grand Jury Map of Wicklow, Jacob Neville 1760 (L. Brown collection); photograph of assizes judges arriving at Tullamore Courthouse (c. 1910), (Offaly Archives).

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Cartouche image on Neville Bath's Grand Jury Map of Cork, 1811 (L. Brown Collection).

“THE BEYOND 2022 PROJECT IS A LANDMARK INITIATIVE, NOT JUST BECAUSE OF WHAT IT WILL ACHIEVE THROUGH GROUND-BREAKING TECHNOLOGY, BUT BECAUSE OF ITS COLLABORATIVE APPROACH.

IT ALLOWS FOR THE RE-EXPLORATION OF THE HISTORY OF OUR ISLAND AND THE LINKS FORGED OVER CENTURIES WITH OUR NEIGHBOURS.”

An Taoiseach, Micheál Martin TD

Remarks at the launch of the State's Decade of Centenaries 2021 Programme, 27 April 2021



Rialtas  
na hÉireann  
Government  
of Ireland

Tionscadal Éireann  
Project Ireland  
2040

**Beyond 2022** is an all-island and international collaborative research project working to create a virtual reconstruction of the Public Record Office of Ireland, which was destroyed in the opening engagement of the Civil War at the Four Courts (Dublin) on June 30th, 1922. The research is led from the Department of History, Trinity College Dublin and hosted by the ADAPT Centre.

The 'Record Treasury' at the Public Record Office of Ireland stored seven centuries of Irish records dating back to the time of the Normans. Together with 5 Core Archival Partners and over 50 other Participating Institutions in Ireland, Britain and the USA, Beyond 2022 is working to recover what was lost in that terrible fire one hundred years ago.

On the centenary of the Four Courts blaze, the Project will launch the Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland online. Many millions of words from destroyed documents will be linked and reassembled from copies, transcripts and other records scattered among the collections of our archival partners. The Virtual Record Treasury will serve as a living and growing legacy from the Decade of Centenaries.

The Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland will be an open-access resource, freely available online to all those interested in Irish history at home and abroad. Many of the most important memory institutions worldwide are joining us in this shared mission to reconstruct Ireland's lost history.

Beyond 2022 gratefully acknowledges generous funding provided by the Government of Ireland through the Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media under Project Ireland 2040. The Project would like to express its appreciation to the Commemorations Unit within the Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media for ongoing engagement and support.

Beyond 2022 also acknowledges the generous support of a private foundation in completing this research, as well as William and Pamela Lowe.

For permission to reproduce certain visuals in this booklet, the Project wishes to thank Cork City Library; The Courthouse, Washington Street, Cork; the National Archives of Ireland; and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.

The Project is excited to have forged a research partnership with Local Government Archivists and Records Managers (LGARM). The Project warmly acknowledges LGARM, as well as the Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage, for its support in marking the centenary the attack on the Custom House on 25 May 1921, when the archives of the Local Government Board for Ireland were destroyed.

Before county councils were established, grand juries ran local government. As People, Place and Power seeks to reveal, the grand jury records, which are held in local county archives across Ireland and in PRONI (Belfast), contain a wealth of information about every corner of this island.

Peter Crooks, Programme Director

Ciarán Wallace, Deputy Director

May 2021



Virtual Reality Reconstruction of the 'Record Treasury' of the Public Record Office of Ireland  
*Beyond 2022 Project*



Contemporary Photography of the Interior of the 'Record Treasury' of the Public Record Office of Ireland from 'James Mills Album' (1914)  
*Courtesy of National Archives of Ireland*

# CONTENTS

<b>Foreword</b>	2
<b>Introduction: The Origins of the Grand Jury in Ireland</b>	4
<b>Part 1: People, Place and Power</b>	9
1.1. People	10
1.2. Place	21
1.3. Power	28
<b>Part 2: Sources for the Grand Jury in Ireland</b>	33
2.1. Destruction and Survival	34
2.2. Civil records: Presentments Books and Abstracts, Query Books and Financials	37
2.3. Judicial Records: Assizes Court Books	44
<b>Conclusion</b>	46
<b>Further Reading</b>	50
<b>Notes</b>	51
<b>Local Government Archivists and Records Managers</b>	54



Bear Peninsula on Neville Bath's Grand Jury Map of Cork, 1811.  
*L. Brown Collection*



## FOREWORD

The archives of the Grand Jury, which in some cases span two centuries of Irish history, shine a light on social and political life at the most local of levels, in almost every corner of the country.

As this booklet shows, the grand jury system of local government operated in Ireland from medieval times. Initially the grand jurors, consisting of local wealthy landlords, were concerned with the administration of justice. Court sittings took place twice a year in spring and summer. Over the course of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the grand juries were given broader functions such as building roads and bridges, schools, hospitals, public buildings and the county gaol, as well as tax (county cess) collection.

The range of duties carried out by the grand juries from the late eighteenth and particularly the nineteenth century is well-documented in the many assizes and presentment books, as well as other grand jury records which survive such as contract books, maps, minutes of meetings, accounts and correspondence. The survival rate of grand jury records varies from one local authority to another. Some presentment records date back to the early-eighteenth century.

Extraordinary events in the grand-jury era include the 1798 Rebellion, the 1801 Act of Union, the Great Famine, the Land War and the eventual modernization of local democracy in 1898–9. Administrative duties of the grand juries ended in 1899, when the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act was implemented and the more democratic County Councils, Urban and Rural District Councils were established.



Grand Jury Presentment Books, County Donegal  
Courtesy of Archives Service, Donegal County Council

The archives of the grand jury reflect the gradual changes that took place in society and national and local politics, while exposing the archaic nature of the grand jury system itself. The grand jury's increasing workload is evident in the archives' presentments, which refer to contracts for road works, bridges, asylums, hospitals, schools, prisons, courthouses, and many other services. Their reports and minutes document everything from local 'disturbances', difficulty in tax collection, the role of the Royal Irish Constabulary, issues with public works, allegations of corruption (including among their own members!), and poor performance by contractors.

Grand jury collections are generally available at local archive services, or in libraries in the Republic of Ireland. There are also significant collections in the National Archives of Ireland, National Library of Ireland, and the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland. Some are already available to view online.

Local Government Archivists and Records Managers' exciting partnership with the Beyond 2022 research project will work to enhance access to digitized grand jury archives through the *Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland*. In due course and for the first time, grand jury collections from across Ireland will become available in one digital repository. Digitization will also help to preserve the original collections for future generations. Through this growing partnership, we will work together at local and national level to enrich understanding and enable more in-depth scholarly research into these unique archives well into the future.

Dr Niamh Brennan  
Chair, Local Government Archivists and Records Managers (LGARM)

May 2021

# INTRODUCTION: THE ORIGINS OF THE GRAND JURY IN IRELAND

People across Ireland identify strongly with their local county. This is not without irony, because Ireland's counties were the products of the medieval conquest of Ireland. As a form of local administration, the county was introduced by the Anglo-Normans. The earliest county for which we have evidence is county Dublin in the 1190s, about twenty or so years after Ireland became a dominion of the English crown in 1171–2.

As more of Ireland fell under English royal government, Irish territories were 'shired' — that is, structured into units of local administration called 'counties' or shires, which were run on the English model and followed English common law. At its greatest extent during the Middle Ages (c.1300), there were a dozen royal counties. In order of appearance, they were: Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Louth, Limerick, Tipperary, Connacht, Roscommon, Kildare and Meath.

The existence of the shire implied the creation of a royal official to administer it. This official (or 'reeve') was the sheriff (or 'shire-reeve'). The sheriff was crucial to local administration from the late thirteenth century onwards. He had many duties. He collected revenue for the crown, waged war in defence of the county, and upheld royal justice. The law within the county was the common law of England, which applied to conquered parts of Ireland.

Here lie the medieval origins of the grand jury in Ireland. In the Middle Ages, serious criminal offences were tried by royal judges, who toured from county to county. When the justices appeared, the sheriff was instructed (in the words of a late-thirteenth century record):

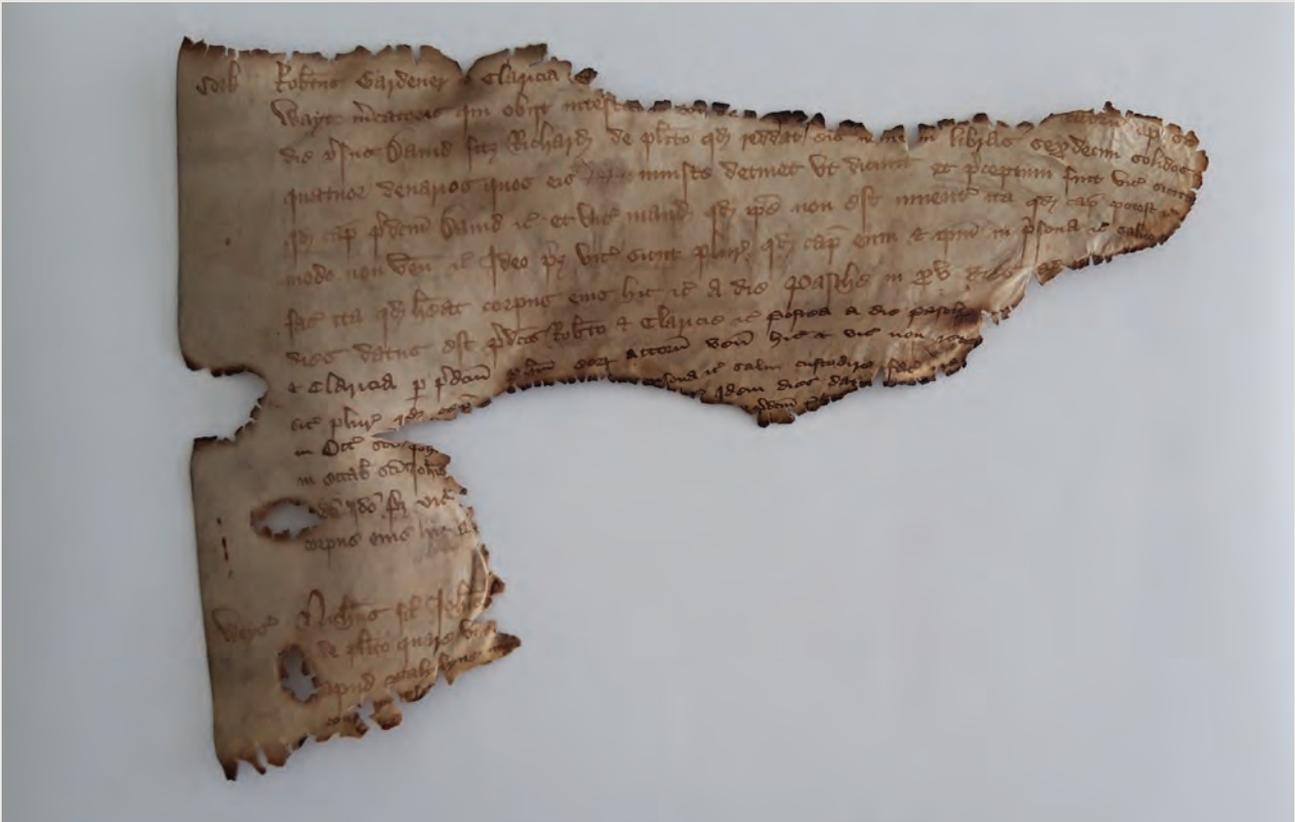


'County Louth Grand Jury': Leather-Bound Volume of Presentments  
*Courtesy of Wexford County Archive*

'to summon 24 of the best and most discreet men of the county, both knights of the county and other men; and they are to provide information to the judge about matters concerning the tranquillity of the king's peace'

This is the system that became known as the 'grand jury' of 23 or 24 men (as distinct from the smaller, or 'petty', trial jury of twelve jurors). The jurors provided information on the truth, or otherwise, of evidence 'presented' to them by the king's officers. In doing so they helped the king and the king's justices prosecute royal justice.

Fig. 1. Fragmentary medieval parchment record burned in the Four Courts blaze of 1922.



*National Archives of Ireland, CB 1/4, membrane 1.*

English royal power in Ireland shrank during the later Middle Ages, although fragmentary court records that survived the Four Courts fire in 1922 show the reach of royal government extended well beyond 'The Pale' around Dublin.

This parchment record from the end of the fourteenth century shows the sheriff of Cork active in 1397–8 (Fig. 1). Here the sheriff is ordered to arrest one 'David fitz Richard' and to keep him in prison until he can answer certain charges in court.

The shiring of Ireland was only completed in the early seventeenth century following the Elizabethan wars of reconquest.

By the eighteenth century, and probably earlier, the county sheriff, or 'high sheriff', appointed a grand jury for the county before each assizes sitting. A high sheriff served a one-year term, and could propose his successor to the lord lieutenant, the king's representative in Dublin Castle, when his term was ending. New sheriffs were appointed by the lord lieutenant in time for the spring assizes, the first of two assizes sittings held each year. A sub-sheriff was also appointed, to assist with the duties, which were broad and included by this time the maintenance of law, the organization of parliamentary elections, and reporting the results.

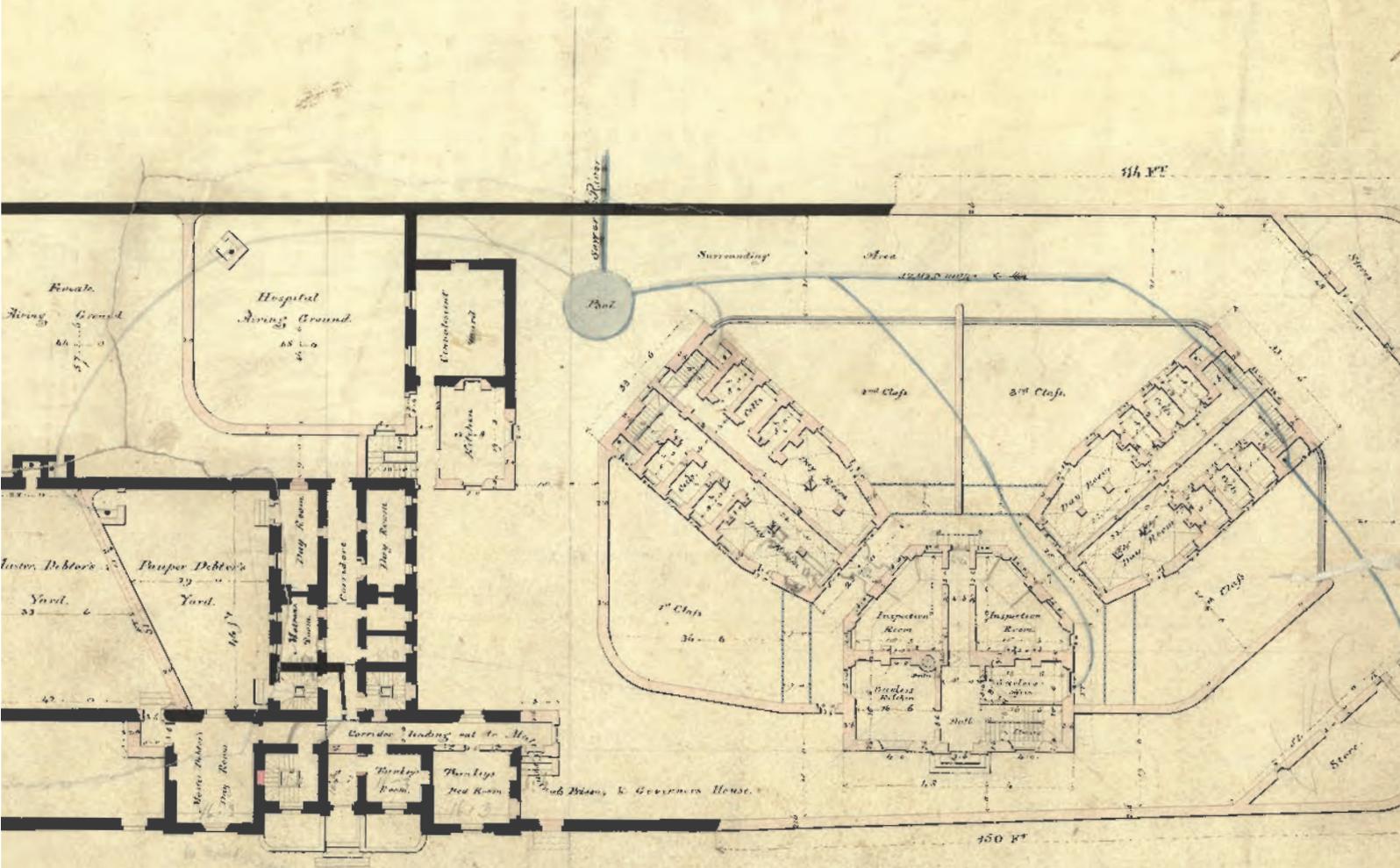
As it was an important post, the names of new sheriffs were often advertised in national and local newspapers and long lists of county sheriffs' names were a common feature in nineteenth-century county histories. Unsurprisingly, prominent family names and individuals appear regularly in sheriffs-lists. Since the sheriff was a chief point of contact between the Dublin government and the counties, up-to-date lists of their names were kept by the office of the Chief Secretary, the most senior civil servant in the country. Hundreds of these lists were preserved in the Public Record Office of Ireland prior to its destruction in 1922.<sup>1</sup>

A grand jury's responsibilities were many. Its members decided whether a case went forward for trial in a system which could pass stiff sentences, including transportation and death. They set the annual rate of county taxation and decided where spending would be focused. They decided which roads would be repaired, and where major infrastructural undertaking would be focused. The grand jury employed county officials, and funded the county gaol and hospital.



Londonderry Assizes 1926  
Courtesy of Public Record  
Office of Northern Ireland

Dublin Castle 20<sup>th</sup> October 1833  
His Excellency the Lt



**GROUND PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL STORY OF AN ADDITION, AND OTHER IMPROVEMENTS,**

*To the 'Town GAOL of GALWAY.*

FREDERICK DARBY, JUNR ARCHT  
March 1830.

*James Bellette*  
B- Rpt  
the  
*James Bellette*  
*D. M. Lynch*



Photograph of Final Grand Jury of County Cork, 1899  
Courtesy of Cork City and County Archives Service

**MAP**  
of the maritime County of  
**MAYO**  
**IRELAND**

*... and trigonometrical operations, exhibiting barometrical  
... the levels and depths of the bogs and lakes,  
... vations, Physical Sections, and Profiles of the County,  
... by order of the Grand Jury.  
Honourable Denis Browne Esq. &c.*

# PART 1

## PEOPLE, PLACE AND POWER

# 1.1. PEOPLE

## The Grand Jury: Composition and Membership

For most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the grand jury was the ‘most important local body in rural Ireland’.<sup>2</sup> Twice yearly, twenty-three of each county’s wealthiest, most powerful, persons came together at the spring (or Lent) and summer (or Lammass) assizes to conduct their civic and judicial responsibilities. These twenty-three people were always men, and most of them were Protestant. Their decisions exercised enormous influence on the everyday experience of people at local level across Ireland.

It was the task of the sheriff to ensure that a grand jury could be appointed at the assizes, by calling the county’s grand jury panellists or grand panellists to the assizes town for the opening of each assizes session. The assizes commenced with the sheriff selecting twenty-three members from the panel, who were sworn in as grand jurors for the session.

One of the first tasks faced by a new sheriff was the organization of the spring Assizes, usually held in March or April. The timing of a county’s assizes sitting was determined centrally, because two judges were required to attend, these travelling from county to county within ‘circuits’.

Pomp and pageantry welcomed such distinguished visitors, as this account of the arrival of one of the North West Circuit justices into Enniskillen for the spring 1828 assizes shows:

*‘Hon. Baron M’Clelland arrived in this town, escorted by the High Sheriff, Sir Henry Brooke, Bart., and a numerous cortege of mounted constabulary, bailiffs, &c. &c. He was received with due honour, by a Captain’s guard and the band of the 62d Regiment.’*

The line between honouring a visitor and causing offence could, however, be quite fine. When Honourable Baron Smith travelled to Roscommon on a Sunday evening in March 1828, his carriage was surrounded by a mob hailing him ‘with their usual demonstrations of joy’. Cries echoed for an ‘illumination’ with tar barrels, but ‘some influential and more sensible persons remonstrated with the leaders of the mob on the impropriety of violating the Sabbath, and happily succeeded in their endeavours to disperse the crowd, by assuring them that their conduct was better calculated to excite feelings of disgust than those of approbation in the enlightened breast of the Honorable Baron’.<sup>3</sup>

Fig. 2. Assizes judges arriving at Tullamore Courthouse, c. 1910 (Offaly Archives).



*“Whilst some of the party were loudly cheering his Lordship, and huzzaing..., others were demanding an illumination, tar barrels, etc.”*

*— Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette, 15 March 1828*

An account of the appointment of the Leitrim Grand Jury in March 1828 suggests a dignified and solemn occasion, with twenty-three jurymen being chosen from its fifty-seven strong grand panel (Fig. 3). Notable names abound on the panel, including the two sitting MPs for the county, Viscount Clements and Samuel White, former MPs, John M. Clements and Peter LaTouche, and Viscount Forbes, MP for Longford; and an array of baronets and gentlemen. MPs were expected to serve on the grand jury, and the position of jury foreman was often filled by an MP or a peer.

Fig. 3. The Roscommon and Leitrim Grand Panels and Grand Juries, spring 1828.

ROSCOMMON ASSIZES.		LEITRIM ASSIZES.	
<p>On Monday last, precisely at 11 o'clock. The Hon. Mr. Justice VANDELEUR, entered the Crown Court. After the Clerk of the Crown read the Commission, the following Grand Panel was called :—</p>		<p>A few minutes before 3 o'clock last evening, The Hon. Mr. Justice VANDELEUR, reached Carrick-on-Shannon, and soon after repaired to the Court-house. The Clerk of the Crown having gone through the usual formalities, read the following Grand Panel :—</p>	
<p>1 Arthur French, Esq. M. P.—Foreman.</p>		<p>1 Lord Viscount Clements, M. P.—Foreman.</p>	
<p>The Hon. R. King, Stephen Mahon, 2 William French, Sir R. St. George, 3 William Talbot, 4 Thomas Tenison, W. R. Wills, St. George Caulfield, 5 Daniel Kelly, 6 Lieut. Col. O. Lloyd, 7 Hugh Barton, 8 O'Connor Don, 9 Daniel Fetterell, 10 William Caulfield, Oliver Grace, 11 Robert Goff, 12 D. H. Kelly, Guy Lloyd, 13 Thomas Naughton, 14 Jeffrey M. French, 15 William Mulloy,</p>	<p>Lieut. Col. R. Pelly, 16 Thomas Conry, 17 Morgan Crofton, 18 Jarrard E. Strickland, 19 Owen Young, Cotte Mulloy, 20 Arthur Browne, Edward Mitchell, T. Dillon, Mt. Dillon, Francis Lynch, 21 Michael Balfe, 22 William Kelly, 23 Edmund Kelly, James Lyster, Edward Mapother, Arthur Ahmooty, Edward Mills, Robert Jones Lloyd, Henry Fry,—and T. G. Digby, Esqrs.</p>	<p>2 Lord Viscount Forbes, 3 Henry John Clements, John M. Clements, Samuel White, Sir Hugh Crofton, Bt. 4 Peter La Touche, 5 Sir Josias Rowley, Bt. Owen Wynne, William Ormsby Gore, William Jones, G. L. Fox, 6 Thomas Tenison, C. H. Tottenham, 7 John Godley, R. Johnston, Oakfield, Carr Cross T. Cullen, C. M. St. George, 8 Francis N. Cullen, Edward Simpson, 9 John James Cullen, 10 William Irwin, 11 William C. Percy, Richard Irwin, John Reynolds Peyton 12 Joseph Johnston, 13 Duke Crofton, 14 Francis O'Beirne, 15 Acheson O'Brien,</p>	<p>Richard M'Namara, 16 James W. O'Brien, A. Johnston, 17 John H. Peyton, 18 George O'Brien, R. Y. Reynolds, C. D. D. Johnston, L. A. Tottenham, 19 John Lawler, W. P. Reynolds, Robert Johnston, 20 F. H. J. Jones, S. C. Rowley, 21 H. Waldron, William Connolly, William E. Lees, 22 George H. C. Peyton, Berry Norris, 23 G. B. West, James Shanley, Henry Percy, Guy Lloyd, J. D. Brady, Hugh Walsh, T. Birchall, William Shanley, R. W. Storey, and C. D. Johnston, Esqrs.</p>
<p>As soon as the Gentlemen, before whose names the figures are prefixed, were sworn as Grand Jurors, his Lordship briefly addressed them, by remarking that although the Calendar was heavy, as to numbers, the crimes with which the persons were charged, would be found, he was happy to say, with a few excep-</p>		<p>The Gentlemen, before whose names the figures</p>	

Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette, 15 March 1828, p. 3.

The order of appointment to the grand jury indicated one's position in the county's social hierarchy. Prominent locals could feel slighted if their name did not appear near the top of the list. At the Galway summer assizes in 1823, Valentine Blake had been excluded from the grand jury. He protested that:

'as the eldest son of a Baronet he was entitled to place, and a high one, on the county pannel [the grand jury]. This was he said, one of the privileges of the patent [for his baronetage]: and he therefore moved that his name should be inserted... Mr Blake's motion was granted by the Court, and his name was inserted second [on the list of grand jurors]'.<sup>4</sup>

Eligibility for membership of the grand jury varied over time and, as Neal Garnham observes, was 'governed as much by precedent as by law'. Panellists had to have a freeholding in the county, but religion, sex, local politics and even local petty jealousies, all played their parts.<sup>5</sup> Catholics were excluded from grand jury service after 1707 when a Statute (6 Anne, chapter VI) declared that, because the 'security of the Protestant interest' was threatened 'by papists being returned to serve on grand juries', henceforth

*'no Papist shall serve on, or be returned to serve on, any grand jury ... unless it shall appear ... that a sufficient number of Protestants cannot be then had for that service.'*<sup>6</sup>

This religious bar remained in place until 1793, although Francis Lynch, a Catholic, served as a grand juror in 1768 for the Town of Galway. There may have been other Catholic jurors between 1707 and 1793, but it is doubtful that there can have been many.<sup>7</sup> Even after the law was changed Catholics were rarely called upon to serve as grand jurors.

No woman ever served as a grand juror in Ireland. Women were not permitted to serve as jurors in law courts until the passage of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act in 1919, but by then the grand jury system had been confined to history.

Property ownership rather than residency determined eligibility for grand jury service. Jurors could serve on bodies in different counties if they held land there. The grand jurors lists for spring 1828 for Roscommon and Leitrim (Fig. 3) show Captain Thomas Tennison of Castle Tennison (Kilronan Castle) appearing as a juror on both lists. Tennison was a notable figure in the area, and had been MP for Boyle between 1792 and 1797.<sup>8</sup> His importance in both counties can be judged from his high position within the grand jury listings – listed fourth for the Roscommon jury and sixth for Leitrim.<sup>9</sup>

### County Roscommon's Grand Panel, 1828–30

Some grand panel listings have survived, including for Roscommon for spring 1828, spring 1829, and spring 1830.<sup>10</sup> Out of these lists Roscommon's Grand Juries were appointed by high sheriffs, Robert Henry French (1828), Thomas Johnston Barton (1829) and Oliver Grace (1830). Roscommon's listings suggest that a county's grand panel was updated each year, and the list was then used for both the spring and summer assizes (Table 2). An examination of the three listings casts

light on the dynamics of local politics (Table 1), with new panellists being introduced and others being dropped each year. Of the sixteen new panellists in spring 1830 four had been on the panel in spring 1828, and it is possible that the selections reflected the political and social preferences of the sheriff in office. Map 1 shows the residences of the spring 1828 grand panellists which were well dispersed throughout the county.

**Table 1. The dynamics of grand panel membership, County Roscommon, 1828–30.**

Grand panel	Panellists retained	Panellists dropped	New panellists	Total panellists
Spring 1828	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	42
Spring 1829	35	7	13	48
Spring 1830	37	11	16	53

Given the small pool from which grand panels were drawn, it is not surprising to see a continuity of membership between successive grand juries, and some counties struggled to fill their grand jury benches. In Roscommon, we see that 7 of the 42 panellists of 1828 served on all six grand juries between spring 1828 and summer 1830, and half of the 42 served on at least three occasions (Table 2). Neither is it surprising to see the county's MPs (Arthur French, Frenchpark and Robert King, Rockingham) on the panel, with French appointed at both assizes in 1828 and 1830. Politics may have been involved here, as King had taken the seat of the pro-Catholic Stephen Mahon of Strokestown House at the 1826 election. Notably, one of the jurors appointed six times was The O'Connor Don of Belanagare (Owen O'Connor). He succeeded King as MP at the 1830 uncontested election, becoming the county's first Catholic parliamentary representative since the James II parliament of 1689.<sup>11</sup>



**Table 2. County Roscommon's grand panellists and jurors, 1828, 1829 and 1830.**

Name, residence	Grand panel			1828 jury		1829 jury		1830 jury	
	1828	1829	1830	Spr.	Sum.	Spr.	Sum.	Spr.	Sum.
Arthur French, MP, Frenchpark	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
Hon. Robert King, MP, Rockingham	✓	✓	✓						
Hon. S. Mahon, Strokestown	✓	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
William C. St George French, Cloonyquin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
Sir Richard St George, Tully, Leitrim	✓	✓	✓						
William Talbot, Mount Talbot	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	
Thomas Tennison, Castle Tennison	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
William Robert Wills, Willsgrove	✓	✓	✓				✓		
St George Caulfield, Dunamon Castle	✓	✓	✓						
Daniel Kelly, Cargin House	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Colonel Owen Lloyd, Rockville	✓	✓		✓		✓			
Hugh Barton, Cootehall	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
O'Connor Don, Bellanagare	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Daniel Farrell, Beechwood	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Colonel William Caulfield, Benown, Westmeath	✓	✓		✓		✓			
Oliver D. J. Grace, Mantua	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	S	S
Robert Goff, Carrowroe	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Denis H. Kelly, Castle Kelly, Galway	✓	✓		✓					
Guy Lloyd, Croghan	✓	✓	✓					✓	
Thomas Mahon Naughten, Thomastown	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Jeffry Martin French, Toomona	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
William Mulloy, Oakport	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
Lieut. Col. Raymond Pelly, Ballybride	✓	✓			✓				
Thomas Conroy, Strokestown	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Morgan Crofton, Abbeyview	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Jerrard E. Strickland, Loughglyn	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓
Owen Young, Harristown	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Coote Mulloy, Hughestown	✓	✓	✓						
Arthur Browne, Newtown (Abbeytown)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Edward Mitchell, Castlestrange	✓	✓	✓			✓			✓
Arthur Aughmuty, Kilmore House	✓		✓		✓				
Edward Mills, Fairymount	✓								
Robert Jones Lloyd, Smithhill	✓		✓						

Name, residence	Grand panel			1828 jury		1829 jury		1830 jury	
	1828	1829	1830	Spr.	Sum.	Spr.	Sum.	Spr.	Sum.
Henry Fry, Frybrook	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	
Thomas George Digby, Drumdaff	✓	✓							
Robert Henry French, Kiltullagh		✓	✓	S	S	✓	✓	✓	
Fitzstephen French, Frenchpark		✓					✓		
William Lloyd, Rockville		✓				✓		✓	✓
Gilbert Conroy, Cloonashee		✓				✓			
John Dillon, Johnstown		✓	✓						
Barth. Mahon, Cloonfree		✓	✓						✓
Robert Elwood, Ballymore		✓	✓				✓		✓
Barth. Mahon, Strokestown		✓	✓						
Peter O'Connor, Toomona		✓	✓						
Henry Hughes, Beechwood		✓	✓						
John Irwin, Camlin		✓	✓						✓
Richard W. Bond, Bondville		✓	✓						
Charles Blakeney, Hollywood		✓							
T. Johnston Barton, Coote Hall			✓			S	S		
William Lloyd, Rockville			✓						
John Caulfield, Cloonfinla			✓		✓			✓	✓
B. Newcomen, Camla House			✓						
Denis O'Connor, Mount Druid			✓					✓	✓
George Plunket, Mount Plunket			✓					✓	✓
Gunning Plunket, Kinnard			✓						
Owen Lloyd, Cloonashee			✓						
John Kelly, Scregg			✓						
Mulloy M'Dermott, Tubberpatrick			✓						✓
John Irwin, Rosebora			✓						
John Mitchell, Coolmine			✓						
William R. Mills								✓	
Edward King Tenison									✓
Edmond W. Naghten									✓

Weld, *Statistical survey of Roscommon*, pp 649-53; *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 27 March 1830, p. 3, 24 July 1830, p. 2.

Note: John Caulfield was recorded as a grand juror in summer 1828 but was not listed as a panellist in the spring 1828. 'D' indicates dead; 'S' indicates high sheriff.

## County Roscommon, distribution of panellists and jurors

Although these Roscommon jurors were dispersed throughout the county (Map 1), jurors and panellists were scarcer in the southern baronies and were over-represented in the (then) three northern baronies of Ballintober, Boyle and Roscommon.

While local political influence may have played a role, religion and the distribution of freeholds and ‘big houses’ were more important. In 1830, the Roscommon Journal published a complete list of the 1,105 freeholders entitled to vote. This shows 869 electors in the three northern baronies, compared to a mere 236 in Athlone, Ballymoe and Moycarn baronies, in the south of the county.

**Table 3. Number of freeholders in Roscommon, by barony, July 1830.**

<b>Barony</b>	<b>Number of freeholders</b>	<b>Proportion of electorate</b>
Boyle	487	44%
Ballintober	238	22%
Roscommon	144	13%
Athlone	189	17%
Ballymoe	25	2%
Moycarn	22	2%

*Roscommon Journal*, 24 July 1830, p. 3; 31 July, p. 4.

## The County Establishment

Each grand jury required a secretary to deal with the administration of the county and its grand jury, and a treasurer to receive money collected by the collectors of the cess, or local tax, and to pay contractors. The secretary was a key point of contact between the county and the administration.

All counties appointed a conservator, or roads inspector (from 1817 his tasks were incorporated into the new office of county surveyor<sup>12</sup>), a gaoler, paid out of county funds, and chaplains, to look after the moral wellbeing of prisoners.<sup>13</sup> Before 1810 chaplains were ministers of the Established Church, but the Prisons (Ireland) Act of that year allowed for Protestant Dissenting and Catholic chaplains to be appointed.<sup>14</sup>

Beyond the jurisdiction reserved to the grand juries, each county also employed judicial officers. These included a Clerk of the Crown, who operated as the clerk of the Assize Court (which comprised judges of the higher courts on circuit), and who also served as the secretary to the grand jury for criminal business<sup>15</sup>; and a Clerk of the Peace, who organised Quarter Sessions, the court immediately below the Assizes, held four times each year.<sup>16</sup>

Below the county in the Irish administrative hierarchy came the barony, each with its high constable assisted (from 1783-4) by sub-constables.<sup>17</sup> The high constable was responsible for arresting suspected criminals, for transporting prisoners to and from gaols and court sessions, and for collecting charges, including the county and barony cesses.

The strength of the Irish language in many areas, particularly in pre-Famine times, meant that most counties appointed interpreters so that Irish speaking prisoners could engage with the court. These various officers were vital to the efficient running of a county, but they rarely feature in modern historical works. Fortunately, their names and tasks can often be traced in presentment books and other grand jury records, which will be introduced and explained in the second part of this guide.



Photograph of William Colgate, County Louth Treasurer  
*Courtesy of Louth County Archives Service*

Map 2. County Carlow from William Petty's Atlas, Hibernia Delineatio (1660–75): a fine specimen of a county map from the era before the more detailed cartography commissioned by the grand juries.



## 1.2. PLACE

The confiscation of the lands of Catholic landowners and their transfer into the hands of newly arrived British Protestants during the Cromwellian period could not have occurred without the extensive surveying and mapping of Ireland which occurred in the latter half of the 1650s, under the eye of Sir William Petty. Although useful as a source of placenames, these [Down Survey](#) maps had long become outdated following the rapid expansion of Ireland's communications network and built environment during the century that followed.

Although Petty's published atlas was a private undertaking, his survey had been financed by the Cromwellian authorities measuring land for confiscation. After Petty, and before the grand jury maps, the surveying and publication of county maps in Ireland were commercial enterprises. The best known of these is John Rocque's map of County Dublin on four sheets, published in 1760. Rocque also produced a fine map of County Armagh during this period (Fig. 4), and Jacob Neville one for County Wicklow, while Noble and Keenan's map of County Kildare appeared even earlier, in 1752.

**Fig. 4. John Rocque's survey of County Armagh, 1760, for the Grand Jury.**



*Courtesy of L. Brown Collection*

In 1774, the parliament in Dublin granted power to the Grand Juries to raise a tax specifically to fund the survey and printing of maps for each county (Fig. 5). Work began almost immediately in some counties, and John Lendrick's map of County Antrim was published on four sheets in 1780. However, this fine work seems almost modest when compared with what came next, Henry Pelham's map of County Clare, published on 12 sheets in 1787. Pelham's map was intended to be joined and displayed behind the grand jury as they deliberated over presentments and other matters. At approximately 3.25 metres squared, the map would have been by far the largest document a member of the public had ever seen. The map, containing as it did all up-to-date knowledge of the topography of the county, sought to project the power of the grand jury and reflect the importance of county's establishment.

*“there are few things  
in Ireland which  
astonish a stranger  
more than the  
magnificence of its  
many excellent roads”*

— Edward Wakefield, 1812

Almost inevitably, the maps enabled each grand jury to convey its own prestige to its neighbours, and the ‘Grand Jury map’ project took on an increasingly expensive and stunningly elaborate life of its own. William Larkin was the greatest exponent of the genre and produced maps for six out of the twenty-six counties that made it into print using the public purse (Fig. 6). Larkin produced maps for Westmeath (1808), Meath (1817), Waterford (1818) and Galway, Leitrim and Sligo (1819). From 1784 grand juries were required to have their county map ‘put up, and kept constantly during the assizes in the grand jury room of said county’.<sup>18</sup>

Fig. 5. County maps can be charged to the county (13 & 14 George III, c. 32, sect 22).

**XXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be lawful for the grand jury of any county at the assize by presentment to raise such sum of money, as they shall think fit, not exceeding one hundred pounds in the whole for an accurate survey and map of such county ;**

Fig. 6. Cartouche from William Larkin's Grand Jury map of Galway, 1819.



Virginia Crossman, the authority on the Irish grand jury system, notes that:

*In the early nineteenth century the grand jury was the most important local body in rural Ireland, empowered to raise money by means of county rates for a variety of purposes from the construction and repair of roads and bridges to the upkeep of the local institutions such as hospitals and lunatic asylums.*<sup>19</sup>

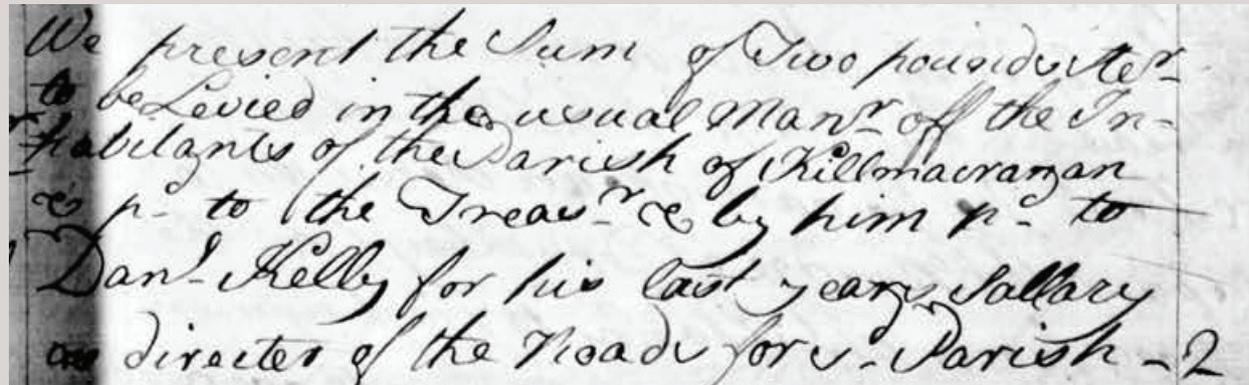
The grand jury's responsibilities gradually expanded. From 1634, the construction and repair of bridges came under the auspices of the county assizes, to be funded by the county,<sup>20</sup> but responsibility for maintaining highways had lain with parishes from 1615. From then, parishioners were required to provide six days free labour repairing local

roads, and parishes were to appoint overseers. This system depended upon the cooperation of the parishioners and numerous complications emerged. In many places, the Established Church was administratively too weak to fulfil this responsibility. In 1705, under a new statute, parishes failing to maintain their highways could be prosecuted, and the overseers appointed by the grand jury.<sup>21</sup>

**Fig. 7. Donegal's Grand Jury presenting £2 salary for Daniel Kelly, director of roads for Kilmacrenan, 1756-7.**

**Road maintenance in County Donegal in the 1750s**

We can see this process operating in County Donegal at the summer 1756 assizes (6 September) when £14 was paid to cover a £2 annual salary to a director of the roads in seven different parishes, the salary to be charged against the defaulting parishes. Directors could be appointed to multiple parishes. There Daniel Kelly received £6, for his work in the parishes of Clondahorky, Kilmacrenan and Tullaghobegley, and David Ramsey was paid £4 to direct roadworks in Aghanunishin and Conwal parishes. The presentment for Kelly's £2 salary for his work in Kilmacrenan (Fig. 7), shows the payment process: the £2 charge was to be collected off the parish and paid to the county treasurer, who would then pay Kelly. Note, however, that the payment is for 'last years sallary', so Kelly had to wait a full year before receiving his payment. The following year, in March 1757, Donegal's grand jury had to appoint not just a director of the highways, but also the two overseers of the highways in Templecrone parish, thereafter the appointment of overseers of the highway by the grand jury instead of the parish became common. The old road-maintenance system based on the parish was failing.



We present the Sum of Two pounds  
to be Levied in the usual Man<sup>r</sup> of the In-  
habitants of the Parish of Kilmacrenan  
as p<sup>o</sup> to the Treas<sup>r</sup> by him p<sup>o</sup> to  
Dan<sup>l</sup> Kelly for his last years Sallary  
as Director of the Road for s<sup>r</sup> Parish - 2

Donegal County Archive, [GJ/1/1](#).

The weakness in the old parish system of road maintenance made new legislation necessary. A 1759 statute ('Act to alter and amend the Laws of the repair of highways') made minor reforms, by changing the free labour requirement, paying the overseers and clarifying the role of the grand jury.<sup>22</sup> More radical changes were introduced in 1765 when an Act transferred responsibility for constructing and maintaining roads from the parish to the grand jury, with financial costs to be borne by the counties or baronies rather than by individual parishes.<sup>23</sup> This expanding role in road maintenance explains why grand juries began employing cartographers to undertake detailed surveys.

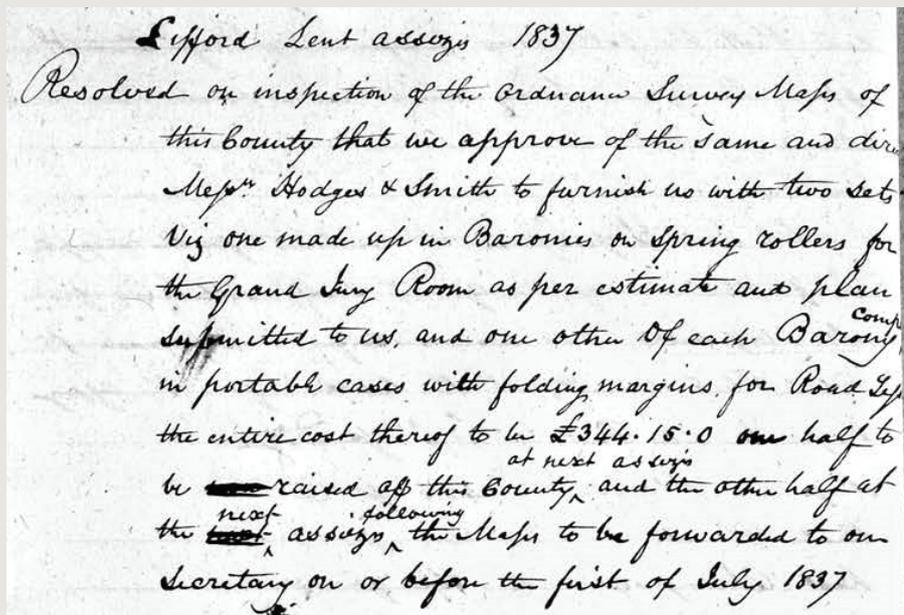
**Fig. 8. Grand Jury Map, County of Galway: vicinity of Oughterard.**



Larkin's map of Galway (Fig. 8) and William Bald's map of Mayo (1830) are the finest examples of grand jury maps. Both are more than three metres wide and, like the others, were published by London's most prestigious houses. Once Ordnance Survey maps became available in the 1830s, however, the era of the county map passed, as grand juries, unable to justify the continued production of lavish county maps, invested in the higher quality charts.

At the spring 1837 assizes in County Donegal, for example, the grand jury approved the purchase of two sets of the new Ordnance Survey maps costing £344:15, 'one made up in baronies on spring rollers for the Grand Jury Room' and 'one other of each barony in portable cases' (Fig. 9). These Ordnance Survey maps remain in the custody of Donegal County Library today. Although the Ordnance Survey removed the reason for county surveys, we are left with a wonderful cartographic record of pre-Famine Ireland, produced by world-class surveyors, engravers and map publishers.

Fig. 9. Donegal Grand Jury's purchase of 6-inch OS maps, 1837.

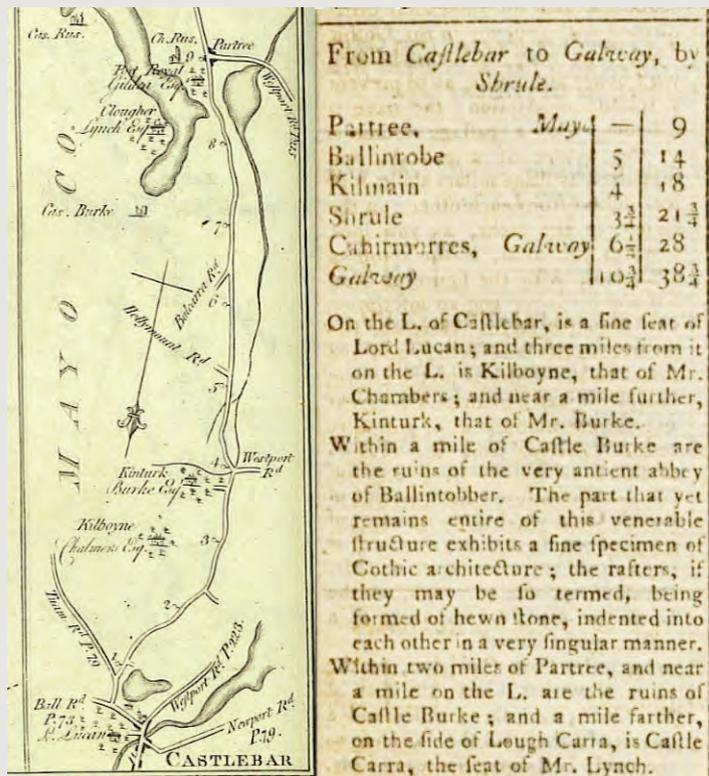


Efford Lent assizes 1837  
Resolved on inspection of the Ordnance Survey Maps of  
this County that we approve of the same and direct  
Messrs. Hodges & Smith to furnish us with two sets  
viz one made up in Baronies on spring rollers for  
the Grand Jury Room as per estimate and plan  
submitted to us, and one other of each Barony<sup>Comp</sup>  
in portable cases with folding margins for Road Use  
the entire cost thereof to be £344.15.0 one half to  
be ~~raised~~ raised <sup>at next assizes</sup> off this County, and the other half at  
the ~~next~~ <sup>next</sup> assizes, <sup>following</sup> the Maps to be forwarded to our  
Secretary on or before the first of July 1837

Improved roads made long distance travel easier, prompting the appearance of the travel and transport book. George Taylor and Alexander Skinner's *Maps of the roads of Ireland* first appeared in 1778, to be followed in 1786 by William Wilson's detailed *Post-chaise companion* (Fig. 10). Less than fifty years after grand juries took over responsibility for roads author, Edward Wakefield, noted that 'the general improvement of the roads, by means of presentments from the grand jury, has introduced the wheeled car into all the better parts of the country' and 'there are few things in Ireland which astonish a stranger more than the magnificence of its many excellent roads'.<sup>24</sup>

Despite their many flaws, the grand juries played a major part in improving Ireland's communications infrastructure, and contributed to a growing sense of place among the population.

Fig. 10. Castlebar to Partry, Co. Mayo. Taylor and Skinner's road atlas (left) and *Post-chaise companion* account (right).



## 1.3. POWER

In his *Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political* Edward Wakefield described the grand jury as ‘a sort of county parliament in which numbers are anxious to have a seat’, but the blatant lobbying he described among prospective jurors was far removed from parliamentary dignity:

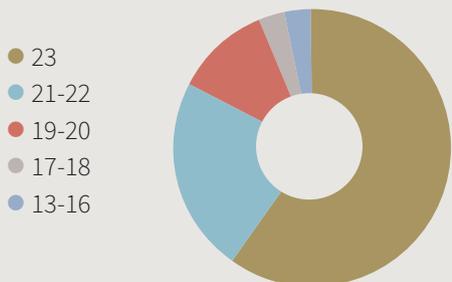
*‘Gentlemen, desirous of being on this jury ... are present in the town on the morning when the assizes commence, leaving their cards with the sheriff; who, in court, calls over such names as he chooses to select, and the first twenty-three who answer, are immediately sworn in.’<sup>25</sup>*

Some counties struggled to fill a complete jury. In King’s County (Offaly), the principal landlords were Lords Digby, Ross and Charleville who owned so much of the county ‘that the remaining land-holders are scarcely sufficient to make a grand jury, and on that account it is sometimes difficult to form one’.<sup>26</sup> Between 1727 and 1852, Westmeath frequently failed to gather the required 23 jurors; in spring 1760 the county could muster only 13 jurors, and 14 in summer 1766 (Fig. 11). In Donegal’s first grand jury presentments book (1753-68), only 21 jurors are listed for the spring 1761 session and 17 for spring 1765. Only four jurors are listed for summer 1764, but this cannot have reflected the actual session as ‘finding by less than twelve grand jurors is erroneous’.<sup>27</sup> Kerry’s grand jury in 1729 was but sixteen strong; Wicklow’s summer 1712 jury had nineteen jurors.<sup>28</sup>



Grand Jury Query Books (1882–1891), County Louth  
Courtesy of Louth County Archives Service

Fig. 11. Number of grand jurors attending at 218 assizes sittings in Westmeath, spring 1727 - spring 1853.



98 Bottles of Champagne  
 37 Bottles of Claret  
 28 Bottles of Port  
 68 Bottles of Sherry

– Spring Assizes 1872  
 Donegal Grand Jury Dinner Account

Fig. 12. Donegal Grand Jury Dinner Account, spring 1872.

### The assizes as a social gathering

A party atmosphere may have prevailed at the spring 1760 assizes in Westmeath, with only 13 jurors attending and the Chief Baron Mountenay turning up drunk.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps Mountenay was reflecting the ‘merriment which sometimes prevails in an Irish court of justice’ which Edward Wakefield observed.<sup>30</sup>

‘Merriment’ was a feature of grand-jury gatherings. A ‘Dinner Accounts’ book for Donegal (1867 – 1899) gives the expenditure on dinners, lunches, wine and spirits. In the twenty assizes sessions between spring 1868 and summer 1877, the smallest quantity of drink consumed was 122 bottles. The largest consumption occurred in spring 1872, with 236 bottles drunk, including champagne (98 bottles), claret (37), and pale sherry (43) (Fig. 12). It is important to note, however, that the jurors had to pay for their food and drink.

*Spring Assizes 1872*  
 Donegal Grand Jury Dinner account  
 Dinner Bill

4 <sup>th</sup> 29 <sup>th</sup>	20 Dinners at 1/-	15 8	..	
May 1 <sup>st</sup>	29 " "	15 19	..	
2 <sup>nd</sup>	18 " "	16 8	..	
3 <sup>rd</sup>	19 " "	10 9	..	
4 <sup>th</sup>	25 " "	15 10	..	
	Allowance for Temp:	8	..	
	Light	1	..	
	Ice	1	10	..
	Waters (2 extra days)	5	16	..
	Lunch for judges on 3 <sup>rd</sup> & 4 <sup>th</sup>	11	..	98 74
	<i>Now assize</i>			
	98 Bottles Champ. at 5/6	26	19	..
	37 " Claret " 5/6	10	5	6
	28 " Port " 4/-	5	12	..
	25 " P. Sherry " 4/-	5	..	..
	18 " P. Sherry " 5/6	7	10	6
	4 " Light Claret " 1/6			6 8
	1 " Brandy			8
				53 16 8
				101 10 8

In most counties, control of the grand jury rested with a handful of the most influential landholders. Wakefield gives a damning account of events within the jury room:

*‘The grand jury have the power of raising and expending immense sums of county money ... A man of large property stands at the head of the list, and each succeeding member has a station assigned by the political barometer, according to his weight. At the bottom of the list comes those who hold qualifications under the great man; and, if their patron be desirous to have a new road made for his private accommodation ... they must vote as their patron and instructor directs. If a sufficiency of voices can be collected to form a majority, to shew his impartiality, he never votes at all, leaving the whole to the decision of these independent country gentlemen; so that, in this manner, the most partial acts are passed, and the most flagrant abuses sanctioned, while the people are obliged to sustain these heavy burdens, and often without the hope of receiving any benefit from the proposed undertakings.’<sup>31</sup>*

Catholics were rarely power players on grand juries even after the bar on Catholic involvement was lifted in 1793. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example, ‘no Catholics ... are ever on the grand jury’ in Donegal. In County Down ‘Mr Byrne, a merchant of Dublin, has an estate here of £3,000 per annum, which is the only one in the county belonging to a Catholic, sufficient to give a qualification for being on the grand jury’. Even in counties where Protestant numbers were small Catholics jurors were few.

In Longford ‘two Catholic gentlemen have property which qualifies them to be on the grand jury’ and in Tipperary ‘seven Roman Catholic gentlemen were formerly called on the grand jury, but since the power of nominating the sheriff has fallen into the hands of the Protestant party not one has been selected’. Even in Kerry, where the largest landowner was a Catholic, Lord Kenmare, and ‘other large estates belong to Catholics ... there are never fewer than five or six of these people [Catholics] on the grand jury’.<sup>32</sup>

Grand jury reforms were introduced during the nineteenth century, most notably by statutes passed in 1817 and 1836, which regulated laws relating to public works and the raising and spending of public money, but accusations of corruption and excess remained.<sup>33</sup> The virtual exclusion of Catholics from Irish grand jury rooms persisted into the 1890s when it was acknowledged that the system ‘has become inadequate – it is no longer in harmony with the spirit of the age, and it cannot be very much longer maintained’.<sup>34</sup> A new approach to local government in Ireland was urgently required which would align with the Conservative government’s approach of ‘killing Home Rule with kindness’ and which would bring Ireland into line with earlier reforms in Britain.<sup>35</sup>



Assizes held at Bandon,  
County Cork, 1688  
Courtesy of Cork City and  
County Archives Service

Count Court

At an assize held at the Knight old Castle near Bandon the 9<sup>th</sup> of April 88

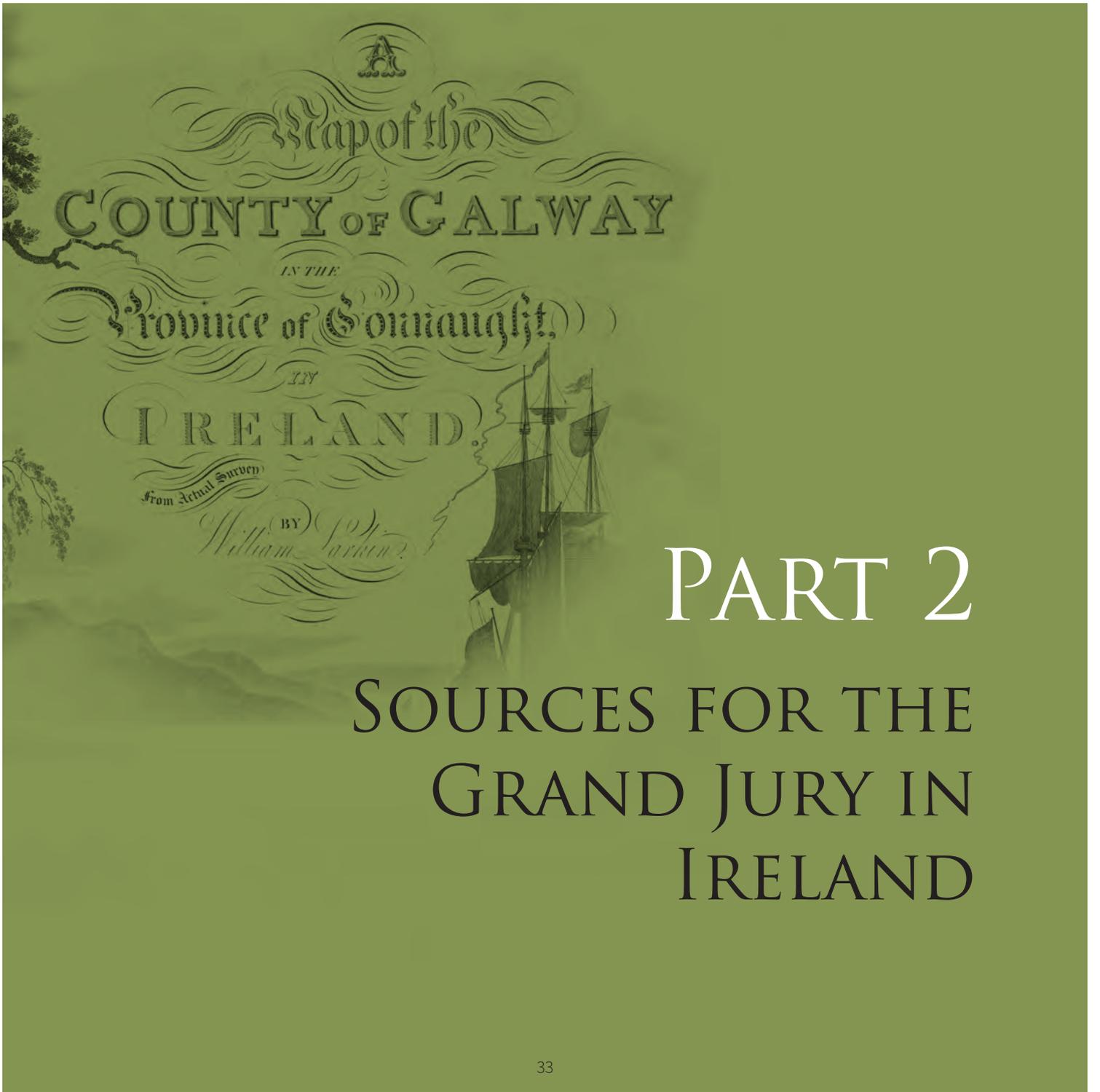
Whereas y<sup>e</sup> Grand Jury all y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>ts</sup> Assize did present y<sup>e</sup> the sume of one hundred twenty eight  
pounds one shilling & ten pence halfe penny ster be raised on the severall townes & baronies  
of the D<sup>y</sup> County to be appoynted by Thady Callaghan Treas<sup>r</sup> according to the deficiency  
of the yeares value on the respective townes & baronies of the D<sup>y</sup> County the same being  
soe appoynted to be collected by the respective high & petty constables of the D<sup>y</sup> County  
by way of Districte if neede bee & paid to the Treas<sup>r</sup> to be by him pd to p for y<sup>e</sup>  
Subsequent use viz<sup>t</sup> the sume of foure pounds ten shillings ster for Smiths worke  
done for the County Gaole & County Court the sume of one pound Eleven shillings &  
six pence for Cooper worke done for the prisoners in the County Gaole the sume of five  
pounds ten shillings ster to the glazier for worke done by him for the County Court six  
shillings to the painter for painting the Seales & benches of the Court house for  
y<sup>e</sup> less worke for the said Court the sume of one pound ster for Joiners worke & for  
dale for the D<sup>y</sup> Court house & the gaole the sume of five pounds ster to the carpenter  
for mending the roofe of the D<sup>y</sup> County Gaole & for severall other jobs for the same y<sup>e</sup>  
sume of fourteene pounds ster for other Conligions about the D<sup>y</sup> Gaole the sume  
of five pounds ster for the repairs of mayallowe bridge the sume of forty pounds  
ster to be pd by the Treas<sup>r</sup> to the former overseers viz<sup>t</sup> David Moagh & Stephen  
Keane y<sup>e</sup> sume of eight pounds ster to Robert Barry Thomas Harris & John Porter  
for taking two notorian golow ployes the sume of thirty pounds ster to Thady  
Callaghan Treas<sup>r</sup> for his last yeares salary ending y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> of April instant for build  
ing a gate & wall for the County Court the sume of thretye pounds ster to be paid  
to Cornelius Gobe and Henry Dopinger Esq<sup>r</sup> who are appointed overseers of  
the Droocke for Iron for the Court house & Gaole eighteene shillings & foure pence  
halfe penny & for wages for y<sup>e</sup> Court house six shillings ster upon reading the R<sup>ts</sup>  
of Court. It is ordered by the Just that the same be in all points confirmed  
wherof all persons concerned are to take notice at their perill

Signed by order of the Court  
John M. O'Connell

Upon appoynting of the above sume of £ 128 01 10 & the payment to be  
made of the above sume to the Treas<sup>r</sup> of the County of Bandon the original examined by me  
the Recorder of the Towne and Liberties of Bandon thereof according to  
the deficiency of the yeares value amounts to the sume of one pound  
five shillings and ten pence ster to y<sup>e</sup> Treas<sup>r</sup> of the County of Bandon  
appoynted & forthwith collected and levied and paid in to me without delay  
Do Judge Maurice Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Proby of Bandon

CMS/11/14

Thady Callaghan Treas<sup>r</sup>



# PART 2

## SOURCES FOR THE GRAND JURY IN IRELAND

## 2.1. DESTRUCTION AND SURVIVAL

### ‘Flame observed through the glass roof’

Cork’s magnificent neo-classical courthouse in Washington Street opened in 1828. It served as the city’s courthouse, and also as the principal repository for the records of Cork city and county. The 1891 spring assizes opened at the courthouse on Saturday on 21 March, but the real excitement would be at the ‘Tipperary Riot’ trial which commenced the following Tuesday in front of a ‘special city jury’. The trial of five men brought a packed courthouse on each of its three days, not least because anti-Parnellite MPs, William O’Brien (Cork North East) and John Dillon (Mayo East), were transported from Galway Gaol to appear as witnesses.<sup>36</sup>

On Friday afternoon about 500 people were present to hear Justice Monroe sum up the evidence when ‘flame was observed through the glass roof’.<sup>37</sup> The building was promptly evacuated with no fatalities, but within hours it was in ruins. Frantic efforts were made to save some of the records housed in the building and some grand jury records were spirited out, but the scale of the losses was enormous. What survived were later transferred to the Public Record Office, where they were consumed in the 1922 conflagration.

Within two months of the Cork fire, an order was issued centrally that the Crown and Peace records for eighteen counties, including Cork’s two Ridings, were to be transferred to the Public Record Office in Dublin. By the end 1891 most counties had transferred their records, but it was too late in the case of Cork, where ‘the Clerks of the Crown and Peace for the East and West Ridings of Cork state that all their records were consumed in the great fire in Cork courthouse in March 1891’.<sup>38</sup> As for the Riot trial, it concluded the day after the fire in a classroom in the Model School, Anglesea Street, with no convictions.<sup>39</sup>

At the Public Record Office of Ireland, the county records from grand juries across Ireland were placed in a building known as the ‘Record Treasury’—a six-storey over basement repository within the Four Courts complex. The ‘Record Treasury’ had opened in 1867, and records were soon filling the building, although until the 1890s most of the top floor was still vacant.

Painting by Eugene McSwiney depicting the Cork Courthouse fire of 1891.  
The painting now hangs in Cork Courthouse.  
*Courtesy of The Courthouse, Washington Street, Cork City*



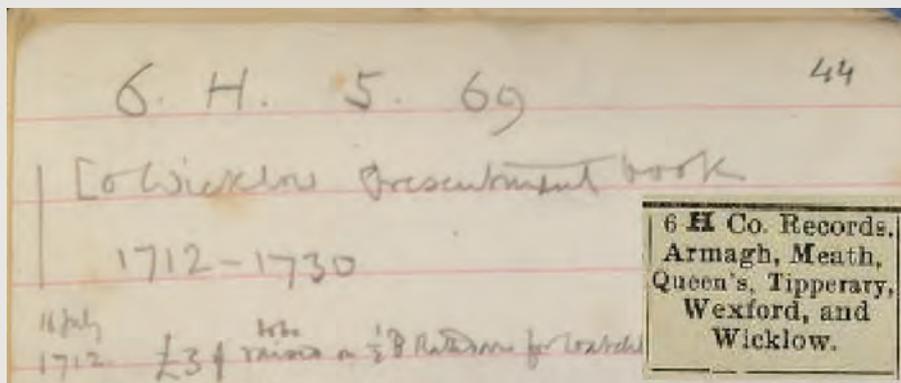
After 1891, published schematic plans of the building show that county records were mostly stored in these hitherto-empty bays on Floor 6. For instance, the county records of Armagh, Meath, Queen's County, Tipperary, Wexford and Wicklow were shelved in the Record Treasury on Floor 6, Bay H (Fig. 13). Other county records were located in the Custom House in May 1921. With the burning of the Custom House in 1921 and the destruction of the Record Treasury in June 1922 vast quantities of local records of all kinds were lost.

These successive disasters may explain why grand jury records remain largely unknown. Many researchers seem to presume that little survived, and that what remains holds little of interest to the historian, particularly when contrasted with more familiar sources, such as newspapers, Poor Law Records and Parliamentary Papers.

These assumptions are incorrect. While it is true that tens of thousands of grand jury records were lost in 1922, and that the survival of the records is patchy, ongoing collaborative research is revealing that far more has survived than is commonly presumed. Many of these records are held locally and are accessible through local archive services or as part of national collections.

These surviving grand jury records are fruitful sources for the local or regional historian, providing unique insights into various aspects of past Irish society. Being county- and barony-specific, they offer detailed information on social interactions within and between communities, including presenting an array of evidence on crimes, poverty and welfare, infrastructural developments, economic ordering, and many other topics of interest to researchers.

**Fig. 13. County Wicklow's records were stored in Bay 6H in the Public Record Office of Ireland, and included a presentment book for 1712–30.**



*Donegal County Archive, NLI ms 7227*

## 2.2. CIVIL RECORDS: PRESENTMENTS BOOKS AND ABSTRACTS, QUERY BOOKS AND FINANCIALS

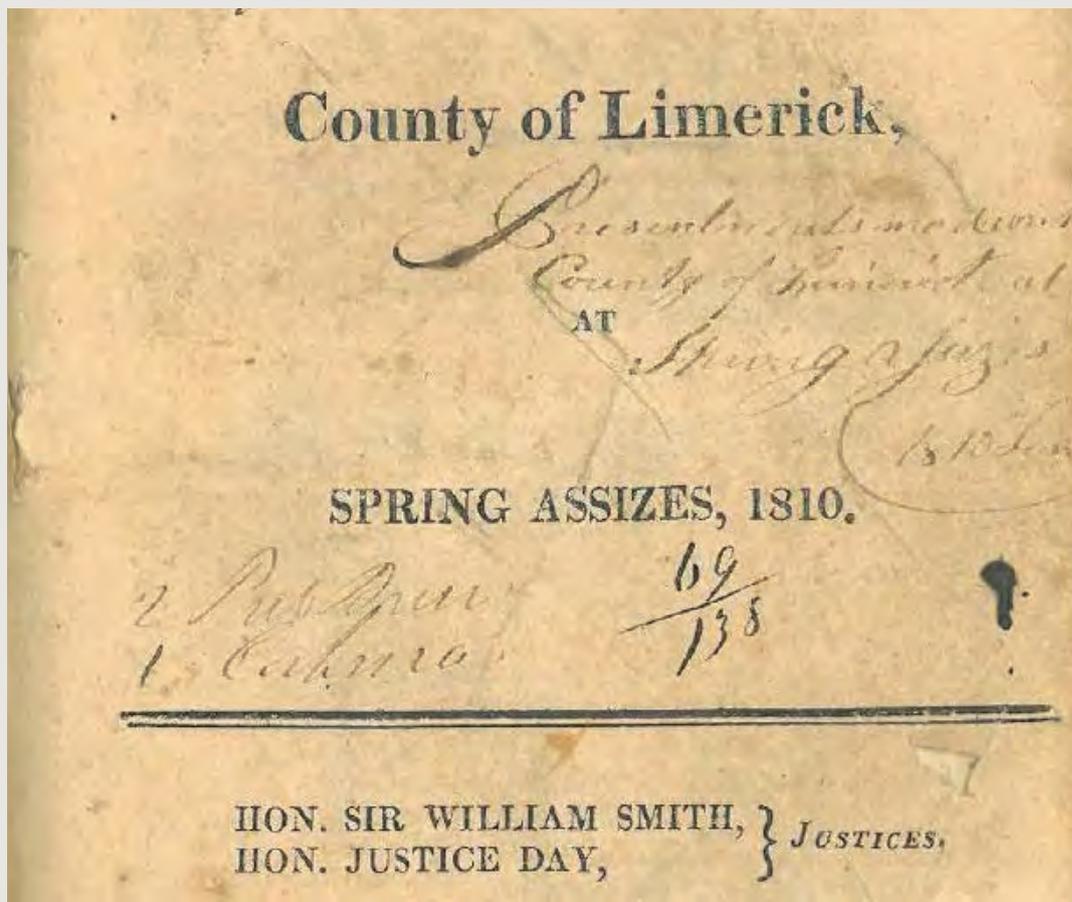
The most widely known grand jury records are the presentment books, and query books. The secretary to the grand jury was responsible for recording its decisions at the assizes, and these were usually entered, by hand, in a robust a robust volume. Some manuscript volumes have survived, including for many Ulster counties, and for Clare, Kildare, Longford, Meath and Wexford. By the late eighteenth century, small numbers of printed volumes of presentments were produced. It is unclear whether all counties began printing their presentments at the same time and how many copies they produced.

Fifty volumes of the earliest known surviving printed volume for County Wicklow (1793) were printed. Two copies were given to each grand juror, leaving four in the hands of the clerk. At least one of these volumes survives.<sup>40</sup> Cavan printed its summer 1792 presentments, Clare was printing its presentments from at least spring 1799, and Kilkenny City from at least spring 1803.<sup>41</sup> Longford's earliest surviving printed volume dates from spring 1817, although it appears to have commenced printing its presentments from summer 1800.<sup>42</sup> Kilkenny County's spring 1801 assizes approved payment of £52:10:9 to Catherine Finn for printing and stationery.<sup>43</sup> Queen's County' printed 300 copies of its summer 1813 presentments, at a charge of £25.<sup>44</sup>

Two questions arise: What is a presentment book? And why did counties go to the trouble and expense of printing them? Presentments were decisions of the grand jury, and typically involved proposals to spend local taxes (the cess) that were approved by the grand jury and authorised ('fiated') by the judge at the assizes. A presentment schedule, or 'long list' of all requests for spending was produced in advance of the assizes, then the 'short list' of approved works were noted in a manuscript book by the Clerk of the Crown. Magnificent examples survive for many locations, including Carrickfergus, Clare, Kildare, Longford and Wexford. The approved presentments were printed as Abstracts of Presentments, and some counties have made their printed volumes available digitally, including Donegal, Limerick, Louth and Wicklow. Barony presentment sessions were introduced in 1819 to improve accountability.<sup>45</sup>

Query books contain accounts of expenditure for work completed. It is important to remember that the presentments in a presentment book only means that expenditure was approved; not that the work was completed. Presentments which were not undertaken were known as 'undischarged queries'.

Fig. 14. Title pages for County Limerick's presentment abstracts, spring 1810 and Tyrone's, spring 1799.



Printing the abstracts of presentments ensured that there was transparency in the taxation process, with the cess payers able to see the amounts being spent and how much the tax collector would charge. In rare cases, we know who received copies of the printed volumes. Tipperary's spring 1817 volume, for example, lists the names of 239 inhabitants, all males, who received a copy, whilst an online copy of the spring 1815 presentments for Kilkenny city contains a handwritten list of recipients.<sup>46</sup>

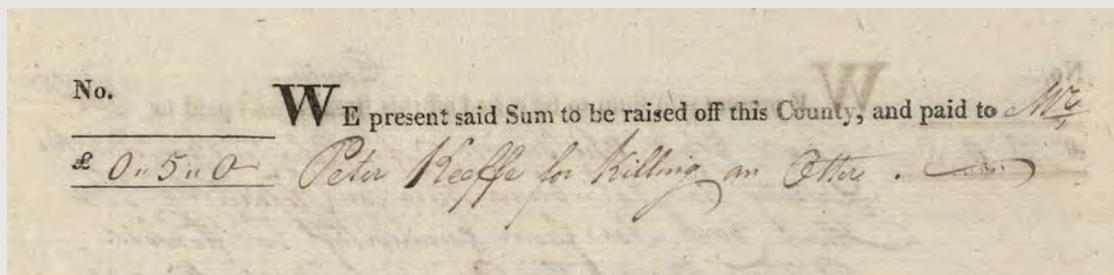
## Contents of a presentment book

Presentment books contain a wealth of information about many aspects of a county's society. Printed abstracts, the most common surviving records, were generally produced in a fairly standard format.

Most opening pages list the names of the justices, the high sheriff, the members of the grand jury, and the date of the assizes. After this, the presentments are listed. Some presentments were chargeable against the whole county (to be funded by all cess payers) and others against the local barony (funded only by taxpayers in that district). The region to be taxed (county or barony) is clearly identified for each presentment, usually by grouping the presentments under headings.

County charges included: salaries for county officers, county printing costs, payments for transporting prisoners, funding for bridges and repairs to main roads, and money for the upkeep of county buildings such as schools, session houses, infirmaries and the county gaol. Repairs to local and regional roads and payments to barony constables were charged against the individual baronies. A wide variety of tasks appeared under a county's presentments; notable curiosities include payment for killing 'vermin', including otters, magpies, 'scald crows', foxes and rats (Fig. 15).

**Fig. 15. Payment to Peter Keeffe (5 shillings) for killing an otter, Co. Wexford, summer 1818.**



*Wexford County Archive, Grand Jury Presentments, County Wexford, 1817-23 (WXCA/P 436).*

A typical example of a presentment is shown in Fig. 17, approving the repair of a short section of the road between Athlone and Longford. The individuals responsible for organising the task are named (George Ledwith and William Sandys esquires), the repairs are detailed (224 perches [about 1.2 kms] 'of the great road' from 'the cross road leading from Athlone to Ballymahon' to the bridge at Shrule), and the road surface specified ('repairing & gravelling twelve feet wide'). The £14 required was to be charged against the county and delivered to the county treasurer.

Although Ledwith and Sandys were authorized to organize the job, the work would have been performed by day labourers. It is important to note that a grand jury could only specify repairs within its own county, and it is common to see presentments being approved, conditional on a neighbouring county making a comparable presentment if a proposed improvement crossed a county boundary.

Urgent repairs to bridges, gulleys, drains and coastal and river defences were often performed without grand-jury approval, and the money claimed back at the next assizes (Fig. 16). Salaries of county officers were always paid in arrears.

Fig. 16. Payment for repairing a 'gullet' or drain, Co. Wexford, summer 1818.

No. of Disbursements **W**E present said Sum to be raised off this County, and paid to *John*  
£ 2. 10. 0 = *Whitmore for repairing a sudden breach in a Gullet*  
*at Ballybro cross Roads, from the Tishing of Postlan*  
*To Newfora by Order of a Magistrate.*

Wexford County Archive, Grand Jury Presentments, County Wexford, 1817-23 (WXCA/P 436).

Fig. 17. Road repair authorized at County Longford assizes, spring 1759.

44 We present the sum of fourteen pounds to be raised as before  
 and paid to the Treasurer to be by him paid to George Ledwith  
 & William andys Esq. to be by them layed out in repairing &  
 graveling twelve feet wide & Two Hundred and twenty four  
 perches of a great road leading from Athlone in County of West  
 meath to Longford in the County beginning at a Cross road  
 leading from Athlone to Ballymahon (including a bridge  
 of three) — of s<sup>r</sup> George Ledwith & William andys  
 Esq. Esq.

Longford County Library and Archives Services

Presentment books can contain hundreds of presentments approving infrastructural improvements and their importance to researchers is clear. If an unbroken series of presentment books is available then changes over time can be examined, but even individual volumes present a wealth of information for local, social, cultural, economic and family history research.

The spring 1799 Clare presentment, for example, reveals the potential of these sources for researchers (Table 4). First, we are presented with the names of the justices (Hon. Justice Day and Mr Prime Sergeant Daly), the high sheriff, George Studdert of Kilkishin, and the twenty-three man grand jury, which included the county's MPs, Hugh Massey, the jury foreman, and Hon. Francis Nathaniel Burton. Though Catholics could be jurors at this time, we can be reasonably confident that most, if not all, of the twenty-three were Protestant. The 309 presentments listed in the volume deal with various aspects of daily life in Clare, from 16 cases of compensation for malicious 'houghing' of animals (cutting their hamstrings), to approval for 100 kms of roadworks. The total amount approved came to £5,576 for this single assizes sitting, approximately €7 million today.<sup>47</sup> This sum was on the low side for the county; the average spring cess between 1793 and 1804 was almost £8,300, and in spring 1806 it reached £16,000.

**Table 4. Abstract of presentments approved for Co. Clare, spring 1799.**

Barony	No. of presentments	Perches, road	Charges	Barony tax
County at large	76	0	£1,220:4:7 ½	
Bunratty	34	2,623	£548:5:2	£790:11:7
Burren	10	965	£228:15:7	£357:2:4 ¾
Clonderlaw	16	1,527.5	£246:6:11 1/2	£399:3:6 ¾
Corcomroe	19	1,710	£381:19:7	£487:8:8 ¾
Ibrickan	21	1,840	£314:11:8	£445:6:4 ¼
Inchiquin	24	1,956	£429:4:3 ½	£749:2:0 ½
Islands	19	1,713	£367:4:6	£476:15:8 ½
Moyarta	22	2,625	£483:18:10	£602:16:2 ½
Tulla	52	4,505.5	£861:12:7 ½	£1,268:1:4 ½
Houghing	16		£269:8:1 ½	

Contained within the 309 presentments are the names and often the addresses of more than 350 individual officials or contractors: Giles Dixon was county treasurer, Daniel Finucane the conservator, George Comyn the Clerk of the Peace, Thomas Bennis the interpreter. Many individuals secured multiple contracts for repairs including John Ormsby Vandeleur, one of the grand jurors, who was to organize 1,088 perches of road repairs amounting to more than £225. There was good profit to be made on such contracts. One commentator condemned corruption on the Clare Grand Jury.

*A few public-spirited and honest grand jurors have attempted to stem this torrent of peculation, but the consequence has been, that they have been threatened with an opposition to every thing they proposed, and the disgraceful expedient was resorted to, of polling every thing they asked for. One gentleman returned the overplus of a presentment [the unspent funds]; he was laughed at by his brother jurors; such is the morality of the county of Clare.<sup>48</sup>*

### Funding approved presentments

The duty of collecting the money fell to the cess collector, often the high-constable of the barony, aided by his sub-constables (Fig. 18). Collection required the preparation of a barony cess book, few of these have survived.

A summer 1895 cess book for Granard Barony, County Longford, available in Longford County Archives, lists, by townland, the rateable valuation and the cess charge against all landholders in the barony (Fig. 19). Many of the names in the Granard cess list can be readily identified in the 1901 census, but it should be borne in mind that the cess was payable on property valuation and is not an indication of residency.

Fig. 18. Payments for collecting the 'cess' or county taxes, Cavan, spring 1799.

To James Lawan Esq <sup>r</sup> for 23 p <sup>ts</sup> from Dollycornell to Dollynamore Tullyhau	Lent 99	6 0 6
To D <sup>r</sup> for the Sub Constables of Tullyhau	Lent 99	12 .. ..
To William Nixon Sub Constable for Tullyhau	Lent 99	2 .. ..
To And <sup>ro</sup> Mohit for Collecting the publick Cess of Tullyhau	Lent 99	3 .. ..
To W <sup>m</sup> Hogg for Collecting the publick Cess of Castlelahan	Lent 99	4 18 2
To .. ..	Lent 99	0 .. ..

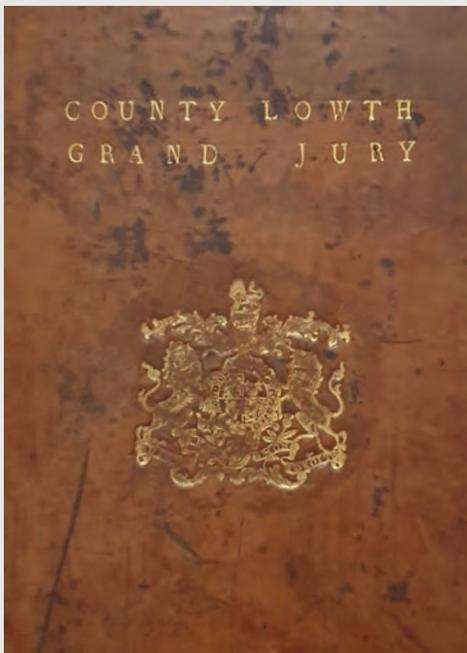
Fig. 19. Cess applotment, summer 1895, Aghakeeran townland, Columbkille parish, Co. Longford.

COUNTY OF LONGFORD						
Barony of _____			Parish of _____			
TOWNLANDS and OCCUPIERS	Rateable Annual Valuation			Amount of County Cess		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Aghakeeran						
Patrick Brady Philip ✓	10	10		10	11	
Mick Brady ✓	10	5		10	8	
Brady & Beach ✓	11	5		11	5	

## 2.3. JUDICIAL RECORDS: ASSIZES COURT BOOKS

Assizes sessions initially emerged as judicial sittings, which explains the requirement for two justices to attend, one dealing with civil, the other with criminal, cases. It was for the grand jury to determine if the bill of indictment, or written accusation, against an accused person was a 'true bill' or 'no bill'. A 'true bill' meant that a prima facie case had been established and the case could proceed.

Court books, records of the cases heard at assizes sessions, provide interesting views on crime and security. Large numbers of cases could be heard at an assizes sitting, and cases were usually dealt with swiftly. A manuscript grand jury book for County Monaghan, for example, details presentment sessions and court sessions from 1794 to 1831. To take a single instance, the spring 1811 court assizes dealt with 96 cases, recording the names of 111 prosecutors and 141 prosecuted. Scant details are provided – only the broad category of the crime and the finding is given in each case. Thus, we see 54 cases of misdemeanour, 25 of felony, 10 of trespass, 3 of rape and 2 of assault, along with two instances of vagrants being sentenced to transportation. 'True bill' findings were issued in 59 cases and acquittals ('no bill') in 35 cases. The remaining 2 cases involved transportation for vagrancy.

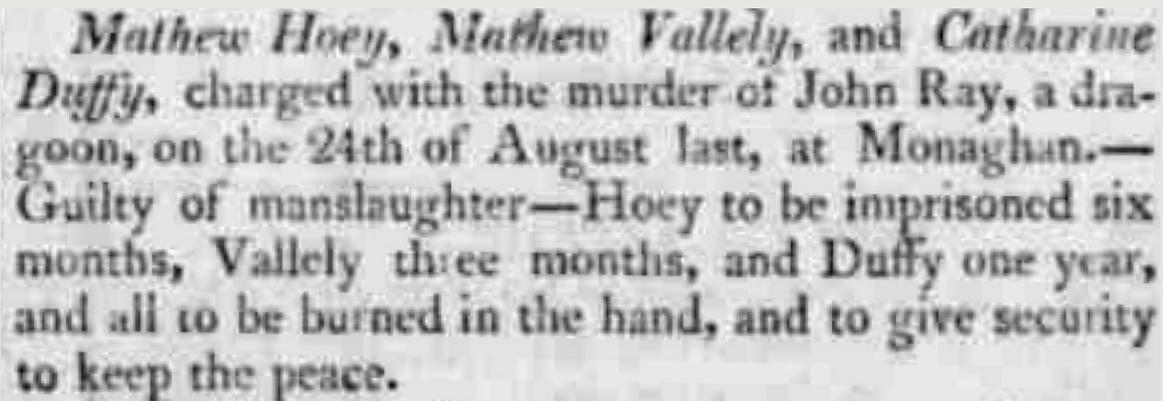


'County Louth Grand Jury': Leather-Bound  
Volume of parliamentary statutes  
*Courtesy of Louth County Archives Service*

Records such as these can often be cross-referenced with newspaper accounts, especially where a case caught the public interest. Monaghan's spring 1811 assizes received an extensive write-up in the *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, giving details of the more gripping cases. The manuscript court book tells that Mathew Hoey, Mathew Valley and Catherine Duffy were charged with a felony, but gives no further details, but the newspaper fills in the story. The felony in question was the killing of John Ray. The defendants were found guilty of manslaughter, and were sentenced to be burned on the hand and imprisoned (Fig. 20).

From the same newspaper we learn that Mary Cunningham was to be transported for seven years for stealing ten yards of corduroy, Henry Taylor was not guilty of 'handing to Elizabeth Graham, spinster, a cake mixed with French flies, that she might eat thereof, with intent to deprive her of her reason' and that Susan Trenor's rape claim against Patrick M'Cann could not be heard as she failed to appear in court.<sup>49</sup>

Fig. 20. Manslaughter sentence in Monaghan, August 1810.



*Mathew Hoey, Mathew Vallely, and Catharine Duffy, charged with the murder of John Ray, a dragoon, on the 24th of August last, at Monaghan.— Guilty of manslaughter—Hoey to be imprisoned six months, Vallely three months, and Duffy one year, and all to be burned in the hand, and to give security to keep the peace.*

*Belfast Commercial Chronicle, 20 March 1811, p. 4.*

# CONCLUSION

Although grand juries retained judicial functions in the twentieth century, the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, transferred their civic powers to elected county councils, urban and rural district councils, and boards of guardians. Elections for these new bodies were held in April 1899. The newly-elected councillors were to serve a three-year term.

Fig. 21. County Waterford Grand Jury, March 1910, a decade after the Local Government Act.



These local elections ushered in sweeping social and political change. Women were eligible to vote in the local elections, along with all persons who already held the vote for the Westminster parliament. The political make-up of Ireland's local government bodies was transformed. With the exception of five Ulster counties, nationalists dominated on councils across Ireland (Fig. 22).

The Irish grand juries assembled for the final time for the spring 1899 assizes. One of the last acts of each body was to select three jurors to be councillors on the new county councils, as was permitted under the Local Government Act (Fig. 23).<sup>50</sup>

Fig. 22. County Council election results, April 1899

COMPOSITION OF THE COUNTY COUNCILS.		
LEINSTER.		
	Unionists.	Nationalists.
Dublin	6	14
Louth	1	23
Meath	0	21
Wicklow	3	17
Wexford	2	17
Kilkenny	1	17
Carlow	1	18
Queen's County	1	21
King's County	1	20
Westmeath	2	21
Longford	1	15
Kildare	3	18
ULSTER.		
	Unionists.	Nationalists.
Donegal	2	18
Londonderry	14	5
Antrim	21	0
Down	15	6
Tyrone	10	10
Fermanagh	7	17
Monaghan	2	18
Armagh	9	7
Cavan	0	20
MUNSTER.		
	Unionists.	Nationalists.
Limerick	3	17
Waterford	1	14
Cork	0	32
Kerry	3	18
Clare	0	14
Tipperary	1	38
CONNAUGHT.		
	Unionists.	Nationalists.
Leitrim	0	18
Sligo	0	20
Mayo	0	21
Galway (incomplete)	1	5
Rosecommon	1	17
TOTALS.		
	Unionists.	Nationalists.
Leinster	22	222
Ulster	80	91
Munster	8	133
Connaught	2	81
Total	112	627



Compass from William Larkin's Map of Galway, 1819  
L. Brown Collection

*Tyrone Constitution, 14 April 1899, p. 7.*

Fig. 23. Resolution of Kerry Grand Jury to appoint three members to Kerry's new County Council, 1899.

Resolved  
 That the members of the present Grand Jury be appointed as a Committee for the purpose of appointing three additional Councillors under Sec 113 (1) of the Local Govt Ireland Act 1898 & that the said Committee shall meet on Saturday the 8<sup>th</sup> April next at the hour of three o'clock for the purpose of making the said appointments  
 Passed

### Electing the County Council in Louth

Catholics accounted for more than 91 per cent of County Louth's 1891 population, yet its Grand Jury was dominated by Protestants. The religious breakdown of Louth's last three Grand Juries is shown in the table (religion identified from 1901 census).

Session	Catholic jurors	Protestant jurors	Religion uncertain
Spring 1898	5	17	1
Summer 1898	7	15	1
Spring 1899	7	16	

Elections for the new county councils were held on Thursday, 6 April 1899. Unionist candidates ran in five Louth constituencies, and all were defeated except William Plunket Cairnes, who was elected unopposed.<sup>51</sup> The expiring grand jury appointed three jurors to the new county council: Henry J. Daly, the county High Sheriff, and John Ribton Garstin, both Protestant, and John Quinn, Catholic (Fig. 24).<sup>52</sup>

*People, Power and Place* has sought to convey the power exercised by the grand jury system on people and place across Ireland, especially during the era of its greatest influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is not possible in a short booklet such as this to describe all the available sources, which include presentment books, treasurers' accounts, grand jury minute books and resolutions, collectors' ledgers, valuations, gaol and hospital records. However, the data gathered for this publication conclusively demonstrates the scale, scope and significance of the grand jury sources.

The records of the grand jury, which survive in significant quantities across Ireland, are consequently of enormous value for local history and for understanding how the social character of Ireland was shaped at local level during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Much more remains to be uncovered. Most counties published hundreds of copies of abstracts of presentments after assizes sittings, and many are likely to be discovered in boxes and cupboards in 'big houses' around the country. These lost records need to be identified and preserved, because they can provide unique and important vistas on social relationships in Ireland before 1898.

**Fig. 24. Louth County Council membership, April 1899.**

Louth's new county council met for the first time on 22 April 1899. Following the election of Peter Hughes as chairman, the transfer of local power from Protestants and Unionists to Catholics and Nationalists was immediately highlighted, when the council passed a motion demanding Home Rule. Cairnes, the only unionist elected to the Council, opposed the motion.<sup>53</sup>

**LOUTH.**

**Dundalk Saturday.**

The first meeting of the Louth County Council was held on Saturday in the Grand Jury Room of the County Courthouse, Dundalk. All the Councillors were present, and the following officials were also in attendance:—William de S Filgate, secretary to the Grand Jury; J J Russell, sub-sheriff; and P J Lynam, C E, county surveyor. The following councillors were present:—Ardee, Thomas Dolan; Barronstown, P Hughes, Castlery; Carlingford, James Quinn, Whitestown; Castletown, Thos J Byrne, Rossmakea; Castlebellingham, Stephen Segrave; Clogher, Denis J Rath, Clogherhead; Clonkeen, Patrick Murray, Philipstown; Drogheda, W P Cairnes, F Gogarty, James P Kelly, Lawrence Moore, and James M'Carthy; Dromiskin, Thomas Kinahan; Drumlish, Michael O'Meara; Dundalk Rural, Charles A Duffy; Dundalk Urban, T C Macardle, Thomas Roe, B Hamill, James Moore, and Joseph Maxwell; Dunleer, Patrick Byrne; Faughart, Jas M'Court, Dundalk; Louth N B King; Monasterboice, Patrick Callan; Mary, Joseph Dolan, Gattistown; Rathcor, Joseph H M'Ardle, Rampark; Ravensdale, John Johnston; Termonfeckin, Thomas Maguire.

Grand Jurors—Messrs Henry J Daly, High Sheriff; John B Garstin, and John Quinn, the members selected by the Grand Jury, were also present.

*Freeman's Journal*, 24 April 1899, p. 5.

## FURTHER READING

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Foley, Áine. 'Violence and authority: the sheriff and seneschal in late medieval Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 117 (2017), 185–206.

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# NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Wood, *Guide to records in Public Record Office*, pp 126, 214.
- <sup>2</sup> Virginia Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth century Ireland* (Belfast, 1994), p. 25.
- <sup>3</sup> *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 15 March 1828, p. 3.
- <sup>4</sup> *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 9 August 1823, p. 2.
- <sup>5</sup> Neal Garnham, 'Local elite creation in early Hanoverian Ireland: the case of the county grand jury' in *The Historical Journal*, lxii, no. 3 (1999), p. 630.
- <sup>6</sup> An Act to explain and amend an Act, intituled, An Act to prevent Papists being sollicitors (6 Anne c. VI, sect. 5)
- <sup>7</sup> James Hardiman, *History of the town and county of the town of Galway* (Dublin, 1820), p. 226, note).
- <sup>8</sup> *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 15 March 1828, p. 3.
- <sup>9</sup> Tennison was appointed foreman at the summer 1831 assizes (*Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 23 July 1831, p. 3).
- <sup>10</sup> Isaac Weld, *Statistical survey of the County of Roscommon* (Dublin, 1832), pp
- <sup>11</sup> Thomas Davis, *The Patriot Parliament on 1689* (3rd ed., London, 1893), p. 166.
- <sup>12</sup> An Act to provide for the more deliberate investigation of presentments to be made by grand juries for roads and public works in Ireland, and for accounting for money raised by such presentments (57 Geo. III, c. 107, sect. 7.
- <sup>13</sup> Hely Dutton, *Statistical survey of the county of Clare* (Dublin, 1808), p. 27.
- <sup>14</sup> Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1810 (50 George III, c. 103, sect. 47).
- <sup>15</sup> *Deputy Keeper, Public Records of Ireland* report, xxxii, p. 30 (hereafter D.K.P.R.I.).
- <sup>16</sup> *D.K.P.R.I.*, xxxii, pp 31-34.
- <sup>17</sup> 23 & 24 George III, c. 42, sect. iv.
- <sup>18</sup> 23 & 24 George III, c. 42, sect. 5; Dutton, *Statistical survey, Clare*, pp 354-5.
- <sup>19</sup> Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth century Ireland*, p. 27.
- <sup>20</sup> An Act concerning the repaying and amending of bridges, causeways, and toghers in the high-ways (10 Charles I, session 2, c. 26).
- <sup>21</sup> An Act to prevent the illegal raising of money by Grand Juries, and the misapplying of money legally raised: and for the better execution of an Act for the mending the high-ways by six days labour: and for the appointing overseers of the high-ways by the justices at their sessions, in default of naming them by the respective parishes (4 Anne c. 6).
- <sup>22</sup> 33 George II, c. 8, sect. 11.

- <sup>23</sup> 5 George III, c. 14. This statute repealed 11, 12 and 13 James I, c. 7 (the act which introduced the 6-day labour obligation) and placed the responsibility for the repair of the roads on the county's grand jury (sect. 2). It is unlikely to be a coincidence that these changes coincided with an interest in mapping the communications infrastructure in some counties.
- <sup>24</sup> Edward Wakefield, *Account of Ireland* (2 vols., London, 1812), i, pp 505, 659.
- <sup>25</sup> Wakefield, *Account of Ireland*, ii, p. 347.
- <sup>26</sup> Wakefield, *Account of Ireland*, i, pp 263-4.
- <sup>27</sup> No jurors' names were recorded for Donegal's summer 1761 and spring 1762 assizes. For the requirement to have twelve or more jurors see Níamh Howlin, "'The terror of their lives': Irish jurors' experiences' in *Law and History Review*, (2011), p. 710, note 34
- <sup>28</sup> M. F. Cusack, *A history of the Kingdom of Kerry* (Dublin, 1871), p. 347; NLI Lane Poole notebook, ms 7227, p. 44.
- <sup>29</sup> *The Grand Juries of the County of Westmeath* (2 vols, Ledestown, 1853). No names were listed for 35 grand juries; these have been omitted.
- <sup>30</sup> Wakefield, *Account of Ireland*, ii, p. 348.
- <sup>31</sup> Wakefield, *Account of Ireland*, ii, pp 347-8.
- <sup>32</sup> Wakefield, *Account of Ireland*, ii, pp 604, 606, 611, 615, 772.
- <sup>33</sup> Grand Jury Presentments (Ireland) Act (57 George III c. 107); Grand Jury (Ireland) Act (6 & 7 William c. 116).
- <sup>34</sup> The Chief Secretary [Gerald Balfour] to Lord Lieutenant, 21 February 1898 (Hansard, liii, c. 1227).
- <sup>35</sup> Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth century Ireland*, p. 91.
- <sup>36</sup> *Cork Constitution*, 23 March 1891, p. 3; 25 March 1891, p. 6.
- <sup>37</sup> *Cork Constitution*, 28 March 1891, p. 4.
- <sup>38</sup> *Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Ireland* (1892), pp 5-6.
- <sup>39</sup> *Cork Daily Herald*, 30 March 1891, p. 6.
- <sup>40</sup> 'County Wicklow Grand Jury Presentments, Summer Assizes, 1793' in *Journal of West Wicklow Historical Society*, ix (2017).
- <sup>41</sup> Accounts Ledger, c. 1794-1817 (Cavan County Archives, GJ/1, f. 6, no. 27); *County of Clare Presentments at spring assizes, 1799* (Ennis, 1799), p. 6, no. 62; *City of Kilkenny, presentments of Grand Jury, Lent 1803* (Kilkenny), p. 6.
- <sup>42</sup> *County of Longford, abstract of presentments, Lent assizes, March 10, 1817* (no. 34).
- <sup>43</sup> *County of Kilkenny, presentments of grand jury, Lent assizes, 1801*, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> *Queen's County Presentments, summer assizes, 1813*, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> Act to amend laws for making, repairing and improving the roads and other public works in Ireland (59 George III, c. 84).

<sup>46</sup> *County of Tipperary, an abstract of presentments, spring assizes, 1817* (Clonmel), pp 14-17. Kilkenny volume available on Google Books.

<sup>47</sup> Measuringworth.com: Labour Cost equivalent.

<sup>48</sup> Dutton, *Statistical survey of Clare*, pp 217-8.

<sup>49</sup> *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, 20 March 1811, p. 4.

<sup>50</sup> Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898 (61 & 62 Victoria c. 37, sect. 113).

<sup>51</sup> For election results, see *Freeman's Journal*, 8 April 1899, p. 6; *Drogheda Independent*, 8 April 1899, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 24 April 1899, p. 5.

<sup>53</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 24 April 1899, p. 5.

# LOCAL GOVERNMENT ARCHIVISTS AND RECORDS MANAGERS

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KING'S COUNTY.  
 ABSTRACT OF  
 PRESENTMENTS GRANTED,  
 And Queries Discharged and Respited,  
 AT LENT ASSIZES,  
 1846.

<i>Fiscal Business Commenced,</i>	..	..	26th February.
<i>Commission opened,</i>	..	..	2nd March.
<i>Assizes terminated,</i>	..	..	4th

JUDGES.  
 THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE CHIEF JUSTICE.  
 THE RIGHT HONORABLE CHIEF JUSTICE DOHERTY.

GRAND JURY.

1 HARDRESS LLOYD, Esq.	13 THOMAS HACKETT, Esq.
2 JOHN H. DROUGHT, Esq.	14 WILLIAM THOMAS BRISCOE, Esq.
3 JOHN G. KING, Esq.	15 JOHN WARBURTON, Esq.
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